Number Morphology and Bare Nouns in Some Romance Dialects of Italy

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Abstract: This paper explores aspects of microvariation concerning the morphological realization of the feature Number within nominal structures in a selected subset of Romance dialects of Italy. First, the different strategies adopted in the dialects of the dataset for the realization of number alternations on various nominal categories (nouns/adjectives, articles, demonstratives, and possessives) are presented. Then, the relation between the latter and the distribution of “bare” argument nominals (i.e., of nominal structures which, in argument position, occur without any lexicalized determiner) is explored. It will be observed that the distribution of bare arguments in the dialects of the dataset is consistent with the hypotheses made in the literature, which suggest that there is a correlation between the realization of number alternations on nouns and the possibility for “null” (i.e., unpronounced) determiners to be licensed.

Keywords: Romance dialects of Italy; nominal structures; microvariation; Number

1. Introduction

The relation between the morphological representation of the feature Number on nouns and the possibility for nouns to be realized as bare (i.e., not introduced by any overt determiner) in argument position was explored by Delfitto and Schroten (1991). They propose that, in English, the licensing of argument bare nouns depends on the realization of number alternations through overt affixes “attached to a ‘free’ morpheme” (Delfitto and Schroten 1991, p. 157): a silent “plural quantifier” is licensed when the affix raises to D at LF, “providing the correct quantificational representation” (Delfitto and Schroten 1991, p. 162). By contrast, in French, where morphological number exponence on nouns is generally absent, bare arguments are ungrammatical: argument nominal structures, including indefinite mass and plural nouns, require a visible “quantification operator” in D, as shown in (1).

(1) a. J'ai vu *(des) étudiants dans l'édifice
   I have seen of the pl. student in the sg building
b. Jean a bu *(de l') eau
   Jean has drunk of the sg water
   'Jean drunk water'

A similar proposal is presented in Crisma and Longobardi (2020, pp. 51–54); in their analysis, the possibility of identifying the feature Number via a null D is connected to the availability of overt morphological Number exponence on nouns, which distinguishes, for instance, languages like English, Italian, or Spanish—where number alternations are lexicalized on (almost) all nouns and bare arguments are possible—from languages like French, where nouns are generally unmarked for Number and bare arguments are impossible.

Concerning the realization of number alternations on suffixes, English, Italian, and Spanish exhibit three different strategies. In English, as already mentioned, plural suffixes...
attach to the root, which has the status of a “free morpheme”; in Italian, number and gender/class information are collapsed in one single suffix attached to a bound root, as shown in (2); in Spanish, plural number is realized through the suffix -s, which in turn attaches to a “word marker” suffix, as shown in (3).

(2) a. student-e
    student-MSC

b. student-i
    student-M,PL

(3) a. estudiante-e
    student-WM

b. estudiante-e-s
    student-WM-PL

In the Romance dialects of Italy, number marking on nouns is realized through various strategies (for a detailed survey, see Manzini and Savoia 2005, vol. III). For example, there are dialects, such as Ladin or certain Friulian varieties, where “syncretic” suffixes of the Italian type alternate with the combination [WM + -s] (see, among others, Manzini et al. 2020; Pescarini 2020). Since none of the dialects considered in this paper exhibit -s suffixes, this phenomenon will not be further explored here. By contrast, we focus on the effect of the loss/weakening of final vowels (Tagliavini [1949] 1972) on the realization of “syncretic” suffixes. We observe two types of dialects. In the dialects where final vowels were not lost/weakened, number alternations are realized on suffixes, which, like in Italian (Manzini and Savoia 2005, vol. III, pp. 547–48), collapse class/gender and number information. By contrast, in the dialects where final vowels were dropped or became indistinct, the overt realization of number alternations on suffixes was blurred as well: in some such dialects, these phenomena affected almost all noun classes; in others, the weakening process affected only some final vowels: therefore, number alternations were retained on some suffixes and became lost in others. In turn, in some dialects, alternative strategies were developed to overtly mark singular vs. plural distinctions, through the re-analysis of stressed vowel alternations originally induced by metaphony (Tagliavini [1949] 1972, p. 408; Fanciullo 1994). With respect to these phenomena, the languages of our dataset can be classified into two major types: (1) languages where final vowels were preserved and, consequently, number alternations are realized on suffixes on all/most nouns, and (2) languages where, as a consequence of the weakening/loss of final vowels, number alternations on suffixes were (entirely or partially) lost. The latter, in turn, split into two further types: (2a) languages where, due to the loss of final vowels, suffixes were lost as well on entire classes of nouns, and (2b) languages where, due to the weakening of final vowels, suffixes were retained but have lost (either partially or entirely) number distinctions. These outcomes are discussed in the first part of the paper and are summarized in (26). The first part of the paper also contains a survey of the strategies available in the languages of the dataset for marking number alternations on nouns, adjectives, articles, demonstratives, and possessives.

In the second part of the paper, we focus on the relation between the morphological realization of number on nouns and the availability of bare argument nouns. Using original data collected from native speakers, we sketch a survey of the distribution of bare arguments in our sample of dialects. Two generalizations emerge from our data:

(a) languages where there is regular/systematic number exponence on nouns have bare nouns;
(b) the absence of suffixes on nouns seems to correlate with the absence of argument bare nouns.

The structure of the paper runs as follows. Section 2 introduces the languages of the dataset and presents some properties relevant for our discussion. Section 3 presents three parameters that govern the realization of the feature Number on nominal structures and describes the morphological strategies for number marking in the dialects of the dataset,
focusing on the following nominal categories: nouns, adjectives, articles, demonstratives, and possessives. Section 4 presents the distribution of bare nouns in argument position in the dialects of the dataset as compared to Italian and explores how it relates with the morphological realization of Number on nouns. Section 5 summarizes the conclusions.

2. The Dataset

The data discussed in this paper were collected from the 29 Romance dialects of Italy listed in (4) (see also Figure A1).2

(4) a. six “Gallo-Italic”9 dialects of northern Italy (Lombardia: Casalmaggiore;9 Emilia: Parma,10 Reggio Emilia,11 Novellara,12 Correggio;13 Romagna: Savignano sul Rubicone)14
b. ten “upper” southern dialects (Abruzzo: Teramo;15 Campania: Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Amalfi and Palma Campania;16 Cilento: Felitto;17 Puglia: Bari,18 Barletta,19 Taranto,20 Lausberg area: Francavilla in Sinni,21 Verbicaro)22
c. twelve “extreme” southern dialects (Salento:23 Cellino San Marco, Mesagne, Botrugno; Calabria:24 Cutro,25 Nicastro,26 Catanzaro,27 Reggio Calabria;28 Sicily:29 San Filippo del Mela, Ragusa, Ribera, Mussomeli, Trapani)
d. one “Gallo-Italic”30 dialect of Sicily (Aidone)

In what follows, we provide a brief description of some phenomena traditionally observed in these four groups of dialects that are relevant for our discussion.

The dialects of group (4a) share the generalized deletion of all final vowels except for -a (Tagliavini [1949] 1972, p. 399; e.g., bras, it. braccio, lat. brachium, ‘arm’, vs. pjasa, it. piazza, lat. plataea, ‘square’), a phenomenon that affects several other Romance dialects of northern Italy.31

In the dialects of group (4b), final unstressed vowels were centralized as -a32 (e.g., fili/i/a/i, lat. filium/filiam/ae, ‘son/s, daughter/s’), except for Felitto, where they were generally maintained. With respect to this phenomenon, variation mostly concerns which final vowels are involved in the weakening process. Some dialects (e.g., Francavilla in Sinni, or various dialects of Puglia and Campania: Loporcaro 1988; De Blasi 2006) centralize all final vowels. Others (see Cangemi et al. 2010 for an overview) centralize some vowels while retaining others. In our dataset, one example of the latter type is the dialect of Verbicaro (Loporcaro and Silvestri 2015; Idone and Silvestri 2018), where final -a was retained, with the consequence that “the phonemic opposition {-U(-); -O(-); -I(-); -E(-)} > /a/ ≠ /a/ < {-A(-)} is preserved” (Idone and Silvestri 2018, p. 2)34, and, consequently, some gender/number alternations on suffixes (feminine singular vs. the rest) are maintained, as shown in (5)—adapted from Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, pp. 69–70).35

(5) a. nu kwatraro bbjeddə
   a.m boy beautiful
   ‘a beautiful boy’
   b. na kwatraro bbjeddə
   a.F girl.F.SG beautiful.F.SG
   ‘a beautiful girl’
   c. tʃʃɛtɔ kwatraro bbjeddə
   some boy beautiful
   ‘some boys/boys’

In the dialects of group (4c) and, as mentioned above, in Felitto, final vowels are generally preserved (figgju, it. figlio, lat. filium, ‘son’; figgia, it. figlia, lat. filiam, ‘daughter’; figgji, it. figli, figlie, lat. filiæae, ‘sons, daughters’). Consequently, in these dialects, overt singular vs. plural distinctions on suffixes were preserved too; by contrast, gender distinctions were maintained in the singular, but were lost in the plural, due to phonetic changes occurred to unstressed -I/-I and -E (Lausberg 1971; Tagliavini [1949] 1972).

Like Verbicaro, Aidone (4d) has preserved final -a while generalizing all other vowels as -o, as seen in (6) and (7).
The loss/weakening of final vowels in groups (4a), (most dialects of) (4b), and (4d) had consequences on the realization of number alternations on suffixes, which is blurred on most noun/adjective classes (with the exception of feminine nouns ending in -a in the dialects where the latter was preserved). Yet, in some dialects, number distinctions were partially maintained thanks to metaphony (Tagliavini [1949] 1972, p. 408; Fanciullo 1994). “Metaphony is a type of quality agreement of stressed mid or low vowels” (Savoia and Maiden 1997, p. 15) induced by final vowels. For example, in various dialects of our dataset, the continuers of the Latin unstressed final -I and -U triggered the raising of stressed mid–high vowels -e-, which became -i- (e.g., meso, it. mese, ‘month’ vs. misha, it. mesi, ‘months’), and -o-, which turned into -u- (e.g., nipoto, it. nipote, ‘nephew’ vs. niputo, it. nipoti, ‘nephews’), and/or the diphthongization of mid–low vowels -E- in -je- (e.g., rendo, it. dente, ‘tooth’, vs. rjendo, it. denti, ‘teeth’) and -O- in -wo- (e.g., forlo, it. forte, ‘strong.SG’, vs. foorto, it. forti, ‘strong.PL’). These processes obviously happened before the loss/centralization of final vowels.

In the dialects where final vowels became -o- (i.e., most dialects of group (4b)), nouns (and adjectives) originally ending in -E, which realized plural number through the suffix -I, were affected by metaphony in the plural (triggered, in fact, by -I), while no change happened in the singular (because final -E does not trigger metaphony). Consequently, when final unstressed -E and -I changed into -o-, singular vs. plural alternations were preserved through the alternation, on the stressed root vowel, between non-metaphonetic (singular) and metaphonetic (plural) outputs (e.g., meso, ‘month.SG’/ misha, ‘month.PL’). By contrast, nouns (and adjectives) ending in -U, whose plural was -I, were affected by metaphony both in the singular and in the plural (because both final -U and final -I trigger metaphony); thus, after the weakening of final -U and -I, no alternation was preserved (e.g., nipa, ‘new.SG’/ nipino, ‘new.PL’). Finally, nouns and adjectives ending in -A, whose plural was -AE>-E, and were thus etymologically unaffected by metaphonetic changes, did not retain any singular/plural alternation after the weakening of final vowels (for example, in Campania, the item roto, ‘wheel’, encodes both singular and plural number). Nouns/adjectives of all classes whose stressed root vowel was -a-, -i-, or -u- are not expected to display any metaphonetic output. Yet, there are exceptions. For example, Fanciullo (1994) reports cases of lexical roots etymologically unaffected by metaphony whose stressed vowels display alternations signaling singular vs. plural interpretation; he concludes that, in these dialects, metaphony, which was originally a phonetic/phonological process, was turned into a morphological procedure (that he calls morphometaphony) to maintain/restore the overt realization of singular/plural alternations originally lexicalized on suffixes (Fanciullo 1994, pp. 574–77).

Various instances of these phenomena are visible in Teramano and other dialects of Abruzzo (Fanciullo 1994; Savoia and Maiden 1997; D’Alessandro and Van Oostendorp 2014, a.o.), where the extension of stressed root vowel alternations to non-etymological contexts also affected -a-, as shown in (8) (from Mantenuto 2015b, p. 11).
In various dialects of northern Italy (Rohlfs 1966, §§ 141–47; Loporcaro 2009, p. 80; Foresti 1988), metaphony is triggered only by final -I, as in the following examples (from Foresti 1988, p. 579):

(8) \text{vasa} \quad \text{kiss}\text{-}sg \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{visa} \quad \text{kiss}\text{-}pl
\text{nasa} \quad \text{nose}\text{-}sg \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{nisa} \quad \text{nose}\text{-}pl

In the dialect of Savignano sul Rubicone (Pelliciardi 1977, pp. 45–48), like in other dialects of Romagna (Foresti 1988), the realization of number distinctions through alternations of the stressed vowel was extended to almost all classes of nouns (and adjectives) which, because of the loss of final vowels, have lost their suffixes (see Tables A4 and A5). Thus, in this dialect, three different types of nouns are identified on the basis of number marking strategies: indeclinable nouns (10a), nouns where singular vs. plural alternations are realized on suffixes (-a vs. -i, or -a vs. no suffix, as shown in (10b.i) vs. (10b.ii)), and nouns that have no suffix and realize number oppositions through stressed vowel alternations (10c).

(9) Ferrara
   spoz groom\text{-}sg \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{spuz} \quad \text{groom}\text{-}pl

Bologna
   bon \quad \text{good}\text{-}sg \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{bun} \quad \text{good}\text{-}pl
   pa \quad \text{foot}\text{-}sg \quad \text{vs.} \quad \pi \quad \text{foot}\text{-}pl
   an \quad \text{year}\text{-}sg \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{en} \quad \text{year}\text{-}pl
   gras \quad \text{fat}\text{-}sg \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{gres} \quad \text{fat}\text{-}pl

Fusignano
   kan \quad \text{dog}\text{-}sg \quad \text{vs.} \quad \text{ken} \quad \text{dog}\text{-}pl

(Badini 2002, p. 381)

To sum up, the dialect of Savignano sul Rubicone shares the absence of suffixes on most noun (and adjective) classes with the other dialects of group (4a), while it shares the overt realization of Number through alternations of the stressed root vowel with the dialects of group (4b), where, in contrast, all nouns/adjectives have suffixes (although often undistinguished for Number). In Section 3.3.1, we briefly explore these differences and their morphosyntactic consequences.

