

**Variation in enclitic possessive constructions in
Southern Italian dialects: a syntactic analysis**

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I Bronzi di Calabria - Calabria cara Calabria

*Calabria, mia cara Calabria
dolce terra baciata dal mar
tu sei ricca soltanto di sole
dell'azzurro, del cielo, del mar*

*Calabria, mia cara Calabria
più selvaggia e più dolce sei tu
di colei che mi stringe sul cuore
di colei che mi parla d'amor*

*E tu che ti trovi lontano
aldilà di quei monti e del mare
ricorda sempre
che la tua terra
t'accoglierà se tornerai*

*Calabria, mia cara Calabria
sei negli occhi di chi ti lasciò
sei nel cuore di chi s'allontana
e nel mondo ti porta con sé*

*E tu che ti trovi lontano
aldilà di quei monti e del mare
ricorda sempre
che la tua terra
t'accoglierà se tornerai*

*Calabria, mia cara Calabria
sei negli occhi di chi ti lasciò
sei nel cuore di chi s'allontana
e nel mondo ti porta con sé*

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List of Abbreviations

1SG	first person singular
1PL	first person plural
2SG	second person singular
2PL	second person plural
3SG	third person singular
3PL	third person plural
AIS	Atlante Italo-Svizzero
ASIt	Atlante Sintattico d'Italia
CS	Construct State
D	determiner
DIM	diminutive
EP	enclitic possessive
EPC	enclitic possessive construction
F	feminine
SC	small clause
SID	Southern Italian dialect
M	masculine
N	noun
PL	plural
Poss	strong possessive
RP	relator phrase
SG	singular

1. Introduction to enclitic possessive constructions

Enclitic possessive constructions (EPCs) are a widespread and frequently used construction among Southern Italian dialects (SIDs). The phenomenon comprises mainly the regions Southern Lazio, Abruzzo, Molise, Campania, Basilicata, Puglia and Calabria (except Southern Calabria). EPCs are also attested (see among others AIS map 13¹) in some neighboring dialects, i.e. in the regions Marche and Umbria.

In general, EPCs display the structure N-EP where the N is a kinship noun and the EP the enclitic possessive directly attached to the kinship noun, see (1).

- (1) *fratə-ma* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)²
brother(M).SG-my.[M.]SG³
'my brother'

However, there is a huge variation among SIDs as well as within the system of a specific dialect. In what follows, I will present general characteristics of EPCs and point to several (micro)variational aspects. After a summary of the main characteristics and some crucial points regarding the variation within this phenomenon, I will present my research questions and hypotheses in section 1.2.

1.1 Main characteristics and aspects of variation

As exemplified in (1), EPCs are in general restricted to kinship nouns denoting an inalienable relation between both components, i.e. the possessor (EP) and the possessee (kinship noun). One well known exception is the noun *casa* 'home' that in some dialects occurs in EPCs, too, see (2). Moreover, there is diachronic evidence that EPCs were not restricted to kinship nouns in earlier stages of the dialects. In (3) the EPCs are used as a kind form of address and in (4) to refer to the lord of someone.

- (2) *'kastə-ma* (Foggia, FG, Puglia, M&S 2005⁴:671)
home(F).SG-my.[F.]SG
'my home'

¹ I especially refer to map 13 because it displays the expression 'your brother', frequently attested in EPCs due to the most prominent 2SG.EP and the kinship noun denoting a closed family member, i.e. 'brother' (<http://www3.pd.istc.cnr.it/navigais-web/>).

² If no source is indicated then the data comes from my own fieldwork.

³ EPs agree in gender and number with the kinship noun. The brackets [] indicate that the construction lacks agreement or, since no reported data from the different sources indicates agreement (or a translation), I put uncertain agreement features in brackets, too.

⁴ Short for Manzini & Savoia (2005).

