
DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN THE DIALECTS OF SOUTHERN ITALY: AN OVERVIEW

MARCATGE DIFERENCIAL D'OBJECTE EN ELS DIALECTES DE LA ITÀLIA MERIDIONAL: UNA PANORÀMICA

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Abstract: This article undertakes a descriptive overview of the variation in the distribution and licensing of differential object marking across a wide range of dialects of the south of Italy. It is shown how variation in this area is not random, but follows patterns of structured variation which can be modelled in a scalar fashion in terms of four broad splits based on grammatical person, and on pronominal-nominal, head-phrasal and animacy/specificity oppositions. These four broad dimensions of variation are in turn shown to conceal a number of more subtle differences of a microvariational nature. This microvariation, it is suggested, can be read not only horizontally as synchronic variation across the dialects, but also vertically to provide some key insights into the diachronic development of (Italo-)Romance DOM.

Key words: differential object marking; southern Italian dialects; microvariation; person; animacy; specificity; determiners.

Resum: Aquest article presenta una visió general descriptiva de la variació en la distribució i legitimació del marcatge diferencial d'objecte en un ampli ventall de dialectes del sud d'Itàlia. Es mostra com la variació en aquesta àrea no és aleatòria, sinó que segueix patrons de variació estructurada que es poden modelar de manera escalar a partir de quatre divisions àmplies basades en la persona gramatical i en les oposicions pronominal-nominal, nuclear-sintagmàtic i animacitat/especificitat.

Aquestes quatre dimensions àmplies de variació, al seu torn, s'ha demostrat que amaguen una sèrie de diferències més subtils de naturalesa microvariacional. Se suggereix que aquesta microvariació es pot llegir no només horitzontalment com a variació sincrònica entre els dialectes, sinó també verticalment per proporcionar algunes idees clau sobre el desenvolupament diacrònic de l'MDO (italo-)romànic.

Paraules clau: marcatge diferencial d'objecte; dialectes italians meridionals; microvariació; persona gramatical; animacitat; especificitat; determinats.



1. INTRODUCTION

The dialects of southern Italy (SIDs) represent the numerous local linguistic outcomes of spoken Latin south of an isogloss conventionally taken to run approximately from Rome in the west to Ancona in the east (Ledgeway 2016: 246). One of the very few linguistic features to truly unite all SIDs without exception (Rohlf 1969: 7, 1971: 314-17; Telmon 1993: 119f.; Sornicola 1997; Ledgeway 2000: ch.2, 2016: 268; Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, §4.9; Loporcaro 2009: 131; Manzini & Franco 2016: §3.3; Andriani this volume), although itself subject to considerable microvariation as we shall see, is the differential marking of various subclasses of the direct object (henceforth DOM),¹ which, on a par with other Romance varieties (though not Romanian), coincides with the indirect object marker *AD* 'to(wards)' > *a* (Rohlf 1971: 333f.). At a superficial level, the distribution of DOM across southern Italy appears to broadly align it with other Romance varieties, in that it proves sensitive to various degrees of referentiality and prominence (Silverstein 1976; Dixon 1979; DeLancey 1981; Bossong 1998: 203; Aissen 1999; Croft 2003; Mardale 2017: 351f.; Witzlack-Makaraevich & Seržant 2018: 5-7). However, there are also many notable differences, hardly a surprising result given what we know about the extent of microvariation in other areas of southern Italo-Romance syntax.

1. For the distribution of DOM in northern and central Italo-Romance varieties, as well as in standard Italian, see Ledgeway (in press). In the latter variety there also operates a person split, but with the further complication that it involves a singular-plural number opposition such that first- and second-person plural pronouns prove, at best, marginal in conjunction with DOM (Benincà 1988: 156; Berretta 1989, 1990a,b, 1991; Ferrazzi 2017: 42). To date, no such number distinction has been identified for the dialects of southern Italy (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 515).

In what follows, I will draw on the often patchy available evidence, including from my own fieldwork and examinations of different textual sources, to describe some of the major dimensions of microvariation in the distribution of DOM across SIDs. Starting from the most restrictive varieties and progressively moving towards more liberal varieties, I shall show how microvariation in this area is not random, but follows patterns of structured variation which can be modelled in a scalar fashion in terms of splits based on grammatical person (§ 2), and on pronominal-nominal (§ 3), head-phrasal (§ 4) and animacy/specificity (§ 5) distinctions. This microvariation, I shall suggest, can be read not only horizontally as synchronic variation across the dialects, but also vertically to provide some key insights into the diachronic development of (Italo-)Romance DOM.

2. PERSON SPLIT

In the most restrictive SIDs DOM operates according to a person split in terms of a binary [\pm discourse participants] distinction, such that DOM is licensed with the first/second persons (1A-B), but not with third-person (pro)nominals (1C).

Scorrano (LE), Salento (Musio 1995)

- (i) a. **A mie** me portene allu manicomio (p. 17)
 DOM me me= carry.3PL to.the mental.hospital
- b. era utu [...] cu te sopportu **a tie**. — **A mie!**? (p. 57)
 be.PST.ISG have.PTCP that you= tolerate.ISG DOM you DOM me
-
- c. Mo aggiu pinzare cu sistemu puru **issi** (p. 23)
 now have.ISG think.INF that sort.out.ISG pure loro

Varieties which fall into this type (henceforth Type 1A) include Abruzzese (Manzini & Savoia 2005: 11, § 4.9; D'Alessandro 2017: 8) and Salentino (Bentley 2013: 678; Bentley, Ciconte & Cruschina 2013: 21, 2015: 121f.),² where the association between DOM and the discourse participants can ultimately be linked to the greater pragmatic salience of the first/second persons which, as human and highly referential, qualify

2. Outside of the south, analogous distributions are found in Trieste (Rohlf 1969: 8, 1971: 314 n. 1, 331) and many dialects of central Italy (Rohlf 1971: 314 n. 1, 331; Vignuzzi 1997: 315; Manzini & Savoia 2005: 11, 515), including Umbria (Massarelli 2010: 104f.) and Lazio (Lorenzetti 1999: 155; D'Achille 2012: 14; Loporcario & Paciaroni 2016: 237).

as prototypical topics which are readily amenable to syntactic topicalization through fronting to the higher (Rizzi 1997) or lower (Belletti 2004, 2005) left peripheries.³ Although it is generally assumed that the higher left periphery licenses greater discourse prominence than the lower left periphery, this greater prominence is not sufficient to override the person split (2a), inasmuch as third-person pronouns, as well as other specific and animate third-person nominals, never license DOM even when fronted to the higher left periphery in these varieties (2b).