3. Number in Nominal Structures

In this section, we first describe three syntactic parameters that are responsible for the representation of Number within nominal structures (Section 3.1) and observe their manifestations in our sample of dialects (Section 3.2). Then (Section 3.3), we describe the morphological strategies observed in our sample of dialects to mark number alternations on nouns and adjectives (Section 3.3.1), articles (Section 3.3.2), demonstratives (Section 3.3.3), and (pronominal) possessives (Section 3.3.4). Concerning the latter two, we also highlight some aspects of variation in their distribution across the languages of the sample.

3.1. Number in DPs

We start from a brief survey of three parameters that have been proposed in the literature to account for cross-linguistic variation in the representation of the feature Number in D and within DPs.\textsuperscript{38}

Number is one of the features that can be realized in D.\textsuperscript{39} Languages differ according to whether Number is “grammaticalized” or not, where “grammaticalized” means “obligatorily valued through some overt exponent in syntactically defined contexts” (Crisma and
In the comparative parametric analysis of the nominal domain proposed since Guardiano and Longobardi (2005) and Longobardi and Guardiano (2009), until its most recent instantiations (Crisma et al. 2020), this cross-linguistic distinction is encoded by parameter *Grammaticalized Number*, whose empirical manifestations are summarized in (11). The parameter is active (i.e., Number is grammaticalized) in languages that display (at least one of) the patterns in (11) (e.g., English and Italian). By contrast, the parameter is not active in languages that do not display any such manifestations (e.g., Mandarin or Japanese).

In turn, languages where parameter *Grammaticalized Number* is active are of two types (Crisma and Longobardi 2020): languages (e.g., Basque) where singular vs. plural alternations are realized overtly only in D, where the latter must thus be systematically lexicalized (i.e., bare arguments are ruled out, Longobardi 2021), and languages where number distinctions are overtly realized (also) on nouns and other nominal categories (e.g., Italian, English, and, more generally, Indo-European languages). This difference is assumed to follow from a further parameter, *Number spread to N* (Longobardi and Guardiano 2009; Longobardi et al. 2013; Crisma et al. 2020), that is active in Indo-European and non-active in Basque.

Finally, among languages where *Number spread to N* is active (i.e., where at least some nouns exhibit overt singular vs. plural alternations), there are languages where overt number exponence is generalized to all (or most) classes of nouns (like English, Italian, or Spanish) and languages (like French) where number alternations are visible only on a lexically restricted set of nouns (see note 2). The latter do not allow argument bare nouns, thus superficially behaving like Basque, while the former can allow empty Ds in argument nominals. This difference is encoded by parameter *Number on N*, which is active in English, Italian, and Spanish (see examples (2) and (3)), and non-active in French (see example (1)).

The implicational relations between these three parameters are summarized in (12):
3.2. Parameter Manifestations in the Dialect Dataset

In what follows, we briefly explore the evidence available in the dialects of our sample concerning some of the patterns listed in (11), which define the empirical manifestations of parameter Grammaticalized Number. In (13)–(19), we provide examples of manifestations (11b) (subject-verb agreement) and (11c) (agreement in number between a noun or a definite article/demonstrative/quantifier and adjectives). Concerning (11a), an overview of how number alternations are realized on major nominal categories is provided in Section 3.3.

Example (13) is from Casalmaggiore (group (4a)). In this example, agreement in number between subject and verb is visible only on the participle: as in several other dialects of northern Italy, the auxiliary be does not agree in number with the subject (Manzini and Savoia 2005, chps. 2 and 5). Concerning DP-internal agreement, in the feminine, number agreement is visible on all DP-items (noun, adjective, definite article).

(13) Casalmaggiore (Vezzosi 2019, p. 26)
   a. la bella ragasa li e andada via the.F.SG beautiful.F.SG girl.F.SG SUBJ.CL be.3 gone.F.SG away
      ‘The beautiful girl has left’
   b. li beli ragasi li e andadi via the.F.PL beautiful.F.PL girl.F.PL SUBJ.CL be.3 gone.F.PL away
      ‘The beautiful girls have left’

Examples (14) and (15) are from Teramo and Santa Maria Capua Vetere (group (4b)), respectively. Both examples show subject-verb agreement. DP-internal agreement is realized on all DP-items: nouns and adjectives realize number alternations on the stressed vowel.

(14) Teramo (Mantenuto 2015a, pp. 2–3)
   a. lu kana roffo e bbello the.M.SG dog.M.SG red.M.SG be.3 beautiful.M.SG
      ‘The red dog is beautiful’
   b. li kina roffo so bbillo the.M.PL dog.M.PL red.M.PL be.3 beautiful.M.PL
      ‘The red dogs are beautiful’

(15) Santa Maria Capua Vetere
   a. o wa’mona rofo a partuta the.M.SG young person.M.SG sweet.M.SG have.3SG left
      ‘The sweet boy has left’
   b. e wa’mona rufo anna partuta the.M.PL young person.M.PL sweet.M.PL have.3PL left
      ‘The sweet boys have left’

Examples (16)–(18) are from dialects of group (4c). Here, again, number agreement is visible between subject and verb and on all the items that belong to the same DP.

(16) Trapani
   a. u pittfottu mirikana paitiu the.M.SG young person.M.SG American.M.SG leave.3SG.PAST
      ‘The American boy has left’
   b. i pittfotti mirikani paitirtu the.PL young person.PL American.PL leave.3PL.PAST
      ‘The American boys/girls left’
Example (19) is from Aidone (group (4d)). Here, too, the verb agrees in number with the subject ((19a) vs. (19b)) and there is DP-internal agreement in number: the latter is only visible between items interpreted as feminine singulars.45

To sum up, all the dialects of our sample display subject-verb agreement in number (11b), and number agreement within DPs (11c). This constitutes positive evidence for Grammaticalized Number.

Concerning parameter Number spread to N, all the dialects of our sample display at least some nouns where number alternations are realized overtly (see Section 3.3.1 and Table A4); this means that, in these languages, parameter Number spread to N is active. In contrast, the empirical manifestations of parameter Number on N are more variable. We present the relevant data in Section 3.3.1.

3.3. Morphological Exponence of Number in the Dataset
3.3.1. Nouns (and Adjectives)

As shown in Sections 1 and 2, across the dialects of our dataset, two strategies (often in complementary distribution) for making number on nouns are observed: suffix alternations and root vowel alternations. The former strategy, as remarked in Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, p. 583), is “clearly computational, namely syntactic” (“chiaramente computazionale, cioè sintattico”). The latter has the properties of an “introflexive” mechanism (“un paradigma di flessione interna”), which yet is not generalized to all inflectional classes and, especially in some dialects, is not productive (Fanciullo, p.c.).

In the dialects of group (4c) and in Felitto, number alternations are visible on almost all classes of nouns (with isolated lexical exceptions), and are realized through suffixes, which, like in Italian, collapse class/gender and number information, as shown in (20).49 In most such dialects, gender alternations are visible in the singular and blurred in the plural, as shown in (21).50
The other dialects of our dataset display a “reduction of the internal articulation of the inflectional system” (‘una riduzione dell’articolazione interna del sistema flessivo’, Manzini and Savoia 2005, vol. III, p. 574) as compared to Italian. For example, in the dialects of group (4a), number alternations are visible on suffixes only on one class of nouns, i.e., feminine nouns ending in -a, with plural -i. The other classes do not exhibit any suffix (example (22) is from Casalmaggiore). Finally, in Savignano sul Rubicone, like in other dialects of Romagna, there are nouns that have no suffixes but overtly mark singular and plural interpretation through stressed vowel alternations (see the examples in (10)).

In group (4b) (except for Felitto) and Aidone (4d), most final vowels have been weakened, and are now realized as -o. Thus, most number alternations on suffixes were lost. As already mentioned in Section 2 (see examples (5), (6), and (7)), in Verbicaro (23) and Aidone (24), some alternations on suffixes have been maintained, because of the retention of final -A. In these languages, there are two different suffixes: -a, which corresponds to (feminine) singular interpretation (originally -A), and -o, which collapses masculine singular (originally -U) and plural (originally -I).
(23) Verbicaro (adapted from Loporcaro and Silvestri 2015, p. 69)

a. i. na bbella kasa
   a.F beautiful.F.SG house.F.SG
   ‘a beautiful house’
ii. na kasa bbredda
   a.F house.F.SG beautiful.F.SG
   ‘a beautiful house’

b. i. tjer tbbella kasa
   some beautiful.F.PL house.PL
   ‘some beautiful houses’
ii. tjer kasa bbredda
   some house.PL beautiful.F.PL
   ‘some beautiful houses’

c. i. nu bbwella\(\text{54}\) kwatrar\(\text{a}\)
   a.M beautiful.M young person
   ‘a beautiful boy’
ii. nu kwatrar\(\text{a}\) bbjedd\(\text{a}\)
   a.M young person beautiful.M
   ‘a beautiful boy’

d. i. na bbella kwatrara
   a.F beautiful.F.SG young person.F.SG
   ‘a beautiful girl’
ii. na kwatrara bbredda
   a.F young person.F.SG beautiful.F.SG
   ‘a beautiful girl’

ii. tjer tbbella kwatrar\(\text{a}\)
   some beautiful young person
   ‘some beautiful boys/girls’
ii. tjer kwatrar\(\text{a}\) bbjedd\(\text{a}\)
   some young person beautiful.M
   ‘some beautiful boys/girls’
iii. tjer kwatrar\(\text{a}\) bbredda
   some young person beautiful.F.PL
   ‘some beautiful girls’

(24) Aidone

a. i. na bbrava karuza
   a.F good.F.SG young person.F.SG
   ‘a good girl’
ii. na karuza bbrava
   a.F young person.F.SG good.F.SG
   ‘a good girl’

b. i. un bbrava karuza
   a.M good young person.SG
   ‘a good guy’
ii. un karuza bbrava
   a.M young person.SG good
   ‘a good guy’

c. i. tjer bbrava karuza
   some good young person.PL
   ‘some good guys’
ii. tjer karuza bbrava
   some young person.PL good
   ‘some good guys’

By contrast, in most dialects of group (4b), where final -A, -U, and -I turned into -\(\text{a}\), there is only one suffix, which is not specified for number (i.e., -\(\text{a}\)). Yet, in some such dialects, suffixes -a, -u, and -i re-emerge in certain contexts/classes of items, which might suggest
that suffixes still encode number information, albeit often non-overtly.\textsuperscript{55} For example, Ledgeway (2007, p. 106) observes that, in the dialect of Napoli (like in several other dialects of Campania), (some) prenominal adjectives (as well as other prenominal modifiers) retain the suffixes -\textit{a} (feminine, singular), -\textit{u} (masculine singular), and -\textit{i} (plural), while post-nominal adjectives generalize -\textit{a}. Another case is exemplified by Francavilla in Sini (examples in (25)). Here, on nouns, the feminine singular suffix is realized as -\textit{a} when the noun is followed by an adjective (see (25a.i)); otherwise, it is realized as -\textit{a} (see (25a.ii)). Similarly, on adjectives, the feminine singular suffix is realized as -\textit{a} when the adjective precedes the noun and as -\textit{a} when the adjective follows the noun (see (25a.iii)).

Similar patterns have been described for Bari (Andriani 2017, p. 92) and Teramo (Savini 1881, p. 58).

(25) Francavilla in Sini

\begin{itemize}
  \item a. i. a makona bbella
        the.F.SG car.F.SG beautiful
        'the beautiful car'
  ii. i makona bbella
        the.PL car beautiful
        'the beautiful cars'
  b. i. a bbella\textsuperscript{57} makona
        the.F.SG beautiful.F.SG car
        'the beautiful car'
  ii. i bbella makona
        the.PL beautiful car
        'the beautiful cars'
  c. i. u pallona bbella
        the.M.SG ball.SG beautiful
        'the beautiful ball'
  ii. i pallona bbella
        the.PL ball.PL beautiful
        'the beautiful balls'
  d. i. u bbella pallona
        the.M.SG beautiful ball.SG
        'the beautiful ball'
  ii. i bbella pallona
        the.PL beautiful ball.PL
        'the beautiful balls'
\end{itemize}

To sum up, concerning morphological exponence of Number on nouns, four major types of languages are identified in our dataset:\textsuperscript{58}

(26) Languages where number distinctions are visible on suffixes on all noun classes as a rule (with few lexical exceptions), and all noun classes have suffixes. The extreme southern dialects (group 4c) belong to this type, as well as Felitto (4b).

b. Languages (i.e., Verbicaro and Aidone) where number alternations are visible on suffixes only on one class (i.e., nouns originally ending in -\textit{A}), and suffixes appear on all nouns. In these languages, the suffix -\textit{a} encodes feminine gender and singular number; masculine nouns and plurals have the suffix -\textit{a}.

c. Languages where no number alternations are visible, and suffixes appear on all nouns. In some nouns, number distinctions are realized through alternations of the stressed vowel. Dialects of group (4b), except for Felitto and Verbicaro, belong to this type.

d. Languages where suffixes encode number alternations only on a subset of nouns (i.e., those ending in -\textit{A-all-A}}, while the other nouns do not display any suffix. Dialects of group (4b) belong to this type. In some such dialects (e.g., Savignano sul Rubicone), number alternations are also realized through alternations of the stressed root vowel.

In Section 4, we explore the relations between these number marking strategies and the distribution of bare nouns in the languages of the dataset, to check whether the predictions
made by Delfitto and Schroten (1991) and Crisma and Longobardi (2020) are met in this domain of languages.

Before closing this Section, we provide a short survey of three categories (articles, demonstratives, and possessives) that display variation across the dataset in terms of how they realize number alternation and their DP-internal distribution.

