

# Verbicarese\*

## Overview

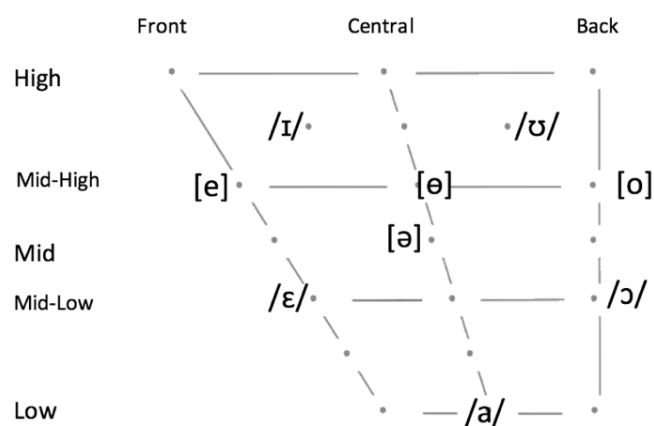
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Verbicarese is the dialect spoken in Verbicaro, a northern-western Calabrian village of about 3100 inhabitants according to official census. Based on the traditional classification of Italian dialects, this variety belongs to the upper-southern subdivision. More specifically, it is part of the Lausberg area (Lausberg 1939; Bianchi, De Blasi & Fanciullo 2002; Bigalke 1994; Rohlfs 1969), a geo-linguistic zone known for the retention of several conservative Romance features, such as consonant endings in the verbal paradigm and a Sardinian-type stressed vowel system. More precisely, Verbicaro belongs to the ‘Zwischenzone’, i.e. a sub-zone of the Lausberg area, originally defined by the mixture of the Sardinian-type and the Sicilian-type stressed vowel systems (Lausberg 1939; Silvestri 2007, 2009).

## 1 Phonology

### 1.1 Vowels

Verbicarese has a Sicilian stressed vowel system (see Rohlfs 1966; Silvestri 2008-9): /a/ ~ /ɛ/ ~ /ɪ/ ~ /ɔ/ ~ /ʊ/. Mid-high vowels surface in few lexemes as allophones of [ɪ] and [ʊ] (see Silvestri 2008-9), and in falling metaphonic diphthongs as phonetic realisation of front and back mid vowels.



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## 1.2 Consonants

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

The consonant inventory of Verbicarese includes 25 phonemes. Among the major phonological processes, we mention: the total assimilation of /mb/ and /nd/ clusters in [mm] and [nn] (6), and the voicing of post-nasals plosive and affricate consonants (7).

(6) \*[la 'gamba] > [a 'ɣam:a] ‘the leg’; \*[kwandə] > ['kwannə] ‘when’

(7) \*[lu kunta'di:nu] > [lu kunda'di:nə] ‘the farmer’; \*[im 'frantʃa] > [im 'frandʒa] ‘in France’

A further process concerns the realisation of /b, d, g/ in fortis and lenis positions. In lenis positions, namely word-initial and intervocalic context, they undergo lenition (/b/ > [β]; /d/ > [ð]; /g/ > [ɣ]) (8a); the phoneme surfaces only in post-consonantal position and under Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico (RF) (8b) (see Fanciullo 1986).

The convergent outcome of /b/ and /v/ in both intervocalic and fortis position is the result of betacism (9a); /b/ and /v/ are phonetically distinct only in word-initial context (9b).

(8) a. /'brʊtʃədə/ > ['βrʊ:ʃəðə] ‘(it) burns’, /'avʊtu/ > ['a:βətə] ‘tall’, [na 'ɣat:a] ‘a cat(F)’,

b. [nən 'brʊ:ʃəðə] ‘it doesn’t burn’, [ɛ<sub>RF</sub> bbrʊ'ʃ<sup>w</sup>a:tə] ‘it is burnt’

(9) a. /ɪ 'brattʃə/ > [ɪ 'βrattʃə] ‘the arms’; /nu 'viəntə/ > [nu 'βiəndə] ‘a wind’;

[k'kə<sub>RF</sub> b'brattʃə] ‘what an arm!’; [k'kə<sub>RF</sub> b'βiəndə] ‘what a wind!’

b. ['βrattʃə ɛ<sub>RF</sub> g'gammə] ‘arms and legs’; ['viəndə nən dʒə n'n ɛ] ‘there is no wind’

For the purpose of a simplified transcription, lenition is not orthographically signalled by means of dedicated symbols (i.e. *gattə* (##[ɣ]), *ngràtə* (C[g])). On the contrary, the transcription accounts for the geminated pronunciation of all phonemes under RF. Thus, it is because this kind of consonantal doubling is triggered by a closed list of words which, synchronically, do not share any phonological property (10) (for a detailed survey of RF in Verbicarese see Silvestri 2007; for a more general overview cf. Loporcaro 1988).

(10) [a<sub>RF</sub> m'mrja] ‘to me’ vs [a 'mrja] ‘mine.F.SG’

Due to the lack of a rule-based distribution, the geminated pronunciation of /b/ and /dʒ/ of early and recent loan words (e.g. *bbravə ggiùvənə!* ‘good guy’), both intervocalically and word-initially, and

the emphatic palatalization of /s/ in /sk/ clusters (see [k<sup>l</sup>kə ʃ<sup>l</sup>kɪfə] ‘what a muck!’ <cchə sckifə> vs [s<sup>l</sup>kə:lə] ‘school’ <scola>) are notated as well.

### 1.3 Transcription criteria

For the purpose of the present overview as well as the related database a simplified transcription of relevant data has been adopted.