Arielli (CH), Abruzzo (D'Alessandro 2017: 8; c.p.)

- (2) a. Seme viste **a tte** / **a nnu** />(*a) **jisse** / (*a) **quille** / (*a) **Marije**.
 be.IPL see.PTCP DOM you DOM us DOM him DOM that.one DOM Maria
 b. **Isse** / **Quille** / **Marije** le/li seme viste.
 him that.one Maria him/her= be.IPL see.PTCP

A variant of the person split, henceforth Type 1B, is found in the Abruzzese dialects of Torricella Peligna, Canosa Sannita and Lanciano (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 515) where the distribution of DOM proves more liberal, extending optionally to [+hum(an)] third-person pronouns (3b-c), but not to other third-person nominals such as proper names (3d).

Lanciano (CH), Abruzzo (Antonio Potere, *L'ingratitude*)

- (3) a. **A nu** nen c' areguarda (p. 35)
 DOM us neg us= concern.3sg
-
- b. si ffatte proprie bbone a cacciarle **a cullù** (p. 36)
 be.2SG do.PTCP really well to remove.INF=him DOM that.one
- c. **quesse** proprie nen te la ricurde (p. 38)
 this.one really neg you= her= recall.2SG
-
- d. se vulive chiamà **Cuncetine** (p. 12)
 if want.PST.IPFV.2SG call.INF Concettina

Although further research is needed, in some Abruzzese dialects a further deixis-based restriction is found in third-person pronouns. Alongside a canonical first/second vs third-person split (4a,d), [+hum] third-person demonstrative pronouns — formally

3. The idea that apparently *in situ* DOM-ed objects occur in a lower left peripheral position is argued in several theoretical analyses; see for example, Torrego (1998), Ledgeway (2000), Peverini-Benson (2004) and Andriani (2011, 2015).

distinguished from their [-hum] variants by their distinctive oxytonic accentuation (cf. *cuštù/cullù* vs *quése/quéle* ‘this/that one’) — display a mixed behaviour according to Finamore’s (1893: 19, 28) description: DOM is licensed with the proximal pronominal (4b), but not with its distal variant (4c). Ultimately, this difference highlights a further opposition along the referentiality scale with pronouns marked [+Sp(eaker)] treated differently than those specified negatively for this deictic feature.

- Abruzzo (Finamore 1893)
- (4) a. *Vù a mmé?* / *Sind’ a mmé!*
 want.2SG DOM me listen.IMP.2SG DOM me
- b. *Vid’ a ccuštù!*
 see.IMP.2SG DOM this.one
-
- c. *Chiamé cullù.*
 call.1SG that.one
 ‘Chiamo quello.’
- d. *Chiamá Mégnhe / Sì vište Lujise?*
 call.IMP.2SG Menica be.2SG see.PTCP Luisa
 ‘Call Menica!/Have you seen Luisa?’

To sum up, variation in the person split observed so far follows the implicational hierarchy in (5).

- (5) 1/2 > pro 3 [+hum.] (deictic +Sp. > -Sp.)

3. PRONOMINAL SPLIT

When a variety no longer marks a split in relation to the discourse participants (cf. § 2), with DOM obligatorily extended to third-person pronouns, then the previous person split is replaced by a pronominal vs nominal split. Here we can recognize three subtypes. The first, Type 2A as found in many Lucanian dialects such as that spoken in Muro Lucano (Mennona 1977), involves a distinction between (animate) pronouns one the one hand which invariably license DOM (6a-b) and all other nominals on the other which occur without DOM (6c).⁴

4. This corresponds very closely to descriptions of the distribution of DOM in prescriptive standard written Catalan (cf. Pineda 2018) which equally restricts DOM to pronominals (including pronominalized quantifiers) but excludes it with nominals such as common nouns.

- Muro Lucano (PZ), Basilicata (Mennona 1977: 119, 252, 290)
- (6) a. I' vech' **a** **tì**, ma tu guard' **a** **mì**.
 I see.ISG DOM you but you watch.2SG DOM me
- b. tutt' guàrdan' **a** **iggio**.
 all watch.3PL DOM that.one
-
- c. quando po' virette **stu** **Tutonno**.
 when then see.PST.PFV.3SG this Totonno

A notable variation on this pronominal split, henceforth Type 2B, is found in dialects like that of Sannicandro, where the range of [+hum] third-person pronominals licensing DOM (7a) is extended to include the Wh-pronoun 'who, which one' (7b), which is inherently [+hum] and in these varieties, also obligatorily fronted to the higher left periphery. However, DOM is not extended to other [+hum] third-person pronominals such as the Q(uantified)-pro(noun)s 'all', 'someone' and 'nobody' (7c-d), nor to non-pronominal animates such as proper names (7e).

- Sannicandro (BA), Puglia (Gioiosa 2000)
- (7) a. Aspètte **a** **isse** / **a** **jéssa** ca jjesce da la Méssa (p.105)
 wait.ISG DOM him DOM her that exit.3SG from the mass
- b. **A** **cchi(ja)** va' truvanne? (p.118)
 DOM who go.2SG find.GER
-
- c. Luwigge à spusate **una d' u pajése sója**. (p.119)
 Luigi have.3SG marry.PTCP one of the village his
- d. Canusce **quacchéduna ca rracama?** (p.129)
 know.2SG someone that embroider.3SG
- e. Lucija spósa **Mechéle**. (p.122)
 Lucia marry.3sg Michele

Finally, an even more liberal variation on this pronominal split, henceforth Type 2C, is found in dialects which extend DOM to include [+hum] Q-pronouns such as 'all' (8d), whilst still excluding DOM with proper names, kinships terms and common nouns (8g). Although the contrast between examples (8d) and (8e-f) might suggest that the distribution of DOM is optional with [+hum] Q-pronouns, an examination of the relevant examples shows that the crucial factor is specificity (cf. § 5): whereas in (8d) the quantifier receives a specific reading, in (8e-f) the reference of both quantifiers is non-Specific.