3.3.2. Definite Articles

All the dialects of our sample have a definite article, normally inflected for gender and number, as shown in Table 1 (full paradigms are given in Table A1). 59 Few dialects display four-member paradigms; by contrast, most of the dialects have three-member paradigms, with only one plural item that syncretizes masculine and feminine.

| Table 1. Number and gender distinctions on definite articles. |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| Language                    | M.SG        | F.SG      | M.PL        | F.PL        |
| Casalmaggiore, Savignano    | al, el      | la        | i           | li          |
| Parma, Reggio Emilia, Novellara, Coreggio | al | la | i | al |
| Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Amalfi, Palma Campania | o | a | [RF] | [RF] |
| Botrugno                    | u           | a         | i           | e           |
| Teramo, Felitto, Cellino San Marco, Mesagne, Reggio Calabria | lu | la | li |
| Bari (BA), Taranto (TA)     | u           | a (BA)    | Ia          |
| Barletta, Francavilla in Sinni, Verbicaro, Cutro, Nicastro, Catanzaro, Sicily (incl. Aidone) | u | a | i |

3.3.3. Demonstratives

In all the dialects of the database, demonstratives are incompatible with articles (i.e., they are D-checking, Guardiano and Stavrou 2020). Most dialects display two different items for adnominal and pronominal demonstratives: adnominal demonstratives are usually “reduced” as compared to pronominal ones (monosyllabic vs. disyllabic). 61 Almost all the dialects of the sample realize number distinctions on both forms (full paradigms are given in Tables A2a and A2b). Like definite articles, only a few dialects display four-member paradigms, e.g., Casalmaggiore (27) and Palma Campania (28), in the latter, feminine plural demonstratives trigger Rafforzamento Fonosintattico (see note 60). In most of the other dialects, masculine and feminine gender are collapsed into one and the same item in the plural, while they take two separate forms in the singular.

(27) Casalmaggiore (adapted from Vezzosi 2019, p. 55)

a. kul lebar ke/le
   DEM.M.SG book here/there
   ‘this/that book’

b. ki lebar ke/le
   DEM.M.PL book here/there
   ‘these/those books’

c. kla duna ke/le
   DEM.F.SG woman.F.SG here/there
   ‘this/that woman’

d. kal duni ke/le
   DEM.F.PL woman.F.PL here/there
   ‘these/those women’
In Francavilla in Sinni, pronominal demonstratives realize number distinctions through alternations of the root vowel, as shown in (29a), while suffix alternations are visible only on adnominal demonstratives (29b–d).

(29) Francavilla in Sinni
   a. kvista / kwesta / kisto
      this.M.SG / this.F.SG / this.PL
      ‘this/that’
   b. stu / kwllu / wakon a
      this.M.SG / this.M.PL / young person.SG
      ‘this/that boy’
   c. sta / kwella / wakon a
      this.F.SG / this.F.PL / young person.SG
      ‘this/that girl’
   d. sti / killi / wakon a
      this.PL / this.F.PL / young person.PL
      ‘these/those boys’

A further aspect of variation in the languages of our dataset concerns the realization of deictic interpretation (Guardiano and Stavrou 2020). Some dialects of group (4a) (Casalmaggiore, Correggio, Novellara, and Reggio Emilia) are like French: adnominal demonstratives are usually realized as two separated lexical items (as shown in (27) and (30), from Vezzosi 2019, p. 26), wherein one (ku/ki, kla/kli) occurs in the D-area, does not encode any deictic information (i.e., it is “deictically neutral”) and is inflected for gender and number, and the other (ke/le, a deictic “reinforcer”, Bernstein 1997) occurs DP-finally (after adjectives and prepositional phrases), realizes deictic reference and is uninflected. A difference between Casalmaggiore and the other dialects is that, in Casalmaggiore, the reinforcer seems to be required in all contexts (and with all interpretations, Vezzosi 2019), while in the other dialects (like in French) it is not obligatory when the demonstrative does not have deictic meaning.

(30) Casalmaggiore
   a. kul ragas grand ke/le
      DEM.M.SG boy tall here/there
      ‘this/that tall boy’
   b. ki ragas grand ke/le
      DEM.M.PL boy tall here/there
      ‘these/those tall boys’

In Parma and Savignano sul Rubicone, and in the other groups, deictic demonstratives do not require reinforcers; like in Italian, they take different forms according to whether they encode proximal or distal distinctions, as shown in (31).
A peculiar case is instantiated by the dialect of Teramo. As noted in Mantenuto (2016), Teramano features “demonstrative doubling”: two demonstratives can occur in the same DP, one DP-initially, in the reduced form of adnominal items, and the other DP-finally, in the non-reduced form of pronominal items. Doubling is not obligatory but is preferred when the DP has deictic interpretation.

3.3.4. Possessives

By the label “possessive”, we refer here to pronominal forms interpreted as arguments of the head noun (i.e., expressing one of the following relations: Possessor, Subject, Object; Crisma et al. Forthcoming). In several Romance dialects of Italy, adnominal possessives must co-occur with a determiner (e.g., an article or a demonstrative: il/una/questo mio libro, lit. ‘the/a/this my.M.SG book.M.SG’ vs. *mio libro) and do not assign any definite reading to the noun phrase they modify.

In various dialects of our dataset, possessives agree in gender and number with the head noun, like in Italian, while in others they don’t. For example, in group (4a), adnominal possessives are prenominal (with exceptions, see Vezzosi 2019, p. 50) and
uninflected. Pronominal possessives display number alternations only on some forms: 1st and 2nd person plural, except for Savignano (nastra.F.SG vs. nustrer, vostra.F.SG vs. vaster), exhibit the same suffix alternations as adjectives (like in most other dialects, Manzini and Savoia 2005, p. 573), i.e., -a/-i in the feminine (nostra/nostri, vostra/vostri) and no alternations in the masculine (naster, vaster); 3rd person plural forms are uninflected (lor); 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular are uninflected for gender when modifying a plural head noun (me, to, so), while, in some dialects, gender alternations (through the suffixes -o/-a, masculine and feminine, respectively) are visible on possessives modifying a singular head noun (e.g., mio/mia, tuo/tua, suo/sua in Reggio Emilia and Novellara).

More variation is observed in group (4b), mostly resulting from the combination of the weakening of final vowels and metaphor. Barletta has uninflected items for all persons but 1st singular, which has two forms opposing masculine (mejo) vs. feminine (mi), with no number oppositions. In Bari (Andriani 2017, p. 106), Amalfi, and Palma Campania, possessives are inflected for gender but not for number, except for 1st person singular in Amalfi and Palma Campania, where miyo encodes singular (masculine and feminine), mijejo encodes masculine and plural, and mejo encodes feminine and plural—note that no such alternation is realized through suffixes. In Verbigaro, all items are invariable (Silvestri 2016, p. 135), except for 1st and 2nd person plural, which, as in most other dialects, display gender/number alternations identical to adjectives. In Teramo, except for 1st person singular (mi), possessives are inflected for number (to vs. tu, so vs. su, nustrer vs. nustra, vostra vs. vostro, so vs. su) but not for gender. In Francavilla in Sinni, 3rd person plural is uninflected (lora) and 1st and 2nd person plural, like adjectives, have two forms, one encoding feminine singular (nostra/vosta), and the other (nosa/vostra) encoding plural and masculine singular. The other forms (1st, 2nd, and 3rd person singular) are inflected for number (miya vs. mejo; tuja vs. toja, siya vs. soja) but not for gender; in all forms, number distinctions are realized through root vowel alternations only. In Taranto, possessives exhibit the same gender/number alternations as adjectives (see Table A4). In Santa Maria Capua Vetere, the suffix -a encodes feminine gender and singular number on all persons but 3rd plural. Plural number and masculine gender are realized as -a. In the 1st person singular, root vowel alternations encode singular vs. plural and masculine vs. feminine oppositions (miya.M.SG, miya.F.SG, mijeo.M.PL, mejjo.F.PL). Finally, in Felitto, number alternations are realized through suffixes (-o/-a for the singular, masculine and feminine, respectively, -i/e for the plural); in 1st and 2nd person plural, gender alternations are also visible on the stressed vowel (-o/-a vs. -o/-a, masculine and feminine, respectively).

In group (4c), the dialects of Sicily and Reggio Calabria have two types of possessives (Manzini and Savoia 2005, vol. III, pp. 552–74; Guardiani et al. 2018). Pre-nominal possessives are uninflected and realized attached to D (called “Wackernagel possessives” in Guardiani et al. 2018); by contrast, inflected adnominal possessives are post-nominal and identical to pronominal “strong” items. The latter are inflected for gender and number in Ragusa, Trapani, and Reggio Calabria; in Ribera, San Filippo del Mela, and Mussomeli, possessives are uninflected (except for 1st and 2nd person plural, which display the same suffix alternations as adjectives). In Salento (Cellino San Marco, Mesagne, Botrugno and the rest of Calabria (Cutro, Catanzaro and Nicastro), possessives are post-nominal only; in Cellino San Marco, they are inflected for number but not for gender, except for 1st and 2nd person plural, which display the same suffix alternations as adjectives and stressed vowel alternations (nwejfu/vwejfu.M.SG, nweisja/bweisja.F.SG, nwejfu/vwejfu.F.PL), and for 3rd person plural, which is invariable (lora); in Nicastro, Mesagne, and Cutro, possessives are uninflected (except for 1st and 2nd person plural and, in Nicastro, also 1st person singular), and in Botrugno and Catanzaro (except for 3rd person plural), they are inflected for number and, in the singular, also for gender.

In Aidone (4d), possessives are uninflected, except for 1st and 2nd person plural, which, as in the other dialects, display the same alternations as adjectives.
4. The Distribution of Bare Nouns

Based on the premises sketched in Section 3.1, and on the data discussed in Section 3.2, we can now attempt some preliminary predictions concerning the availability of bare nouns in argument position in the dialects under investigation.

(33) a. Concerning the realization of number on nouns, type (26a), where number alternations are systematically realized on suffixes on all classes of nouns, does not display significant differences with respect to Italian; hence, it is expected that these languages allow bare nouns, arguably with a distribution similar to that observed in Italian.

b. Type (26b) displays number alternations (on suffixes) on a subset of nouns (the -a class). Similarly, in type (26d), number distinctions are realized only on a subset of classes (-a, -al, -el). The difference between the two types is that in type (26b) all nouns have a suffix, while in type (26d) there are noun classes that do not display any suffix. One might wonder whether the “partial” encoding of the feature Number on nouns is sufficient to license empty Ds (i.e., bare nouns) or, by contrast, whether, for the licensing mechanisms described in Deliège and Schrooten (1991) and Crisma and Longobardi (2020) to be activated, it is necessary that Number be systematically realized on all noun classes.

c. In type (26c), all nouns have suffixes, but the latter are never overtly specified for Number. However, number alternations are realized through (semi-)productive introflective strategies. According to Crisma and Longobardi (2020, p. 52), “for an empty D the value of Number is recovered via formal agreement between such a D and some category on which it is spelt out”. Thus, these languages should, in principle, license bare nouns. Yet, the fact that, in most languages of this type, number marking is not systematically realized on all noun classes raises the same issues as in (33b).

In what follows, we illustrate the distribution of bare nouns in argument position in the dialects of the dataset, to check whether the predictions suggested in (33) are borne out. To do so, we test (a) whether bare arguments are grammatical in the dialects investigated and, if they are, (b) whether their distribution displays any differences with respect to Italian.

4.1. Data Collection

The data used to test the predictions in (33) were collected from native speakers and further integrated, when possible, with those available in the literature. When not otherwise specified, the examples presented in this Section come from elicited data. For each dialect, we interviewed one speaker. If needed, speakers were consulted multiple times to refine and double-check the material they provided.

We arranged a list of syntactic environments where testing the degree of acceptability of various types of nominals when used with no visible determiner (i.e., bare). Our starting point is the distribution of bare nouns in Italian (Crisma and Longobardi 2020), which is summarized in (34) and exemplified in (35)–(39).

(34) a. Singular count nouns cannot be bare in any argument position (35).

b. Plural (and mass) nouns cannot be bare in pre-verbal subject position (36a), unless they are modified by an adjective, a PP or a relative clause (36b).

c. Plural (and mass) nouns can be bare in post-verbal subject position (37), as pivots of existential clauses (38), and in object position (39).

(35) a. * ho visto studente (americano)
   have:1sg seen student.M.SG American.M.SG
   Intended: ‘I saw an (American) student/the American student’

b. * studente (americano) è arrivato
   student.M.SG American.M.SG be3sg arrived M.SG
   Intended: ‘A(n American) student/the American student has arrived’
Based on this material, we created a list of 41 different patterns/sequences (see Table A6) that contain modified and unmodified plural nouns, singular count nouns, and mass nouns, in the following positions in non-negative sentences:

(36) a. * studenti sono entrati nell’ edificio
    student.M.PL be.3PL entered.M.PL in.the.SG building.M.SG
    ‘Students have entered the building’

The list was then used as a “lexically-flexible” guide to collect the relevant data from the speakers and test their judgements. During the interviews, for each of the 41 patterns, speakers were asked to generate a sentence in their language with the same properties of that pattern. The language used in the interviews was Italian. It has been shown (Pinzin and Poletto 2022) that the use of Italian (i.e., the other native language for most of the speakers) as the input language in this type of task is likely to induce non-trivial priming effects (Cornips and Poletto 2005; Van Craenenbroek et al. 2019). To control for this, when possible, we provided sentences in the dialect of the speaker, asking about their grammaticality. Each pattern was tested twice, using different lexical items. When the answers provided by a speaker were unclear or inconsistent, we tested the relevant pattern multiple times, controlling for potentially infelicitous lexical choices and/or pragmatic contexts.

In what follows, we present the data that are relevant to test the predictions in (33).

4.2. Data Description

In the dialects of group (4c) and in Felitto (type (26a)), bare argument nouns are grammatical, and their distribution is constrained by the same restrictions as in Italian (see
(34)): (a) bare singulars are ungrammatical in all argument positions (see examples (41a–c) from Ragusa); (b) plural (and mass) nouns are ungrammatical as pre-verbal subjects (41d) and very marginally accepted when modified by an adjective, a relative clause, or a PP (41e); and (c) unmodified bare plural (and mass) nouns can only occur as objects (41f–g), post-verbal subjects (41h–i), and pivots of existential sentences (41j–k). Prediction (33a) is therefore borne out.

