

This paper gives a first account of adjective inflection and agreement in Cavallinese, a rural variety of the dialect of Urbino, in central Italy.

The peculiarity of this system, not unique yet never described before, concerns the availability of two different inflectional paradigms, used in dependence with the relative position between the adjective and the noun it modifies. Following Corbett (2006), we define position as a *condition* for agreement.

More specifically, while Cavallinese F.SG adjectives are always marked with *-a* and M.SG with \emptyset , it is the PLURAL values that show responsiveness to the position, therefore provoking the different inflection. As a result, postnominal adjective paradigms make less distinctions than predicative ones:

(1) sti kan svelt / 'svelt-i 'korne na 'muccja
these dog(M).PL fast / fast-M.PL run a lot
These fast dogs run a lot

(2) i kan εn 'svelt-i / *svelt kom il vent
the dog(M).PL are fast-M.PL / *fast like the wind
Dogs are fast as lightning

Examples (1)-(2) show that the M.PL adjective [svelt] 'fast' can be realised either as [svelt] or as ['svelti] when in postnominal position ((1)); when in predicative position, the form with the ending *-i* is the only one possible ((2)). Notice that, even if in this dialect unstressed vowel deletion is an active rule, what is being discussed here is not directly related to the phonosyntactic position of the adjective: *-i* cannot be dropped even if the predicative adjective occurs within the sentence ((2)), while it may be if the adjective is postnominal ((1)).

A similar contrast is observed for F.PL adjectives, though the effect here is reversed, as in postnominal position only one option is observed (i.e. zero exponence ((3)), while the predicative position hosts two distinct forms in free variation (with the inflectional endings *-e* or *-le* ((4)).

(3) le bur'delle 'alt 'pjaʃne ma 'tutti
the girl(F).PL tall be appreciated to all
Everybody likes tall girls

(4) le bur'delle εn 'alt-le / 'alt-e
the girl(F).PL are tall-F.PL / tall-F.PL
The girls are tall

In this paper, after a thorough presentation of first-hand data on Cavallinese adjectives, I will propose a diachronic reconstruction of the process that led to the creation of the double paradigm, which I will suggest being strictly intertwined with the synchronic emergence of the differential agreement pattern conditioned by position.