Citation

Cover Page

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/32580 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Torcolacci, Giuseppe
Title: Marking the default : auxiliary selection in Southern Italian dialects
Issue Date: 2015-03-24

Chapter 5

Domains of application of *Default Marking*

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. Firstly, it will be claimed that the post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking* (see chapter 4) typical of CSIDs is not limited to those periphrastic constructions composed of perfective auxiliaries followed by a past participle, but also occurs with other periphrases, both in the verbal and in the nominal domain. Secondly, it will be shown that the application of *Default Marking* in CSIDs is also attested in the case of lexical verbs in the present indicative.

Our discussion will start by looking at verbal periphrastic constructions composed of a modal followed by an infinitival. We will argue that modals, following and updating Ross (1969)[1], are directly merged in Infl°. For this reason, modals will be considered on a par with perfective auxiliaries in being functional heads directly merged in the position in which they get spelled-out. We will observe that modals and perfective auxiliaries are also similar in the way they overtly mark φ information: in both cases through the post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking*.

We will then draw a parallelism between the overt marking of φ occurring between modals and perfective auxiliaries, on the one hand, and lexical verbs, on the other. We will observe that the post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking* is also found in the case of lexical verbs in CSIDs. Differently from perfective auxiliaries and modals, lexical verbs in CSIDs only allow the overt marking of marked morphosyntactic φ features. This is due to the fact that lexical verbs in these dialects undergo V-to-T movement, typical of Romance languages, which, following Roberts & Roussou (2003), is a marked syntactic operation (see chapter 4).

---

[1] According to Ross (1969), modals, more specifically those with an epistemic reading, are raising predicates. Root modals, on the other hand, are not the same. The same account is given in Jackendoff (1972). The reason why epistemic modals are viewed as raising predicates is that they take scope over subjects, while root modals do not.

In the final part of the chapter, nominal periphrases composed of a D-element followed by a noun will be examined. We will observe that the overt marking of φ applying on definite D-elements mirrors that observed for perfective auxiliaries and modals. This depends on the application of *Default Marking* in the presence of D-elements as well.

This chapter is organized as follows: in the first part (cf. §2), it will be proposed that auxiliaries and modals in CSIDs share a number of syntactic properties, which are reflected in the way φ features are overtly spelled-out on these items. The second part (cf. §3) will focus on the mechanism of φ marking on lexical verbs. §4 will treat the overt marking of φ encoded on definite D-elements in CSIDs. Last, §5 summarizes and concludes the chapter.

2. Modals in CSIDs

2.1 The syntax

There is general agreement in the literature that modals in many languages are auxiliary-like elements (cf. Ross (1969)). This idea relies on the assumption that these elements, similarly to perfective auxiliaries, have undergone processes of grammaticalization (cf. Heine, 1993; Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins, 1994; Kuteva, 2001, a.o.).
For English, Roberts & Roussou (2003) posit that modals can be analyzed as syntactic elements that behave more like auxiliaries than lexical verbs. More precisely, they argue that modals in today's English are a clear case of grammaticalization of fully verbal elements, which, at an earlier stage of the language, underwent a categorical change and became auxiliaries. Their claim is based on a number of diagnostics that show that modals are syntactically distinct from main verbs.

(1) a. Modals lack non-finite forms:
      *To can swim is useful
   b. Modals cannot be iterated:
      *He shall must do it
   c. Modals lack complements of all types (except bare infinitives):
      *I shall you a penny
   d. Modals are in complementary distribution with *do*-support and
       always precede *not*:
      *I don't can speak Chinese / *Do you can speak Chinese? / *I not
      can speak Chinese / I cannot speak Chinese
   e. Modals always move to C in inversion contexts:
      *How many languages (do) you can speak? / How many languages
      can you speak?
   f. Modals, unlike main verbs, can license VP-fronting:
      Win the election, I thought she would (*win) ─.
   g. Modals, unlike main verbs, can phonologically contract:
       We can fish – ambiguous ('we are able to fish' or 'we put fish in
       cans') versus We c'n (/kən/) fish. – unambiguous (only 'we are
       able to fish').
                                         [Roberts & Roussou (2003): 36-37]

Given these diagnostics, it is obvious that modals in Modern English should be considered as distinct from lexical verbs. In fact, lexical verbs generally display non-finite forms[2], allow iteration, can select an internal argument, are compatible with *do*-support and must follow negation. Moreover, they cannot raise to C, cannot license VP-fronting and are not able to contract morpho-phonologically.

---

[2] The properties shown in (1) are valid for English, but not for all languages. The languages of an area known as the *Balkan Sprachbund*, for instance, do not respond uniformly to these diagnostics. Indeed, as is well known in the literature, infinitival forms of lexical verbs are not attested in these languages. Note the contrast between Greek and English: Prep**ei** na pi**ò** ena potiri nero -must/have to.sg that drink.perf.1sg a glass of water- versus I must/have to drink a glass of water. Although the Greek lexical verb *piò*, unlike English *drink*, never admits an infinitival form, it is endowed with full argumental structure. For more details on this type of structure, see Joseph (1983) and the references therein.

CSIDs seem to share a number of properties with English, as far as the syntax of modals is concerned. Indeed, in these dialects, modals seem to lack non-finite forms (cf. (2a)). Moreover, they cannot select any type of complement, except bare infinitives (cf. (2b)), and can phonologically contract (cf. (2c))[3]. These tests are illustrated in (2).

(2) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
a. Modals lack non finite-forms[4]:
   *pə'tə   par'lə   je   f'fa:tʃəl
    can.inf. speak.inf. B.3sg   easy
b. Modals lack complements of all types (except bare infinitives):
   i. *aɟɟ   u   'fatt
      must.pr.1sg the.masc.sg story
   ii. aɟɟ   a 'fe   u   'fatt
      must.pr.1sg to do.inf.   the.masc.sg   story
c. Modals, unlike main verbs, can phonologically contract:
   s(ə)   'fe kɛssa   'kaus? / ('tu) f*('e) kɛssa   'kaus?
   can.2sg do this.fem.sg thing   you do.2sg this.fem.sg thing

The evidence put forward in (2) suggests that modals in the CSID of Mola di Bari share the same morphosyntactic properties as the English modals in (1). However, it must be noted that the properties in (1d.)-(1f.) are not all found in CSIDs, since modals in these varieties are not in complementary distribution with a *do*-like element, which does not exist in Romance (but see Benincà & Poletto (1998) for a different opinion, with reference to NIDs), and the VP-fronting of the infinitival is not possible.

---

[3] In CSIDs, as well as in English, modals cannot be iterated. This situation is also attested in other languages, such as Standard Italian. The fact that modals cannot be iterated might result from the fact that two finite verbs in CSIDs, as well as in other languages, cannot be adjacent to one another: Mola di Bari [Apulo-Barese] *pottʃə sattʃə par'lə akkəsseit -can.pr.1sg can.pr.1sg. speak.inf. like this-; Standard Italian: *posso so parlare così -can.pr.1sg can.pr.1sg. speak.inf. like this-.

[4] It seems that not all USIDs display the absence of infinitival forms for modals. In NSIDs, in fact, modals have infinitival forms which, differently from CSIDs, can be iterated: Arielli [Eastern Abruzzese] li 'vujə **sa'pɛ** 'fa –them.masc.pl. want.pr.1sg can.inf. do.inf.; **pu'tɛ sa'pɛ** par'la je mbur'tandə -can.inf. can.inf. speak.inf. is important (p.c. Roberta D'Alessandro).

Given these facts, we postulate that modals in CSIDs are auxiliary-like elements. Our idea, which relies on Roberts & Roussou (2003), is that these syntactic objects are directly merged in the functional head where information for Tense is encoded. Similarly to perfective auxiliaries, we posit that this syntactic position is Infl°[5]:

(3)
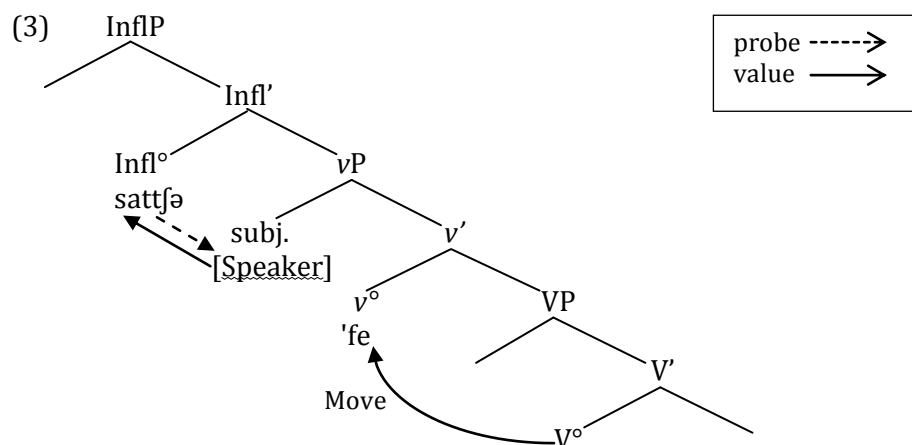
As shown in the monoclausal structure in (3), we assume that the infinitival undergoes V-to-*v* movement. The modal, on the other hand, is merged in Infl° and agrees with the subject in Spec,*v*P. All things being equal, we can think of (3) as the syntactic structure that also instantiates English modal structures[6]. Finite verbs in CSIDs, as in the rest of Romance, are instead

---

[5] According to Cinque (1999), modals come in different types, with different semantics, and they are therefore functional elements merged in different syntactic positions in the clause-spine. In our analysis, we will not concentrate on the exact merging site of these elements, but rather consider them as syntactic objects directly merged in Infl°, which corresponds to the position where information for Tense and Agree are displayed (see Ritter & Wiltschko, 2010).

[6] Modals in Old English are thought to allow a biclausal structure. In particular, they possessed an argument structure and could take any type of structure complement other than a VP. Moreover, they were endowed with non-finite forms (cf. Denison, 1985; Roberts 1993; Warner, 1993; Roberts & Roussou, 2003). The restructuring of these verbs (cf. Rizzi, 1982), which led from biclausal to monoclausal structures, took place as soon as these properties were lost. The same conclusions have been

merged in V° and move, cyclically through v°, to T° (on Infl°) (cf. Jackendoff, 1972; Emonds, 1976).

2.2 The morphological marking of φ

In this part, we will consider the morphological marking of φ expressed on modals in CSIDs. In §2.2.1, the system of φ marking attested on modals in the present indicative will be analyzed. Then, §2.2.1 will investigate the φ-feature to morphology mapping that operates in modals in the indicative mood in the past tense.

2.2.1 Present tense

The system of φ marking attested for modals in the present indicative in CSIDs is illustrated in (4) and (5). In the singular paradigm, φ information is overtly expressed only if the modal encodes 1 and 3 person and not if it expresses 2 person. The overt marking of 1 and 3 person, and not of 2 person, has also been observed in present perfect auxiliai in a subset of CSIDs (see chapter 4).

---

drawn for modals of Romance languages. These elements, which were originally endowed with lexical meaning, are also thought to have lost their lexical properties in their diachronic development. Because of this process of desemanticization, they have undergone a process of grammaticalization (cf. Fleischman, 1982; Pinkster, 1987; Heine, 1993; Hopper & Traugott, 1993; Roberts, 1993; Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins, 1994; Kuteva, 2001; Roberts & Roussou, 2003; a.o.), which is claimed to have led to the syntactic structure in (3).

(4) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
a.   Dynamic modal[7]

sa**ttʃ** 'fə	can.pr.1sg do.inf.
s(ə) 'fə	can.pr.2sg do.inf.
sə**p** 'fə	can.pr.3sg do.inf.
sapəm 'fə	can.pr.1pl do.inf.
sapət 'fə	can.pr.2pl do.inf.
sapən 'fə	can.pr.3pl do.inf.

b.   Epistemic/deontic modal

a**ɟɟ**/**i** 'fə	have to/must.pr.1sg do.inf.
a 'fə	have to/must.pr.2sg do.inf.
a**v** a 'fə	have to/must.pr.3sg do.inf.
am a 'fə	have to/must.pr.1pl do.inf.
avet a 'fə	have to/must.pr.2pl do.inf.
an a 'fə	have to/must.pr.3pl do.inf.

(5) Airola (Central Campanian)[8]
a.   Dynamic/epistemic modal

pɔ**tts**ə par'la	can/may.1sg speak.inf.
pwɔ par'la	can/may.2sg speak.inf.
pɔ **p**par'la	can/may.3sg speak.inf.
putimmə par'la	can/may.1pl speak.inf.
putitə par'la	can/may.2pl speak.inf.
pwonnə par'la	can/may.3pl speak.inf.

---

[7] "Modality itself can be subdivided into dynamic, deontic (together also called 'root' modality) and epistemic modality, whereby the first two are agent-oriented and the last is speaker-oriented (expressing the role the speaker wants the proposition to play in the discourse)" (cf. Fischer 2004: 20).