Let’s now explore (33b). In the dialects of type (26d), bare nouns are ungrammatical in all contexts, as shown in (42). By contrast, in type (26b), bare nouns are possible and occur with almost the same distribution as (34). As shown in (43), a difference with respect to (34) is that plural (and mass) nouns are only marginally accepted in pre-verbal position, even when modified.

As mentioned, there is one difference between type (26d) and type (26b), i.e., the absence, in type (26d), of suffixes generalized to all nouns. In this latter group, like in French, there are nouns that do not exhibit any specification for Number and have no suffixes; according to Delfitto and Schroten’s (1991) analysis of French, this type of nouns do not allow the licensing of empty Ds. Apparently, the persistence of number alternations on a restricted class of suffixes (e.g., -a/-al/-el) and, in some dialects (e.g., Savignano sul Rubicone), the realization of number alternations through other strategies (i.e., alternations of the stressed vowel) are not sufficient to license bare arguments. By contrast, one can assume that, in type (26b), because of the alternation between the suffix -a and the suffix -o,
the latter is assigned number/gender interpretation (e.g., non-singular, non-feminine) even though it is not overtly specified for number/gender. If this line of reasoning is on the right track, a possible conclusion is that, among languages that partially mark number on nouns, what sets a difference between those which allow bare nouns and those which do not is not the amount of nouns that overtly display number exponence, but rather the morphological structure of nouns themselves, and the mechanisms that, through this structure, make the retrieving of number information possible even when the latter is “silent” (i.e., not overtly specified).

(42) Novellara

a. dįwani al kunteva *(dal) buzzi
   Gianni 3SG.CL-SUBJ tell.3SG.PAST of.the.F.PL lie.F.PL
   ‘Gianni used to tell lies’

b. dįwani al kunteva *(dal) grand buzzi
   Gianni 3SG.CL-SUBJ tell.3SG.PAST of.the.F.PL big lie.F.PL
   ‘Gianni used to tell big lies’

c. i in rivè *(di) turesta
   3PPL.CL-SUBJ be.3PPL arrived of.the.M.PL tourist
   ‘Tourists have arrived’

d. i in rivè *(di) turesta spapol
   3PPL.CL-SUBJ be.3PPL arrived of.the.M.PL tourist Spanish
   ‘Spanish tourists have arrived’

e. a g e *(dal) mataʃi insema al visti
   CL-SUBJ there be.3F of.the.F.PL stain.F.PL above the.M.SG dress
   ‘There are stains on the dress’

f. a g e *(dal) mataʃi k i van
   CL-SUBJ there be.3F of.the.F.PL stain.F.PL that 3PL.CL-SUBJ go.3PPL
   mia via NEG away
   ‘There are stains which never go away’

(43) Aidone, Verbicaro

a. aja bddʒutɔ libbra
   have.1SG read books
   ‘I have read books’

b. a skala vɔ paggiə pruvassa ɔddʒuone ʃ Verbicaro
   the.F.SG school.F.SG want.3SG hire teacher young
   ‘The school wants to hire young teachers’

c. an a vəni a fer-amə visata amisə ʃ Aidone
   have.3SG to come to do-1SG.CL.DAT visit.F.SG friend.PL
   ‘Friends are coming to visit me’

d. an a vəni a fer-amə visata amisə ʃ Aidone
   have.3SG to come to do-1SG.CL.DAT visit.F.SG friend.PL
   amisə ʃ aidone
   possessed
   ‘Beloved friends are coming to visit me’

e. gɔp su bbedds karuʒɔ nt a ʃ Aidone
   there be.3PL nice young person.PL in the.F.SG
   fotografia picture.F.SG
   ‘There are nice boys in the picture’

A further similarity between the dialects of type (26d) and French is that, in all the dialects of this group, like in French, the item that overtly realizes D with non-definite plural/mass nouns is a “partitive-like” article (DE+definite article; for a recent detailed survey of the distribution of this item in northern Italy, including Emilian varieties, see Pinzin and Poletto 2021). In all the other dialects of our dataset, this item is never used to lexicalize D with non-definite plural/mass nouns in argument position.
Finally, concerning prediction (33c), the data collected from languages of type (26c) show the highest variability. Speakers of Francavilla in Sinni, Taranto, and Amalfi accept argument bare nouns under the same conditions as types (26a) and (26b), as shown in (44)–(46).

(44) Francavilla in Sinni

a. i. Pumpeja vennə pummadora kə Pompeja sell.3SG tomato that so ddtiʃ anno be.3PL ten year

‘Pompea has been selling tomatoes for ten years’

ii. ajierə i tiʃə ennə munnətə yesterday the.PL uncle have.3PL peeled fasulo tutə a jumətə bean all the.F.SG day

‘Yesterday my uncles were peeling beans all day long’

b. kwella dittə frabbaka kəsə grannə that.F.SG firm build.3SG house big

‘That firm builds big houses’

c. ennə arraʊətə (tʃerto) furostjərə utamamendo have.3PL arrived some foreigner.3PL recently

‘Foreigners have arrived recently’

d. sopə u vosstitial tʃə so above the.M.SG dress there be.3PL makəjə stain

‘There are stains on the dress’

e. tʃə aronə wajjʌntə70 ka there be.3PL.PAST young person.PL who kurrijənə sendza maʃə run.3PL.PAST without shirt

‘There were children running without their shirts’

(45) Taranto

a. aggiə vanuuta patənə pa ttrendə anə have.1SG sold potato for thirty year

‘I have been selling potatoes for thirty years’

b. passənə makanə tutə la ddɔynə usuə paʃə pass.3PL car all the.PL day on to the.M.SG bridge

‘Cars cross the bridge every day’

c. jessə fumə da susə go.out.3SG smoke from above

‘Smoke comes out from above’

(46) Amalfi

a. kellə dittə frabbaka kəsə grossə that.F.SG firm build.3SG house big.F

‘That firm builds big houses’

b. ennə vanuuta (tʃerto) turistə spanjwolə ində paʃə have.3PL come some tourist Spanish.M in the.M.SG village

‘Spanish tourists have arrived at the village’

c. tʃə stannə sturjənə ka nu vanno fa njənə there stay.3PL student.PL that NEG want.3PL do nothing

‘There are students who do not want to do anything’

In Teramo, according to Mantenuto (2015a, 2015b, 2016), bare nouns are ungrammatical, as shown in (47). The ungrammaticality of bare nouns in this dialect seems to be a recent phenomenon: older varieties of Abruzzese accepted bare (plural) nouns at least in
some argument function, for example in object position, as shown in (48)—from Finamore (1882, pp. 112, 148, respectively).

(47) Teramo
a. *(li) *studiàna anna scritta *(li) lettera
   the.PL student.PL have3.PL written the.PL letter
   ‘(The) students wrote (the) letters’
b. ʧiʃ ʃa ściqà dentà la kasa
   there stay3.SG the.PL chair.PL inside the.F.SG house
   ‘There are chairs in the house’
c. so arrivà *((li) pitto
   be3.PL arrived the.PL pizza
   ‘Pizzas have arrived’

(48) Abruzzese (19th century)
a. è ddisplacere ʧi pèrdà paranà
   be3.SG pain who lose3.SG relative
   ‘It is painful for those who lose their relatives’
b. se mêt’ a lett’ e cèrce medice
   SE put3.SG on bed and search3.SG medicine
   ‘He goes to bed and looks for medications’

Similarly, our speakers of Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Palma Campania, Bari, and Barletta do not accept bare nouns in argument position: argument nominals require an overt D-like item (e.g., an article, a demonstrative, or a quantifier); a difference with respect to French and type (26d) is that these dialects never use the “partitive article” to introduce indefinite arguments (see Pinzin and Poletto 2021). However, in all these dialects, there are signals that bare nouns are not entirely ruled out. For example, the speaker of Palma Campania accepts bare plurals as pivots of existential constructions when the coda is a relative clause, as shown in (49). Moreover, in the literature about other dialects of Campania (e.g., the dialect of Napoli, Ledgeway 2009, p. 191), instances of argument bare nouns are attested, as shown in the examples in (50), which show that, in Napoli, plural bare nouns in object position have been grammatical at different diachronic stages, and mass nouns as pivots of existential clauses were possible at least until the 20th century. Instances of argument bare nouns are also reported in the literature about the dialect of Bari, as can be seen in (51).

(49) Palma Campania
a. ʧi stannàs sturjënda ʃlatikà
   there stay3.PL student.PL laggard
   ‘There are laggard students (= there exist students who are laggard)’
b. ʧi stannàs makkiʃà ko nun sò lívena
   there stay3.PL stain that not SI go-away3.PL
   ‘There are stains which don’t fade away (= there exist stains...’)

(50) Napoli (adapted from Ledgeway 2009, p. 191)
a. facevana pertose alle mure
   make3.PL.PAST hole to the.PL wall
   ‘They made holes in the walls’ (16th cent.)
b. cuolli fasule e torna fra doje ore
   pick2.SG bean and come-back2.SG in two.F.hour
   ‘Go pick beans and come back in two hours’ (17th cent.)
c. quanno vede uomo/nàse so nce mena ncuollà
   when see3.SG man.PL SI LOC throw3.SG in.neck
   ‘When she sees men, she jumps in their arms’ (19th cent.)
d. ʤe sta caso sì vuîta
   there stay3.SG cheese if want2.PL
   ‘There is cheese if you want’ (20th cent.)
The conclusion seems to be that, in the dialects of type (26c) where bare nouns are not currently accepted by the speakers, they were possible, and presumably productive, at older diachronic stages. Prediction (33c) is therefore partially met. What remains to be explained is why—although there is no visible difference among languages of type (26c) in the realization of number on nouns—in some dialects bare nouns have become lost while in others they remained productive.

4.3. A Summary of the Results

Table 2 compares the two groups of phenomena considered so far in the dialects of the dataset: the morphological representation of number on nouns and the availability of bare arguments. In the Table, the label S indicates that all nouns have suffixes that realize number alternations systematically. The label S/0 indicates that all nouns have suffixes, but number alternations are overtly realized only in a subset of nouns. The label S/0 indicates that suffixes (which also show number alternations) are visible only on a subset of nouns, while the other nouns have no suffixes and do not realize number alternations. The label S/0/M indicates that some nouns have suffixes specified for number, while other nouns have no suffixes, but some of them realize overt number alternations on the root vowel. The label α/M indicates that all nouns have suffixes unmarked for number (-α) and number distinctions are realized through stressed vowel alternations. The label YES indicates that bare nouns are grammatical, (roughly) in the same syntactic configurations as in Italian (summarized in (34)). The label NO indicates that speakers do not accept bare nouns under any condition. Finally, the label NO* signals that bare nouns are generally ungrammatical, but there are exceptions.

Table 2. Number marking on N and bare nouns.

| Number on N | Bare Nouns |
|-------------|------------|
| (1) Casalmaggiore | S/0 | NO |
| (2) Parma | S/0 | NO |
| (3) Reggio Emilia | S/0 | NO |
| (4) Novellara | S/0 | NO |
| (5) Correggio | S/0 | NO |
| (6) Savignano sul Rubicone | α/M | NO* |
| (7) Teramo | α/M | NO* |
| (8) Santa Maria Capua Vetere | α/M | NO* |
| (9) Amalfi | α/M | YES |
| (10) Palma Campania | α/M | NO* |
| (11) Felitto | S | YES |
| (12) Bari | α/M | NO* |
| (13) Barletta | α/M | NO* |
| (14) Taranto | α/M | YES |
| (15) Francavilla in Sinni | α/M | YES |
| (16) Verdicarco | S/α | YES |
| (17) Cellino San Marco | S | YES |
| (18) Mesagne | S | YES |
| (19) Botrugno | S | YES |
| (20) Cutro | S | YES |
| (21) Nicoastro | S | YES |
| (22) Catanzaro | S | YES |
| (23) Reggio Calabria | S | YES |
| (24) San Filippo del Mela | S | YES |
| (25) Ragusa | S | YES |
| (26) Riba | S | YES |
| (27) Musumeci | S | YES |
| (28) Trapani | S | YES |
| (29) Aidone | S/α | YES |
5. Summary

The data observed in Section 4 support the hypothesis that there is a relation between the possibility for nominal structures to occur bare in argument position and the realization of the feature Number on nouns. In our dataset, languages where number alternations are systematically realized on nouns can have bare arguments (type (26a)). This sets a first split between languages where number marking is generalized to all (or most) nouns and those where it is not (see the schema in (52)).

Concerning languages where number alternations are only found on some (classes of) nouns, it appears that generalized number marking is not a necessary condition for bare nouns to be licensed; as a matter of fact, bare nouns are also possible in languages where not all noun classes exhibit overt number alternations (type (26b)). Yet, having “partial” number alternations is not sufficient by itself for bare nouns to be licensed (type (26d)). As seen above, a difference between types (26d) and (26b) is that, in the former, there are nouns that do not have suffixes at all. By contrast, in type (26b), all nouns have suffixes, although not all suffixes display number alternations. Thus, the property of having suffixes on all nouns vs. not having suffixes (or having suffixes only on a subset of noun classes) seems to set a further split between languages that can have bare nouns and languages that never license them, respectively (i.e., the second split in (52)).

Finally, among languages where all nouns have suffixes but only some noun classes display overt number alternations (i.e., where number marking is not generalized to all nouns, types (26b) and (26c)), there is more variability. Concerning languages where bare nouns are allowed, we make the hypothesis that, in these languages, there exists some mechanism that allows the speakers to extract number information even from nouns where such information is not visible on the surface. In this respect, the nature of the suffix -a and the way it interacts with the alternations of the stressed root vowels (in type (26c)) require better investigation. In what follows, we provide some preliminary hints.

We make the hypothesis that final -a is not merely the “relief” of a phonetic change but has rather retained the morphological properties of a suffix that contains number information. In the dialects where final -a was not lost (type (26b)), the plural interpretation of -a is presumably induced by pairs like a favo (lit. ‘the.F.SG fava bean.F.SG’) vs. i fav (lit. ‘the.PL fava bean’), where -a is associated with plural interpretation by opposition to singular -a. By contrast, in the dialects where overt number alternations are realized through the stressed root vowel only, one might assume that -a harmonically agrees (Manzini and Savoia 2016) in number with it, thereby replicating number information “silently”.