#### 1.3.1 Vowels

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
<i>	[ɪ]	<i>filu</i>	‘thread’
<é>	[e]	<i>séra</i>	‘evening’
<è>	[ɛ]	<i>mèlə</i>	‘honey’
<a>	[a]	<i>lattə</i>	‘milk’
<>ò>	[ɔ]	<i>còrə</i>	‘heart’
<ó>	[o]	<i>zappatórə</i>	‘digger’
<u>	[u]	<i>sulə</i>	‘sun’
<ìe>	[iə]	<i>cupìerchjə</i>	‘lid’
<ìè>	[je]	<i>cancièddhe</i>	‘gate’
<ùo>	[uə]	<i>bbùonə</i>	‘good’
<uò>	[wə]	<i>fuòchə</i>	‘fire’
<uù>	[wV]	<i>puàtrə</i>	‘father’
<i>	[i]	<i>lligatə</i>	‘tied’
<e>	[e]	<i>venutə</i>	‘come’
<e>	[ɛ]	<i>forestierə</i>	‘stranger’
<a>	[a]	<i>casscètta</i>	‘box’
<o>	[ɔ]	<i>condadinə</i>	‘farmer’
<o>	[o]	<i>forestierə</i>	‘stranger’
<u>	[u]	<i>çurutə</i>	‘bloomed’
<ə>	[ə]	<i>pəttatə</i>	‘painted’
<CiV̂>	[j]	<i>piánəfòrtə</i>	‘piano’
<CuV̂>	[w]	<i>Capua</i>	‘Capua’

#### 1.3.2 Consonants

Spelling	IPA	Examples	
<p>	[p]	<i>putatə</i>	‘brought’
<t>	[t]	<i>truvà</i>	‘to find’
<b>	(C)[b]	<i>bbònə</i>	‘good(F.PL)’
	##; V[β]V	<i>brusciadə</i>	‘(it) burns’

<d>	(C)[d]	<i>cardunə</i>	‘cardoon’
	##; V[ð]V	<i>tràsəðə</i>	‘(he) enters’
<ddh>	[d̥]	<i>cipuddhə</i>	‘onion’
<chj>	[c]	<i>chjanə</i>	‘slow’
<cchj>	[c:]	<i>ùocchjə</i>	‘eye’
<gghj>	[ʃ]	<i>magghja</i>	‘t-shirt’
<c>	[k]V <sub>[+back]</sub>	<i>pərcòchə</i>	‘peach’
	[tʃ]V(i, e, ə)	<i>cərasə</i>	‘cherries’
<ci>	[tʃ]V <sub>[+back]</sub>	<i>ciàngə</i>	‘(you) cry’
<ch>	[k]V <sub>[-back]</sub>	<i>pərcòchə</i>	‘peach’
<z>	[dz]	<i>lənzòlə</i>	‘bed sheet’
<zz>	[tts]	<i>zzangatə</i>	‘soiled’
<g>	##; V[ɣ]V	<i>gamma</i>	‘leg’
	[g]V <sub>[+back]</sub>	<i>angòra</i>	‘still’
	[dʒ]V(i, e, ə)	<i>màngəðə</i>	‘(he) eats’
<gi>	[dʒ]V <sub>[+back]</sub>	<i>ggiardinə</i>	‘garden’
<m>	[m]	<i>magghja</i>	‘t-shirt’
<m>	[m̥]	<i>campana</i>	‘bell’
<n>	[n]	<i>santə</i>	‘saint’
<n>	[n̥]	<i>ancòra</i>	‘still’
<gn>	[ŋ]	<i>ugna</i>	‘nail’
<r>	[r]	<i>murə</i>	‘wall’
<f>	[f]	<i>fùochə</i>	‘fire’
<v>	[β]	<i>àvətə</i>	‘tall’
<v>	##[v]	<i>vùostrə</i>	‘your(s)’
<w>	[β]	<i>suwa</i>	‘his’
<s>	[s]	<i>assùotə</i>	‘untied’
<ssc>	[s:]	<i>casscètta</i>	‘box’
<ssci>	[s:]V <sub>[+back]</sub>	<i>cassciùnə</i>	‘chest’
<sck>	[ʃk]	<i>rasckatə</i>	‘scraped’
<ç>	[ç]	<i>çurə</i>	‘flower’
<l>	[l]	<i>sòldə</i>	‘money’
<j>	[j]	<i>jùornə</i>	‘day’

## 2 Morphology and syntax of agreement

While preserving most of the features of upper-southern dialects, Verbicarese earned its place within the DAI for some relevant and original patterns of agreement.

Verbicarese is the only Romance variety known so far to preserve the gender agreement conditions once common in the early Middle Ages for Romance languages (Loporcaro & Silvestri 2015; Loporcaro 2018:113-115). Conservative Verbicarese, in fact, displays three target and controller genders (M, F, N) (Table 1). What makes this dialect particularly relevant is the neuter *a*-plural marker direct outcome of Latin neuter plural (e.g. Lat. BRACHIA LONGA ‘long arms’)

Table 1: Gender agreement in conservative Verbicarese (from Loporcaro 2018:114):

		SINGULAR		PLURAL			
a.		ʊ	'piəð-ə	'γruəss-ə/**'γrəss-a	I	'piəð-ə	'γruəssə/**'γrəss-ə/**-a
M	DEF.M.SG	foot(M)	M\big-M/F	DEF.PL	foot(M)	M\big.M.PL/NONM\big-F.PL/N.PL	
b.		ʊ	'lwabbr-ə	'γruəss-ə/**'γrəss-ə	I	'labbr-a	'γrəss-a/-ə/**'γruəssə
N	DEF.M.SG	lip(N)	M\big-M.SG/F.SG	DEF.PL	lip(N)	NONM\big-N.PL/F.PL/M\big-M.PL	
c.		a	'ma:n-a	'γrəss-a/**'γruəss-ə	I	'ma:n-ə	'γrəss-ə/**-a/**'γruəssə
F	DEF.F.SG	hand(F)	NONM\big-F.SG/M.SG	DEF.PL	hand(F)	NONM\big-F.PL/-N.PL/M\big-M.PL	

‘the big foot/lip/hand’

‘the big feet/lips/hands’

However, gender marking is not canonical since the triple opposition (M, F, N) is displayed only for plural and only for metaphonic adjectives. Determiners (§2.3) and personal pronouns (§2.2.1) show no gender contrast in the plural, while non-metaphonic adjectives (§2.4) and past participles (§2.7.2) have a binary opposition (M/F vs. N).<sup>1</sup>

Note that this three-way contrast on agreement targets is beating a retreat, being observable today only in the dialect of the most conservative speakers. Dedicated plural neuter agreement *-a* is being replaced by an alternating agreement pattern, whereby the nouns in (b), Table 1, take feminine agreement in the plural. When the last remnants of neuter plural agreement will have disappeared, the gender system will change to a two-target gender system, with a NAN (M ≠ F ≠ N > M ≠ F ≠ NAN).