- Romanesco, Lazio (*L'albero di Natale; È finito er temporale*; Maurizio D'Eramo)
- (8) a. **A voi** vò sempre visti co que belle divise (AN p. 10)
 DOM you you.have.ISG always see.PTCP with those beautiful uniforms
- b. Dai Baba, andiamo di là, lasciali stare **a questi...** (AN p. 26)
 c'mon Baba go.IMP.IPL of there leave.IMP.2SG be.INF DOM these.ones
- c. Ma **a chi** state a prenne pè cu... 'n giro (AN 28)
 but DOM who be.2PL to take.INF for ars... in round
 'But who are you taking for a ride?'
-
- d. Oppio...hashish...questa ce fa arrestà **a tutti** (AN p. 19)
 opium...hashish...this.one us= make.3SG arrest.INF DOM all
-
- e. hai mai visto **qualcheduno** annà a 'n funerale in bianco? (AN p. 11)
 have.2SG ever see.PTCP someone go.INF to a funeral in white
- f. nun fanno passà **nessuno** (EFT p. 4)
 neg make.3PL pass.INF nobody
- g. te lo ricordi **Spartaco**, no? Io **Ervira** l' ho conosciuta (AN p. 24)
 you= him recall.2SG Spartacus, no I Elvira her= have.ISG know.PTCP

The relevant conditioning factors in the make-up of the person and pronominal splits observed so far are summarized in (9a-b):

- (9) a. 1/2 > [+hum] 3 pro (deictic +Sp. > -Sp.) (Person split)
 b. 1/2/3 [+hum] > Wh-pro > Q-pro (+Spec > -Spec) (Pronominal split)

4. HEAD-PHRASAL SPLIT

If a given variety displays neither a person split (1/2 vs 3) nor a pronominal split (1/2/3 [+hum] vs [-hum] (pro)nominals), but instead treats all classes of D heads as a single class for the purposes of DOM, then we witness the emergence of a D-Split between D heads (viz. simple nominals which are in complementary distribution with determiners, e.g. (**the/a/our*) + *her/nobody/Mum/Anna*) on the one hand and phrasal DPs (viz. lexical nominal phrases which can combine with determiners, e.g. *the/a/our* + *girl/person/mother/clever lady*) on the other. In such Type 3 varieties DOM is thus extended to include [\pm an(imate)] Ds, viz. pronominals including [-an] pronominals which though inanimate, denote highly individuated and specific referents (cf. examples 13d, 14d and 15-16 below), as well as proper names and kinship terms which behave syntactically as D heads both denoting highly individuated (viz. unique)

human referents. Evidence for the cut-off point and the diachronic progression from a pronominal split to a D split is illustrated by transitional dialects such as that spoken in Cammarata, where DOM is obligatory with canonical pronouns (10a), Wh-pronouns and Q-pronouns (10b), but optional with proper and kinship names (10c-d) —the point at which we move from a pronominal system to a D-system— and impossible with common nouns (10e).

Cammarata (AG), Sicily (Pino Giambrone, *Fatti, fatturi e fattazzi*)

- (10) a. tu **a** **mia** nun mi lassi (24)
 you DOM me neg me= leave.2SG
 b. Ia nun binidiciu **a** **nuddu!** (28)
 I neg bless.ISG DOM nessuno

c. vinni a pigliari **a** **ma** **figlia** (p. 20)
 come.PST.PFV.ISG a fetch.INF DOM my daughter

d. Aspittammu ora **to** **matri** (p. 21)
 wait.IPL now your mother
 e. Ora ca ritruvastivu **li** **figli** (p. 28)
 now that refind.PST.PFV.2PL the children

Type 3 dialects therefore operate a [\pm an] head (D) vs phrasal (DP) opposition which serves to draw a distinction between D elements on the one hand and common nouns on the other. Here we can recognize two subtypes. The first, henceforth Type 3A, is found in many dialects of Calabria (11) and Salento (12) where DOM is limited to [+an] D heads, namely pronouns and proper and kinship names, but is invariably excluded with [–an] pronouns and all classes of common noun.

Mendicino (CS), Calabria (Barca 1996)

- (11) a. Ma **a** **iddru** u lle vulutu vide (p. 69)
 but DOM him neg him.have.ISG want.PTCP see.INF
 b. **A** **chine** avianu e salutata? (p. 48)
 DOM who have.PST.IPFV.3PL of greet.INF
 c. fa alimentare **a** **ttutti** **quanti** (p. 62)
 make.3SG feed.INF DOM all as.many
 e. Aviti vistu **a** **Rafele** u scupature? (p. 18)
 have.2PL see.PTCP DOM Raffaele the road.sweep

d. e ppue **a patritta** u ru guardare moni (p. 78)
and then DOM father=your neg him= watch.INF now

e. ha lassatu **chira guagliune** (p. 17)
have.3SG leave.PTCP that girl

Lecce, Salento (Protopapa 1991)

- (12) a. **a bbui** nu bbu sente pròpiu? (p. 10)
DOM you neg you= hear.3SG at.all
b. **A cci** uèi? **A mmie** o **a ssorma?** (p. 161)
DOM who want.2SG DOM me or DOM sister=my
c. ieu bu cüèrnu **a tutti** (p. 53)
I you= govern.1SG DOM all

d. cu cchiamàmu **lu miètecu** (p. 78)
that call.IMP.IPL the doctor

e. sta uffende **li mammalucchi** (p. 155)
PROG offend.3SG the idiots

A variant of this head-phrasal split, henceforth Type 3B, is widespread in the dialects of south-eastern Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005: 11, 515f.), as well as in some dialects bordering on this same area but administratively located in south-western Campania (e.g., Camerota) and north-eastern Calabria (e.g., Amendolara). In these varieties the split is taken to its extreme with DOM extended either optionally (13; Type 3B1) or obligatorily (14; Type 3B2) to include [-an] pronominals,⁵ with the result that all D heads potentially license DOM.