The realization of plural number through multiple morphemes on the same item has been recently explored by Koopman (2020) who, capitalizing on previous proposals by Alexiadou (2011) and Schwarzschild (2015), analyzes “two plural morphemes” in Dutch—one realizing the “inner plural” (often through vowel alternations), and the other realizing the “outer plural”, in the form of a suffix. This analysis can be tentatively extended to our dataset under the assumption that suffixes realize the outer plural and root vowel alternations realize the inner plural. As a rule, only one such morpheme overtly realizes number alternations, while the other silently agrees with it. Yet, in the dataset, there are also instances (again, like in Dutch) of nouns (and/or other DP-items, e.g., possessives or adjectives) where both the root vowel and the suffix overtly encode number information (see for instance the examples from Felitto in Table A4).

What also remains to be explored, through the investigation of diachronic data, is whether the different degrees of acceptability of bare argument nouns in the dialects of type (26c) correlate with potential differences in the productivity of the number marking strategies available in these dialects, how the latter are related with class/gender marking, and how the phonetic processes of weakening/loss of final vowels are diachronically related with the persistence of morphological information on suffixes.
Author Contributions: This work is the result of collaboration among the three authors; for official purposes, C.G. takes responsibility for Sections 1, 3.1, 3.3.3 and 5, M.C. for Sections 3.2 and 3.3.2, and for Tables A1 and A2, V.S. for Sections 2 and 3.3.4, and for Tables A3–A5; the authors take joint responsibility for Sections 3.3.1 and 4. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

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Informed Consent Statement: Informed consent was obtained from all subjects involved in the study.

Data Availability Statement: Most of the data we collected are listed in the examples and in the tables found in the text and in the Appendices A–C. Further data and material can be found on the project website: www.parametriccomparison.it, in particular at this link: http://www.parametriccomparison.unimore.it/site/home/projects/prin-2017/documents-and-materials.html (last accessed: 18 August 2022; the content of this section is regularly updated as work progresses).

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Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.
Appendix A. Map

Figure A1. The dialects investigated.
## Appendix B. Tables

### Table A1. Definite articles

| Singular | Plural |
|----------|--------|
| **Masculine** | **Feminine** | **Masculine** | **Feminine** |
| Casalmaggiore | al | la | i | li |
| Parma | al | la | i | al |
| Reggio Emilia | al | la | i | al |
| Novellara | al | la | i | al |
| Correggio | al | la | i | al |
| Savignano s. Rubicone | e(l) | la | i | li |
| Teramo | lu | la | li | li |
| S.M. Capua Vetere | o | a | e[-RF] | e[-RF] |
| Amalfi | o | a | e[-RF] | e[-RF] |
| Palma Campania | o | a | e[-RF] | e[-RF] |
| Felitto | (l)u | (l)a | (l)i | (l)j |
| Bari | u | la | la | la |
| Barletta | u | a | i | i |
| Taranto | u | a | la | la |
| Francavilla in Sinni | u | a | i | i |
| Verdicaro | u | a | i | i |
| Cellino San Marco | lu | la | li | li |
| Mesagne | lu | la | li | li |
| Botrugno | u | a | i | e |
| Cutro | u | a | i | i |
| Nicastro | u | a | i | i |
| Catanzaro | u | a | i | i |
| Reggio Calabria | (l)u | (l)a | (l)i | (l)j |
| San Filippo del Mela | u | a | i | i |
| Ragusa | u | a | i | i |
| Ribera | u | a | i | i |
| Mussomeli | u | a | i | i |
| Trapani | u | a | i | i |
| Aidone | u | a | i | i |

### Table A2. (a) Adnominal demonstratives. (b) Pronominal demonstratives.

**Table A2.** (a) Adnominal demonstratives. (b) Pronominal demonstratives.

| Singular | Plural |
|----------|--------|
| **Masculine** | **Feminine** | **Masculine** | **Feminine** |
| Casalmaggiore | kul . . . ke | kla . . . ke | ki . . . ke | kli . . . ke |
| | kul . . . le | kla . . . le | ki . . . le | kli . . . le |
| Parma | sto | sta | sti | sti |
| | kol | kla | kil | kil |
| Reggio Emilia | kost, ste | kosta / sta | sti | ste(l) |
| | kol, kal | kola, kla | ki | kal, koli |
| Novellara | kal . . . ke | kla . . . ke | ki . . . ke | kal . . . ke |
| | kal . . . le /la | kla . . . le /la | ki . . . le /la | kal . . . le /la |
| Correggio | kal . . . ke | kla . . . ke | ki . . . ke | kal . . . ke |
| | kal . . . le /la | kla . . . le /la | ki . . . le /la | kal . . . le /la |
| Savignano s. Rubicone | ste | sta | sti /stal | sti |
| | ke(l) | kla | kli | kli |
Table A2. Cont.

| Location                | Consonant  | Consonant  | Consonant  | Consonant  |
|-------------------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Teramo                  | jtu        | jta        | jti        | jti        |
|                         | ssa        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | lla        | lla        | lli        | lli        |
| S.M. Capua Vetere       | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssa        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | killu      | killa      | killi      | killi      |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Amalfi                  | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssa        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | killu      | killa      | kiri       | kiri       |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Palma Campania          | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssa        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | killu      | killa      | kiri       | kiri       |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Felitto                 | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssa        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | kiri       | kiri       | kiri       | kiri       |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Bari                    | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | kudda      | kudda      | kidda      | kidda      |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Barletta                | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | kudda      | kudda      | kidda      | kidda      |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Taranto                 | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | kwidda     | kwidda     | kidda      | kidda      |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Francavilla in Sinni    | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssa        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | kwillu     | kwella     | killi      | killi      |
|                         |            |            | sti_{-i}   | sti_{-i}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{-i}   | ssi_{-i}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{-i} | killi_{-i} |
| Verbicaro               | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssa        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | kwidda     | kwidda     | kwidda     | kwidda     |
|                         |            |            | sti_{-i}   | sti_{-i}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{-i}   | ssi_{-i}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{-i} | killi_{-i} |
| Cellino San Marco       | jtu        | jta        | jti        | jti        |
|                         | ddu        | dda        | ddi        | ddi        |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Mesagne                 | jtu        | jta        | jti        | jti        |
|                         | ddu        | dda        | ddi        | ddi        |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Botrugno                | stu        | sta        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ddu        | dda        | ddi        | dde        |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Cutro                   | ssu        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | kiru       | kira       | kiri       | kiri       |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Nicastro                | stu        | ssa        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssu        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | killu      | killa      | killi      | killi      |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Catanzaro               | stu        | ssa        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssu        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | kiru       | kira       | kiri       | kiri       |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Reggio Calabria         | stu        | ssa        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ddu        | dda        | ddi        | ddi        |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| San Filippo del Mela    | stu        | ssa        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssu        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | ddu        | dda        | ddi        | ddi        |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Ragusa                  | stu        | ssa        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssu        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | ddu        | dda        | ddi        | ddi        |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Ribera                  | stu        | ssa        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssu        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | ddu        | dda        | ddi        | ddi        |
|                         |            |            | sti_{RF}   | sti_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | ssi_{RF}   | ssi_{RF}   |
|                         |            |            | killi_{RF} | killi_{RF} |
| Mussomeli               | stu        | ssa        | sti        | sti        |
|                         | ssu        | ssa        | ssi        | ssi        |
|                         | ddu        | dda        | ddi        | ddi        |
Table A2. Cont.

| Languages | Su | Sta | Sti | Sti |
|-----------|----|-----|-----|-----|
| Trapani⑫ | stu | sta | sti | sti |
| Aidone | stu | sta | sti | sti |

(b) Pronominal demonstratives.⑬

| Singular | Plural |
|----------|--------|
| **Masculine** | **Feminine** | **Masculine** | **Feminine** |
| **Casalmaggiore** | kostu (ke) | kola (le) | kosti (ke) | koli (le) |
| Parma | koste (ki) | kola (la) | kosti (ki) | koli (la) |
| Reggio Emilia | kost/ste/kus ke kol le/li lor | kost/sti/kwis ke kola le | kosti/ste/kosti ke koli le/kwi le/li lor |
| Novellara | kus ke kul le | kola le | kwi le | koli le |
| Correggio | kost ke kol le/la | kola le/la | kwi le/la | koli le/la |
| Savignano sul Rubicone | kwesi | kwela | kwes | kwel |
| Teramo⑭ | kwaʃta | kasa | kwaʃta | kasa |
| S.M. Capua Vetere | kista | kessa | kista | kessa |
| Amalfi | kista | kessa | kista | kessa |
| Palma Campania | kista | kessa | kista | kessa |
| Felitto | kisu | kessa | kisi | kesi |
| Bari⑮ | kusu | kessa | kisi | kesi |
| Barletta | kusu | kessa | kisi | kesi |
| Taranto⑯ | kwesto | kwesta | kwesto | kwesta |
| Francavilla in Sinni | kwesto | kwessa | kwesto | kwessa |
| Verbicaro | kwesto | kwessa | kwesto | kwessa |
| Cellino San Marco | kwɛʃta | kwɛʃda | kwɛʃta | kwɛʃda |
| Mesagne⑰ | kwɛʃta | kwɛʃda | kwɛʃta | kwɛʃda |
| Botrugno⑱ | kwɛʃta | kwɛʃda | kwɛʃta | kwɛʃda |
Table A2. Cont.

| Language           | kistu | kista | kisti | kiri |    |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|------|----|
| Cutro              | kiru  | kira  | kiri  |      |    |
| Nicastro           | kistu | kista | kisti |      |    |
|                    | kisser | kissa | kissi |      |    |
|                    | killa  | killi  | killi |      |    |
| Catanzaro          | kistu | kista | kisti |      |    |
|                    | kisser | kissa | kissi |      |    |
|                    | kiri   | kiri   |      |      |    |
| Reggio Calabria    | kistu | kista | kisti |      |    |
|                    | kisser | kissa | kissi |      |    |
|                    | kidda  | kiddi  | kiddi |      |    |
| San Filippo del Mela | kistu | kista | kisti |      |    |
|                    | kisser | kissa | kissi |      |    |
|                    | kidda  | kiddi  | kiddi |      |    |
| Ragusa             | kistu | kista | kisti |      |    |
|                    | kisser | kissa | kissi |      |    |
|                    | kidda  | kiddi  | kiddi |      |    |
| Ribera             | kistu | kista | kisti |      |    |
|                    | kisser | kissa | kissi |      |    |
|                    | kidda  | kiddi  | kiddi |      |    |
| Mussomeli          | kistu | kista | kisti |      |    |
|                    | kisser | kissa | kissi |      |    |
|                    | kidda  | kiddi  | kiddi |      |    |
| Trapani            | kistu | kista | kisti |      |    |
|                    | kisser | kissa | kissi |      |    |
|                    | kidda  | kiddi  | kiddi |      |    |
| Aidone             | kust   | kussa | kussa |      |    |
|                    | kudda  | kuddi  | kuddi |      |    |

Table A3. Pronominal possessives.

| Language              | Person | Singular M/F | Plural M/F |
|-----------------------|--------|--------------|------------|
| Casalmaggiore         | 1 SG   | me / mia     | me         |
|                       | 2 SG   | to           | to         |
|                       | 3 SG   | so           | so         |
|                       | 1 PL   | noster / noster | noster / noster |
|                       | 2 PL   | vaster / vaster | vaster / vaster |
|                       | 3 PL   | lor          | lor        |
| Parma                 | 1 SG   | me / mea     | me         |
|                       | 2 SG   | to           | to         |
|                       | 3 SG   | so / so, soa | so         |
|                       | 1 PL   | noster / noster | noster / noster |
|                       | 2 PL   | vaster / vaster | vaster / vaster |
|                       | 3 PL   | lor          | lor        |
| Reggio Emilia         | 1 SG   | mio / mia    | me         |
|                       | 2 SG   | tuo, to / tua, to / tua (va) | to |
|                       | 3 SG   | suo, so (va) / soa, so / soa | so |
|                       | 1 PL   | noster / noster | noster / noster |
|                       | 2 PL   | vaster / vaster | vaster / vaster |
|                       | 3 PL   | lor          | lor        |
| Novellara             | 1 SG   | mio / mia    | me         |
|                       | 2 SG   | tuo, to / tua, to / tua (va) | to |
|                       | 3 SG   | suo, so (va) / soa, so / soa | so |
|                       | 1 PL   | noster / noster | noster / noster |
|                       | 2 PL   | vaster / vaster | vaster / vaster |
|                       | 3 PL   | lor          | lor        |
| Language                  | Person | Singular M/F       | Plural M/F    |
|--------------------------|--------|--------------------|---------------|
| **Correggio**            | 1 SG   | me / mia (mea)     | me            |
|                          | 2 SG   | to                 | to            |
|                          | 3 SG   | so / so, sua, soa  | so            |
|                          | 1 PL   | n üstün / næstra  | n üstün / næstri |
|                          | 2 PL   | v üstün / væstra  | v üstün / væstri |
|                          | 3 PL   | lor                | lor           |
| **Savignano sul Rubicone** | 1 SG   | mi / mi(a)         | mi            |
|                          | 2 SG   | tu / tua           | tu            |
|                          | 3 SG   | su / sua           | su            |
|                          | 1 PL   | næstra / næstra   | næstra        |
|                          | 2 PL   | væstra / væstra   | væstra        |
|                          | 3 PL   | su                 | su            |
| **Teramo**<sup>120</sup> | 1 SG   | mi                 | mi            |
|                          | 2 SG   | to                 | tu            |
|                          | 3 SG   | so                 | su            |
|                          | 1 PL   | næstra             | næstra        |
|                          | 2 PL   | væstra             | væstra        |
|                          | 3 PL   | so                 | su            |
| **Santa Maria Capua Vetere**<sup>121</sup> | 1 SG   | mija / mija       | mjeja / mjeja |
|                          | 2 SG   | twoja / toja      | tvoja / toja  |
|                          | 3 SG   | swoja / soja      | swoja / soja  |
|                          | 1 PL   | nwosta / nosta     | nwosta / nosta |
|                          | 2 PL   | vwosta / væsta    | vwosta / væsta |
|                          | 3 PL   | lora               | lora          |
| **Amalfi**               | 1 SG   | mija / mija       | mjeja / mjeja |
|                          | 2 SG   | tvoja / toja      | tvoja / toja  |
|                          | 3 SG   | swoja / soja      | swoja / soja  |
|                          | 1 PL   | nwosta / nosta     | nwosta / nosta |
|                          | 2 PL   | vwosta / væsta    | vwosta / væsta |
|                          | 3 PL   | lora               | lora          |
| **Palma Campania**       | 1 SG   | mija / mija       | mjeja / mjeja |
|                          | 2 SG   | tvoja / toja      | tvoja / toja  |
|                          | 3 SG   | swoja / soja      | swoja / soja  |
|                          | 1 PL   | nwosta / nosta     | nwosta / nosta |
|                          | 2 PL   | vwosta / væsta    | vwosta / væsta |
|                          | 3 PL   | lora               | lora          |
| **Felitto**              | 1 SG   | mija / mija       | mjeja / mjeja |
|                          | 2 SG   | tvoja / toja      | tvoja / toja  |
|                          | 3 SG   | swoja / soja      | swoja / soja  |
|                          | 1 PL   | nwosta / nosta     | nwosta / nosta |
|                          | 2 PL   | vwosta / væsta    | vwosta / væsta |
|                          | 3 PL   | lora               | lora          |
| **Bari**<sup>122</sup>   | 1 SG   | mija / mija       | mjeja / mjeja |
|                          | 2 SG   | tuja / to         | tuja / to     |
|                          | 3 SG   | suja / so         | suja / so     |
|                          | 1 PL   | n(w)sta / nasta    | n(w)sta / nasta |
|                          | 2 PL   | (v)wosta / væsta  | (v)wosta / væsta |
|                          | 3 PL   | (d) lora          | (d) lora      |
| **Barletta**<sup>123</sup> | 1 SG   | mija / ma         | mjeja / ma    |
|                          | 2 SG   | towa              | towa          |
|                          | 3 SG   | sowa              | sowa          |
|                          | 1 PL   | nasta             | nasta         |
|                          | 2 PL   | vasta             | vasta         |
|                          | 3 PL   | lora              | lora          |
Table A3. Cont.