As for the innovative aspects, Verbicarese developed (together with few other dialects belonging to the same area, see Loporcaro 2010; Loporcaro & Silvestri 2011; Loporcaro 2018: 422) some new conditions on the agreement of past participle (PtP). Gender and number agreement of PtP, in fact, is sensitive to the inflectional class of the participle: see the lack of agreement in (11)-(12), as opposed to agreement in (13) (§2.7.2). This evidence collides with the principle of “morphology-free” syntax (see Zwicky 1996:301; Corbett 2006:184) and confirms the relevance of Verbicarese for the study of agreement.

<sup>1</sup> For further details on neuter plural in Verbicarese, please refer to §2.1.1.

(11) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: AICa | Answer: 46 | Source: VER22

[<sub>NP</sub> fratə =ma ] [<sub>à</sub> ssunatə ] bbòna [<sub>NP</sub> a chətarra ]  
 brother(M).SG POSS.1SG.SG have.PRS.3SG play.PTP.nonF.sg good.F.SG DEF.F.SG guitar(F).SG  
 My brother played the guitar well

(12) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: ViDA | Answer: 32 | Source: VER21

[<sub>NP</sub> Giusèppə ] [<sub>à</sub> sckundə ] [<sub>NP</sub> a casa ]  
 Giuseppe(M) have.PRS.3SG finish.PTP.nonF.sg DEF.F.SG house(F).SG  
 Giuseppe has finished (to build) the house

(13) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: AMPa | Answer: 51 | Source: VER22

[<sub>NP</sub> Giuwannə ] [<sub>à</sub> ccòttə ] [<sub>NP</sub> ddh' òva ] [<sub>AdvP</sub> ppròpriə bbùonə ]  
 Giovanni(M) have.PRS.3.SG cook.PTP.F.PL DEF egg(NAN).PL really good.M  
 Giovanni cooked the eggs very well

The following pages provide a more detailed overview of the morphology and syntax of Verbicarese. At the end of each paragraph – if needed – a short text in *italic* provides the user with instructions for retrieving the data within the DAI most effectively (for more general information refer to the *How to use the DAI* documentation).

## 2.1 Nouns

Nouns in Verbicarese inflect for number, which has the two values singular and plural. They are divided into the inflectional classes (IC) displayed in Table 2, which are distinguished via affixal inflection (-a/-ə in IC 1; -ə/-ə in IC 2; -ə/-a in IC 3; -ə/-əra in IC 4) and root alternation (A ≠ B, IC 4).

Table 2: Noun inflectional classes

IC	Form		Example		Gloss	Gender
	SG	PL	SG	PL		
1	A-a	A-ə	<i>a gatta</i>	<i>i gattə</i>	cat	(F)
			<i>a notta</i>	<i>i nottə</i>	night	(F)
			<i>u kumunuista</i>	<i>i kumunuistə</i>	communist	(M)
2a	A-ə	A-ə	<i>u kanə</i>	<i>i kanə</i>	dog	(M)
2b	A <sup>[+MET]</sup> -ə	A <sup>[+MET]</sup> -ə	<i>ddh' acièddhə</i>	<i>ddh' acièddhə</i>	bird	(M)
3	A-ə	A-a	<i>u vrazzə</i>	<i>i vrazza</i>	arm	(M/N)
			<i>u murə</i>	<i>i mura</i>	wall	(M/NAN)
4	A <sup>[+MET]</sup> -ə	B <sup>[-MET]</sup> -əra	<i>ddh' ùortə</i>	<i>ddh' òrtəra</i>	plot of land	(M/N) (M/NAN)

Based on the agreement they select on targets, nouns are sorted into three genders, as shown in Table 1. While most part of the nouns of IC 1 are inherently feminine, and those of class 2 are masculine, the gender system of nouns of classes 3 and 4 is undergoing linguistic change. The nouns assigned to the neuter, for example, all inflect according to inflectional class 3, with -a marking plural, though the reverse implication does not hold, as many a-plural nouns are masculine or non-autonomous neuter (NAN).

The non-autonomous neuter is an alternating, non-autonomous (Corbett 2011: 459-60) controller gender. Targets of NAN controllers display masculine agreement when singular (14), and feminine when plural (15).

(14) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: AlCa | Answer: 24 | Source: VER22  
 [ <sub>NP</sub> Ddh' **ùovə** ] [ s' = à **ccùottə** ] bbùonə  
 DEF egg(M).SG REFL.3= have.PRS.3SG cook.PTP.M good.M  
 The egg is well cooked

(15) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: AlCa | Answer: 14.4 | Source: VER22  
 [ <sub>NP</sub> s' **òva** ] su ppròpriə [ <sub>AP</sub> **bbònə** ]  
 DEM.MED.nonF.sg egg(NAN).PL be.PRS.3SG really good.F.PL  
 These eggs are really good

For some speakers, a masculine plural of many NAN nouns exists alongside neuter plural (cf. Loporcaro & Silvestri 2015; DAI data). These cases of multiple gender assignment (Corbett 1991:67) are evidence of an incipient change that, in the future, might align Verbicarese to many other dialects of Italy where NAN nouns have progressively become fully masculine (cf. Loporcaro 2018:317). As shown in (16b), a change of IC may accompany the change in agreement, but any prediction on gender values of the target based on IC is not reliable.

(16) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: SaCa | Answer: 4 | Source: VER12  
 a. [ <sub>NP</sub> i **dənòcchjə** **stòrtə** ]  
 DEF.PL knee(NAN).PL twisted.F.PL  
 b. [ <sub>NP</sub> i **dənùocchjə** **stùortə** ]  
 DEF.PL knee(M).PL twisted.M  
 The twisted knees

### 2.1.1 Neuter plural controllers

As mentioned in §2, Verbicarese is the only Romance variety preserving a dedicated agreement marker (-a) for neuter plural as a direct outcome of the corresponding Latin ending.

This fact is of great relevance for the reconstruction of the development of the neuter gender in Romance languages, as firstly noticed by Loporcaro & Silvestri (2015). The authors showed the occurrence of distinct neuter plural agreement in adjectives (17) and participles (18) (here exemplified by means of data from the DAI), whereas M.SG forms are selected by reciprocal, indefinite and distributive (19) pronouns.