[8] It is crucial to observe, however, that the 2sg form of the modal in (5a) allows metaphony. In this case, we might think that the presence of 2sg is signalled only by means of metaphony and not, for instance, by inserting an agreement marker at word-final position.

b. Epistemic/deontic modal

a**ddʒ** a man'dʒa	have to/must.1sg eat.inf.
a man'dʒa	have to/must.2sg eat.inf.
a**dd** a man'dʒa	have to/must.3sg eat.inf.
amm a man'dʒa	have to/must.1pl eat.inf.
at a man'dʒa	have to/must.2pl eat.inf.
ann a man'dʒa	have to/must.3pl eat.inf.

As for the segment /p/ of /səp/ in (4a), we might at first think that it corresponds to the last consonant of the root *sap*, which consistently appears in the plural paradigm. If this were true, then our primary concern would be to consider why this segment is absent when 1 and 2sg is encoded on the modal. In fact, the modal expressing 1sg in (4a) allows the overt marking of an affricate attached to /sa/, namely /ttʃ/, whereas the modal bearing 2sg interpretation only allows the overt realization of /s(ə)/, and no other segment is overtly expressed.

Merlo (1929), Rohlfs (1966) and Tekavčić (1980), a.o., claim that the affricates /ttʃ/ and /ddʒ/ in the case of /sattʃ/ and /addʒ/ in (4a) and (5a), respectively, must be taken to derive from the application of a phonological rule active in diachrony, which says that bilabial and labiodentals consonants followed by a glide turn into a postalveolar affricate (cf. Lat. SAPIO > /sattʃ(ə)/; Lat. HABEO > *ayo)[9]. The 2 and 3sg forms of present indicative *can* in Latin were also endowed with /p/ followed by *i* (cf. Lat. SAPIS 'you can', SAPIT '(s)he can'). In both cases, the plosive /p/ does not turn into a postalveolar fricative. In fact, /p/ is retained in SAPIT, but is deleted in SAPIS and is not replaced by any other phonological segment (cf. Mola di Bari: SAPIS > s(ə); SAPIT > səp).

In chapter 3, we claimed that /v/ occurring on 3sg HAVE that precedes a past participle starting with a vowel is the overt realization of a morpheme expressing 3sg (cf. Mola di Bari [Apulo-Barese] av a'pirt 'HAVE.pr.3sg open.pp'). Given this observation, we can propose that /p/ in (4a) also corresponds to a φ marker. The same proposal can be advanced for the consonant /v/ occurring in word-final position of the modal expressing 3sg

---

[9] Rohlfs (1966) posits that /p/ turns into a postalveolar affricate only in SIDs, and not in other Italian dialects. /p/ turning into a postalveolar affricate operates not only with verbs, but also with nouns: Lecce < Lypiae (cf. Rohlfs, 1966: 400).

in (4b), which, according to our proposal, corresponds to the marker for 3sg.

Turning to the dialect of Airola in (5a), we see that RF is triggered when the modal is specified for 3sg. The occurrence of RF must be assumed to result from the presence of a mora at PF, which is devoid of melodic content. As proposed in chapter 3, this mora corresponds to a morpheme that expresses 3sg. Finally, (5b) shows that the epistemic/deontic modal does not allow RF but selects a consonant, namely /d/[10].

To sum up, the empirical evidence given in (4) and (5) indicates that modals expressing present information admit the overt marking of only 1 and 3sg, and never of 2sg. The overt marking of 1 and 3sg operates by means of overtly encoding a φ marker in word-final position.

In the previous chapters, we have argued that 1 and 3sg correspond to the features [Speaker] and [Minimal], respectively. On the other hand, 2sg corresponds to the feature [Addressee] (cf. Harley & Ritter (2002)). This is to say that modals in (4) and (5) allow the overt marking only of [Speaker] and [Minimal] and not of [Addressee].

As for the plural paradigm, it must be noted that the segment /t/ occurs when 2pl is encoded on the modals, both in (4) and (5). This segment, according to our analysis presented in chapter 3, has been considered to be a less marked consonant compared to the nasals /m/ and /n/, which are thought to be marked and selected when a modal is valued for 1 and 3pl.

2.2.3 Past tense

In the same fashion as perfective auxiliaries, modals in the past tense in CSIDs also display a particular mechanism of φ marking, whereby, in the singular paradigm, 2sg is overtly expressed by means of metaphony

---

[10] It is worth noting that the epistemic/deontic modals in (4b) and (5b) are syncretic with the active auxiliary HAVE. Moreover, these forms can also coincide with those of future auxiliaries (cf. Fleischman, 1982; Pinkster, 1987; Hopper & Traugott, 1993; Roberts, 1993). Future auxiliaries originate from periphrastic constructions composed of an infinitive followed by HAVE, where HAVE, in the course of the centuries, has been reanalyzed as a future marker. This process of grammaticalization has been thought to consist of three important stages, the development of which is covered in breadth and depth in Roberts & Roussou (2003).

targeting the stressed vowel. Modals endowed with 1 and 3sg, on the other hand, are syncretic and do not seem to be affected by any kind of φ-marking mechanism.

(6) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
a. Dynamic/epistemic modal

pə'tɑːv 'fə	can.past.1sg do.inf.
pə't**i**ːv 'fə	can.past.2sg do.inf.
pə'tɑːv 'fə	can.past.3sg do.inf.
pə'temm 'fə	can.past.1pl do.inf.
pə'tiːvər 'fə	can.past.2pl do.inf.
pə'teːvən 'fə	can.past.3pl do.inf.

b. Epistemic/deontic modal

a'vɑːv a man'dʒə	have to/must.past.1sg eat.inf.
a'v**i**ːv a man'dʒə	have to/must.past.2sg eat.inf.
a'vɑːv a man'dʒə	have to/must.past.3sg eat.inf.
a'vemm a man'dʒə	have to/must.past.1pl eat.inf.
a'viːvər a man'dʒə	have to/must.past.2pl eat.inf.
a'vevən a man'dʒə	have to/must.past.3pl eat.inf.

(7) Airola (Central Campanian)
a. Dynamic/epistemic modal

pu'teːvə par'la	can.past.1sg speak.inf.
pu't**i**ːvə par'la	can.past.2sg speak.inf.
pu'teːvə par'la	can.past.3sg speak.inf.
pu'teːvəmə par'la	can.past.1pl speak.inf.
pu'teːvəvə par'la	can.past.2pl speak.inf.
pu'teːvənə par'la	can.past.3pl speak.inf.

b. Epistemic/deontic modal

a'leːvə man'dʒa	have to/must.past.1sg eat.inf.
a'l**i**ːvə man'dʒa	have to/must.past.2sg eat.inf.
a'leːvə man'dʒa	have to/must.past.3sg eat.inf.
a'leːvəmə man'dʒa	have to/must.past.1pl eat.inf.
a'leːvəvə man'dʒa	have to/must.past.2pl eat.inf.
a'leːvənə man'dʒa	have to/must.past.3pl eat.inf.

As far as the plural paradigms in (6) and (7) are concerned, (6) indicates that metaphony is found only with a verb expressing 2pl. In the other two cases, namely when the modal expresses 1 and 3pl, no metaphony is found. Moreover, the 2pl form of the modal allows the overt realization of the alveolar trill /r/ in word-final position. This segment, as suggested in the previous chapter, is a marked consonant as opposed to /t/, which is instead selected as a φ markers for present indicative modals expressing 2pl. A similar situation is attested for the plural paradigm in (7). In (7), the fricative /v/ is selected as a φ marker realized in word-final position only if the verb expresses 2pl. /v/, similarly to /r/, is more marked than /t/, which is the consonant selected by 2pl modals in the present indicative in (5). Furthermore, in both (6) and (7), /m/ and /n/ are the φ endings selected in order to encode 1 and 3pl on the modals. These consonants are the φ markers selected also by 1 and 3pl modals in (4) and (5).

2.3 Modals and *Default Marking*

In this subsection, we propose that the morphological marking of φ observed in (4)-(7) derives from the application of the post-syntactic operation *Default Marking*.
Default Marking, as extensively discussed in the previous chapter, consists in an operation of the morphological component, the definition of which is repeated in (8).

(8) *Default Marking*
The morphological marking of a φ feature can only take place if all features bear the same markedness on the functional head that hosts them.

In §2.3.1, we present the application of *Default Marking* with modals expressing present information. §2.3.2, on the other hand, shows how *Default Marking* operates with modals that convey information for past.

2.3.1 Present Tense

Building on Ritter & Wiltschko (2010), we consider Infl° as a syntactic head composed of a number of deictic categories, including Tense and φ. Based on our assumption put forward in the previous chapter, we assume that the category Tense is endowed with the feature [*u*coin] (cf. Ritter & Wiltschko, 2010). The function of [*u*coin] is that of anchoring the event with the utterance time. When a verb expresses information for present, the event and the utterance situations coincide in time. In this case, [*u*coin] is valued as +, which, according to our account, corresponds to a default value. It must be noted that the event situation is expressed in Spec,VP, whereas the utterance situation is expressed in Spec,InflP (cf. Ritter & Wiltschko, 2010):

(9)
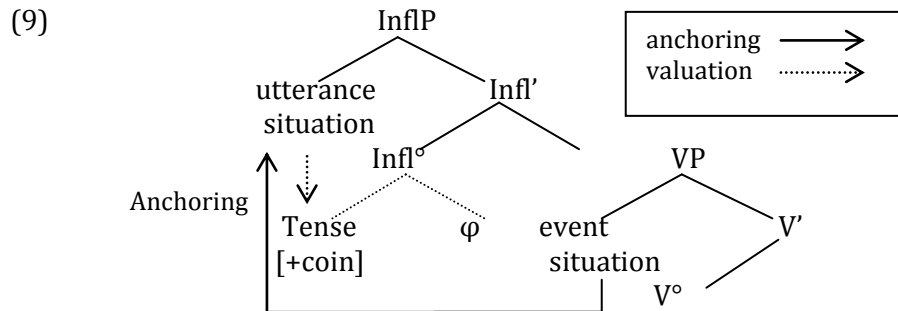
The agreement, or φ, category is also assumed to host default or marked values. Following Harley & Ritter (2002), we consider [Speaker] and [Minimal] to be defaults. [Addressee], on the other hand, corresponds to a marked feature.

In chapter 4, we have postulated that the uniformity of markedness between [*u*coin] and φ gives rise to a default configuration, which, according to our account, favors the application of *Default Marking* (see definition in (8)). Given *Default Marking*, φ features get overtly marked at PF only if they share the same type of markedness as [*u*coin].

In the case of a modal in the present tense, we propose that the overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal] on these elements applies only if [*u*coin] expresses a + value. In fact, [Speaker] and [Minimal] share the same

degree of markedness as [+coin] and therefore they get overtly marked at PF by means of a φ-marker in word-final position.

(10)

```
                          Infl°
                         /      \
                   Tense          φ
                   [+coin]       /  \
                        Participant   Individuation
                          /    \            |
                     Speaker  Addressee  Minimal
                        ↕        ↕          ↕
```

Mola di Bari (cf. (4))	sa+**ttʃ**/a**ɟɟ**/**i**	s(ə)/a	sə**p**/a**v**
Airola (cf. (5))	pɔ**ttsə**/a**ddʒə**	pwɔ/a	pɔ+**RF**/a+**RF**
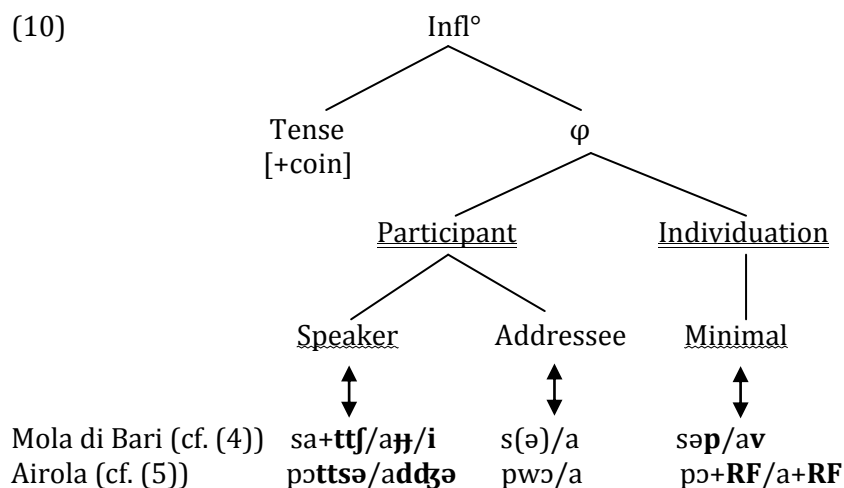
In (10), the only feature that does not get overtly marked in word-final position is [Addressee]. This is because [Addressee], being a marked φ feature, does not share the same grade of markedness as [+coin]. In this case, *Default Marking* cannot apply and [Addressee] does not get overtly marked by means of a dedicated φ-marker.

2.3.2 Past Tense

Here, we consider the application of *Default Marking* with modals expressing past tense.

According to the discussion presented in the previous chapter, we have considered [*u*coin] to be a feature encoded in the category Tense, the valuation of which depends on the anchoring between the event and the utterance time. When a verb expressing past, [*u*coin] is valued as – since the event and the utterance situations do not coincide in their time reference. This mechanism is outlined in (11).