| Language          | Person | Singular M/F | Plural M/F |
|-------------------|--------|--------------|------------|
| **Taranto**       | 1 SG   | mia / me(a)  | mia        |
|                   | 2 SG   | tua / lo(a)  | tua        |
|                   | 3 SG   | sua / so(a)  | sua        |
|                   | 1 PL   | nwesta / nasta | nwesta   |
|                   | 2 PL   | vwesta / vasta | vwesta |
|                   | 3 PL   | lora         | lora       |
| **Francavilla in Sinni** | 1 SG | mia         | mej       |
|                   | 2 SG   | tua         | tojo       |
|                   | 3 SG   | suja        | soja       |
|                   | 1 PL   | nwosta / nasta | nwosta   |
|                   | 2 PL   | vwesta / vasta | vwesta |
|                   | 3 PL   | lora         | lora       |
| **Verbicaro**     | 1 SG   | mia         | mija       |
|                   | 2 SG   | tua         | tuwa       |
|                   | 3 SG   | suwa        | suwa       |
|                   | 1 PL   | nwosta / nasta | nwosta   |
|                   | 2 PL   | vwesta / vasta | vwesta |
|                   | 3 PL   | lora         | lora       |
| **Cellino San Marco** | 1 SG | mia         | mei        |
|                   | 2 SG   | tua         | toi        |
|                   | 3 SG   | su          | soi        |
|                   | 1 PL   | nwefja / nojfa | nwefji    |
|                   | 2 PL   | vweffja / vofja | vweffji |
|                   | 3 PL   | loru        | loru       |
| **Mesagne**       | 1 SG   | mia         | mia        |
|                   | 2 SG   | tua         | tua        |
|                   | 3 SG   | su          | su         |
|                   | 1 PL   | nweftru / nojtra | nweftri  |
|                   | 2 PL   | vweftreu / voftra | vweftrei |
|                   | 3 PL   | loru        | loru       |
| **Botrugno**      | 1 SG   | mru / mia   | mei        |
|                   | 2 SG   | tsu / tua   | tsi        |
|                   | 3 SG   | sri / sra   | sri        |
|                   | 1 PL   | nstru / nstra | nstru / vastre |
|                   | 2 PL   | vstru / vstra | vstru / vastre |
|                   | 3 PL   | loru        | loru       |
| **Cutro**         | 1 SG   | mia         | mia        |
|                   | 2 SG   | tua         | tua        |
|                   | 3 SG   | su          | su         |
|                   | 1 PL   | nwastru / nstra | nwastru |
|                   | 2 PL   | vwastru / vstra | vwastru |
|                   | 3 PL   | loru        | loru       |
| **Nicastro**      | 1 SG   | mru / mia   | mei        |
|                   | 2 SG   | tsu (tsi) / tua | tsi    |
|                   | 3 SG   | sri (sri) / su | sri    |
|                   | 1 PL   | nstru / nstra | nstru    |
|                   | 2 PL   | vstru / vstra | vstru    |
|                   | 3 PL   | loru        | loru       |
| **Catanzaro**     | 1 SG   | mru / mia   | mei        |
|                   | 2 SG   | tsu (tsi) / tua | tsi    |
|                   | 3 SG   | sri (sri) / su | sri    |
|                   | 1 PL   | nstru / nstra | nstru    |
|                   | 2 PL   | vstru / vstra | vstru    |
|                   | 3 PL   | loru        | loru       |
Table A3. Cont.

| Language            | Person | Singular M/F | Plural M/F |
|---------------------|--------|--------------|------------|
| Reggio Calabria132  | 1 SG   | meu / mia    | mei        |
|                     | 2 SG   | tæ / tua     | tøi        |
|                     | 3 SG   | sau / sua    | soi        |
|                     | 1 PL   | nastra / nostra | nostrī    |
|                     | 2 PL   | vastra / scala | vastrī    |
|                     | 3 PL   | loru         | loru       |
| San Filippo del Mela| 1 SG   | me           | me         |
|                     | 2 SG   | tø           | tø         |
|                     | 3 SG   | so           | so         |
|                     | 1 PL   | nastra / nostra | nostrī    |
|                     | 2 PL   | vastra / scala | vastrī    |
|                     | 3 PL   | so           | so         |
| Ragusa              | 1 SG   | miu / mia    | mie        |
|                     | 2 SG   | tuu (twa) / tua | twai      |
|                     | 3 SG   | suu (swa) / sua | swai      |
|                     | 1 PL   | nwastra / nwastra | nwastrī  |
|                     | 2 PL   | vwastra / vwastra | vwastrī  |
|                     | 3 PL   | so           | so         |
| Ribera              | 1 SG   | me           | me         |
|                     | 2 SG   | tø           | tø         |
|                     | 3 SG   | so           | so         |
|                     | 1 PL   | nastra / nostra | nostrī    |
|                     | 2 PL   | vastra / scala | vastrī    |
|                     | 3 PL   | so           | so         |
| Mussomeli           | 1 SG   | mia          | mia        |
|                     | 2 SG   | tua          | tua        |
|                     | 3 SG   | sua          | suı        |
|                     | 1 PL   | nwastra / nwastra | nwastrī  |
|                     | 2 PL   | vwastra / vwastra | vwastrī  |
|                     | 3 PL   | loru (di iddi) | loru (di iddi) |
| Trapani133          | 1 SG   | meu / mia    | mei        |
|                     | 2 SG   | tou / tua    | tøi        |
|                     | 3 SG   | sou / sua    | soi        |
|                     | 1 PL   | nostru / nostra | nostrī    |
|                     | 2 PL   | vostru / vostra | vostrī    |
|                     | 3 PL   | loru         | loru       |
| Aidone              | 1 SG   | mia          | mia        |
|                     | 2 SG   | tø           | tø         |
|                     | 3 SG   | so           | so         |
|                     | 1 PL   | nastra / nostra | nostrī    |
|                     | 2 PL   | vastra / scala | vastrī    |
|                     | 3 PL   | so           | so         |

Table A4. Nouns.134

| Language        | Class | Singular | Plural |
|-----------------|-------|----------|--------|
| Casalmaggiore135, Parma, Reggio Emilia, Novellara, Correggio | -U    | ragas, gat | boy, cat |
|                 | -A    | ragasa, gata | girl.(F.SG) | girl.(F.PL) |
|                 | -E    | krus | cross | cross |
|                 | -VI   | kaval | horse.(SG) | horse.(PL) |
|                 |       | kapel | hat.(SG) | hat.(PL) |
| Language      | Class | Singular         | Plural            |
|--------------|-------|------------------|-------------------|
| Savignano s. R. | -U    | kavestar zriʒ | kavestar zriʒ     |
|              |       | klamb           | klamb             |
|              |       | lamp₄[metaph]   | lightning.PL      |
|              |       | kapel₄[metaph]  | hat.PL            |
|              |       | kapot₄[metaph]  | coat.PL           |
|              | -A    | fnestra        | fenestri          |
|              |       | dʒurneda        | dʒurnedi          |
|              |       | kriatura        | kriatur           |
|              | -E    | bikir           | bikir             |
|              |       | kanon           | cannon            |
|              |       | kaŋᵣ[metaph]    | dog.PL            |
|              |       | peder[metaph]   | father.PL         |
|              |       | p[aᵣ[metaph]    | person.PL         |
| Teramo       | -U    | fiiʃ Así        | child             |
|              | -A    | fiʃ Así         | child             |
|              | -E    | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
| S.M. Capua Vetere, Palma | -U    | fiʃ Así        | child             |
| Campania, Amalfi |       | fiʃ Así        | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así        | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así        | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así        | child             |
| Felitto      | -U    | fiʃ Así        | child             |
|              | -A    | fiʃ Así        | child             |
|              | -E    | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ Así[metaph] | child             |
| Barletta     | -U    | fiʃ así        | child             |
|              | -A    | fiʃ así        | child             |
|              | -E    | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
| Bari, Taranto | -U    | fiʃ así        | child             |
|              | -A    | fiʃ así        | child             |
|              | -E    | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
| Francavilla in Sinni | -U    | fiʃ así        | child             |
|              | -A    | fiʃ así        | child             |
|              | -E    | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
|              |       | fiʃ así[metaph] | child             |
| Verbicaro    | -U    | kwaṭraɾa        | kwaṭraɾa          |
|              | -A    | standɾa        | standɾa          |
|              | -E    | miso           | miso              |
|              |       | maluna         | maluna            |
| Language          | Class | Singular                      | Plural                      |
|-------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Mesagne<sup>40</sup> | -U    | libbru book.M.SG               | libbri book.PL.             |
|                   | -A    | makinia car.F.SG              | makinia car.F.PL.           |
|                   | -E    | fukaliri fireplace             | fukaliri fireplace          |
|                   |       | mesi[<sub>-metaph</sub>] month.M.SG | misi[<sub>-metaph</sub>] month.M.PL. |
|                   |       | peti[<sub>-metaph</sub>] foot.M.SG | peti[<sub>-metaph</sub>] foot.M.PL. |
|                   |       | kuluri[<sub>-metaph</sub>] colour.M.SG | kuluri[<sub>-metaph</sub>] colour.M.PL. |
| Cellino S. Marco<sup>41</sup> | -U    | libbru book.M.SG               | libbri book.M.PL.           |
|                   | -A    | makinia car.F.SG              | makinia car.F.PL.           |
|                   | -E    | mese month.M.SG               | mese month.M.PL.            |
|                   |       | pete foot.M.SG                | pete foot.M.PL.             |
|                   |       | kulure colour.M.SG            | kuluri colour.M.PL.         |
| Cutro             | -U    | figgju child.M.SG             | figgi child.PL.             |
|                   | -A    | figgja child.F.SG             | figgi child.PL.             |
|                   | -E    | misi month                    | misi month                  |
|                   |       | niputi nephew                 | niputi nephew               |
| Nicastro          | -U    | higgju child.M.SG             | higgji child.PL.            |
|                   | -A    | higgja child.F.SG             | higgji child.PL.            |
|                   | -E    | misi month                    | misi month                  |
|                   |       | niputi nephew                 | niputi nephew               |
| Catanzaro         | -U    | pittuliru child.M.SG          | pittuliri child.PL.         |
|                   | -A    | pittulira child.F.SG          | pittuliri child.PL.         |
|                   | -E    | paisa village.SG              | paisi village.PL.           |
|                   |       | previta priest.SG             | previti priest.PL.          |
|                   |       | lutja light.SG                | lutji light.PL.             |
| Reggio Calabria<sup>42</sup> | -U    | figgi-lu child.M.SG           | figgi-lu child.PL.          |
|                   | -A    | figgja-la child.F.SG          | figgji-child.PL.            |
|                   | -E    | peri foot                    | peri foot                  |
| San Filippo del Mela, Ribera | -U    | karusu child.M.SG             | karusi child.PL.            |
|                   | -A    | karusa child.F.SG             | karusi child.PL.            |
|                   | -E    | misi month                    | misi month                  |
|                   |       | niputi nephew                 | niputi nephew               |
| Ragusa            | -U    | pitt[wattu] child.M.SG        | pitt[wattu] child.PL.       |
|                   | -A    | pitt[jotta] child.F.SG        | pitt[jotta] child.PL.       |
|                   | -E    | misi month                    | misi month                  |
|                   |       | niputi nephew                 | niputi nephew               |
| Mussomeli         | -U    | pitt[wattu] child.M.SG        | pitt[wattu] child.PL.       |
|                   | -A    | pitt[wattu] child.F.SG        | pitt[wattu] child.PL.       |
|                   | -E    | misi month                    | misi month                  |
|                   |       | niputi nephew                 | niputi nephew               |
| Trapani           | -U    | pitt[jotta] child.M.SG        | pitt[jotta] child.PL.       |
|                   | -A    | pitt[jotta] child.F.SG        | pitt[jotta] child.PL.       |
|                   | -E    | misi month                    | misi month                  |
|                   |       | rendi tooth                   | rendi tooth                 |
| Aidone            | -U    | ddibbra book                  | ddibbra book                |
|                   | -A    | makana car.F.SG               | makana car.F.PL.            |
|                   | -E    | sartura taylor                | sartura taylor              |
|                   | -ng-o| tavulingo table.SG            | tavulij table.PL.           |
|                   | -z-o | karuzo boy.SG                 | karuzo boy.PL.              |