(17) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: BiSi | Answer: 6.1 | Source: VER12  
 [ <sub>NP</sub> I **vrazza** **lònga** ]  
 DEF.PL arm(N).PL long.N.PL  
 The long arms

(18) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: LuTu | Answer: 86.1 | Source: VER12  
 [ <sub>NP</sub> **armalia** **vòstra** ] [ anə **mòrta** ]  
 animal(N).PL POSS.2PL.N.PL have.PRS.3PL die.PTP.N.PL  
 Your animals died

(19) (adapted from Loporcaro & Silvestri 2015:77)

- a. d ɪ 'dɔj 'ɔ:va 'γu:nə 'jɛ:ra 'ccu 'ggrwannə ɪ kud'dwa:trə  
'of the two eggs, one was bigger than the other'
- b. dɔ 'ɔ:va 'kustənə 'dɛ:tʃə tʃən'dɛ:səmə dɔ 'ɔ:nə/\*dɔ 'ɔ:na  
'eggs cost ten cents each'

Loporcaro & Silvestri (2015) is based on data collected in 2010. At that time, this pattern of agreement occurred only in the production of elderly speakers over 75, but it was still judged as grammatical by all members of the speech community. Moreover, only few among the potential neuter controllers preserved the *a*-plural inflectional morpheme and selected neuter agreement categorically. For many of them, F.PL were acceptable target values, showing a shift of neuter controllers in the direction of NAN; for many others the alternative option was M.PL, either in free variation (20), or with semantic specialization (collective nouns were preserving the *a*-plural pattern) (21).

(20) (from Loporcaro 2018:163)

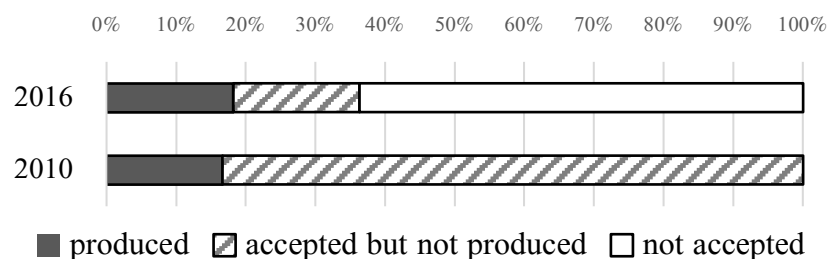
- a. ɪ mʊrə stuərtə
- b. ɪ mʊ:ra stɔrtə
- c. ɪ mʊ:ra \*stuərtə  
'the crooked walls'

(21) (adapted from Loporcaro & Silvestri 2015:72)

- a. 'fɪŋk 'uɔssə 'stuərtə  
'five (separate) crooked bones'
- b. 'tutt ɛ 'tʃɪŋk dd 'ɔssa 'stɔrta/'stɔrtə  
'all the five crooked bones'

Based on the DAI data, Idone (2017) reported on the rapid advancement of the fading of this gender. In 2016, in fact, only 19% of the interviewees (all over 75) selected the *a*-plural pattern, whereas the remaining speakers did not; among them, only an additional 18% declared to accept N.PL agreement as a variant of older generations (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Progressive fading of neuter plural agreement in Verbicare. The quantitative analysis (Idone 2017) compares the results of the survey by Loporcaro & Silvestri (2015) and the data collected for the Zurich Database of agreement in Italo-Romance. The first data set was collected in 2010 (20 speakers), the second in 2016 (22 speakers).





The regression of neuter as target gender is moreover testified by a change in the properties of the controllers and the targets involved in the pattern of agreement.

The DAI data suggest that none of the lexemes of Verbicarese require N.PL obligatorily. The same nouns, when plural, can in fact trigger F or M agreement either. For some speakers, the criterion of semantic distribution is still valid to distinguish the two possible plural forms of *ùortə* ‘vegetable garden’, i.e. *òrtora* (N) which corresponds to ‘plots of land’ as opposed to *ùortə* (M) ‘vegetable gardens’. Nevertheless, for a large number of speakers *òrtora* can also be treated as a NAN. Furthermore, the coexistence of multiple genders for these lexemes is in some cases mirrored in the possibility to inflect them according to multiple inflectional classes (22).

(22) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: GiBr | Answer: 4.b | Source: VER12

- a. [...] *tènə* [NP *i* *dinùocchjə* *stùortə* ]  
 hold.PRS.3SG DEF.PL knee(M).PL crooked.M
- b. [...] *tènə* [NP *i* *dinòcchjə* *stòrtə* ]  
 hold.PRS.3SG DEF.PL knee(NAN).PL crooked.F.PL
- c. [...] *tènə* [NP *i* *dinòcchja* *stòrta* ]  
 hold.PRS.3SG DEF.PL knee(N).PL crooked.N.PL

She has twisted knees

The 2016 survey measured also a narrowing in the selection of possible targets, as summarized in Table 3 (cf. Idone 2017).<sup>2</sup>

Table 3: Outline of possible targets of *a*-agreement in Verbicarese in 2010 (Loporcaro & Silvestri 2015) and 2016 (DAI; Idone 2017). The symbol ‘+’ means ‘agreement attested’ whereas ‘-’ stands for ‘no instances of agreement’.

	Adjective / Adverb		Past Participle			
	attributive	predicative	transitive, lexical DO	transitive, clitic DO	reflexive	unaccusative
<b>2010</b>	+	+	-	+	+	+
<b>2016</b>	+	+	-	+	-	+

All things considered, in Verbicarese, the synchronic depletion of the N as a target gender appears to retrace the diachronic steps that led to the disappearance of neuter as an autonomous gender in Southern-Italian dialects (see Loporcaro 2018). As far as targets are concerned, the fading of N.PL obeys the Agreement Hierarchy (23).

(23) *Agreement Hierarchy* (Corbett 1979)

Attributive > Predicate > Relative Pronoun > Personal Pronoun

<sup>2</sup> The analysis did not consider the answers of those speakers who have lost the *a*-plural agreement altogether; it is limited to the production and the judgement of the speakers who still produce and/or accept N.PL agreement (8 out of 22). As for [-Agreement] data, the estimation is based only on judgements of acceptability of N.PL agreement; answers referring to controllers proved not to be neuter in the system of the speaker were excluded.

It seems that here (as already seen for other dialects of the DAI, e.g. Pantiscu) the agreement – the dedicated *-a* N.PL agreement, in this case – is better preserved by targets at the left end of the hierarchy.<sup>3</sup>

## 2.2 Pronouns

### 2.2.1 Personal pronouns

Table 4 contains the stressed and clitic series of personal pronouns of Verbicarese.