(11)

```
                        InflP                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                 ╱          ╲                     │ anchoring  ───────▶     │
          utterance        Infl'                  │ valuation  ·········▷   │
          situation      ╱       ╲                └─────────────────────────┘
              ⋮       Infl°          VP
   Anchoring  ⋮     ╱    ·····╲    ╱     ╲
              ↑  Tense         φ   event      V'
              │  [-coin]          situation  ╱  ╲
              │                        V°
              └──────────────────────┘
```
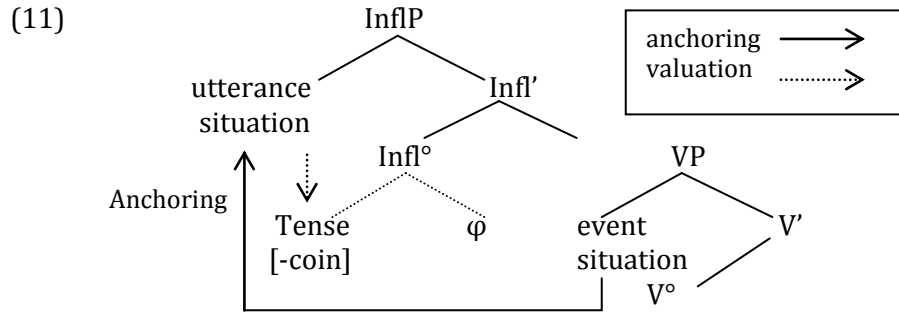
If the modal is valued for [Addressee], then an unmarked, i.e. default
configuration is obtained. In this case, in fact, both [*u*coin] and φ express
marked values, which, according to our proposal, allow *Default Marking* to
apply post-syntactically (cf. (8)). This is to say that when [-coin] and
[Addressee] realized on a modal share the same markedness value,
[Addressee] is allowed to be overtly marked. The marking of [Addressee]
applies by means of metaphony of the stressed vowel, as shown in (12).

(12)

```
                        Infl°
                 ╱              ╲
            Tense                φ
            [-coin]          ╱        ╲
                      Participant    Individuation
                     ╱        ╲           │
                Speaker    Addressee    Minimal
                   ↕           ↕           ↕
```

	Speaker	Addressee	Minimal
Mola di Bari (cf. (6))	puˈtɒːv/aˈvɒːv	puˈtiːv/aˈviːv	puˈtɒːv/aˈvɒːv
Airola (cf. (7))	puˈteːvə/aˈleːvə	puˈtiːvə/aˈliːvə	puˈteːvə/aˈleːvə
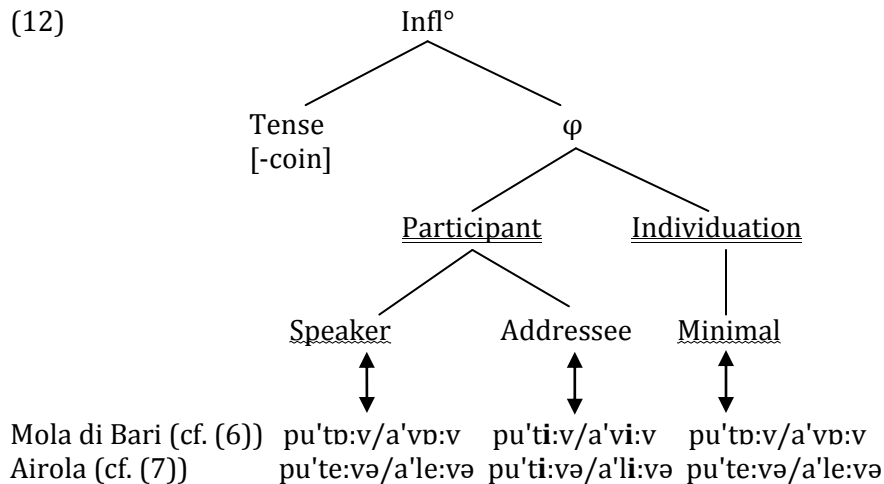
Default Marking in the case of [Speaker] and [Minimal] does not apply
because these two features are defaults, thus displaying a different degree
of markedness than [-coin]. In this case, no morphological marking of φ is

realized and the modals endowed with these two features are spelled-out by selecting a syncretic exponent.

2.4 Summary

In the previous subsections, we have observed that *Default Marking* (cf. (8)) is a post-syntactic operation found not only with perfective auxiliaries but also with modals. With these verbs too, the overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal] is dependent on the markedness of [*u*coin]. If [*u*coin] has a + value, which is a default, then [Speaker] and [Minimal], which are also defaults, get overtly marked at PF. Conversely, if [*u*coin] possesses a – value, which is marked, then only [Addressee], which is also a marked feature, is overtly marked at PF.

At the beginning of this chapter we considered modals to be auxiliary-like elements that license periphrastic constructions. As a result, we now need to investigate whether *Default Marking* also applies in the case of non-periphrastic constructions. This survey will be presented in the next section.

3. Lexical versus modal

3.1 Data

Lexical verbs in CSIDs never license periphrastic constructions. Moreover, they exclude the overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal], but not of [Addressee], in the present indicative. The marking of [Addressee] is obtained by means of metaphony, which targets the stressed vowel of the verb. These facts are illustrated in (13) and (14). It must be noted that the overt marking of [Addressee] applies only in (13a) and (14a) and not in (13b) and (14b)[11].

---

[11] The lexical verbs in (13) and (14) are all composed of more than one syllable. In most Campanian and Apulian dialects, monosyllabic lexical verbs display a specific type of morphological marking of φ, which is opposed to the one found with bi-/polysyllabic forms: Mola di Bari [Apulo-Barese] 'vɔ**ŋg**/ 've/ 've 'cə:n -go.pr.1sg/ go.pr.2sg/ go.pr.3sg. slowly- 'I/you/(s)he go(es) slowly'; Airola [Central Campanian] 'va:**k**/ 'va**(j)ə**/ 'va k a 'ma:kinə -go.pr.1sg/ go.pr.2sg/ go.pr.3sg with

(13) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)

a.
'dorm	sleep.pr.1sg
'd**u**rm	sleep.pr.2sg
'dorm	sleep.pr.3sg
dər'mə:m	sleep.pr.1pl
dər'mə:t	sleep.pr.2pl
'dormən	sleep.pr.3pl

b.
'manʤ	eat.pr.1sg
'manʤ	eat.pr.2sg
'manʤ	eat.pr.3sg
man'ʤə:m	eat.pr.1pl
man'ʤə:t	eat.pr.2pl
'manʤən	eat.pr.3pl

(14) Airola (Central Campanian)

a.
'rɔrmə	sleep.pr.1sg
'r**uə**rmə	sleep.pr.2sg
'rɔrmə	sleep.pr.3sg
rur'mimmə	sleep.pr.1pl
rur'mi:tə	sleep.pr.2pl
'ruərmənə	sleep.pr.3pl

---

the car- 'I/you/(s)he go(es) by car'. It seems that in the case of monosyllabic lexical verbs, [Speaker], on a par with modals and auxiliary HAVE, must be overtly marked. Differently from these forms and similarly to bi-/polysyllabic lexical verbs, [Addressee] can be overtly realized. This is attested in many Campanian dialects, as the dialect of Airola shows, and is not found in Apulian dialects. Moreover, 3sg monosyllabic verbs do not allow the overt marking of [Minimal] in either Campanian or Apulian dialects. These observations suggest that in monosyllabic lexical verbs, only [Speaker] and [Addressee] can be overtly marked. The overt marking of [Speaker], according to the data available, seems to be obligatory, whereas the overt marking of [Addressee] is language specific.

b.   'mandʒə   eat.pr.1sg
     'mandʒə   eat.pr.2sg
     'mandʒə   eat.pr.3sg
     man'dʒammə   eat.pr.1pl
     man'dʒa:tə   eat.pr.2pl
     'mandʒənə   eat.pr.3pl

The non-overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal] in (13a) and (14a) results in the selection of a syncretic exponent. A syncretic verbal form is also chosen for those formatives expressing 1, 2 and 3sg in (13b) and (14b). There, in fact, [Addressee] does not get overtly marked.

The presence versus absence of metaphony affecting the 2sg verbs in (13) and (14) might be attributed to the type of phonological feature expressed on the stressed vowel of these verbs in their underlying representation. If the stressed vowel is endowed with a [mid-high] or [mid-low] feature, then metaphony is obtained. In (13a), for instance, metaphony affects /o/, which is a mid-high vowel. In this case, /o/ raises to /u/, which is a high vowel. In (14a), the mid-low vowel /ɔ/ turns into the diphthong /uə/. Conversely, when the stressed vowel is endowed with a [low] feature, namely /a/ (cf. (13b) & (14b)), metaphony is not attested[12]. The table in (15) summarizes these facts.

(15)

	Lexical verb	
	Stressed Vow: [low]	Stressed Vow: [mid-(high/low)]
[Speaker]	-	-
[Addressee]	-	**+**
[Minimal]	-	-

---

[12] Calabrese (2009) claims that high vowels, i.e. /i/ and /u/, as well as mid-high vowels, i.e. /e/ and /o/, are endowed with an [ATR] feature. The feature [±ATR], in his account, makes a distinction between mid-high and mid-low vowels. The difference between /o/ and /ɔ/, for instance, would be that /o/ is endowed with a [back], [round] and [+ATR] feature, whereas /ɔ/, conversely, only expresses [back] and [round], and is specified for [-ATR].

As Maiden (1991) and Calabrese (1995) point out, metaphony in Italian dialects generally targets mid-vowels, namely *o* and *e*. In many dialects, high-mid vowels are raised to high, while low-mid vowels can be raised to mid-high, or be diphthongized. A stressed low vowel can be affected by metaphony in Italian dialects in some rare cases (cf. Calabrese, 1985, 1998; Maiden, 1991), for instance in a number of Abruzzese dialects and Romagnolo. Whereas in Romagnolo stressed low vowels tend to raise to mid-low or mid-high vowels (cf. Maiden 1991: 131), in some Abruzzese dialects all vowels become high under metaphony: /a, ɛ, e/ > /i/ and /o, ɔ/ > /u/ (cf. Maiden 1991: 167).

Based on these facts, we might argue that the lack of overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal] on a lexical verb expressing information for present in (13) and (14) is the result of the non-application of the post-syntactic operation *Default Marking*, the definition of which is given in (8). In fact, a lexical verb in the present indicative is endowed with a [+coin] feature, which, according to our account, would allow the overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal], but not of [Addressee]. The presence of [+coin], instead, allows the overt marking of [Addressee] only if the stressed vowel of the verb is endowed with a specific phonological feature.

Given the morphological marking strategies of φ observed in (13) and (14), we postulate that the value expressed by [*u*coin] in the case of lexical verbs is not crucial in determining the set of morphosyntactic φ features to be overtly spelled out at PF. Instead, we posit that the value of [*u*coin] expressed on Tense is able to determine the morphological marking of φ only in the case of auxiliary-like verbs, which license periphrastic constructions. Following Roberts & Roussou (2003), we take periphrases to correspond to unmarked syntactic configurations. On the other hand, lexical verbs, which in CSIDs and other Romance languages are thought to undergo V-to-T, or V-to-Infl, movement (cf. Jackendoff, 1972; Emonds, 1978; Pollock, 1989; Belletti, 1990; Vikner, 1994, 1995, 1997; Cinque, 1999; Bentzen, 2007, 2009; Biberauer & Roberts, 2010; Holmberg & Roberts, 2010; Roberts, 2010; a.o.), will be assumed to license marked syntactic configurations (cf. Clark & Roberts, 1993, 1994; Roberts, 2001; Roberts & Roussou, 2003; Holmberg & Roberts, 2010). In our analysis, marked syntactic configurations only allow the overt marking of marked morphosyntactic φ features at PF by means of *Default Marking*.

3.2 Analysis

We propose that the morpho-phonological marking of [Addressee] in (13a) and (14a) is the result of *Default Marking* (see (8)) applying post-syntactically. The application of *Default Marking* with lexical verbs can be accounted for the fact that lexical verbs spelled-out in Infl° correspond to marked syntactic heads that allow the overt marking only of marked morphosyntactic φ features. This is to say that if a syntactic head is complex, thus marked, then only marked morphosyntactic φ features can be overtly spelled-out at PF. The presence of [+coin] on Tense with lexical verbs would then exclude the overt marking of default morphosyntactic φ features. This is due to the fact that the non-markedness of [+coin] is overridden by the markedness of V-to-T, or V-to-Infl, movement.
Let us consider now why lexical verbs correspond to complex syntactic heads. In line with Clark & Roberts (1993), (1994), Roberts (2001) and Holmberg & Roberts (2010), we claim that verb movement "is always associated with relatively complex representations" (cf. Roberts & Roussou, 2003: 210). The notion of complex representation is based on the simplicity metric put forward by Longobardi (2001), which is given in (16).

(16)
A structural representation R for a substring of input text S is simpler than an alternative representation R' iff R contains fewer formal feature syncretism than R'.