<sup>40</sup> [Aidone](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ4z99999999) <sup>41</sup> [Cellino S. Marco](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ4z99999999) <sup>42</sup> [Botrugno](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ4z99999999) <sup>43</sup> [Reggio Calabria](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ4z99999999) <sup>44</sup> [San Filippo del Mela, Ribera](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ4z99999999) <sup>45</sup> [Ragusa](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ4z99999999) <sup>46</sup> [Mussomeli](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ4z99999999) <sup>47</sup> [Trapani](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQ4z99999999)
| Language                        | Class | Singular | Plural  |
|--------------------------------|-------|----------|---------|
| Casalmaggiore Reggio Emilia, Novellara, Corr. | -U    | rus      | red     |
|                                | -A    | rusa     | rusi    |
|                                | -E    | bula     | beli    |
|                                | -VI   | bel       | bei     |
| Savignano s. R.                | -U    | katī, ferrb | bad, shrewd |
|                                | -A    | kativa    | kativi  |
|                                | -E    | grando    | grand   |
|                                | -VI   | bel        | bei     |
| Teramo Campania, Palma Nov.    | -U    | njuja     | nujta   |
|                                | -A    | bjangąq | bijangąq |
|                                | -E    | grussąq | grussąq |
|                                | -VI   | karnaląq | karnaląq |
| S.M. Capua Vetere, Amalfi      | -U    | vaʃʃo   | vaʃʃo   |
|                                | -A    | vajʃʃo   | vajʃʃo  |
|                                | -E    | granno   | grannó  |
|                                | -VI   | eltʃʃo   | eltʃʃo  |
| Felitto                        | -U    | vaʃʃo   | vaʃʃo   |
|                                | -A    | vajʃʃa   | vajʃʃa  |
|                                | -E    | granna   | grannó  |
|                                | -VI   | eltʃʃa   | eltʃʃa  |
| Barletta                       | -U    | bello    | bello   |
|                                | -A    | bello    | bello   |
|                                | -E    | grannó   | grannó  |
|                                | -VI   | eltʃʃa   | eltʃʃa  |
| Bari                           | -U    | vaʃʃo   | vaʃʃo   |
|                                | -A    | vajʃʃa   | vajʃʃa  |
|                                | -E    | granna   | grannó  |
|                                | -VI   | eltʃʃa   | eltʃʃa  |
| Taranto                        | -U    | vaʃʃo   | vaʃʃo   |
|                                | -A    | vajʃʃa   | vajʃʃa  |
|                                | -E    | granna   | grannó  |
|                                | -VI   | eltʃʃa   | eltʃʃa  |
Table A5. Cont.

| Language          | Class | Singular | Plural       |
|-------------------|-------|----------|--------------|
| Francavilla in Sinni | -U    | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   |       | a[perti] |              |
|                   |       | g[rosso] |              |
|                   | -A    | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   |       | a[perti] |              |
|                   |       | g[rosso] |              |
|                   | -E    | d[dfu]   | young, SG    |
|                   |       | s[per]   |              |
|                   |       | g[ran]   | big          |
|                   |       | d[dfu]   |              |
|                   |       | s[per]   |              |
| Verbicaro         | -U    | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -A    | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
| Mesagne           | -U    | va[jo]   | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -A    | va[jo]   | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -E    | k[randi] | big          |
|                   |       | s[wee]   |              |
| Cellino S. Marco  | -U    | va[jo]   | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -A    | va[jo]   | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -E    | d[dfu]   | young        |
|                   |       | s[per]   |              |
| Catanzaro         | -U    | va[jo]   | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -A    | va[jo]   | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -E    | k[randi] | big          |
|                   |       | s[wee]   |              |
| Reggio Calabria   | -U    | va[jo]   | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -A    | va[jo]   | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -E    | d[dfu]   | young        |
|                   |       | s[per]   |              |
| Cutro, Nicastro, Sicily | -U    | va[jo] | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -A    | va[jo]   | low, M.SG    |
|                   |       | va[jo]   | low          |
|                   | -E    | g[ran]   | big          |
|                   |       | s[wee]   |              |
| Aidone            | -U    | n[uv]    | new          |
|                   |       | n[uv]    | new          |
|                   | -A    | n[uv]    | new, F.SG    |
|                   |       | n[uv]    | new          |
|                   | -E    | g[ran]   | big          |
|                   |       | d[dfu]   | young        |
|                   |       | s[per]   |              |
| Italian Version   | English Translation               |
| Plural object     | Ieri zia Maria e zio Giovanni hanno sbucciato fagioli per tutto il pomeriggio. | Yesterday Aunt Maria and Uncle Giovanni peeled beans all afternoon long. |
| (1)               | Gianni vende patate.              | Gianni sells patatas. |
| (2)               | Quel negozio vende frigoriferi?    | Does that shop sell fridges? |
| (3)               | L’altro giorno ho trovato formiche nel salone. | The other day I found ants in the living room. |
| Plural object modified by an adjective | Zia Maria e Giovanni sbucciano fagioli bianchi da quando erano piccoli. | Aunt Maria and Uncle Giovanni have been peeling white beans since they were young. |
| (4)               | La polizia ha interrogato Gianni e lui ha raccontato bugie enormi. | The police questioned Gianni and he told huge lies. |
| (5)               | Quella ditta costruisce/ha costruito case grandissime. | That firm builds/built huge houses. |
| (6)               | Ho comprato pomodori maturi per fare la salsa. | I bought ripe tomatoes to make the sauce. |
| Mass object      | Ho trovato polvere da tutte le parti. | I found dust everywhere. |
| (7)               | Hai farina?                      | Do you have flour? |
| Mass object modified by an adjective | Ieri alla fiera hanno distribuito vino rosso per tutti. | Yesterday at the fair they distributed red wine for everyone. |
| (8)               | Hai pesce fresco?                | Do you have any fresh fish? |
Table A6. Cont.

| Italian Version | English Translation |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| **Singular object** |                      |
| (12) Ho preparato torta | I prepared a cake |
| **Singular object modified by an adjective** |                      |
| (13) Ho preparato torta buonissima | I prepared a very good cake |
| **Plural subject** |                      |
| (14) Turisti sono arrivati in città | Tourists arrived in town |
| (15) Foglie sono cadute su tutta la strada | Leaves have fallen all over the road |
| **Plural subject modified by an adjective** |                      |
| (16) Turisti spagnoli sono arrivati in città | Spanish tourists have arrived in town |
| (17) Rami secchi sono caduti sulla strada | Dead branches have fallen on the road |
| **Mass subject** |                      |
| (18) Polvere piovuta dappertutto | It is raining/has rained dust |
| **Mass subject modified by an adjective** |                      |
| (19) Polvere rossa piovuta dappertutto | It is raining/has rained red dust |
| **Singular subject** |                      |
| (20) Studentessa è venuta a parlarmi | A student came to talk to me |
| **Singular subject modified by an adjective** |                      |
| (21) Studentessa americana è arrivata | An American student came |
| **Plural postverbal subject** |                      |
| (22) Sono arrivati turisti in questo periodo | Tourists arrived in this period |
| (23) Sono cadute foglie su tutta la strada | Leaves have fallen all over the road |
| **Plural postverbal subject modified by an adjective** |                      |
| (24) Sono arrivati turisti spagnoli in città | Spanish tourists have arrived in town |
| (25) Sono caduti rami secchi sulla strada | Dead branches have fallen on the road |
| **Mass postverbal subject** |                      |
| (26) Piove/Ha piovuto polvere | It is raining/has rained dust |
| **Mass postverbal subject modified by an adjective** |                      |
| (27) Piove/Ha piovuto polvere rossa | It is raining/has rained red dust |
| **Singular postverbal subject** |                      |
| (28) È venuta studentessa a parlarmi | A student came to talk to me |
| **Singular postverbal subject modified by an adjective** |                      |
| (29) È venuta studentessa americana | An American student came |
| **Plural subject of existential sentence (with locative coda)** |                      |
| (30) Sul vestito ci sono macchie | There are stains on the dress |
| **Mass subject of existential sentence (with locative coda)** |                      |
| (31) Ci sono studenti sfaticati (= esistono studenti che sono sfaticati) | There are laggard students (= there exist students who are laggard) |
| **Mass subject of existential sentence (with locative coda) modified by an adjective** |                      |
| (32) Sul vestito ci sono macchie nere | There are carefree children (= there exist children who are carefree) |
| **Mass subject of existential sentence (with locative coda) modified by an adjective** |                      |
| (33) C'era aria viziata di là | There was spoiled air over there |
| **Plural subject of existential sentence (with a relative clause as the coda)** |                      |
| (34) Ci sono studenti sfaticati (= esistono studenti che sono sfaticati) | There are laggard students (= there exist students who are laggard) |
| (35) Ci sono bambini spensierati (= esistono bambini che sono spensierati) | There are carefree children (= there exist children who are carefree) |
| (36) Ci sono macchie che non se ne vanno | There are stains that do not fade away |
| **Mass subject of existential sentence (with a relative clause as the coda)** |                      |
| (37) Ci viene che migliora quando invecchia | There is wine that gets better when it gets old |
| **Singular subject of existential clause** |                      |
| (38) C'è pianta in giardino | There is a plant in the garden |
| (39) C'è pianta malata | There is a sick plant |
| (40) C'è pianta che sta appassendo | There is a plant that’s withering |

Notes

1. Concerning the relation between the representation of (morphological and semantic) Number and the realization and meaning of bare nouns, see also, among many others, at least Cheng and Sybesma (1999), Munn and Schmitt (2002, 2005), Zamparelli (2000), Dayal (2001), Déprez (2005), Heycock and Zamparelli (2005, p. 234), Tsoulas (2009), Stark (2016), Pinzin and Puleoletto (2022), and literature therein.

2. Except for the class of nouns ending in -al (plural -aux) and few other lexical instances. The suffix -s is only pronounced under liaison. We refer to Massot (2014, pp. 1837–40) for a list of the environments where visible traces of number morphology appear on nominal items in French.

3. WM in the gloss.

4. See especially Harris (1991), Ritter (1993), Marantz (1997), Di Domenico (1998), Ferrari (2005), Acquaviva (2008), Picallo (2008), Déchaine et al. (2014), Lampitelli (2014), Kramer (2015), Manzini and Savoia (2017, 2018, 2019), Manzini (2020) and literature therein.
See also Maiden (1991), Fanciullo (1995), Loporcaro (2011) and literature therein.

See, on this same topic, recent work by Pinzin and Poletto (2022).

The data were collected from native speakers and, when possible, double-checked against the existing literature. A description of the areas under investigation, with the relevant literature, can be found at http://www.parametriccomparison.unimore.it/site/home/projects/prin-2017/documents-and-materials.html (accessed on 18 August 2022; the content of this section is regularly updated as work progresses). For a discussion of their classification and major features, we refer to Pellegrini (1977), Maiden and Parry (1997), Cortelazzo et al. (2002), Manzini and Savoia (2005), Loporcaro (2009), Ledgeway and Maiden (2016), among many others.

Rohlfs (1966, 1968, 1969), Pellegrini (1977).

Vezzosi (2019).

Bernini (1942), De Marchi (1976), Michelini (2017). Data collected by C. Guardiano.

Foresti (1987); Ferretti (2016). Data collected by M. Bagni.

Malagoli (Malagoli 1910–1913). Data collected by B. Ferrari.

Foresti (1988), Hajek (1997), Badini (2002). Data collected by G. Roversi and C. Guardiano.

Schürr (1974), Pellucciardi (1977). Data collected by C. Guardiano.

Savini (1881); Mantenuto (2015a, 2015b, 2016). Data provided by I. Mantenuto.

Avolio (1989), Del Puente and Fanciullo (2004). Data collected by G. Silvestri (Santa Maria Capua Vetere), V. Stalfieri (Amalfi) and I. della Corte (Palma Campania).

Rohlfs (1937), Cerullo (2018, 2021) and literature therein. Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

Andriani (2017). Data provided by G. Andriani.

Valente (1975), Tarantino (1992). Data collected by R. Colavito and V. Stalfieri.

De Vincentis (1872), Peluso (1985), Gigante (1986, 2002). Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

Lausberg (1939), Stalfieri (2021). Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

Martino (1991), Silvestri (2013). Data provided by G. Silvestri.

Mancarella (1975, 1981, 1998), Urgese (2003). Data provided by F. Fanciullo (Cellino San Marco) and collected by V. Stalfieri (Mesagne and Botrugno).

Rohlfs (1962), Trumper (1997), Krefeld (2007), Maddalon (2016).

Anastasio (2022). Data collected by A. Anastasio.

Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

Cotronei (1895), Sorrenti (2005). Data collected by V. Stalfieri.

Falcone (1976). Data collected by C. Guardiano and V. Stalfieri.

Ruffino (1984, 1991, 1997), Leone (1995), Trovato (2002). Data collected by V. Stalfieri (Trapani), M. Cambria (Ribera and San Filippo del Mela), C. Guardiano (Ragusa). The data from Mussomeli were provided by S. Cruschina.

Peri (1959), Varvaro (1981), Trovato (1998, 2013), Raccuglia (2003), Trovato and Menza (2020). For a recent survey, see also Costa (2020). These dialects are assumed to originate from migrations from northern Italy which took place starting from the Norman Conquest of Sicily (1061–1091). Our data were provided by F. Ciantia.

See also Loporcaro (2009), pp. 97–106.

Rohlfs (1966, §§ 141–47), Loporcaro (2009, p. 80), see Cangemi et al. (2010, Section 2) for a discussion and for the literature.

In the transcriptions of the examples, we mark only the allophones which are relevant for the purposes of our description, are peculiar of individual dialects, or oppose different dialects. To signal such phonetic peculiarities, we adopted conventional IPA symbols (https://www.internationalphoneticassociation.org/content/ipa-chart, accessed on 3 May 2022), with one exception: the symbol <å> signals the low-mid central vowel (allophone of /a/ in open stressed syllable) found in Barletta and Taranto (Mancarella 1998). Vowel length and stress are generally not marked, with the exception of stressed final vowels. Geminates are signalled by the repetition of the relevant symbol. As for affricates, only the occlusive moment is duplicated (e.g., ts → tts). The examples taken from the literature, unless otherwise specified, are reproduced in their original form.