Stressed pronouns can function both as agreement controllers and targets. The syntactic functions of subject vs. object/oblique are morphologically distinct only for 1SG and 2SG person, while gender is overtly marked only in 3SG pronouns.

Table 4: Personal pronouns of Verbicarese

		STRESSED		CLITIC		
		a. SUBJ.	b. OBJ./OBL.	c. DO	d. IO	e. REFL
SG	1	<i>jì(ə)</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>mə</i>		
	2	<i>tu</i>	<i>tia</i>	<i>tə</i>		
	3 M	<i>jiddhə</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ddhə</i>	<i>sə</i>
3 F	<i>jiddha</i>		<i>a</i>			
PL	1	<i>nua</i>		<i>nə</i>		
	2	<i>vua</i>		<i>və</i>		
	3 M	<i>jiddhə</i>		<i>ddhə</i>		
	3 F					

The non-stressed series includes clitics with direct (Table 4c), indirect (Table 4d) and reflexive (Table 4e) object function, which show case syncretism in the first and second persons. Accusative clitics mark gender only in the 3SG person. Due to assimilatory processes, though, 3rd person OD clitics might have different phonetic realizations that neutralise the overt gender marking (24a):

- (24) a. u            kwanə      Ø      a =            amə            assùotə  
 DEF.M.SG    dog(M).SG    1PL    DO3M.SG =    have.PRS.1PL    unleash-PST.PTCP.M  
 ‘The dog, we have unleashed it’
- b. u            kwanə      Ø      u =            vədiəmə  
 DEF.M.SG    dog(M).SG    1PL    DO3M.SG =    see.PRS.1PL  
 ‘The dog, we see it’

*Given that, and considering that DO clitics can be controllers, the annotation always specifies both values of gender and number of 3rd person DO clitics in order to simplify the query process.*

*For the same purpose, 3rd person subject pronouns are always tagged according to gender and number, regardless the effect of syncretism in the paradigm. This proved to be particularly necessary for ‘jiddhə’,*

<sup>3</sup> However, this hierarchy is normally used to model asymmetric distributions of morphosyntactic vs. semantic agreement, both in application to synchrony and to diachrony (Corbett 2006; Corbett 2015).

where a pure morphological annotation (i.e. non-feminine singular) would have prevented any query related to number. For queries on gender agreement controlled by [+animate] 1st and 2nd personal pronouns, instead, the user can refer to the parameter Sex: feminine/masculine.<sup>4</sup>

### 2.2.2 Defective pronominal controllers

An instance of defective controller can be found in existential constructions, where the expected-to-be nominal controller (e.g. *i dui bbarcunə* in (25)) fails to control the inflectional agreement of the verb, which appears always in a default 3SG form. However, in Verbicarese, unlike many other Romance varieties, this non-canonical agreement pattern is highly recessive. Most part of the speakers, in fact, select the post-copular NP as regular controller (26), in line with Italian.

(25) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: LuTu | Answer: Utterance 3 | Source: VER71

[ Ø ]                    cc'=    è                    [ <sub>NP</sub> i        ddùì    bbarcunə ]  
 Dummy.3M.SG    LOC=    be.PRS.3SG    DEF.PL    two       balcony(M).PL  
 There are two balconies

(26) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: AlCa | Answer: Utterance 17 | Source: VER73

e    ppuò    cc'=    ènə                    [Conjoined NPs a    mamma        e    la            figghja ]  
 and    after    LOC=    be.PRS.3PL    DEF.F.SG    mother(F).SG    and    DEF.F.SG    daughter(F).SG  
 And then there are the mother and the daughter,

To retrieve all instances of existential constructions, select *Token Query > PoS/Phrase > Verb > Type > Existential*; to retrieve only the instances of defective agreement, select *Agreement Query > Controller : Dummy > Target : Verb > Type : Existential*.

A further case of defective agreement is represented by impersonal clauses with an unspecified human subject. In such clauses, in Verbicarese (as in Standard Italian), the verb surfaces in the default form, preceded by the clitic particle *sə* (27).

(27) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: ViDA | Answer: 92 | Source: VER21

[ <sub>PP</sub> Anda    sa                    casa ]                    [ Ø ]                    sə=        mǎngiadə    abbastəghja  
           in    DEM.MED.F.SG    house(F).SG    IMPRS3M.SG    IMPRS    eat.PRS.3SG    a\_lot  
 Here in this house we have always eaten a lot

To query impersonal clauses, select *Pronoun: Impersonal as controller*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The feature “sex” refers to the biological sex of the human referent. For instance, the selection of *Controller > Pronouns: Personal > Sex: feminine* permits the optimal retrieval of cases as:

Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: ViDA | Answer: 43 | Source: VER21  
 [ <sub>NP</sub> Tu ]        t'=                    [ àsə                    vestuta ]  
           2SG        REFL.2SG=        have.PRS.2SG        dress.PTP.F.SG  
 You got dressed

<sup>5</sup> The null subject is annotated as *Pronoun: Impersonal*, rather than ‘dummy’ (cf. (25)), 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).

### 2.2.3 Unagreement

Verbicarese exhibits configurations with an apparent person-mismatch between a typically definite plural subject and non-third person verbal agreement (Höhn, Silvestri & Squillaci 2016, 2017):

(28) (adapted from Höhn, Silvestri & Squillaci 2017:276)

- a. I            kwatrarə    jukwàmə    i            cartə  
 DEF.PL    kid(M).SG    play.PRS.1PL    DEF.PL    card(F).PL  
 We children play cards
- b. I            kwatrarə    jukwàzə    i            cartə  
 DEF.PL    kid(M).SG    play.PRS.2PL    DEF.PL    card(F).PL  
 You children play cards

This evidence leads to analyse the definite noun phrases as not marked for person and, therefore, able to trigger 1st, 2nd or 3rd person inflectional agreement on the verb complex.

## 2.3 Determiners

### 2.3.1 Definite article

Singular definite articles are inflected for gender, whereas in the plural the gender distinction is neutralised (Table 7). In prevocalic context, the allomorph is invariable for gender and number (Table 6).

Table 5: Definite article (pre-consonantal)

	SG	PL
M	(l)u	(l)i
F	(l)a	

Table 6: Definite article (pre-vocalic)

	SG	PL
M	ddh'	
F		

### 2.3.2 Indefinite article

Indefinite articles are inflected for gender and limited to the singular (Table 7).