Colobraro (MT), Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005: 11-111, 509; 414)

- (13) a. 'spettə **a j'jillə** / **a t'tuttə** 'kwantə.
wait.1SG DOM that.one DOM all as.many
b. **a kkə** 'caməsə?
DOM who call.2SG
c. 'cəmə **a f'fretə** 'tuwə!
call.IMP.2SG DOM brother your

5. The distribution of DOM in standard Romanian is also obligatorily extended to [-an] pronominals, though not to [-an] bare quantifiers such as *nimic* 'nothing' and *ceva* 'something' (Pană Dindelegan 2013: 134; Hill & Mardale 2017: 400; Irimia 2018: 5).

d. tə ʔewə (a k)'kwistə. [-an]
 you= owe.ISG DOM this

Accettura (MT), Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 508f.)

(14) a. 'addʒə ca'mə:tə a 'jeddə.
 have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP DOM him

b. a ʃi əi 'camə:tə?
 DOM who have.PRS.2SG call.PTCP

c. nənn 'addʒə ca'mətə a nnəʃ'ʃə:nə.
 neg have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP DOM nobody
 'I haven't called anybody.'

d. at'takkə a k'kostə. [-an.]
 attach.PRS.ISG DOM this

e. 'addʒə ca'mə:tə (a k)'kədda: 'fəmənə / (a) na 'fəmənə.
 have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP DOM that woman DOM a woman

f. 'addʒə ca'mətə u 'kə:nə.
 have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP the dog

On a par with what was observed for Type 1B (cf. 4c-d), deictic distinctions may also play a role in Type 3B systems. For example, in the dialect of Gorgoglione we find a [\pm Sp] distinction in [-an] demonstrative pronouns, with the proximal (15a), but not the distal (15b), term licensing DOM.

Gorgoglione (MT), Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 161, 508)

(15) a. 'miəttə a k'kweistə. ([+Sp., -an])
 put.IMP.2SG DOM this

b. mə 'dannə 'kwellə. ([-Sp., -an])
 me= give.PRS.3PL that

In other cases, the deictic contrast is not based on the [\pm Sp] opposition, but depends on the degree of spatial individuation of the pronominal demonstrative. For instance, in the dialect of Amendolara DOM proves obligatory with the distal pronominal when reinforced by the corresponding spatial adverb, which licenses greater individuation of the intended referent (16a), but is only optional with the non-reinforced (proximal) demonstrative pronominal (16b).

- Amendolara (CS), Calabria (Manzini & Savoia 2005: 11, 516)
- (16) a. mitta-¹tʃ-illə **a** **k'kwillo** **l'lae**. [-an, +Spec]
 put.IMP.2SG=3DAT=it DOM that there
-
- b. tʃə ¹mittə (**a** **k'kwistə**. ([-an, Spec])
 there= put.ISG DOM this

The details of the person, pronominal and D–Splits reviewed so far are summarized in (17).⁶

- (17) a. 1/2 > [+hum] 3 pro (deictic +Sp. > –Sp.) (Person split)
 b. 1/2/3 [+hum] > Wh-pro > Q-pro (+Spec > –Spec) (Pronominal split)
 c. [+an] D > [-an] D (deictic +Sp. > –Sp., Spec > +Spec) (Head-Phrasal split)

5. ANIMACY AND SPECIFICITY SPLITS

I conclude this descriptive overview of the distribution of DOM in southern Italy with a consideration of splits based on animacy and specificity. As already noted, in many SIDs DOM is restricted to (different subclasses of) D heads, including in most Salentino varieties (Loporcaro 1997; Mancarella 1998) and many Abruzzese varieties, as well as in some Pugliese (Gioiosa 2000; Granatiero 1987), Lucanian (Gioscio 1985; Ruggieri & Batinti 1992) and Calabrian (Viola 2006) dialects. In other SIDs, by contrast, the distribution of DOM has been extended beyond D heads to include various subclasses of common noun (*viz* DPs). However, the precise distribution of DOM in such varieties is far from straightforward, in that its distribution with common nouns is characterized by enormous microvariation and apparent oscillation and optionality (Fiorentino 2003; Reynolds 2005; Ledgeway 2009: 837–841; 2016: 268; Loporcaro 2009: 131; Loporcaro & Paciaroni 2016: 237, 244). This microvariation may be: (a) syntactic, involving, for instance, differences in terms of the choice of D-element introducing the nominal (e.g. demonstrative vs article, definite vs indefinite article); (b) semantic, showing sensitivity to the specific vs non-specific reading of the relevant nominal, irrespective of determiner choice; or (c) pragmatic, with fronting to the higher left periphery under topicalization or focalization often overriding syntactic or semantic

6. Note how the Spec(ficity) feature situated at the lower end of the D split in (17c) captures cases such as (14e) where the apparent optionality of DOM in conjunction with a grammatically indefinite referent generally correlates with its non-Specific vs specific reading. This is explored in greater detail in § 5.

factors (Rohlf 1971: 327, 330; Ledgeway 2009: 839; Guardiano 2010: 88; Braitor 2017: § 6.1).⁷ Consequently, observations like Guardiano's (2010: 96) for Rigusan Sicilian are not uncommon.

Prepositional marking [...] of the object surfaces in the morphosyntax [...] but is conditioned by semantic and pragmatic-informational factors. Furthermore, it is characterized by a high degree of both interlinguistic and intralinguistic variation.

For instance, in the Calabrian dialect of Nicotera a definite and specific human referent is introduced by DOM in one case (18a), but not in the other (18b). A similar example of apparent optionality is evidenced in the Reggio minimal pair in (19), where both indefinite referents occur in an irrealis context denoting non-Specific humans, but only the first licenses DOM.