See also Fanciullo (1986, 1988), Rizzi and Savoia (1993), Loporcaro and Silvestri (2011, 2015).

See also Idone and Silvestri (2018, Section 2), to which we also refer for a description (and examples) of the conditions on metaphony in Verbicaro.

Metaphony has different manifestations across the Romance dialects of Italy. We refer to the literature for more detailed typologies and examples, e.g., among many others, Rohlfs (1966, 1968, 1969), Calabrese (Calabrese 1984–1985, 1998, 2008), Maiden (1991), Fanciullo (1994), De Blasi and Fanciullo (2002), Russo (2007), Barbato (2008), Loporcaro (2016), and literature therein. We also refer to Savoia and Maiden (1997) for a detailed survey of the internal variability concerning these phenomena in the Romance dialects of Italy. For the purposes of the present paper, we want to stress the role of metaphony, originally a phonetic/phonological
phenomenon, in preserving morphological number alternations on nominal structures; this, in turn, has consequences on the realization of bare nouns in argument position, i.e., a syntactic process. For this reason, in what follows, we mostly refer to those dialects (especially group 4B and Savignano sul Rubicone, 4A), where metaphor impacts the morphological realization of Number.

In some dialects, root vowel alternations superficially matching singular vs. plural interpretation also result from propagation (Rizzi and Savoia 1993). Manzini and Savoia (2016, p. 221) describe propagation as “the result of the spreading of [U] properties from an unstressed nucleus to the stressed nucleus (or [a] vowel) immediately to the right”. Phenomena of this type are visible for instance on the stressed vowel of nouns preceded by the masculine singular form of the definite article (e.g., u libbra ‘the book’ vs. i libbra ‘the books’ in Verbicaro; see also Idone and Silvestri 2018).

Yet, in some dialects (e.g., Francavilla in Sinni, Taranto: see Tables A4 and A5) adjectives ending in -u/-a developed a different paradigm: in the masculine (-u/-i), as expected, the combination of metaphony and weakening of final -u/-i generated one item undistinguished for singular and plural (e.g., nonu < NOVU(M) and NOVI; in the feminine, the expected form nova (< NOVA(M) and NOVAE) is only used in the singular, while the plural analogically generalizes nuova.

Detailed descriptions of these parameters and their internal dependencies, which are summarized in (12), can be found in Longobardi et al. (2013, Appendix) and Crisma and Longobardi (2020). The updated list of their manifestations can be found in Crisma et al. (2020, Supplementary Material).

For a recent description of the featural composition of the head D, see Crisma and Longobardi (2020).

For a typological analysis of Number systems across languages, see Corbett (2000).

For the representation of parameter dependencies and implications, see Longobardi and Guardiano (2009), Guardiano and Longobardi (2017), Roberts (2019), and literature therein.

We also refer to Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, chap. 8) for a detailed list of examples.

See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, chps. 2, 4, 5).

See also Bari (Andriani, p.c.): stu pumadorje da fottà (‘this tomato must be thrown away’) vs. sti pumadora so da fottà (‘these tomatoes must be thrown away’).

See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. I, pp. 52, 200, 229, 302, 415, vol. II, pp. 528, 802).

In the languages of the sample, nouns and adjectives display very similar patterns concerning number marking. In some dialects, metaphor affects the representation of gender on adjectives (on the strict relation between Gender and Number in these dialects see also note 49 below). Here, we focus on nouns only. Examples of number marking on adjectives in the dialects of the sample are reported in Table A5. See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 574–660).

However, items exhibiting both strategies are found across Italy (cf. Foresti 1988): see, for instance, fijre vs. fija ‘flower/s’ in Padova (Trumper 1972, pp. 13–18), lepre vs. lepri ‘hare/s’ in Macerata (Biondi 2012 cited in Fanciullo 2015, p. 130), fste vs. fuert ‘strong,sc/pl.’ in Central Salento (Fanciullo 1994, p. 574).

See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 583–90).

But see Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 642–60) and Pescarini (2020). The literature on Romance nominal systems has shown that the realization of Number on nouns is strongly related to that of Gender: “the assignment of grammatical Number depends on the assignment of a formal class to a linguistic category” (Picallo 2008, p. 47). We refer to Picallo (2008), and to work by (e.g., Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2017, 2018, 2019) and Pinzin and Poletto (2021, 2022) for a discussion and a summary of the literature. To account for the relation between Number, Gender and inflectional Class, and for their morphosyntactic realization, the hypothesis of a “layered view of plural” (Manzini 2020, p. 6), suggesting multiple Number positions, has been variously explored in the literature (see, for example, Witschko 2008; Landau 2016; Manzini 2020 and literature therein).

In some dialects of Sicily, a plural ending -a is visible on nouns ending in -a in the singular: stu rradgy (this.M.sg clock.M.sg), sti rradgy (this.pl. clock.pl) [Ribera]; u libbra bbellu (the.M.sg book.M.sg beautiful.M.sg), i libbra bbellu (the.pl book.pl beautiful.pl) [Mussomeli, Ragusa]. Also, some nouns ending in -i (< -E(M)) take the plural affix -a: u profisuri pittifaco (the.M.sg professor.M.sg young,M.sg), i profisura pittifacuti (the.pl professor.pl young,pl). These -a plurals are well-known to the literature: we refer to Rohlfis (1968, § 368) and Sornicola (2010) for an overview.

Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 590–99) suggest that -a is to be analyzed as a noun class morpheme, while -i is a “quantificational denotation morpheme” (“morfema a denotazione quantificazionale”, 596), denoting both plural number and feminine gender. In other items, such as demonstratives and quantifiers, -i would only express quantificational information (i.e., plural number, 596–597). See also Pescarini (2020). It is not unreasonable that the plural suffix -i instantiates an innovation probably introduced after the loss of final -L, -U, and -E. The origin of this suffix is unclear. Rohlfis (1968, § 363) suggests it to be an analogical creation based on Latin feminine nouns ending in -IAE (such as in BESTIAE > bestij), where final -i was reanalyzed as an plural feminine morpheme. Reasonably, the creation of plural -i happened after the loss of final vowels.

There are exceptions: for example, like in French (see note 2), masculine nouns ending in -al/el in the singular take the suffix -al/-el in the plural (kaval/kavai, ‘horse.sg, horse.pl’; kavel/kavai ‘hair.sg, hair.pl’).

See, for a discussion of these systems, Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 637–42). As it can be seen in the examples (23) and (24), gender alternations are maintained on (some) adjectives.
The form *bbell* results from propagation (see note 36).

See, e.g., Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 637–39), Giuliani (2001, pp. 145–46), Ledgeway (2007, pp. 106–7).

For a discussion of similar phenomena in other Romance dialects of Southern Italy, see Manzini and Savoia (2016, Section 3).

Kinship expressions are exceptional: when a possessive modifies a kinship noun in the singular, and the latter refers to a unique individual, it does not co-occur with any determiner and has a “definite” reading only: *mio padre* (lit. ‘my father’) vs. *“il mio padre* (lit. ‘the my father’). In some dialects of our sample (e.g., Salentino, Santa Maria Capua Vetere), when occurring with a kinship noun in the singular, with the interpretation described above, possessives are realized as enclitic (D’Alessandro and Migliori 2017 and literature therein; Manzini and Savoia 2005, vol. III, pp. 660–749).

Il mio libro (lit. ‘the.M.SG my.M.SG book.M.SG’) vs. *i miei libri* (lit. ‘the.M.PL my.M.PL book.M.PL’), *la mia macchina* (lit. ‘the.F.SG my.F.SG car.F.SG’) vs. *le mie macchine* (lit. ‘the.F.PL my.F.PL car.F.PL’).

In several dialects, adnominal possessives display “weaker” morphophonological structure as compared to pronominal ones (Cardinaletti 1998; Cardinaletti and Starke 1994, 1999; Manzini and Savoia 2005, vol. III, pp. 570–74, a.o.). In Table A3, for each dialect, we list the pronominal forms, whose paradigms are more variable than those of articles and demonstratives with respect to the realization of number alternations.

For further examples, see Manzini and Savoia (2005, vol. III, pp. 552–54).

For some dialects (e.g., those used in Guardiano et al. 2016), data concerning the distribution of bare nouns had been collected during previous fieldwork. These data were integrated with novel ones, with the exception of two dialects: Santa Maria Capua Vetere (because the speaker was no more available) and Teramo. For the latter, we found extensive material in the literature, especially Mantenuto (2015a, 2015b, 2016), and the data found in the TerraLing group SSWL (http://test.terraling.com/groups/7, accessed on 3 August 2022; Koopman and Guardiano 2014–2018): properties O 01 1_Indef mass_can be bare to O 09 5_PL car. For each dialect, we list the pronominal forms, whose paradigms are more variable than those of articles and demonstratives with respect to the realization of number alternations.

The sentences provided by the speakers for each dialect can be found here: http://www.parametriccomparison.unimore.it/site/home/projects/prin-2017/documents-and-materials.html; accessed on 18 August 2022 (the content of this section is regularly updated as work progresses).

On the relation between the morphological exponence of gender and number and the realization of nominal determination systems in Romance, see at least Stark (2007, 2016); for a recent analysis of the alternation between bare nouns and partitive articles, Pinzin and Poletto (2021).

Both variants *varjanna* and *varja* are found in Francavilla.

For older varieties, see also Ugolini (1959, p. 120).

A difference between Italian and the dialects where bare nouns are grammatical concerns the acceptability of bare plurals/mass modified by an adjective, a PP or a relative clause as preverbal subjects. These are grammatical in Italian while they are only marginally accepted in the dialects.

All the paradigms listed in the tables have been provided by our informants and double-checked against the available literature, including Manzini and Savoia (2005, chp. 8). For each dialect, we mention at least one bibliographical source.
Lausberg (1939, p. 139).
Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, p. 68).
Mancarella (1975, 1981).
Mancarella (1975, p. 14).
Mancarella (1998, p. 145).
Anastasio (2022, p. 14).
Falcone (1976, p. 66).
Dialects of Sicily: Rohlfis (1968, p. 106); Leone (1995, p. 30), Ruffino (1991, 1997).
Vezzosi (2019, pp. 54–55).
Dialects of Emilia: Badini (2002), Foresti (1988, p. 581). Reggio Emilia: Ferretti (2016, p. 10); Parma: Bernini (1942), Michelini (2017).
Pelliciardi (1977).
Savini (1881, pp. 61–62), Mantenuto (2016, pp. 16–24).
Dialects of Campania: Rohlfis (1968, pp. 207–8); Ledgeway (2004, 2009, pp. 195–212), a.o.
Cerullo (2018, p. 165) for distal demonstratives. Cerullo (p.c.) for proximal and medial demonstratives.
Andriani (2017, p. 119).
Digaeta (1985, p. 17).
De Vincentis (1872, p. 13).
Lausberg (1939, p. 143) lists some paradigms of various dialects of the area, which slightly differ from those of Francavilla.
Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, p. 68).
Stehl (1988, p. 706), Mancarella (1975, pp. 159–60).
Mancarella (1975, p. 14).
Mancarella (1998, p. 156ff).
Anastasio (2022, p. 16).
Falcone (1976, p. 69).
Dialects of Sicily: Rohlfis (1968, pp. 207–8); Leone (1995, pp. 28–30), Ruffino (1991, 1997).
The references for this table are the same as those for table S2/A, unless otherwise specified.
Mantenuto (2016, pp. 23–37).
Andriani (2017, pp. 118–22).
De Vincentis (1872, p. 13).
Mancarella (1975, p. 17).
Mancarella (1998, p. 156ff).
Falcone (1976, p. 72).
Falcone (1976, p. 72).
See also Manzini and Savoia (2005, chp. 8), Silvestri (2016).
Vezzosi (2019, pp. 50–51).
Dialects of Emilia: Badini (2002), Foresti (1988, pp. 580–81). Reggio Emilia: Ferretti (2016, p. 35); Parma: Bernini (1942), Michelini (2017).
Malagoli (Malagoli 1910–1913, pp. 63–65).
Mantenuto (2016, p. 9), Savini (1881, p. 61).
Dialects of Campania: Ledgeway (2009, p. 247).
Andriani (2017, p. 106).
Digaeta (1985, p. 18).
De Vincentis (1872, p. 14).
Lausberg (1939, p. 144).
Silvestri (2016, p. 135).
Mancarella (1998, p. 153).
Mancarella (1975, p. 16).
Mancarella (1998, p. 153).
Krefeld (2007), Anastasio (2022, p. 16).
The table provides a selection of examples which show the number marking strategies visible on different noun classes in the dialects of the sample.

Vezzosi (2019, pp. 21–26).

Pelliciardi (1977, pp. 45–54).

Mantenuto (2015b, p. 11ff).

In Felitto several nouns have both root vowel alternations and suffixes.

Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, pp. 69–72). The suffix -a in the word st@nd@ is a residual of the neuter Latin suffix -A.

Mancarella (1998, pp. 89–92, 106–7, 147–48). In Mesagne, final -E and final -I are both realized as -i (Mancarella 1998, pp. 106–7). Thus, there is no suffix alternation between singular and plural on nouns originally ending in -E. In some such nouns, number alternations are realized through metaphonetic alternations of the root vowel, as shown in the examples. This sets a difference with the two other dialects of Salento (Botrugno and Cellino San Marco), where the alternation -E/-I was maintained.

Mancarella (1998, pp. 89–92, 106–7, 147–48).

Mancarella (1998, pp. 89–92, 106–7, 147–48).

Falcone (1976, p. 68).

The table provides a selection of examples which show the number marking strategies visible on different adjective classes in the dialects of the sample.

Vezzosi (2019, pp. 21–26).

Mantenuto (2015b, p. 11ff).

Loporcaro and Silvestri (2015, pp. 69–72). The suffix -a in the word vaSSa is a residual of the neuter Latin suffix -A.

Mancarella (1998, pp. 89–92, 106–7, 147–48).

Sentences 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 29, 30, 39, 40, 41 are ungrammatical in Italian. Sentences 17, 18 and 20 are marginally accepted by some speakers of Italian.

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