Table 7: Indefinite article

	SG
M	nə
F	na

### 2.3.3 Demonstratives

In Verbicarese, demonstratives contrast three grades of proximity: proximal (Table 8), medial (Table 9), and distal (Table 10). The full form of the adnominal demonstrative is very often shortened, while this is never the case for demonstrative pronouns: e.g. *cuistə/\*stə è lu luìbbərə mija* ‘this is my book’.

Table 8: Proximal demonstratives

	SG	PL
M		(cuì)stə
F	(cuì)sta	

Table 9: Medial demonstratives

	SG	PL
M		(cuì)ssə
F	(cuì)ssa	

Table 10: Distal demonstratives

	SG	PL
M		(cuì)ddhə
F	(cuì)ddha	

### 2.3.4 Possessives

As most part of upper-southern Italian dialects, possessives can occur both in stressed and enclitic position. For the stressed series, 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.

Possessive adjectives occur only post-nominally.

Table 11: Possessives

POSSESSOR PERSON		POSSESSED GENDER/NUMBER				
		STRESSED			ENCLITIC	
		N	M	F	M	F
1 SG	SG	-	<i>mi(j)a</i>		<i>-ma</i>	
	PL				-	
2 SG	SG	-	<i>tu(v)a</i>		<i>-ta</i>	
	PL				-	
3 SG	SG	-	<i>su(v)a</i>		-	
	PL				-	
1 PL	SG	-	<i>nùostrə</i>	<i>nòstra</i>		
	PL	<i>nòstra</i>		<i>nòstrə</i>		
2 PL	SG	-	<i>vùostrə</i>	<i>vòstra</i>		
	PL	<i>vòstra</i>		<i>vòstrə</i>		
3 PL	SG	-	<i>lòrə</i>			
	PL					

Verbicarese also exhibits enclitic possessives of 1st and 2nd singular person: *-ma* (1SG), *-ta* (2SG)

Enclitic possessives occur with a list of kinship singular nouns (Silvestri 2013, 2016a, in press):

(29) *Enclitic possessives*

	1SG	2SG
a.	pàtrə-ma my father	pàtər-ta your father
b.	-----	màmmə-ta your mother
c.	sùər(ə)-ma my sister	sùər-ta your sister
d.	fràtə-ma my brother	fràt-ta your brother
f.	zìjə-ma my uncle/aunt	zìjə-ta your uncle/aunt
g.	canàtə-ma my brother/sister-in-law	canàt-ta your brother/sister-in-law

## 2.4 Adjectives

Adjectives inflect according to three inflectional classes.

Table 12: Metaphonic adjectives  
(Class I)

	SG	PL
N		bòna
M	bùonə	
F	bòna	bònə

‘good’

Table 13: Non-metaphonic adj.  
(Class II)

	SG	PL
N		stritta
M	strittə	
F	stritta	

‘narrow’

Table 14: Invariable adjectives  
(Class III)

	SG	PL
N		
M	virda	
F		

‘green’

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

## 2.5 Adverbs

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

As for manner adverbs, Verbicarese has a series of invariable lexicalised forms (e.g. *malamendə*, *veramendə*...) and a second more conspicuous set of adverbs which form a syncretic class with adjectives (often labelled ‘adverbial adjectives’) (Table 15) (Table 16) (see Ledgeway 2011; Ledgeway & Silvestri 2016).

Adverbs are sorted in three main classes:

Table 15: Metaphonic adverbs  
(Class I)

	SG	PL
N		bòna
M	bùonə	
F	bòna	bònə

‘well’

Table 16: Non-metaphonic adv.  
(Class II)

	SG	PL
N		affritta
M	affrittə	
F	affritta	

‘poorly’

Table 17: Invariable adverbs  
(Class III)

	SG	PL
N		
M	malamèndə	
F		

‘badly’

Class I and II adverbs share some of the properties of adjectives (that is why they are often labelled as ‘adverbial adjectives’). In fact, they can constitute target of predicative agreement under specific syntactic and semantic conditions (see Silvestri 2016b, 2017).

With transitive predicates, the adverb may agree with the object (30a) or the subject (30b), or may exhibit a default M.SG marking (30c); in intransitives of unaccusative type, the adverbs agree with the subject/patient (31); with unergatives, adverbs may agree with the subject (32a) or exhibit a default M.SG exponence (32b).

(30)

- a. Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: AICa | Answer: 5.2 | Source: VER22  
 [NP Vito ] pitta bbòna [NP sa stanza ]  
 Vito(M) paint.PRS.3SG good.F.SG DEM.MED.F.SG room(F).SG  
 Vito paints this room well
- b. Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: AICa | Answer: 5.1 | Source: VER22  
 [NP Vito ] pitta [AdvP prùopriə bbùonə ] [NP sa stanza ]  
 Vito(M) paint.PRS.3SG really good.M DEM.MED.F.SG room(F).SG  
 Vito paints this room very well
- c. Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: FiDA | Answer: 9.i | Source: VER22  
 [NP Frangischə ] mmiscka bbùonə [NP i cartə ]  
 Francesco(M) shuffle.PRS.3SG good.M.SG DEF.PL card(F).PL  
 Francesco shuffles the cards well

(31)

- a. Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: AICa | Answer: 16 | Source: VER22  
 [NP zzia tuwa ] no sta bbòna  
 aunt(F).SG POSS.2SG NEG stay.PRS.3SG good.F.SG  
 Your aunt doesn't feel good
- b. Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: AICa | Answer: 19.3 | Source: VER22  
 [NP i gaddhinə ] no stannə bbònə gòi  
 DEF.PL hen(F).PL NEG stay.PRS.3PL good.F.PL today  
 The hens don't feel good today

(32)

- Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: ViDA | Answer: 32 | Source: VER22
- a. [NP Cuddha cuatrara ] parla [AdvP citta citta ]  
 DEM.DIST.F.SG girl(F).SG speak.PRS.3SG quiet.F.SG quiet.F.SG
- b. [NP Cuddha cuatrara ] parla [AdvP cittə cittə ]  
 DEM.DIST.F.SG girl(F).SG speak.PRS.3SG quiet.M.SG quiet.M.SG  
 That girl speaks quietly

The full set of available options of agreement is well documented by the DAI. Based on these data, Idone (2018) noticed that, for those cases where different options are given, the selection of a specific pattern of agreement is related to the age of the speaker. In transitive configurations, for examples, over 60 y.o. informants mostly select the agreement of adverbs with DO (55%) (as in 30.a) and dislike the agreement with the subject (14%); under 35 y.o. informants, on the other hand, select the default option more extensively (42%), probably because of the pressure exerted by Italian (where adverbs do not incur predicative agreement), showing a lower preference for the agreement with the DO (34%) and with the subject (24%).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The pressure of the Italian model explains also some default cases (33) in unaccusative constructions elicited from the youngest speakers (AICa and GiCo). The lack of agreement with the subject, given this configuration, is not an option in conservative Verbicarese.