[Longobardi (2001: 294)]

Feature syncretism simply refers to the presence of more than one formal feature realized in a syntactic position. Given the simplicity metric in (16), it is straightforward to assert that if the number of formal features encoded on a syntactic head Y is greater than that found in Y', then Y is more complex, or marked, than Y'.
In the presence of verb movement, for instance, the verb X incorporates into a higher head Y and these get spelled-out together. At Spell-Out, one exponent expressing both the features of X and of Y is selected (cf. (17a)). In the absence of verb movement, on the other hand, the verb X does not incorporate into Y and Y gets spelled-out separately from X. In this case, a periphrastic construction is obtained (cf. (17b)):

(17) a. [YP [[X]+[Y]] [XP [t~~X~~]]]   where [[X]+[Y]]   = α
    b. [YP [Y] [XP [X]]]   where [Y]   = β

Given (17), we consider the syntactic head spelling out α as being more complex than the one spelling out β. In fact, α corresponds to the overt realization of the features of X and Y, whereas β is the lexical item expressing the feature(s) of Y only.
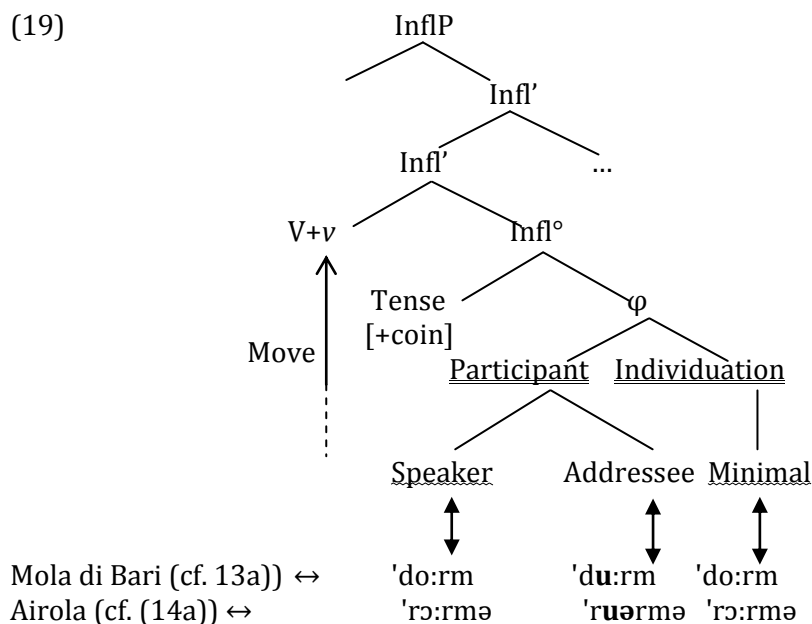
Based on these facts, we posit that the exponents of Infl° in the paradigm in (13) and (14) are more complex than those of (4) and (5), the former being lexical verbs and the latter being modals. At Spell-Out, in fact, the lexical verbs in (13) and (14) encode both the V+v complex, as well as those features that make up Infl°. The modals in (4) and (5), on the other hand, only encode Infl°, thus being 'poorer' than lexical verbs in the number of formal features they bear.

(18) a. [InflP [[V+v]+[Infl°]] [vP t~~[V][v]~~]]   where
      [[V+v]+[Infl°]] ↔ 'd**u**:rm/ 'ma:ndʒ   (cf. (13a)/(14b))
    b. [InflP [Infl°] [vP [V][v]]]   where
      [Infl°]   ↔ sa**ttʃ**/ pɔ**ttsə**   (cf. (4a)/(4b))

The presence of metaphony in the case of ['du:rm]/['ruərmə] (13a) and (14a) can be therefore explained by the fact that the V+v complex moves to Infl°, thus leading to a complex Infl head. The presence of a complex Infl head would be the trigger for the overt marking of [Addressee], which in our account corresponds to a marked morphosyntactic φ feature. As mentioned above, the presence of [+coin] in Tense would not favor the overt marking of default φ features with a complex Infl head. Indeed, V-to-T, or V-to-Infl, is a marked syntactic operation which, in our account, overrides the non-markedness of [+coin].

In the case of perfective auxiliaries and modals, the uniformity of markedness between [$u$coin] and φ encoded in Infl° has been claimed to license the application of *Default Marking* (see (8)). In the case of lexical verbs, conversely, *Default Marking* is obtained due to the presence of a complex, i.e. marked, Infl head combining with a marked morphosyntactic φ feature:

(19)

                                    InflP
                                   /   \
                                       Infl'
                                      /   \
                              Infl'   ...
                             /   \
                        V+*v*   Infl°
                         ↑   /   \
                                Tense   φ
                       Move   [+coin]   / \
                         ┊   Participant Individuation
                         ┊   /   \ |
                         ┊   Speaker   Addressee Minimal
                                    ↕   ↕   ↕

Mola di Bari (cf. 13a)) ↔   'do:rm   'd**u**:rm   'do:rm
Airola (cf. (14a)) ↔   'rɔ:rmə   'r**uə**rmə 'rɔ:rmə

All things being equal, we would expect *Default Marking* to also be attested in (13b) and (14b). More specifically, given the uniformity of markedness between complex Infl° and [Addressee], we would expect metaphony to also be found in (13b) and (14b). There, in fact, the lexical verb is also valued for a marked morphosyntactic φ feature. Nonetheless, as demonstrated above, metaphony is not attested.

In order to solve this puzzle, we propose to go a step further and claim that metaphony can apply only if the stressed vowel of the lexical verb bears a marked phonological feature in the underlying representation. Following Jakobson (1968), we postulate that the low vowel [a], which is stressed in the verbal forms in (13b) and (14b), is found in all languages and must therefore be considered as a default. The stressed vowels in (13a) and (14a), which bear a mid-high and mid-low feature, respectively, must be considered as more marked than [a] since they are not found in all languages (see Arabic, for instance).

At this point, we speculate that the presence of a complex Infl head in CSIDs allows the overt marking of marked morphosyntactic φ features by means

of metaphony only if the vowel in question is endowed with a marked phonological feature[13]. These facts are illustrated by the implicational hierarchy in (20).

(20)[14]

   Infl [marked] >* φ [marked] >* Vowel [marked]

(20) says that if Infl° is marked, i.e. complex, then only marked morphosyntactic φ features, i.e. [Addressee], can get overtly marked. At PF, the overt marking of [Addressee] is sensitive to the quality of the stressed vowel. Indeed, [Addressee] can be marked only if the stressed vowel of the lexical item selected is endowed with a marked vowel in its underlying representation.

It is worth noting, however, that the implicational hierarchy in (20) is relevant only to CSIDs. In a subset of NSIDs, for instance, [Addressee] always gets overtly marked by means of metaphony when encoded on a lexical verb. Hence, the marking of [Addressee] with lexical verbs in NSIDs is not sensitive to the type of phonological feature expressed on the stressed vowel. The paradigm in (21) illustrates these facts.

---

[13] It should be noted that in the case of a mid-front vowel, such as [e], metaphony is found only when the lexical verb is endowed with specification for [Addressee]: Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese) 'send/ 'sind/ 'send –feel.sg.1sg/ feel.sg.2sg/ feel.sg.3sg- 'I/you/(s)he feel(s)'; Airola (Central Campanian) 'sɛ:ntə/ 'sje:ntə/ 'sɛ:ntə -feel.sg.1sg/ feel.sg.2sg/ feel.sg.3sg- 'I/you/(s)he feels'. The 2sg verb of the dialect of Airola gets diphthongized. In the traditional literature, diphthongization is also treated as a type of metaphonic alternation in the same way as vowel heightening (cf. Calabrese 1985, 1998; Maiden, 1991).

[14] The diacritic * indicates that information for markedness is passed from a module to another.

(21) Arielli (Eastern Abruzzese)

'maɲɲə	eat.pr.1sg
'm**i**ɲɲə	eat.pr.2sg
'maɲɲə	eat.pr.3sg
maɲ'ɲe:mə	eat.pr.1pl
maɲ'ɲe:tə	eat.pr.2pl
'maɲɲə	eat.pr.3pl

[D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010): 67]

In (22), we outline the implicational hierarchy of φ-marking with lexical verbs in the Abruzzese dialect in (21).

(22)

$$\text{Infl}_{[marked]} >^* \varphi_{[marked]} >^* \text{Vowel}$$

According to (22), all vowels can undergo metaphony when a lexical verb is endowed with the morphosyntactic feature [Addressee]. NSIDs, in fact, allow the overt marking of [Addressee] independently of the phonological feature expressed on the stressed vowel. In these dialects, the non-uniformity of markedness between the phonological feature expressed on the stressed vowel of the verb and the φ feature carried by the verb does not block the overt marking of [Addressee] by means of metaphony.

3.3 Interim summary

So far, we have observed that lexical verbs in the present indicative categorically disallow the overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal]. The only feature in the singular paradigm which gets overtly marked is [Addressee]. This overt marking of [Addressee], it is argued, is triggered by the presence of a marked syntactic configuration (cf. Clark & Roberts, 1993, 1994; Roberts, 2001; Roberts & Roussou, 2003; Holmberg & Roberts, 2010), which inevitably allows the overt marking of [Addressee], but not of the defaults [Speaker] and [Minimal].
It has been claimed that the overt marking of [Addressee] in this situation is determined by the application of the post-syntactic operation *Default*

Marking (see (8)): Infl°, being complex, i.e. a marked syntactic head, allows the overt marking only of marked morphosyntactic φ features. We have observed that with lexical verbs, the application of *Default Marking* in NSIDs differs from that observed in CSIDs: in NSIDs the overt marking of [Addressee] freely applies by means of metaphony, whereas in CSIDs it applies only if the phonological feature expressed on the stressed vowel of the verb bears a marked value.

These facts are presented in order to show that [+coin] in the case of lexical verbs in the present indicative does not license the overt marking of default morphosyntactic φ features. This is due to the fact that V-to-T, or V-to-Infl, movement leads to a marked syntactic configuration, which outranks the non-markedness of [+coin]. As a result, only marked morphosyntactic φ features, i.e. [Addressee], get overtly marked.

The question which arises now is whether the application of *Default Marking*, triggered by the value of [*u*coin], is confined only to periphrastic constructions realized in the verbal domain, or if it is also found in the case of D-elements followed by nouns. This will be addressed in the next section.
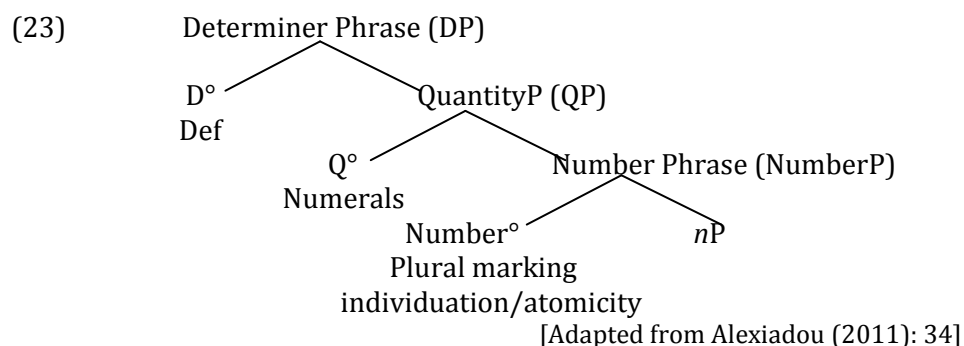

4. Determiners in CSIDs

In this part, we will focus on the syntax of determiners in CSIDs, as well as on the morphological marking of φ attested on these elements. More specifically, we will see that a subset of D-elements, namely definite determiners and demonstratives, are able to license RF only if they express neuter and/or feminine plural. We will claim that occurrence of RF in both cases derives from the application of *Default Marking* (cf. (8)).

4.1 The syntax of DP

Since the studies proposed by Szabolsci (1983), (1984), Abney (1987) and Horrocks & Stavrou (1987), there has been a general consensus in the literature regarding the syntactic status of the D(eterminer) category. The principal idea is that D° corresponds to a functional head taking a noun phrase (NP) as its complement. For this reason, the structure of the NP parallels that of the sentence, inasmuch as D°, in the same way as Infl°, is

the functional head displaying agreement properties[15]. It was later proposed that the nominal phrase does not only consist of an NP and a DP, but also of other syntactic heads sandwiched between these two projections. These correspond to Number° and Q(uantity)° (cf. Abney, 1987; Grimshaw, 1991; Ritter, 1991; Bouchard, 1998; van Riemsdijk, 1998; Borer, 2005; Heycock & Zamparelli, 2005; Chierchia, 2008; Dobrovie-Sorin, 2009; Alexiadou, 2011; a.o.), as shown by the syntactic tree in (23).

(23)

Determiner Phrase (DP)

D°
Def

QuantityP (QP)

Q°
Numerals

Number Phrase (NumberP)

Number°
Plural marking
individuation/atomicity

nP

[Adapted from Alexiadou (2011): 34]

The structure in (23) indicates the presence of another projection, namely *n*P, which is located directly below NumberP. Following Marantz (2000), (2006) and Arad (2005), a.o., we consider *n* as a categorizing head, a nominalizer in this case, merging with a root not associated with a categorical feature.