- (3) a. *vìta-ma* (Old Sicilian, D’Alcamo, 13th c.)
 life(F).SG-my[.F.SG]
 ‘my life’
- b. *càra-ma*
 dear(F).SG-my[.F.SG]
 ‘my dear’
- (4) *signor-so* (Old Tuscan, Dante, 12th c.)
 lord(M).SG-his/her.M.SG
 ‘his/her lord’

In the majority of dialects, EPCs are restricted to singular kinship nouns but are attested in a high number of cases also with plural kinship nouns. Dialects display different structures to express the plurality of the construction. In (5) for example, the dialect has specific EPs to express (or mark) plural whereas the kinship nouns itself does not change. In this case the schwa neutralizes a possible number agreement with the EPs.

- (5) *’fiλλá-me* (Giffoni Montecorvino, SA, Campania, M&S 2005:670)
 son(M)[.SG]-my.M.SG
 ‘my son’
- ’fiλλá-mi*
 son(M)[.PL]-my.M.PL
 ‘my sons’

In the majority of dialects, EPCs are restricted to 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular (1SG, 2SG and 3SG). In some cases, the EP of 3SG (3SG.EP) and in very few cases the EPs of 1SG and 2SG (1SG.EP and 2SG.EP) can be interpreted to substitute the possessives of 1st, 2nd or 3rd person plural (1PL, 2PL and 3PL). In (6), the 3SG/PL.EP *-sa* refers to ‘his/her’ as well as to ‘their’. In some rare cases the EP can be clearly interpreted as a reduced form of the strong possessives of 1PL *nostro* ‘our’ and 2PL *vostro* ‘your(2SG)’, see (7).

- (6) *a tsið-sa* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
 the.F.SG aunt(F)[.SG]-his/her/their.F.SG
 ‘his/her/their aunt’
- (7) *nepúte-no* / *-vo* (Sonnino LT, Lazio, AIS 682)
 grandson(M)[.SG]-our.M.SG / -your(2PL).M.SG
 ‘our grandson, your grandson’

Moreover, (6) displays an obligatory article, another peculiarity of EPCs. As mentioned above, EPCs are in general assumed to have the structure N-EP, but in a variety of dialects an obligatory article is triggered by a 3SG(/PL).EP or plural kinship nouns. The analysis of

both EPC-structures, with and without an article, is one of the main goals of the present work (see section 4.2 and section 4.3).

Another peculiarity of EPCs is the variation in terms of possible combinations of kinship nouns and EPs. Within a specific dialect not every person-EP is compatible with every kinship noun, cf. (8) and (9). What is possible in one dialect is not necessarily possible in another one.

- (8) *mulʒer-ma*, *mulʒer-ta*, **mulʒer-sa*⁵ (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
 wife(F).SG-my.[F.]SG, ...- your(2SG).[F.]SG, ...-his/her/their.F.SG
 ‘my/your/his/her wife’
- (9) *mujeri-ma*, *mujeri-ta*, *mujeri-sa* (Leverano, LE, Puglia)
 wife(F).SG-my.[F.]SG, ...- your(2SG).[F.]SG, ...-his/her.[F.]SG

Both dialects from Verzino (KR, Calabria) and Leverano (LE, Puglia) have a 1SG.EP, a 2SG.EP and a 3SG(/PL).EP. However, in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) ‘his/her/their wife’ cannot be expressed through an EPC, although *moglie* ‘wife’ can co-occur with both the 1SG.EP and the 2SG.EP. In this case, there are two options: (i) the unmarked word order with strong possessives is realized, i.e. D – N – Poss (*a muljera sua* ‘the wife his/her’) or (ii) the word order D – N is realized, lacking the strong possessive but still referring to 3SG or 3PL (*a muljera* ‘the wife (= his/her)’). Among the SIDs, option (ii) is common for possessives of 3SG/PL (see Manzini & Savoia 2005).