- (33) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: GiCo | Answer: 19 | Source: VER22  
 [NP I cavaddhə nòstrə ] nò stanə bbùonə  
 DEF.PL mare(F).PL POSS.1PL.F.PL NEG stay.PRS.3PL good.M  
 Our mares (F) don't feel well

Class III includes every kind of invariable adverb, regardless the type (i.e. time, manner, quantity adverbs...). In cases as (30.c) or (32.b), 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

## 2.6 Quantifiers

The quantifier corresponding to ‘many, much’ shows an invariable form, i.e. *abbogghja*. The indefinite quantifiers ‘few’ and ‘too much’ agree with the nouns they modify, both in attributive and in predicative position and inflect as I class adjectives (Table 18)(Table 19).<sup>7</sup>

Table 18: Quantifier ‘few’

	SG	PL
M	pùochə	
F	pòca	pòchə

Table 19: Quantifier ‘too much’

	SG	PL
M	trùoppə	
F	tròppa	tròppə

## 2.7 Verbs

Verbs in Verbicarese are inflected according to 2 conjugations (see also Silvestri in prep.).

Table 20: Regular verb inflection: class I (verb *parlà* ‘to talk/speak’)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
pres ind	parlə	parləsə	parla/-ədə	parlamə	parlazə	párlənə
imperative		parla		parlamə	parlatə	
imperfect ind	parlava	parlavəsə	parlava/-ədə	parlavəmə	parlavəzə	parlavənə
simple past	parlajə	parlastə	parlaja/-ədə	parlajəmə	parlajəzə	parlajənə
imperfect subj	parliəssə	parliəssəsə	parliəssa/-ədə	parliəssəmə	parliəssəzə	parliəssənə
gerund	parlénne					
infinitive	parlà					
past participle	parlatə					

<sup>7</sup> The DAI sample revealed some variation in this regard that might be explained in the light of interference with Italian. When used adverbially, in fact, they can be realized as *pòchə* (34) and *tròppə* (35). Given the morphology of Verbicarese, this can be justified only as superficial adaptation of It. *poco* and *troppo*.

(34) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: GiBr | Answer: 47 | Source: VER22  
 [...] [NP n' atrə pòchə ] [NP Ø ] [NP mə= ] mmazzava  
 INDF.SG other.nonF.sg bit.M.SG 3M.SG DO1.SG= kill.IMPF.3SG  
 [...] he nearly killed me

(35) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: GiRu | Answer: 32 | Source: VER22  
 [NP Sa guagliùna ] parra [AdvP tròppə ciuttə ciuttə ]  
 DEM.MED.F.SG girl(F).SG speak.PRS.3SG too.M.SG quiet.nonF.sg quiet.nonF.sg  
 That girl speaks too quietly



Table 21: Regular verb inflection: class II (verb *dòrmə* ‘to sleep’)

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
pres_ind	dòrmə	dòrməsə	dòrma/-ədə	durmiəmə	durmiəzə	dòrmənə
imperative		dòrma		durmiəmə	durmiətə	
imperfect_ind	durmwiva	durmwivəsə	durmwiva/-ədə	durmwivəmə	durmwivəzə	durmwivənə
simple past	durmwija/-ə	durmwistə	durmwija/-ədə	durmwijəmə	durmwijəzə	durmwijənə
imperfect_subj	durmiəssə	durmiəssəsə	durmiəssa/-ədə	durmiəssəmə	durmiəssəzə	durmiəssənə
gerund	durmwénənə					
infinitive	dòrmə					
past participle	durmutə					

The inflection of all finite verb forms signals agreement with the clause subject, except for the instances of unagreement discussed in §2.2.2 and §2.2.3.

### 2.7.1 Auxiliaries

In Verbicarese, ‘be’ occurs only in copular constructions and as past participle (*statə, stata*) in passive forms but – contrary to standard Italian – is never used in active perfective auxiliation, where only ‘have’ is selected in all clause types including unaccusatives and all reflexives (on perfective auxiliary selection in Verbicarese see Manzini & Savoia 2005: 2.783f., 808f., Loporcaro & Silvestri 2011: 347, 337-342; on the different options for auxiliary selection in Italian dialects see Loporcaro 2001, 2014).<sup>8</sup>

Table 22: Present Tense of ‘to have’ (auxiliary)<sup>9</sup>

SG	1	ajə
	2	asə
	3	a(də)
PL	1	amə
	2	azə
	3	anə

### 2.7.2 Past participle

In Verbicarese, past participles belong to one of three different inflectional classes.

Table 23: Weak non-metaphonic PtP (Class I)

	N	M	F
SG		cantatə	cantata
PL	(cantata)		

Table 24: Strong non-metaphonic PtP (Class II)

	N	M	F
SG		frittə	fritta
PL	fritta		

<sup>8</sup> However, the sample collected for the DAI includes 18 cases of ‘be’ auxiliation in the active voice. They are clear cases of interference with Italian, as also formal aspects suggest: e.g. AnCav VER22, answer 18, *cuddha chjanda è ccrəssiùta stòrta*; 3SG of verb ‘to be’ corresponds to *jè* in Verbicarese.

<sup>9</sup> The lexical verb ‘to have’ displays different forms for the 1PL and 2PL person, i.e. *aviəmə* and *aviəzə*, respectively.

Table 25: Strong metaphonic PtP (Class III)

	N	M	F
SG		cùottə	còtta
PL	còtta		còttə

Weak participles (Table 23) and strong non-metaphonic participles (Table 24) show gender/number agreement only via affixal inflection, whereas in class III participles gender has double exponence, being signalled by both the root vowel alternation and the ending (diphthongisation, in fact, correlates with M) (Table 25).