Jespersen (1909) suggests that nouns can be of two different types, according to whether they allow a countable or uncountable reading. In the former case, the projection of a NumberP and a QP is necessary since countable nouns (CNs) can refer to the sum of individuals and thus qualify as atomic/individual (cf. Borer, 2005; Chierchia, 2008). They can therefore allow plural morphology and combine with a numeral. On the other hand, uncountable nouns, which are commonly defined as mass nouns (MNs), are not atomic, disallow plural morphology and are incompatible with

---

[15] Higginbotham (1985) proposes that a simple noun such as *book*, which denotes each of the various individuals possessing the property of being a book, has an open space in it. This position, according to his analysis, is identified with the specifier of an NP and corresponds to the place where the thematic grid of a simple noun is satisfied.

numerals (cf. Quine 1960, Krifka 1989, a.o.), unless they encode type-shifting interpretation[16]. Another difference between CNs and MNs that needs to be accounted for is that CNs can be preceded both by a definite and indefinite determiner, while MNs can be preceded only by definite determiner, not an indefinite one (cf. Gillon, 1992; Alexiadou, 2011; a.o.). The table in (24) summarizes these facts by drawing parallels between the syntactic properties of CNs and MNs if no type-shifting interpretation is found on the latter.

(24)

|		CNs	MNs
Plural marking		book-**s**	*wine-**s**
Numeral		**three** book-**s**	***three** wine-**s**
Determiner	Definite	**the** book(**s**)	**the** wine
	Indefinite	**a** book	***a** wine

(24) shows that D° is a syntactic head that always gets realized with CNs and MNs. In the case of MNs, D° can only express a definite reading.
It is worth noting that D-elements do not only include determiners, but also demonstratives, which generally stand in complementary distribution with definite determiners[17]. Because of this, a DP such as *this/that wine* is fully grammatical.

---

[16] The division of labor between CNs and MNs, in allowing or disallowing the plural morphology, respectively, does not seem to be rigidly defined. In fact, in English, as well as in other languages, plural morphology is permitted on a MN. Moreover, MNs in English can combine with a numeral: we have drunk **two** wine-**s.** In this case, type-shifting takes place (Partee, 1987; Chierchia, 1998; a.o.). Furthermore, as Grimshaw (1990) shows, plural morphology and numerals are banned with argument structure nominals: *one folding of the chair; *two foldings of the chair. For this reason, MNs and argument structure can both be assumed to entirely lack the merging of a NumberP and QP above *n*P.
[17] It is important to note that some languages always allow the realization of a definite article combined with a demonstrative. This situation is attested for Greek, where the demonstrative *afto* (this) must precede a definite determiner in DPs of the type *this book*: afto to vivlio –this.neut.sg. the.neut.sg. book-.
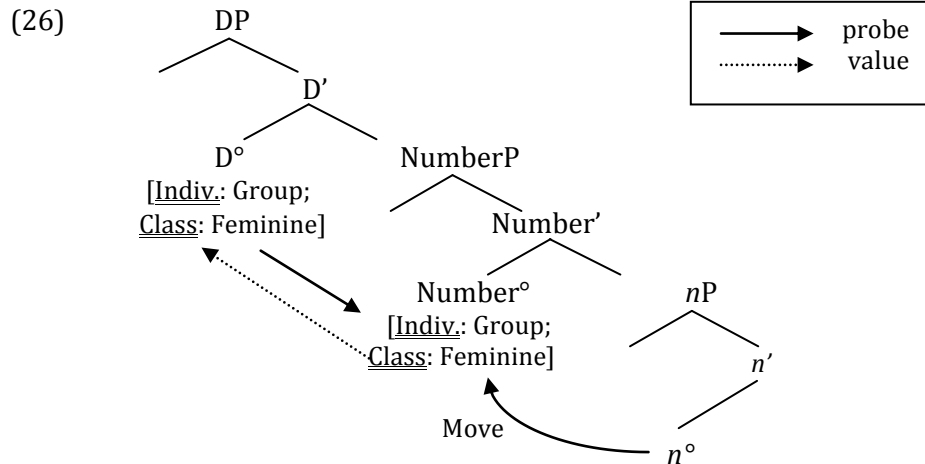
4.2 *Agree* within the DP

In contrast to Infl°, which, as extensively discussed in the previous chapter, generally encodes information for Person and Number in Romance[18], the functional head D° only expresses Number and Gender. Based on the operation of *Agree* put forward by Chomsky (2000), (2001) and (2004), the definition of which was given in chapter 3, we postulate that D° is a syntactic head endowed with unvalued Number and Gender features. These features get valued against the corresponding interpretable features specified in the noun. In order for the *Agree* operation to take place, the noun must be in the c-command domain of D°[19]. Let us suppose that the noun is uncountable. This means that it is in *n*°, without moving to Number°. In this case, the noun can be thought of as being interpretable for Gender, or [Class], only. The Gender feature specification of the noun in *n*° is copied by D°, by means of *Agree*. The featural make-up of D° also contains the feature [Individuation]. This feature cannot be valued by *n*° and thus remains underspecified. These facts are exemplified in (25).
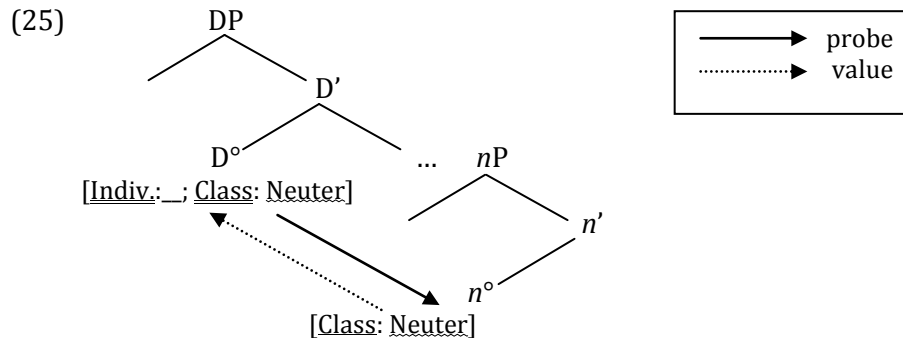
(25)
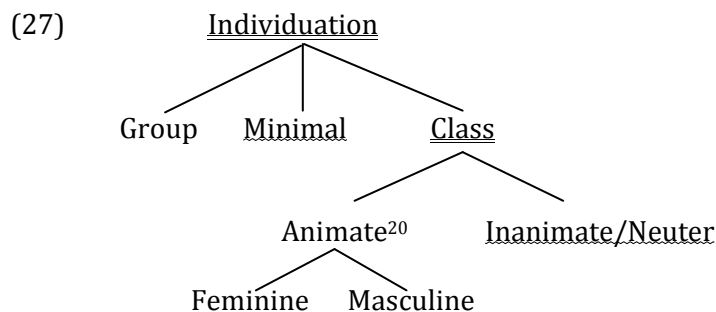

---

[19] For the condition on *Agree* between a probe (Pr) and a goal (G), see chapter 3, §2.2.

In the case of a CN, conversely, the noun moves to Number°, thus being interpretable for number information. In this case, D°, after entering an *Agree* relation with the noun, does not remain underspecified, but gets valued either for [Minimal] or [Group]. (26) shows how *Agree* between a plural feminine noun and D° is obtained.

(26)

DP

D'

D°
[Indiv.: Group;
Class: Feminine]

NumberP

Number'

Number°
[Indiv.: Group;
Class: Feminine]

*n*P

n'

n°

Move

probe
value

In the same fashion as verbal agreement markers, we assume that the morphosyntactic features expressed on D° are organized within the geometric representation of features proposed by Harley & Ritter (2002). In this geometry, [Individuation] has three daughter nodes, namely [Minimal], [Group] and [Class]. [Class], which expresses Gender properties, has three daughter nodes, including [Neuter/Inanimate], [Masculine] and [Feminine]. Moreover, it should be noted that [Class], unlike [Participant], is not the sister node of [Individuation], but is dominated by it, as the geometry in (27) illustrates.

(27)   Individuation

```
                    Individuation
            _____|_____
           |           |           |
         Group      Minimal      Class
                            _____|_____
                           |               |
                        Animate[20]   Inanimate/Neuter
                       ____|____
                      |         |
                  Feminine   Masculine
```

[Harley & Ritter (2002): 9]

Harley & Ritter postulate that in a feature geometry a more dependent feature implies the presence of another one that dominates it. This means that [Class] in the geometry in (27) implies the presence of [Individuation]. The dependency of Gender on Number has been claimed to appear cross-linguistically. Indeed, Greenberg's (1963: 95) Universal 36 argues that ''[i]f a language has the category of gender, it always has the category of number''.

If this were true, then we would expect all nouns expressing Gender to also be specified for Number. This assumption is incompatible with the structure proposed in (23). There, Number° corresponds to a syntactic head conveying plurality/singularity, merging right above nP. n°, on the other hand, expresses information for Gender only. Based on these facts, we propose that the geometry in (27) applies to D-elements and not to nouns spelled-out in Number° or n°.

In the same fashion as [Participant] and [Individuation], this geometry predicts that [Class] also has one dependent endowed with a default

---

[20] [Animate], in our account, simply corresponds to a morphosyntactic feature and does not make any reference to its semantic contribution. Indeed, SIDs, on a par with Italian and many other languages, show that an inanimate noun can be endowed with [Masculine] or [Feminine] specification. This simply means that in these languages there is no full correspondence between semantic and morphosyntatic gender encoded on a noun. In short, the mapping of masculine or feminine on an inanimate noun is purely arbitrary and language specific. See the contrast between Italian and German (i. Italian: la luna -the.fem.sg. moon.fem.- versus ii. German: der Mond -the.masc.sg. moon.masc.-), where *moon* is feminine in Italian and masculine in German.

reading. This node corresponds to [Inanimate/Neuter]. [Masculine] and [Feminine], on the other hand, are marked. The classification of [Inanimate/Neuter] as a default is dependent on acquisitional facts: this feature is learnt before [Masculine] and [Feminine], and must therefore be considered as default/unmarked.

If we were in the presence of two D-elements, one specified for feminine plural and the other for neuter singular, the former would be understood as being more marked than the latter. This is because a feminine plural D-element is endowed with two marked features, whereas a neuter singular D-element encodes two default features, as (28) demonstrates.

(28)
a.   Neuter singular D   [Class: Neuter; Individuation: Minimal]
b.   Feminine plural D   [Class: Feminine; Individuation: Group]

A similar proposal has been made in chapter 4 and in section §2.2, with reference to default and marked features expressed on perfective auxiliaries and modals. It was proposed that a 3sg agreement marker is less marked than one expressing 2pl. This is argued on the basis that 3sg agreement markers only express the feature [Minimal], which is a default, whereas 2pl agreement markers encode both [Addressee] and [Group], which are marked morphosyntactic features. These facts are illustrated in (29).

(29)
a.   3sg aux./modal   [Participant: ___; Individuation: Minimal]
b.   2pl aux./modal   [Participant: Addressee; Individuation: Group]

In this subsection, we have shown that D°, similarly to Infl°, is a functional element that can be specified for default or marked φ values.

4.3 Neuter D in USIDs

Unlike in most Romance languages, where determiners can only be inflected for masculine and feminine, a three-way gender system of determiners is found in a subset of USIDs (cf. Rohlfs, 1966, 1968; Leonard, 1978; Andalò, 1991; Maiden, 1991, 1997; Penny, 1994; Ledgeway, 2009; a.o.), whereby definite D-elements can express neuter in addition to masculine and feminine[21]. This phenomenon is in fact not limited to a subset of USIDs, but is also attested in a large number of CIDs. Specifically, the dialects that allow a three-way gender system of determiners are those spoken in the geolinguistic area stretching from the Ancona-Rome corridor up to central Campania, northern Lucania and central Apulia.

In these dialects, a neuter determiner is selected by nouns that possess a semantic interpretation for mass (Rohlfs, 1968: 109)[22]. In the case of a CN, conversely, no neuter determiner can be found and either a masculine or a feminine determiner is attested.

---

[21] Loporcaro & Paciaroni (2011) claim that a subset of USIDs, as well as some CIDs, display a four-way gender distinction. In these dialects, a group of nouns, which were neuter in Latin and belonged to the 2nd declension, do not combine with a neuter determiner, but rather with a determiner expressing masculine or feminine. A masculine singular determiner is selected when the noun is in the singular, whereas a feminine plural determiner is chosen when the noun is in the plural: **lu** vrattsə -the.masc.sg. arm- versus **rə** bbrattsə -the.fem.pl arms- [Loporcaro & Paciaroni, (2011) : 412]. The noun *vrattsə/bbrattsə* stems from Latin neuter *brāchium/brāchiă*. In the former case, namely when the noun is in the singular, the determiner *lu* is selected, which is masculine. In the latter case, namely when the noun is in the plural, the determiner *rə* is chosen, which is feminine in gender. This determiner, in contrast to the masculine singular determiner, licenses RF. According to Loporcaro & Paciaroni (2011), this type of alternation, which is typical of a subset of USIDs and CIDs, corresponds to a way of expressing a four-way gender distinction.

[22] As Kučerova & Moro (2011) point out, many northern Spanish dialects spoken in Asturias and Cantabria show the same three-way gender system of determiners found in CIDs and USIDs. For the sake of clarity, we will not discuss the gender system of northern Spanish dialects here, but will focus specifically on that found in CIDs and USIDs.