Nicotera (VV), Calabria (Carè 1982: 63, 67)

- (18) a. *servi* *ò* ***mastru***
 serve.PRS.2SG DOM.the master
 b. *dumani* *pozzu* *venire* 'u *trovu* 'a *zita?*
 tomorrow can.PRS.ISG come.INF that find.PRS.ISG the fiancée

Reggio Calabria, Calabria (Falcone 1979: 80, 117)

- (19) a. *volia* *so* *figghiu* *mi* *pigghia* ***a*** ***na rigina di sangu reali.***
 want.PST.3SG her son that take.PRS.3SG DOM a queen of blood royal
 b. *Se jeu trovarria* ***na mughieri*** ***accussì.***
 if I find.COND.ISG a wife thus

In other cases, alternation in DOM correlates with different degrees of specificity, such as the Neapolitan minimal pair in (20) where the presence/absence of DOM correlates with the selection of the indicative/subjunctive in the modifying relative clause and ultimately the specificity or otherwise of the grammatically indefinite referent.

Naples (Maturi 2002: 231)

- (20) a. 'vakə tru'wannə ***a*** ***nu wa'lonə*** ***ka*** ***fa'tikə*** ***ku*** 'mme.
 go.PRS.ISG find.GER DOM a boy that work.PRS.3SG with me

7. Relevant in this regard is Balearic Catalan, where the licensing of DOM is shown by Escandell-Vidal (2007a, b, 2009, 2021) to be strongly correlated with topic properties of the C-domain regardless of animacy distinctions, as well as the limited distribution of DOM in standard Italian with psych and causative predicates (Ledgeway in press: § 4.1).

- b. 'vakə tru'wannə **nu** wa'lonə **ka** **fati'kassə** **ku** 'mme.
 go.PRS.ISG find.GER a boy that work.SBJV.3SG with me

The role of information structure can be clearly seen in Cosentino: whereas a definite human referent such as *mièdicu* 'doctor', whether specific or denoting the generic role of any doctor on call, can optionally license DOM when it occurs within the sentential core in the lower left periphery (21a), the same referent, whether specific or not, invariably licenses DOM whenever fronted to the higher left periphery (21b) where it receives greater pragmatic salience.

Cosenza, Calabria

- (21) a. Am' i chiamà (**a r**)**u** **mièdicu**.
 have.PRS.IPL of call.INF to the doctor
 b. *(**A r**)**u** **mièdicu** ll' am' i chiamà.
 to the doctor him= have.PRS.IPL of call.INF

Despite such microvariation, the available evidence suggests, as we shall see below, that splits in the distribution of DOM in conjunction with common nouns follow the distinctions sketched in (22), where animacy ranks higher than specificity.

- (22) Animacy ([+hum] > [-hum +an] (Def > Indef) > [+an] (Def > Indef)) > Specificity (+Spec > -Spec)

5.1 TYPE 4A

We begin with varieties that operate a simple [\pm hum] split in conjunction with common nouns, henceforth Type 4A, where irrespective of differences in definiteness and specificity, [+hum] referents always surface with DOM (23a), whereas [-hum] nominals, even when animate (23b), never license DOM.

Cianciana (AG), Sicily (Francesco Cannatella, *Lu rimèdiu*)

- (23) a. lu pozzu salutari **a** **stu** **beddru** **picciottu?** (p. 24)
 him= can.ISG greet.INF DOM this handsome youth
 b. Lassallu iri **ssu** **gattu**, mamà! (p. 35)
 let.IMP.2SG=him go.INF this cat mum

Other varieties, by contrast, display some quite considerable microvariation in the class of [+hum] common nouns that license DOM, inasmuch as only a subset of these may surface with DOM in accordance with their differing degrees of individuation, as summarized by way of the implicational scale in (24).

- (24) Dem(onstrative) > Sg Def > {Pl Def, Indef}

Beginning with the higher points of the scale, consider the deictic opposition observable in Conflenti which contrasts [+hum] singular nominals introduced by demonstratives and those introduced by the simple definite article: the greater individuation afforded by the demonstrative makes these more susceptible to licensing DOM (25a) than those introduced by the deictically weaker definite article with which DOM is only optional (25b). In other localities such as Guardia Perticara [+hum] singular nominals introduced by demonstratives and the definite article are treated uniformly, forming a single class that obligatory licenses DOM (26a) in contrast to indefinite and plural definite DPs (26b).

Conflenti (CZ), Calabria (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 510)

- (25) a. 'camu a k'kira 'himmina.
call.PRS.ISG DOM that women

- b. 'camu (a r)a 'himmina. ([+hum] Sg Def com.)
call.PRS.ISG DOM the women

Guardia Perticara (PZ), Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 508f.)

- (26) a. 'addʒə ca'ma:tə a k'kwello / ə ywaʎ'ʎo:nə.
have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP DOM that DOM.the boy

- b. 'addʒə ca'mətə nu kria'tu:rə.
have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP a child

Plural definite nominals and indefinite nominals may form an unordered set in relation to the higher points on the implicational scale, contrasting with nominals introduced by demonstratives and the singular definite article. This is exemplified by dialects such as Canosino where in contrast to nominals introduced by demonstratives (27a), DOM is only optional with both plural definite and indefinite nominals (27b).

Canosa (B-A-T), Puglia (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 507)

- (27) a. sə v'vistə a kku'r əmə.
 be.PRS.ISG see.PTCP DOM that man
-
- b. sə v'vistə (a) li ɣwəp'neunə / 'n əmə.
 be.PRS.ISG see.PTCP DOM the children a man

In other cases, however, plural and indefinite nominals are ordered, albeit not consistently across varieties. For example, in Nocarese the distribution of DOM with plural definite nominals, arguably less strongly individuated than singular definite nominals and often licensing generic readings, aligns with that of nominals introduced by demonstratives (and singular definite articles): DOM is optional with nominals introduced both by demonstratives and the (plural) definite article (28a), but impossible with those introduced by the indefinite article (28b).

Nocera (CS), Calabria (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 509)

- (28) a. ɛddʒə ca'mɛ:tə (a k)'kiəlla 'fəmməna / (l)i ɣwa'ʎu:nə.
 have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP DOM that woman the children
-
- b. ɛddʒə ca'mɛ:tə na 'fəmməna.
 have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP a woman

However, in other dialects plural definite nominals show a variable behaviour. For example, in Montemilione plural definite nominals (29b) may align with nominals introduced by demonstratives, which invariably license DOM (29a), or alternatively with indefinites which never surface with DOM (29c).