As already anticipated in §2, the conditions on agreement of participles is particularly noteworthy. As Loporcaro & Silvestri (2011) and Ledgeway & Silvestri (2016) showed, the agreement pattern depends on the morphological class of the past participle as well as the argument structure (Table 26).<sup>10</sup>

Table 26: Participle agreement in conservative Verbicarese (see Loporcaro & Silvestri 2011)

	<i>Argument structure</i>	<i>PtP class</i>	<i>Potential Controller</i>	<i>+/- Agreement</i>
a.	Transitives with lexical obj. NP:	I, II, III	Subj.	-
		I	Obj.	-
		II	Obj.	-
		III	Obj.	+
b.	Transitives with DO clitic:	I, II, III	DO clitic	+
c.	Unaccusatives:	I, II, III	Subj.	+
d.	Reflexives (1 argument):	I, II, III	Subj.	+
e.	Reflexives (2 arguments):	I, II, III	Subj. or DO or IO	+
f.	Unergatives	I, II, III	Subj.	-
		I, II, III	OI clitic	+

Where the potential agreement controller is a lexical (i.e. non-clitic) direct object noun phrase, the morphology of the participle does make a difference: agreement is visible on participles of class III, whereas it is ruled out if participles of other classes are involved.

As further condition, Ledgeway & Silvestri (2016) showed that in the case of unergatives (36) the presence of adverbs plays a role either.

(36) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: LuTu | Answer: 41 | Source: VER22

- a. [<sub>NP</sub> Maria ] [ à rrəspùosə ] cundènda  
 Maria(F) have.PRS.3SG reply.PTP.M. happy.F.SG
- b. [<sub>NP</sub> Maria ] [ à rrəspòsa ] cunduènda  
 Maria(F) have.PRS.3SG reply.PTP.F.SG happy.F.SG  
 Maria replied happily

<sup>10</sup> For more extensive information about the logic of Romance past participle agreement, the user can refer to Loporcaro 1998 and Loporcaro 2010.

The DAI data, however, yield to a fuzzier final picture. In fact, many speakers tend to accept both agreement and non-agreement of participles, with different degrees of acceptance (37) (38). This is especially true for transitive with lexical DO and reflexives configurations, while in transitives with clitic DO the agreement is still regular (39).<sup>11</sup> Such a change in the conditions of agreement is probably due to the effect of Italian.

(37) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: LuTu | Answer: 24 | Source: VER21

- a. [ <sub>NP</sub> i cumbagnə mìa ] [ anə cùotə ] [ <sub>NP</sub> a cicòria ]  
 DEF.PL friend(M).PL POSS.1SG have.PRS.3PL harvest.PTP.M DEF.F.SG chicory(F).SG
- b. [ <sub>NP</sub> i cumbagnə mìa ] [ anə ?còta ] [ <sub>NP</sub> a cicòria ]  
 DEF.PL friend(M).PL POSS.1SG have.PRS.3PL harvest.PTP.F.SG DEF.F.SG chicory(F).SG  
 My friends have harvested chicory

(38) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: ErRu | Answer: 25 | Source: VER21

- a. [ <sub>Conjoined NPs</sub> Ròsa e Mmarìa ] [ anə cùotə ] [ <sub>NP</sub> i favə ]  
 Rosa(F) and Maria(F) have.PRS.3PL harvest.PTP.M DEF.PL fave\_bean(F).PL
- b. [ <sub>Conjoined NPs</sub> Ròsa e Mmarìa ] [ anə \*còta ] [ <sub>NP</sub> i favə ]  
 Rose(F) and Maria(F) have.PRS.3PL harvest.PTP.F.PL DEF.PL fava\_bean(F).PL  
 Rosa and Maria harvested fava beans

(39) Datapoint: Verbicaro | Speaker: LuTu | Answer: 71 | Source: VER21

- [ <sub>NP</sub> a còppola, ] [ <sub>NP</sub> Peppinə ] [ <sub>NP</sub> a= ] [ à \*ccùotə ] [ <sub>PP</sub> n tèrra ]  
 DEF.F.SG flat\_cap(F).SG Peppino(M) DO3F.SG= have.PRS.3SG pick\_up.PTP.M in ground(F).SG  
 The cap, Peppino has picked it up from the ground

*There are different ways to query the agreement of participles.*

*For all instances of participle agreement controlled either by an object NP, an IO, or a Subject select:*

*Agreement relation /Syntactic domain > Part Agreement : Direct Object-Part(Predicate) / Indirect Object-Part(Predicate) / Subject-Part(Predicate).*

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

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

### 3 Syntax

In this section, two relevant syntactic phenomena of Verbicarese are described and exemplified from the nominal and the clausal domain. In particular, the prepositionless type of genitive (§3.1) singles out Verbicarese from the surrounding varieties, as no other dialect of north-western Calabria exhibit this configuration. The particular employment of complementisers in matrix clauses is, instead, a property shared by other varieties of the north-western Calabria as well as central and extreme southern Italian dialects.

<sup>11</sup> The database contains also very few examples of non-agreement of PtP in constructions with clitic DO. Those cases have been annotated and uploaded for the sake of completeness, but they have no real impact on the system.

### 3.1 Genitive

Verbicarese exhibits some residual cases of non-prepositional genitive. Constraints depending on the syntactic (definiteness) and semantic (animacy, inalienable possession, container-content relation) properties of the main noun phrase apply (Silvestri 2013, 2016a):

- (40) a. a casa u swartə  
 DEF.F.SG house(F).SG DEF.M.SG tailor(M).SG  
 ‘the tailor’s house’
- b. a buttwigghja u vwinə  
 DEF.F.SG bottle(F).SG DEF.M.SG wine(M).SG  
 ‘the bottle of the wine / the wine bottle’

### 3.2 Complementisers in matrix clauses

Some matrix clauses such as jussives, concessives and exhortatives, can be introduced by a complementizer (*ka* or *kə*). Such complementizer is obligatorily realized when vocatives and interjections are uttered at the outset of the sentence (see Colasanti & Silvestri in press for the same constructions in other southern Italian dialects):

- (41) a. (kə) tə vonə fa a stuəzzə!  
 kə you=DO want.3PL do.INF to pieces  
 ‘May you be dismembered by them!’
- b. Ih \*(kə) tə vonə fa a stuəzzə!  
 INTJ kə you=DO want.3PL do.INF to pieces  
 ‘I really wish you be dismembered by them!’

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