(30) Macerata (Central Marchigiano)
    lu táulu/fjore   'the.masc.sg. table/flower'
    la kasa   'the.fem.sg. house'
    lo tʃetʃe   'the.neut. chickpea'
                                              [Paciaroni (2012): 8]

In the Central Marchigiano dialect in (30) determiners can take three different morphological shapes: in the case of *táulu/fjore*, a CN, a masculine singular determiner is selected, as well as in the case of *kasa*, which is countable and selects a feminine singular determiner. On the other hand, *tʃetʃe*, a MN, chooses a neuter determiner[23]. As mentioned above, a three-way gender system of determiners is also found in a large number of USIDs: San Felice Circeo [Romanesco]: ju canə -the.masc.sg. dog- versus lu lattə -the.neut. milk- (Rohlfs 1968: 109); Pontelandolfo [Northern Campanian]: rə 'ka:nə -the.masc.dog- versus lə 'lattə -the.neut milk-.

The alternation in gender affecting the determiners in (30) can be further observed for demonstratives, which, following the discussion presented above, are also considered as D-elements:

(31) Celano (Western Abruzzese)
    kwístə líbbrə   'this.masc.sg. book'
    kwɛsta kásə   'this.fem.sg. house'
    kwɛstə pépə   'this.neut. pepper'
                                          [Kučerová & Moro (2011): 4]

Rohlfs (1968) observes that in a vast number of dialects spoken in central Campania and central Apulia, however, neuter determiners are not morphologically different from masculine singular determiners. More precisely, in the geolinguistic area stretching from central Campania and

---

[23] Rohlfs (1968) posits that neuter determiners in CIDs and USIDs are not selected only with mass nominals whose etymon was neuter in Latin (cf. *vinum* (wine), *sale* (salt), *lac* (milk)). Conversely, they are also found in constructions where the nominal was masculine in Latin and possessed semantic interpretation for mass (cf. *panis* (bread), *caseus* (cheese), *sanguis* (blood)). Merlo (1917) claims that the Romance neuter determiner does not derive from the Latin neuter gender, but it is an innovation.

central Apulia, up to the Naples-Matera-Bari corridor, neuter determiners are homophonous with those expressing masculine singular information. They differ, however, in that the former trigger RF while the latter do not. This situation is shown in (32)-(34).

(32) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
u l'latt	'the.neut. milk'
u 'litt	'the.masc.sg. bed'
a 'port	'the.fem.sg. door'

(33) Airola (Central Campanian)
u l'lattə	'the.neut. milk'
u 'liəttə	'the.masc.sg. bed'
a ma'e:strə	'the.fem.sg. teacher'

(34) Cerignola (Apulo Daunian-Apennines)
u p'pɔ:p	'the.neut. pepper'
u 'frɔ:t	'the.masc.sg. brother'
la 'so:r	'the.fem.sg. sister'

In this group of dialects, demonstratives expressing neuter and masculine singular properties, on a par with definite determiners, are syncretic. These facts are given in (35)-(37).

(35) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
kuss l'latt	'this.neut. milk'
kuss 'litt	'this.masc.sg. bed'
kɛssa 'port	'this.fem.sg. door'

(36) Airola (Central Campanian)
stɔ l'lattə	'this.neut. milk'
stɔ 'liəttə	'this.masc.sg. bed'
sta ma'e:strə	'this.fem.sg. teacher'

(37) Cerignola (Apulo Daunian-Apennines)

stu p'pɔːp	'this.neut. pepper'
stu 'frɔt	'this.masc.sg. brother'
sta 'sɔːr	'this.fem.sg. sister'

The neuter demonstratives in (35)-(37), similarly to definite neuter determiners in (32)-(34), are able to trigger RF. In the next subsection, we will investigate the interplay between the type of root selected by a D-element and the triggering of RF by these elements.

4.3.1 RF and neuter D

4.3.1.1 Diachronic versus typological observations

As Rohlfs (1968:110) suggests, the reorganization of morpho-phonological material on Latin neuter demonstratives has been crucial in determining the rise of RF triggered by definite neuter determiners in a group of modern USIDs. Specifically, Rohlfs proposes that in the period of transition from Vulgar Latin to southern Italo-Romance, some phonological changes that affected the last segments of the Latin neuter determiner *illūd* created the right context for RF. According this theory, *illūd* had a long *u*, the presence of which determined the rise of RF at a certain historical stage. *Illŭm*, on the other hand, which corresponds to the Latin etymon of the masculine determiner, featured a short *u*, which did not result in RF. All in all, Rohlfs' proposal is that the different length of *u* found in *illūd* and *illŭm* determined whether or not the phonological context was right for the application of RF[24].

This explanation, however, cannot account for certain facts. Firstly, it does not address the question why dialects of the type in (30) and (31) do not display RF after a neuter determiner (cf. Macerata [Central Marchigiano] lu

---

[24] A similar approach is proposed by Lüdtke (1965), who also assumes that RF triggered by a neuter determiner is determined by the morpho-phonological make-up of the Latin determiner *illud*. Among other diachronic explanations, it is worth mentioning that proposed by Merlo (1906), which states that the neuter determiner able to trigger RF derives from the form **illoc*, which, unlike *illum*, is argued to trigger RF.

táulu/ la kasa/ lo tʃetʃe –the.masc.sg. table/ the.fem.sg. house/ the.neut. chickpea-; Celano [Western Abruzzese] kwístə líbbrə/ kwɛsta kásə/ kwɛstə pépə -this.masc.sg. book/ this.fem.sg. house/ this.neut. pepper-).

A possible solution would be to assume that RF triggered by a neuter D-element is found only in those dialects where this element is syncretic with the element expressing masculine singular information. Crucially, the northern Barese dialect of Bitonto (cf. (38)) shows that this is not the case, since a neuter determiner is morphologically distinct from the determiner with masculine singular interpretation and, despite the lack of syncretism, it can trigger RF. This situation is not only attested for this dialect but also for other dialects in the same area (cf. (39)).

(38) Bitonto (Apulo-Barese)

rə p'pjɔn	'the.neut. bread'
u 'pre:vət	'the.masc.sg. priest'
la 'pɔrt	'the.fem.sg. door'

(39) Ruvo di Puglia (Apulo-Barese)

rə p'pən	'the.neut. bread'
u 'prjɛ:vət	'the.masc.sg. priest'
la 'pwort	'the.fem.sg. door'

Despite these observations, we still need to clarify whether a MN obligatorily combines with a neuter determiner or if it can also be preceded by a definite determiner specified for masculine or feminine. The data in (40) and (41) seem to confirm that the latter is true: in fact, the data show that MNs in USIDs can be specified for all gender values, although there is a general tendency for MNs to be inherently specified for neuter[25].

---

[25] From a statistical survey carried out by the author, it emerged that there is a general tendency to select a neuter determiner when the MN following it refers to a concrete mass entity, such as *bread*, *pepper*, etc., whereas a non-concrete or abstract mass entity, such as *fire*, *wind*, etc. is more likely to have a masculine (or feminine) determiner. This generalization appears not to be rigid, since a noun like *fire* in some Apulian dialects can be specified for neuter or masculine information: Giovinazzo [Apulo-Barese] u 'fu:k –the.masc.sg. fire- versus Conversano [Apulo-Barese] **u f'f**uk -the.masc.sg. fire-.

(40) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
  u p'pə:n   'the.neut. bread'
  u 'viːənd   'the.masc. wind'
  a 'ləːn   'the.fem. wool'

(41) Bitonto (Apulo-Barese)
  rə p'pjɔːn   'the.neut. bread'
  u 'viːnd   'the.masc. wind'
  la 'lɔːn   'the.fem. wool'

In (40) and (41), RF can be triggered only by a neuter determiner that precedes a MN. If the determiner preceding a MN is masculine or feminine, then RF is not found.

The map in (42) illustrates the geolinguistic extension of RF triggered by a neuter definite determiner and demonstrative[26]. The isoglosses α and α' refer to the northern and southern borders of RF triggered by a neuter definite determiner and demonstrative, respectively. North of the isogloss α, an independent lexical entry for a neuter definite determiner and demonstrative is found and no RF is attested. South of the isogloss α', on the other hand, no neuter exponents are found.

---

[26] The isoglosses drawn in (42) are approximate. They are based on the data presented in this section, as well as on those collected by the author for the purposes of this dissertation (see chapter 1).

(42)
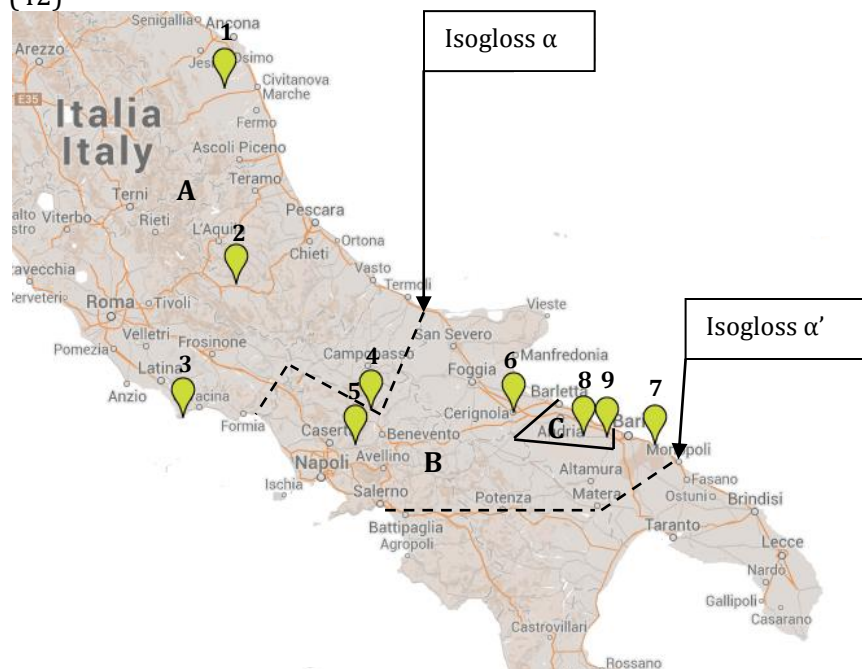
Dialects:
1- Macerata; 2- Celano, 3- San Felice Circeo; 4- Pontelandolfo; 5- Airola; 6- Cerignola; 7- Mola di Bari; 8- Ruvo di Puglia; 9- Bitonto

A: area where an independent exponent is selected for a neuter D-element and no RF is triggered;
B: area where a syncretism is at play between a neuter and a masculine singular D-element and RF is triggered only by the one expressing neuter information;
C: area where an independent exponent is selected for a neuter D and RF is triggered by this element.

Because the diachronic explanations examined in this section seem to be unable to capture the distribution of RF triggered by a neuter D-elements, we propose an alternative explanation, according to which RF triggered by a neuter D-element is determined by purely morphosyntactic properties. This analysis will be presented in the next sections.

4.4 Nominal periphrases and *Default Marking*

In this section, we propose that the post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking* presented in (8), as well as in the previous chapter, is also operative with periphrases realized in the nominal domain and composed of a definite D-element followed by a noun. We postulate that D°, similarly to Infl°, also encodes a [*u*coin] feature (cf. Ritter & Wiltschko, 2009), the valuation of which determines the application of *Default Marking* in morphology. In §4.4.1, the operation of *Default Marking* with neuter determiners is analyzed. §4.4.2, on the other hand, looks at *Default Marking* with feminine plural definite determiners.

4.4.1 D° and the feature Definiteness

Before looking at the application of *Default Marking* on D°, let us consider the structure of a DP as in (43).

(43) a. The dog/wine

b.
```
            DP
          /    \
       D°       nP
       the     /
            n°
         dog/wine
```
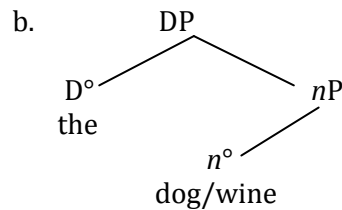
Based on Marantz (2000), (2006) and Arad (2005), a.o., we treat the noun in *n*° as a syntactic head that combines with a root endowed with no word-class features. The merging of *n*° with a root is crucial in allowing its conceptualization as a noun, namely as an Entity. Since the entity named by the noun is syntactically an *n*P (cf. Marantz, 1997; Lecarme, 2004; Wollin, 2011; a.o.), we predict that the *n*P is endowed with an Entity Reference feature, which is encoded in its specifier (see Ritter & Wiltschko 2009 for the encoding of an event and utterance feature in the Spec,VP and Spec,INFL, respectively). We consider this feature to be specific in its interpretation. In fact, the CN *dog* in (43) refers to all those types of entities

that are specified for the property of being a dog. Because of this property, we propose that the Entity Reference feature inherently expresses a specific value.
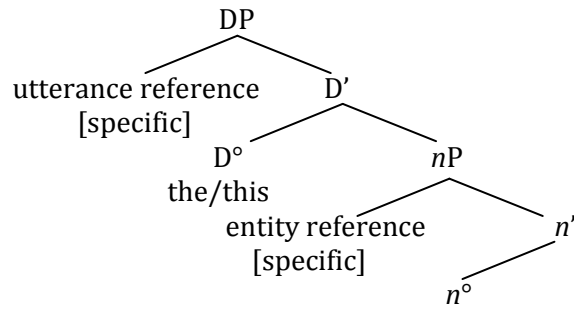
As for D° in (43b), we simply postulate the presence of an Utterance Reference feature encoded in its specifier. This feature can express either a specific or generic value. A specific value for the Utterance Reference feature is conveyed when the reference to the entity in *n*P is definite in the utterance situation (cf. the dog/wine). On the other hand, a generic value is expressed when the reference to the noun in Spec,*n*P is indefinite in the utterance situation (cf. a dog)[27].