Montemilione (PZ), Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 506)

- (29) a. annə ca'ma:tə a k'kwɛra: 'fɛmənə.
 have.PRS.3PL call.PTCP DOM that woman
-
- b. annə ca'ma:tə (a) lə kria'tiəurə.
 have.PRS.3PL call.PTCP DOM the children
-
- c. annə ca'ma:tə na 'fɛmənə.
 have.PRS.3PL call.PTCP a woman

Conversely, in dialects such as that spoken in Trivigno indefinite nominals outrank plural definites, patterning with nominals introduced by demonstratives which

obligatorily license DOM (30a) in contrast to plural definite nominals with which DOM proves optional (30b). By the same token, in the dialect of Albano di Lucania indefinites exhibit an ambivalent behaviour (31b), aligning either with nominals introduced by demonstratives which require DOM (31a) or with plural definites that fail to license DOM (31c).

Trivigno (PZ), Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 507)

(30) a. addʒə 'vistə a k'kwɛdda / na 'fɛmənə.
have.PRS.ISG see.PTCP DOM that a woman

b. addʒə 'vistə (a) i kria'tu:rə.
have.PRS.ISG see.PTCP DOM the children

Albano di Lucania (PZ), Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 508)

(31) a. 'addʒə ca'mə:tə a k'koddu krist'iə:nə.
have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP DOM that man

b. 'addʒə ca'mə:tə (a) nu mura'to:rə.
have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP DOM a builder

c. 'addʒə ca'matə i 'ɣwaʎ'lu:nə.
have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP the children

We thus see on the basis of the contrasting examples in (27), on the one hand, and in (28)-(29) and (30)-(31), on the other, that plural definite nominals and indefinite nominals may or may not form an unordered set in relation to the higher points of scale (24): sometimes they individually align (optionally) with nominals introduced by demonstratives and singular definite nominals and sometimes they do not. Within Type 4A we can therefore further distinguish two principal subtypes, characterized by increasing degrees of restrictiveness linked to the particular lexicalizations of the nominals' functional structure: demonstrative > singular definite article > {plural definite article, indefinite/zero article}. Type 4A1 singles out those varieties in which DOM is restricted to nominals characterized by a high degree of individuation marked by either a demonstrative or a singular definite article, whereas the less individuated plural definite and indefinite nominals form a separate class: they are either unordered and thus situated entirely outside the sphere of DOM (32a), or ordered and hence variously situated partly within the sphere of DOM (32b-e). By contrast, Type 4A2 identifies those varieties which mark a finer distinction within the category of strong individuation, limiting obligatory DOM to [+hum] nominals introduced by demonstratives.

The deictically weaker singular definite article, by contrast, only optionally licenses DOM, thereby partly aligning the latter with plural definite and indefinite [+hum] nominals which never license DOM (33a). In another variant of Type 4A2 (33b), DOM is once again restricted to the most highly individuated category of [+hum] nominals introduced by demonstratives (34a), while singular definite [+hum] nominals (34b) now form a single, unordered set together with plural definite (34c) and indefinite (34d-e) [+hum] nominals which consistently fail to license DOM.

Type 4A1

- (32) a. {Dem, Sg Def} > {Pl Def, Indef} (cf. 26, 27)
 b. {Dem, Sg Def} > Pl Def > Indef (cf. 29)
 c. {Dem, Sg Def, Pl Def} > Indef (cf. 28)
 d. {Dem, Sg Def} > Indef > Pl Def (cf. 31)
 e. {Dem, Sg Def, Indef} > Pl Def (cf. 30)

Type 4A2

- (33) a. Dem > Sg Def > {Pl Def, Indef} (cf. 25)
 b. Dem > {Sg Def, Pl Def, Indef} (cf. 34)

Belmonte (CS), Calabria (Vespucchi 1994: 42, 63, 64, 101, 86)

- (34) a. China i capisce a 'si guaglioni?
 who them= understand.PRS.3SG DOM these children

-
- b. Si 'nò chiamavanu l' interprete.
 if not call.PST.IPFV.3PL the interpreter
- c. Iu haiu canusciutu i patri e li nanni di 's' agenta.
 I have.PRS.ISG know.PTCP the fathers and the grandfathers of this people
- d. Na fimmina un l' ha mancu vista ancora.
 a woman not her= have.PRS.3SG not.even see.PTCP yet
- e. Haiu canusciutu e vistu genti di tante maneri.
 have.PRS.ISG know.PTCP and see.PTCP peoples of many types

5.2 TYPE 4B

Type 4B characterizes varieties which operate a [\pm hum +an] opposition. In particular, while such varieties (optionally) extend DOM to all [+hum] nominals (35a), they introduce a definiteness split among the class of [-hum, +an] nominals such that only definite members (35b), but not indefinite members (35c), of this subclass of animates may optionally license DOM.

- Roccasicura (IS), Molise (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 506)
- (35) a. $\epsilon j\theta$ $ca'mat\theta$ (**a k**)**'kir\theta** / **n\theta va\lambda'lu:n\theta**.
 have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP DOM that a boy
- b. $\epsilon j\theta$ $ca'mat\theta$ (**a r**)**\theta 'k\theta n\theta**.
 have.PRS.ISG call.PTCP DOM the dog

-
- c. $\epsilon j\theta$ $'vi\theta t\theta$ **n\theta 'k\theta n\theta**.
 have.PRS.ISG see.PTCP a dog

5.3 TYPE 4C

Type 4C identifies those more liberal varieties which in the simplest case extend DOM to all [+an] common nouns irrespective of any [\pm hum] distinctions, but never to [-an] nominals. Illustrative is the Calabrian dialect of Cosenza where, in contrast to inanimates (36c), all animates, whether definite (36a) or indefinite (36b), optionally license DOM.

- Cosenza, Calabria
- (36) a. Annu ammazzatu (**a r**)**u** **muratore / cane**.
 have.PRS.3PL kill.PTCP DOM the builder dog
- b. Annu ammazzatu (**a**) **nu** **muratore / cane**.
 have.PRS.3PL kill.PTCP DOM a builder dog
-
- c. Annu ammazzatu (***a r**)**u** **tiempu**.
 have.PRS.3PL kill.PTCP DOM the time

Among Type 4C varieties we can further identify several instances of microvariation where DOM is licensed only with a subset of [+an] nominals. For example, in the Sicilian dialect of Modica the simple [+an] requirement on DOM is overlain by the further semantico-syntactic restriction that the nominal be definite (37a-b), giving rise to what we can term Type 4C1.

- Modica (RG), Sicily (Manzini & Savoia 2005: II, 514)
- (37) a. $'vitti$ θ **'kani**.
 see.PST.ISG DOM.the dog
-
- b. $fa'mai$ **n** **'uomm\theta nu**.
 call.PST.ISG a man

Another case of microvariation, henceforth Type 4C2, is found in some dialects of southern Calabria, where the distribution of DOM shows syntactic conditioning (cf. De Angelis 2017). In particular, animate nominals regularly license DOM in these dialects (38a), unless introduced by the definite article (38b). As shown in Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri (2019a, b), this syntactic distribution has a straightforward explanation if we assume that DOM and the definite article compete for the same syncretic K-D position, thereby restricting DOM to contexts in which the D position is not otherwise lexicalized.

- Gioiosa Ionica (RC), Calabria (Ledgeway, Schifano & Silvestri 2019b: 10)
- (38) a. Petru mazzau *(a) **nu previte chi canuscia** eu.
 Pietro kill.PST.3SG DOM a priest that know.PST.ISG I
-
- b. Petru mazzau **(*a)u previte chi canuscia eu.**
 Pietro kill.PST.ISG DOM.the priest that know.PST.ISG I

5.4 TYPE 4D

The final distributional pattern for DOM identified for southern Italo-Romance is Type 4D. This singles out a limited number of dialects spoken in Basilicata and Calabria which show the most liberal use of DOM. In these varieties the force of microparameters relating to animacy are greatly reduced, inasmuch as the distribution of DOM with common nouns is ultimately driven by the semantic distinction of specificity, replicating a pattern reported for some Latin American varieties of Spanish,⁸ as well as some Indo-Aryan varieties (Montaut 2018). For example, in the Lucanian dialect of Aliano DOM is obligatory with all D heads irrespective of animacy (39a-d), optional with specific nominals irrespective of grammatical definiteness and animacy (39e-f),⁹ but impossible with non-Specific inanimates (39g).

- Aliano (MT), Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005: I-III, 446; 508; 412)
- (39) a. 'viɣə a 'jillə / 'ffretə 'tuwə.
 see.ISG DOM him brother your.SG
- b. nɔ lu 'sattʃə a 'kkə 'addʒ a ca'ma.
 not it= know.ISG DOM who have.ISG to call.INF

8. Kany (1951: 2), Rohlf's (1971: 326f.), Company Company (2002a,b), Kaiser and Heusinger (2003, 2005), García García (2018: 219-222), Leonetti (2021).

9. The optional nature of DOM in conjunction with specific inanimates equally holds in those Latin American varieties of Spanish which extend DOM to this class of nominals.

- c. 'mittə a k'kwistə nd u 'pəstə 'suwə.
 put.ISG DOM this.one in the place its
- d. da'vetəmə a k'kullə.
 give.IMP.2PL=me DOM that.one
-
- e. 'viyə (a k)'killə 'fəmmənə / nu 'ɣəmmənə.
 see.ISG DOM that woman a man
- f. 'mittə (a k)'kulə kuc'carə nd u tata'turə.
 put.ISG dom that spoon in the drawer
-
- g. kə 'libbrə 'lɛdʒəsə?
 what book read.2SG

The optional extension of DOM to specific inanimates in rare dialects like this therefore represents the last possible stage of development, in which the differential function of DOM is now maximally reduced, serving to mark all but non-Specific inanimate nominals. Any further extension would result in the reanalysis of DOM as a generalized, undifferentiated accusative case-marker.

6. CONCLUSIONS

The dimensions of variation observed in the distribution of DOM across SIDs are summarized in (40).

- (40) a. 1/2 > [+hum] 3 pro (deictic +Sp. > -Sp.) (Person split)
 b. 1/2/3 [+hum] > Wh-pro > Q-pro (+Spec > -Spec) (Pronominal split)
 c. [+an] D > [-an] D (deictic +Sp. > -Sp., Spec > +Spec) (Head-Phrasal split)
 d. [+hum] nominal > [-hum +an] (Def > Indef) > [+An] (Def > Indef) > +Spec > -Spec (Animacy/Specificity split)

The four broad splits identified in (40) open the way for us to reinterpret the overall distribution of DOM in SIDs in relation to three hierarchically-organized and interrelated microparametric options which can be modelled in terms of naturally definable classes of the functional head D(eterminer), as illustrated in the hierarchy in Figure 1.

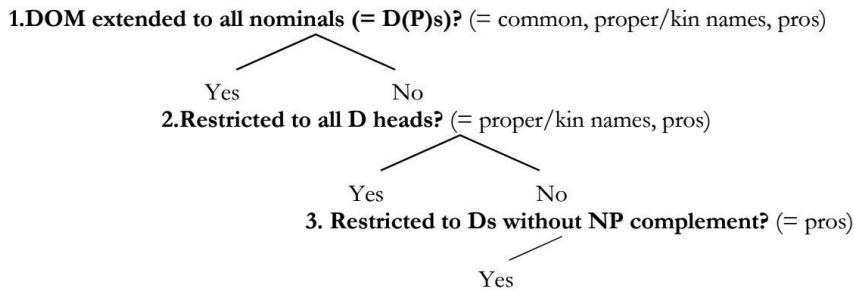


Figure 1: Microparametric options in the distribution of southern Italo-Romance DOM