Demonstratives, which are definite in nature, are also thought to be merged in D°. Their specifier, which also hosts an Utterance Reference feature, also expresses a specific value on a par with definite determiners.

The syntactic structures of two different DPs, one composed of a definite determiner and the other composed of an indefinite determiner, are given in (44) and (45), respectively. (44) illustrates the type of features encoded in the specifier of *n*P and DP with a definite determiner and demonstrative. (45), on the other hand, shows the type of features expressed in the specifier of *n*P and DP when an indefinite determiner occurs in D°.

---

[27] Nordlinger & Sadler (2004), a.o, show that in a group of languages, including Somali and some Salishan languages, determiners overtly express temporal information. As Lecarme (2008) suggests, these temporal markers supply existential, temporal or spatial reference to nouns. Parker (1999) shows that in Chamicuro, an endangered Amerindian language belonging to the Arawakan family, a tense marker can appear in the noun phrase, with no tense distinction on the verb, leaving this item unmarked: i-nis-kána **na** čamàlo (see.3.pl the bat – 'They see the bat') versus y-alíyo **ka** ké:ni (fall.3 the.past rain – 'It rained') (cf. Parker, 1999: 552).

(44)[28] the/this dog

```
                    DP
              ╱          ╲
   utterance reference    D′
       [specific]      ╱      ╲
                     D°         nP
                   the/this   ╱    ╲
                   entity reference  n′
                       [specific]   ╲
                                    n°
```

(45) a. a dog

```
   b.              DP
              ╱          ╲
   utterance reference    D′
       [generic]      ╱      ╲
                     D°         nP
                      a       ╱    ╲
                   entity reference  n′
                       [specific]   ╲
                                    n°
```
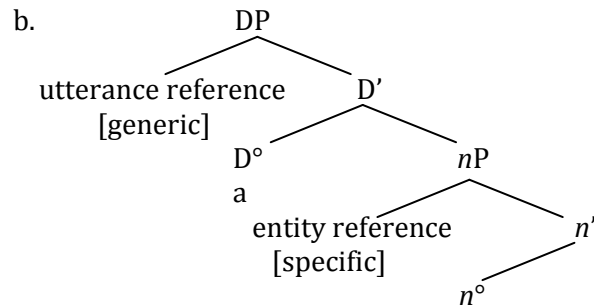
The structures in (44) and (45) resemble that proposed by Ritter & Wiltschko (2010) for the sentence, whereby Spec,InflP is taken to be the syntactic locus where the utterance situation is encoded, and Spec,VP expresses the event situation.

Because of this similarity, we treat D°, similarly Infl°, to be inherently endowed with a [ucoin] feature. Furthermore, we assume that D° corresponds to a syntactic head composed of two categories, one expressing Definiteness and the other encoding agreement, or φ, properties. In our account, the [ucoin] feature is expressed in the Definiteness category, which

---

[28] As argued in §4.1, a CN such as *dog* raises from *n*° to Number°. We have left aside the Number projection in (44) and (45) in order to clarify that the Entity Reference is expressed in the specifier of *n*° and the Utterance Reference in the specifier of D°.

we refer to as D. The [*u*coin] feature must be valued and the valuation depends on the anchoring between the Entity and the Utterance Reference. These facts are represented in (46).

(46)
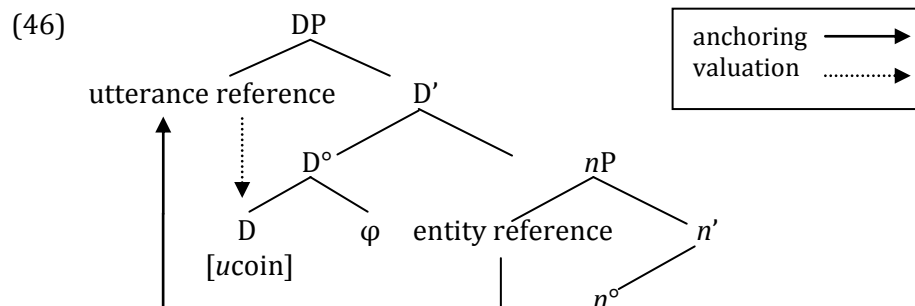
If the entity and the utterance features coincide in their values, then [*u*coin] is valued as +. On the other hand, if the entity and the utterance features express different interpretation, then [*u*coin] is valued as –.
In the former case, based on Holmberg & Roberts (2010), we have an unmarked, i.e. default, configuration, while in the latter case, conversely, we have a marked syntactic configuration.

4.4.2 Neuter D and *Default Marking*

(47) and (48) again show the morpho-phonological realization of determiners preceding MNs in the CSIDs analyzed in §4.3.1.

(47) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
  u p'pə:n   'the.neut. bread'
  u 'vi:ənd   'the.masc.sg wind'
  a 'lə:n   'the.fem.sg wool'

(48) Bitonto (Apulo-Barese)
  rə p'pjɔ:n   'the.neut. bread'
  u 'vi:nd   'the.masc.sg wind'
  la 'lɔ:n   'the.fem.sg wool'

In these examples, RF is triggered only by a neuter determiner and not by those determiners expressing masculine and feminine singular. Similarly to the case of 3sg HAVE and modals, we claim that RF triggered by neuter determiners in a group of CSIDs corresponds to a mora that overtly expresses the feature [Neuter] encoded on a morpheme. The overt marking of [Neuter] is due to the application of *Default Marking*, which predicts that when [*u*coin] is valued for +, thus for a default, then only default morphosyntactic φ features can be overtly expressed at PF (see (8)). [Neuter] is the default feature branching below [Class] and can therefore be overtly marked. These facts are shown in (49).

(49)

	Feminine	Masculine	Neuter
Mola di Bari (cf. (47))	a	u	u+**RF**
Bitonto (cf. (48))	la	u	rə+**RF**

The representation in (49) indicates that the feminine and masculine determiners differ in their morphophonological make-ups. In (47), the

masculine determiner is syncretic with that expressing neuter[29], whereas in (48) it selects an independent exponent. In no dialect documented by the author for the purposes of this dissertation do we find syncretism between a masculine and a feminine singular definite determiner.

In the following subsection, we investigate the process of *Default Marking* in the case of plural feminine determiners.

4.4.3 Plural feminine D and *Default Marking*

In a large group of CSIDs, which includes dialects spoken in Campania, northern Lucania and northern Apulia, feminine definite plural determiners are more morphologically marked than masculine. Generally, definite feminine and masculine plural determiners in these dialects share the same root, although definite feminine plural determiners trigger RF, while masculine plural determiners do not. This situation is exemplified by the minimal pairs in (50)-(52).

(50) Airola (Central Campanian)
a.   i/e 'fraːtə   the.masc.pl. brothers
b.   **e s's**ɔrə   the.fem.pl. sisters

(51) Cerignola (Apulo Daunian-Apennines)
a.   i 'frɔːt   the.masc.pl. brothers
b.   **i s's**ɔːr   the.fem.pl. sisters

(52) Bitonto (Apulo-Barese)
a.   i/rə 'frɔːt   the.masc.pl. brothers
b.   **rə s's**ɔːr   the.fem.pl. sisters

---

[29] According to the Subset Principle (cf. Sauerland, 1996), a phonological exponent is inserted on a morpheme only if it matches all or a subset of features specified in the terminal node. The reason why a syncretic exponent is selected by a neuter and masculine singular determiner in (47) might depend on the fact that /u/ in (46) is the exponent for [Class]. The dialect of Mola di Bari in (46), unlike the dialect of Bitonto in (47), is not endowed with an exponent expressing masculine singular.

The presence of RF triggered by a feminine plural definite D-element is described in details in Rohlfs (1968):

(53)

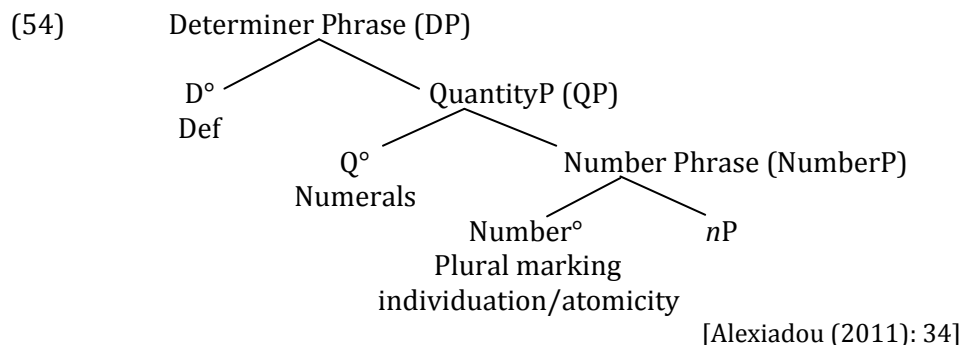| a.	**e ff**igliə	the.fem.pl. daughters 'the daughters'	Neapolitan (Central Campanian)
b.	**li bb**ini	the.fem.pl. vains 'the vains'	Morigerati (South. Campanian)
c.	**rə pp**alt	the.fem.pl. pockets 'the pockets'	Canosa di Puglia (Apulo-Barese)
d.	**rə gg**ammə	the.fem.pl. legs 'the legs'	Ripacandita (Northern Lucania)

[Adapted from Rohlfs (1968): 107, 108]

Rohlfs observes that RF is also found also after a definite feminine plural demonstrative and attested in many Campanian dialects (cf. Neapolitan [Central Campanian]: chellə **pp**ərzonə -those fem.pl. people.fem.pl- 'those people')[30].

At this point, it is crucial to determine why feminine plural definite determiners and demonstratives in most CSIDs induce RF, while masculine plural determiners and demonstratives categorically exclude this mechanism. Before proceeding with this investigation, let us return back to the syntactic structure in (23), which is repeated in (54) for convenience.

---

[30] Meyer-Lübke (1890-1902, vol. 2) claims that the presence of RF after a feminine plural determiner must be attributed to the fact that the ancient form of the determiner was *illas*, the *-s* of which got assimilated in the diachronic path from Latin to southern Italo-Romance, thus leading to the realization of RF.

(54)   Determiner Phrase (DP)

     D°   QuantityP (QP)
     Def

           Q°   Number Phrase (NumberP)
        Numerals

                  Number° nP
                Plural marking
          individuation/atomicity

[Alexiadou (2011): 34]

In (54), NumberP, merged above nP, encodes information for singularity versus plurality. This phrase, as extensively argued above, is present only with CNs, since this type of nominal, unlike MNs, inherently expresses individuation/atomicity. In most Romance languages, as well as in English, a CN specified for plural necessitates the overt expression of a morpheme specialized for this feature. The overt encoding of a morpheme expressing singular information on a CN is instead absent in these languages. As an example, consider the contrast between the words *book* and *books* in English. Only in the latter case is an agreement marker found, namely *–s*, which expresses plural information. In the former case, conversely, no φ morpheme is overtly realized and the noun conveys information for singular.

A nominal specified for plural can opt to combine with a Q or D-element, or to stand alone. The presence or absence of one of these two functional elements preceding the nominal in NumberP is relevant to whether the plural noun receives a specific or generic semantic interpretation. From a typological observation looking at Italian dialects, it has been observed that the presence versus absence of a definite determiner preceding a plural subject in postverbal position is crucial in determining the type of agreement displayed on the verb. This is illustrated in the examples in (55) and (56), which indicate that in a group of Sardinian dialects (as well as in some Calabrian dialects), referential agreement is found in the presence of definite correlates, whereas partial agreement is found when a subject in postverbal position is bare, thus not preceded by either a Q or D-element.

(55) Làconi (Campidanese-Sardinian)

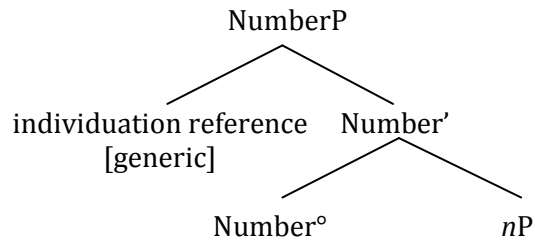|			
a.	iŋ kuɖ'ɖei 'drommi **p**pip'piuzu	there.expl.	sleep.pr.3sg children
b.	iŋ kuɖ'ɖei 'drommi**nti is** pip'piuzu	there.expl.	sleep.pr.3pl the children

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), I: 341]

(56) Siniscola (Logudorese-Nuorese)

a.	bi 'drommi**ti** pit'tsinnɔzɔ	there.expl.	sleep.pr.3sg children
b.	'drommi**ni zɔs** pit'tsinnɔzɔ	sleep.pr.3pl the children	

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), I: 341]

Manzini & Savoia (2005) suggest that partial agreement is always found with an indefinite correlate, which are generic in their interpretation. In (55a) and (56a), the generic, thus indefinite, specification of the plural nominals is expressed by the bare nominal. For this reason, we can postulate that a NumberP is endowed with an Individuation Reference feature, which inherently expresses a generic reading (cf. (57a)). It is the presence of a definite QP and/or DP, merging with it, that can provide the plural noun with a definite interpretation (cf. (57b)).
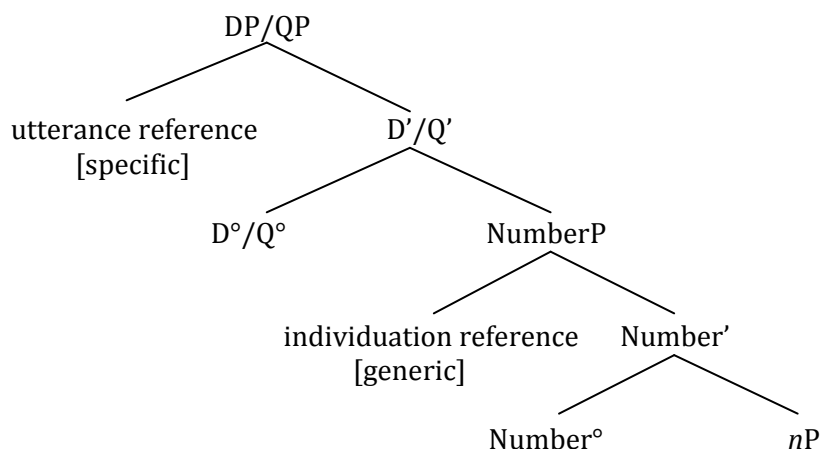
(57)
a. Indefinite interpretation

```
                        NumberP
                       /       \
     individuation reference    Number'
          [generic]            /      \
                          Number°      nP
```

b. Definite interpretation

```
                        DP/QP
                       /      \
        utterance reference   D'/Q'
             [specific]      /      \
                          D°/Q°      NumberP
                                    /        \
                    individuation reference  Number'
                           [generic]        /       \
                                        Number°       nP
```
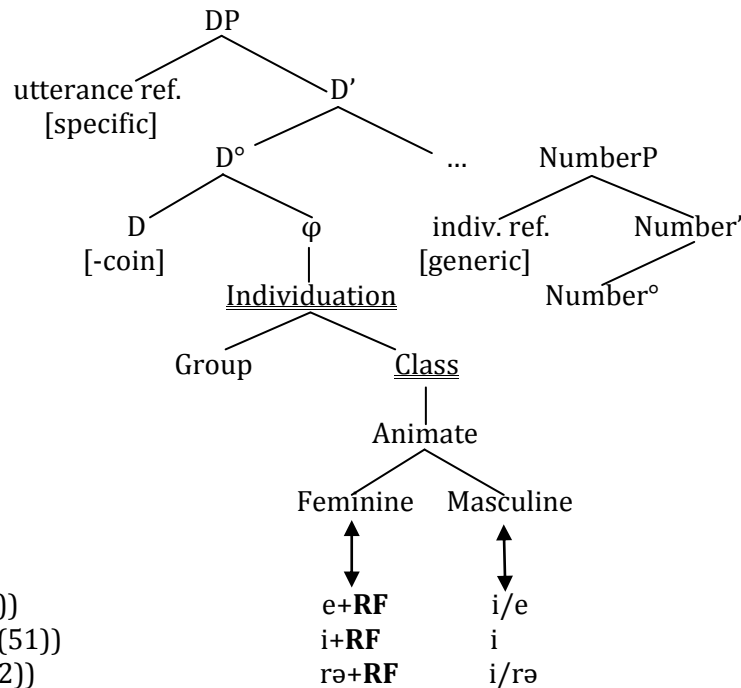
We postulate that the structure in (57a) occurs with the indefinite postverbal subjects in (55a) and (56a). Conversely, we assume that the configuration in (57b) is found with the definite postverbal subjects in (55b) and (56b).

Given these facts, we are now ready to consider why a definite feminine determiner is more morphologically marked than one endowed with masculine information by means of licensing RF. Similarly to what we have observed for neuter determiners, we claim that the triggering of RF by feminine plural D-elements derives from the application of *Default Marking* post-syntactically (see (8)). We postulate that when a plural feminine noun is raised to NumberP, the Utterance Reference feature in Spec,DP anchors with the Individuation Reference feature, which is expressed in Spec,NumberP. These two features do not express the same value and thus [$u$coin] in D gets valued as -. -, as mentioned previously, is a marked value. The occurrence of [-coin] allows the overt marking of marked morphosyntactic features realized in the φ category. This is due to the application of *Default Marking* in the morphological component, which states that a φ feature can be overtly marked only if its degree of markedness is uniform with that expressed by other features encoded on the same syntactic head (cf. (8)). In our account, [Feminine] corresponds to a marked feature, as opposed to [Masculine], both branching below

[Animate]. For this reason, [Feminine], which shares the same grade of markedness as [-coin], has to get overtly marked. On the other hand, [Masculine], which is less marked than [Feminine], does not undergo this process. These facts are exemplified by means of the structure in (58).

(58)

```
                        DP
                      /    \
           utterance ref.   D'
             [specific]    /  \
                        D°      \
                       /  \      ...   NumberP
                      D    φ         /    \
                   [-coin]  |    indiv. ref.  Number'
                            |    [generic]     \
                      Individuation           Number°
                       /      \
                    Group    Class
                               |
                            Animate
                            /    \
                      Feminine   Masculine
                          ↕          ↕
```

Airola (cf. (50))	e+**RF**	i/e
Cerignola (cf. (51))	i+**RF**	i
Bitonto (cf. (52))	rə+**RF**	i/rə

Our assumption that [Feminine] is more marked than [Masculine] is supported by the fact that definite masculine plural determiners are generally selected when combining with nominals not specified for gender. A definite feminine plural determiner, on the other hand, is selected only when combining with a noun endowed with feminine information (cf. Cerignola i ma'ɛstr -the.masc.pl. teachers.masc./fem.- versus i **m**ma'ɛstr -the.fem.pl. teachers.fem.pl-).

In (50) and (52), the root of a feminine plural determiner can be syncretic with a determiner expressing masculine plural. Younger speakers of the dialects in (50) and (52) seem to opt for the selection of a syncretic

exponent with a masculine and feminine plural definite determiner. The selection of an independent exponent for each determiner appears to be restricted to the older generations. This observation seems to suggest that the dialects of Airola and Bitonto are transitioning from a grammar in which both masculine and feminine plural definite determiners are distinctly marked by means of selection of independent exponents, towards one that requires the selection of a syncretic root for both items.

4.5 The geography of *Default Marking* in D

This last section shows the geolinguistic distribution of the *Default Marking* operation in the nominal domain. This is illustrated in the map in (59)[31].

---

[31] The isoglosses α and α' in (59) correspond to the same isoglosses marked on the map in (42). The isoglosses β and β', which respectively indicate the northern and southern limits of the application of RF triggered by a definite feminine plural determiner, are approximate and roughly indicate the geolinguistic extension of this phenomenon. The drawing of these two isoglosses is based on the data presented in this chapter.

(59)
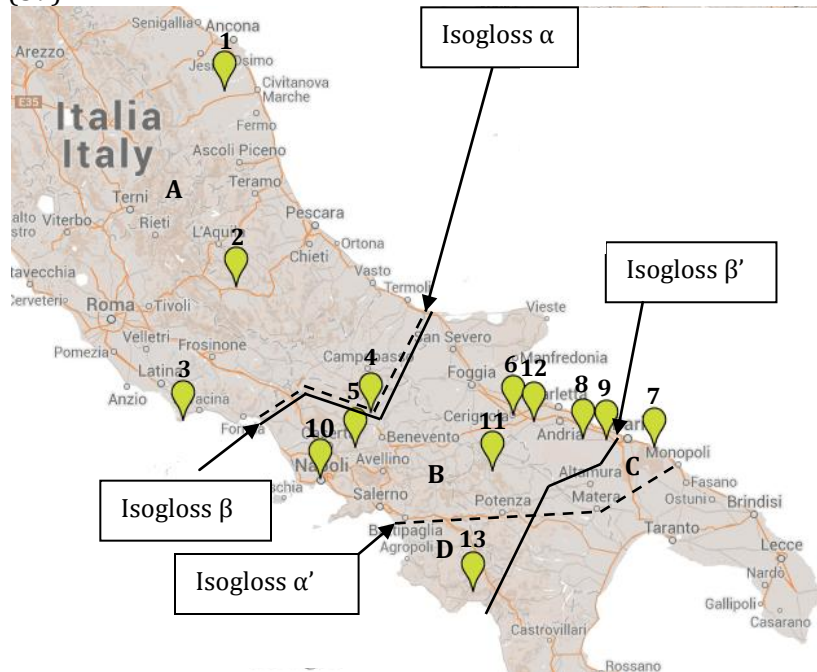
Dialects:
1- Macerata; 2- Celano; 3- San Felice Circeo; 4- Pontelandolfo; 5- Airola; 6- Cerignola; 7- Mola di Bari; 8- Ruvo di Puglia; 9- Bitonto; 10- Naples; 11- Ripacandita; 12- Canosa di Puglia; 13- Morigerati.

A: area where *Default Marking* does not apply with D;
B: area where *Default Marking* applies with neuter and feminine D;
C: area where *Default Marking* applies only with neuter D;
D: area where Default Marking applies only with feminine D.

The map above shows that the area in which *Default Marking* occurs with neuter D-elements does not coincide exactly with the area in which *Default Marking* occurs with feminine plural D-elements. While dialects spoken in the geolinguistic area B allow RF triggered by both neuter and feminine plural D-elements, dialects of the area C and D allow the application of *Default Marking* only with neuter definite determiners and demonstratives

or only with feminine plural definite determiners and demonstratives, respectively. On the other hand, the overt marking of neuter and feminine is not attested at all in the geolinguistic area in A.

Although the isoglosses in (59) do not overlap, it seems plausible to propose that the application of *Default Marking* with neuter and feminine plural determiners and demonstratives is operative in roughly the same group of dialects.

5. Conclusions

In this chapter, we have seen that the application of the post-syntactic *Default Marking* operation is not limited to periphrases composed of perfective auxiliaries followed by a past participle, but is also found with other periphrastic constructions, including modals followed by an infinitival and definite determiners and demonstratives preceding a noun. We have postulated that the application of *Default Marking* must depend on a markedness convention, which says that morphosyntactic φ features get overtly marked only if they express the same grade of markedness as [*u*coin] (see definition of *Default Marking* in (8)). [*u*coin] (cf. Ritter & Wiltschko, 2010) is a syntactic feature encoded both on Infl° and D°, whose function is to anchor the Event situation, expressed on Spec,VP, or Entity Reference, expressed on Spec,*n*P, with the utterance situation encoded in Spec,InflP and Spec,DP. In CSIDs, the value expressed on [*u*coin] is responsible for the selection of morphosyntactic features that are overtly expressed on perfective auxiliaries and D-elements as well as on modals. When [*u*coin] is valued as +, which is a default, then only default morphosyntactic features get overtly expressed. On the other hand, when [*u*coin] is -, then only marked morphosyntactic features get overtly expressed. These facts are summarized in the table in (60). + and – indicate where the overt marking of morphosyntactic φ features is applicable in morphology.

(60)

Default Marking		[+coin]	[-coin]
Perfective aux.	[Speaker], [Minimal]	+	-
	[Addressee]	-	+
Modals	[Speaker], [Minimal]	+	-
	[Addressee]	-	+
Definite D	[Neuter]	+	-
	[Feminine]	-	+

The set of data presented in this chapter, in combination with those studied in the previous chapter, show that the post-syntactic operations of *Default Marking* found on verbal and nominal periphrases are found in broadly the same group of dialects. This is shown in the map in (61).

(61)
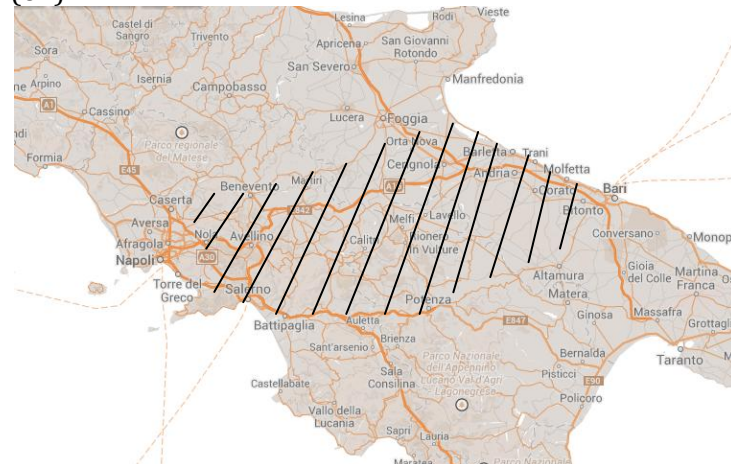
⧅	Geolinguistic area where the *Default Marking* is attested with verbal and nominal periphrases.

It should be noted, however, that this post-syntactic operation, with both verbal and nominal periphrases, applies in only a subset of CSIDs. We will not try to capture the reason why *Default Marking* is attested only in the

central and southern USID area, and not in other dialects of this geolinguistic domain, but instead consider this as a topic for future investigation.