In line with the increasingly restricted and marked nature of the parametric options as one moves down the hierarchy, the first question simply asks whether DOM extends to all syntactic types of nominal. A positive response yields Type 4 dialects (cf. also colloquial Catalan, Romanian, Sardinian and Spanish), the least restrictive varieties in our overview of southern Italo-Romance which employ DOM systematically with D heads (namely, pronouns of all types, proper nouns and kinships terms) and with various subclasses of common noun in accordance with varying animacy, definiteness and specificity splits. By contrast, a negative response to this question broadly identifies those varieties (Types 1-3) where the distribution of DOM proves sensitive to the structural distinction between nominal heads (Ds) and phrasal categories (DPs): DOM is limited to various subclasses of the former syntactic type, but is invariably excluded with common nouns. Among such varieties, we can draw a further microparametric distinction through the second question in Figure 1 which asks whether DOM extends to all nominal D heads. A positive reply to this question yields Type 3 varieties in which DOM is found both with proper names and kinship terms — both interpreted here as derived by N-to-D movement in the syntax (Longobardi 1994) — and with various pronominal classes which I take to be pure Ds (or Qs) generated either without an NP complement or with a null/elliptic NP complement (cf. Postal 1969).¹⁰ If, however, the answer to question (2) in Figure 1 is negative, then this inevitably leads to the only remaining and most restrictive of available microparametric options formalized by way of question (3) at the bottom of the hierarchy in Figure 1. This identifies Type 1-2 varieties (cf. also traditional prescriptive varieties of standard Catalan; see Pineda 2021a,b) where DOM is confined to nominals which directly lexicalize the D head, a

10. The behaviour of Type 3 varieties comes very close to modern European Portuguese where the distribution of DOM is found with pronouns and optionally, though increasingly rarely today, with proper names (including deities) and kinship terms (Delille 1970; Rohlf 1971: 325-27).

naturally definable class comprising several pronominal categories variously subject, in turn, to further pronominal and person splits.

Note finally that the synchronic patterns of DOM distribution sketched top-down in the hierarchy in Figure 1 can also be read bottom-up as diachronic paths modelling the emergence and progressive extension of DOM to increasingly wider classes of nominals. Consider for example the frequent observation that the distribution of DOM in early (southern) Italo-Romance (and Romance more generally) is also restricted to clitic left-dislocated first- and second-pronouns (41a), but not licensed with *in situ* first- and second person pronouns (41b) or with common nouns, as witnessed by the pronominal vs nominal old Neapolitan contrast in (41c).¹¹

- 15th-c. Neapolitan *Brancati* (Ledgeway 2009:834-36)
- (41) a. **ad te** accareza la pultronaria (108.23)
 DOM you.SG caress.3SG the idleness
- b. Voglio **te** (104.8-9)
 want.1SG you
- c. pensasti ingannar **ad me** como se' solita ingannar **li altri**
 think.PST.PFV.2SG deceive.INF DOM me as be.2SG wont deceive.INF the others
 (126.16-17)

Indeed, it is only after the 19th century (cf. Ledgeway 2009: 835, 837f.) that DOM in Neapolitan is systematically extended up the hierarchy in Figure 1 from pronouns (42a) to also obligatorily include proper names (42b) and kinship terms (42c). However, the final stage manifested in the extension of DOM to animate (viz. human) and specific common nouns is still not complete today, inasmuch as modern Neapolitan DOM still proves entirely optional in such cases (43a) displaying both inter- and intra-Speaker variation (Ledgeway 2009: 838-40), unless the nominal is left-dislocated (43b) which triggers DOM according to a pattern widely observed across Romance.

- 19th-c. Neapolitan *Scarpetta*
- (42) a. Aggio visto **a buje**, e buje nun m' avite visto **a mè!**
 have.1SG see.PTCP DOM you and you NEG me=have.2PL see.PTCP DOM me
- b. nun ncuità **a Francisco**
 NEG bother.INF DOM Francesco
 'don't bother Francesco!'

11. See for example Rohlf's (1971: 327, 330f.), Sornicola (1997: 77), Ledgeway (2000: 20ff., 2009: 833f., 836), Fiorentino (2003: 127f.), Iemmolo (2010: § 3.4); for apparent exceptions, see Parry (2003) for early Ligurian, and Irimia and Pineda (2019) for early Romance in general.

- c. Dorotea teneva intenzione de farle spusà
 Dorotea have.PST.IPFV.3SG intention of make.INF=him.DAT marry.INF
a soreta cugina
 DOM sister=your cousin
 ‘It was Dorotea’s intention to have him marry your cousin.’

Modern Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009: 839)

- (43) a. Avimmə già cunsultatə (a) ll’ avvocatə.
 have.IPL already consult.PTCP DOM the lawyer
 b.?(A) ll’ avvocatə l’ avimmə già cunsultatə.
 DOM the lawyer him= have.IPL already consult.PTCP

We thus witness in the Neapolitan examples reported in (41)-(43) a progressive but structured diachronic extension of DOM from the most marked and restrictive option at the bottom of the parametric hierarchy in Figure 1 towards increasingly less marked and restrictive parametric options towards the top of the hierarchy in accordance with a pattern widely replicated across Romance in both diachrony and synchrony. Indeed, in those rare modern northern Romance varieties which are reported to show a highly restricted use of DOM (cf. Rohlfs 1971: 324; Fagard & Mardale 2014: §§4.2-3; Singh 2019), its distribution is notably at an incipient stage that directly reflects the lowest parametric options of the hierarchy in Figure 1 (Ledgeway 2021), as illustrated in the representative examples in (44) where the DOM-ed objects are variously restricted to pronominals and peripheral positions.

- (44) a. On doit pas te voir à **toi** (French, Aquitaine)
 one must.3SG NEG you.SG= see.INF DOM you.SG
 b. **Ena ero**, se l’ ai visto? (Gascon, Ustou)
 DOM her INT her= have.2SG seen
 c. Vos saludi **a totes**. (Lengadocian Occitan)
 you= greet.ISG DOM all
 d. **A me**, non mi hanno invitato. ((northern) Italian)
 DOM me not me= have.3PL invite.PTCP
 e. **a ‘mi / ‘ti / *ly** a m /t /l /ʃamən. (Viguzzolo, Piedmont)
 DOM me you.SG him SCL me= you.SG= him= call.3PL
 f. **a tai** vögl eu spusar. (Romansh)
 DOM you want.PRS.IND.ISG I marry.INF

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