Related to this combinational restrictions, dialects also differ as to the set of kinship nouns that are compatible with the EP(s) within a specific dialect. In contrast to the dialect of Leverano (LE, Puglia), in which every kinship noun is allowed to occur in EPCs (see section 2.4.2.2), in the dialect of Vagli di Sopra EPCs are only possible with the kinship nouns *mamma* ‘mum’ and *babbo* ‘dad’, see (10).

- (10) a. *'babbə-tʒ* (Vagli di Sopra, LU, Toscana, M&S 2005:661)
 dad(M).[SG]-your(2SG).[M.]SG
 ‘your dad’
- b. *'mammə-tʒ*
 mum(F).[SG]-your(2SG).[F.]SG
 ‘your mum’

⁵ As exemplified in (6), in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) the 3rd person-EP is more complex w.r.t. its structure and will be addressed in detail in section 2.4.2.1. By way of illustration, example (8) simplifies the structure (from D – N-EP to N-EP).

With respect to kinship nouns, a further restriction concerning their occurrence in EPCs is illustrated in (11). Affixes like the diminutive forms *-etto/-a* or *-ino/-a* block EPCs.

- (11) a. **fratellinə-ta*
 brother.DIM-your(2SG)
 ‘your little brother’
- b. **tsietto-ta*
 uncle. DIM-your(2SG)
 ‘your little uncle’

As mentioned above, EPs are in general restricted to 1SG, 2SG and 3SG. In addition, these EPs display a hierarchical and implicational ordering. Silvestri (2013:117) states the following:

General characteristics for the clitic Poss are detectable, such as the tendency to exclude the 3rd person Poss. The 2nd person Poss is the more widespread, closely followed by the 1st person Poss. This suggests the generalization that when a dialect shows only one clitic Poss, this is a 2nd person Poss.

The implicational hierarchy is thus the following: 2SG.EP < 1SG.EP < 3SG.EP. When a dialect has only one EP than it has a 2SG.EP. If a dialect has a 3SG.EP than it has a 1SG.EP and a 2SG.EP, too.

The characteristics of EPCs presented so far, are summarized in what follows and addressed in details in the empirical part of the present work (see chapter 2).

1. EPCs are very typical of SIDs (except in Sicily and Southern Calabria).
2. EPCs occur nearly exclusively with kinship nouns in present-day dialects (except for *casa* ‘home’).
3. In the majority of dialects, EPCs are restricted to singular kinship nouns (plural kinship noun-EPCs are attested, too, but in the majority of dialect, plural kinship nouns block the possibility of EPCs).
4. In the majority of dialects, EPCs are restricted to 1SG, 2SG and 3SG (in some cases the 3SG.EP substitutes the possessive of 3PL, in some rare cases a 1SG.EP and a 2SG.EP can be interpreted to substitute the possessives of 1PL and 2PL).
5. Both the 1PL.EP and the 2PL.EP are exceptional cases, a 3PL.EP is not attested. In general, the possessives of 1PL, 2PL and 3PL do not occur in EPCs, but display the structure D – N – Poss.
6. In some dialects, a 3SG/PL.EP and/or plural kinship nouns can trigger an obligatory article.
7. EPCs can display the following structures: (i) N-EP and (ii) D – N-EP.

8. Dialects differ as to the person-EPs that are compatible with the same kinship noun within a specific dialect.
9. Dialects differ as to the set of kinship nouns that are allowed to occur in EPCs within a specific dialect.
10. Modified kinship nouns (e.g. diminutive affixes) block the possibility of EPCs.
11. EPs display an implicational hierarchy, i.e. 2SG.EP < 1SG.EP < 3SG.EP.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

The aim of the present work is to propose a syntactic analysis for EPCs. Hence, the first research question is:

1. What is the syntactic representation of EPCs?

In order to elaborate a syntactic structure of EPCs, the main characteristics and aspects of variation needed to be investigated, thus generating further research questions. Each addresses a peculiar aspect found within the scope of the extensive empirical work (see section 1.1 and chapter 2).

2. Kinship nouns do not behave uniformly within and among SIDs. How can the class of kinship nouns be categorized to account for the variation found among SIDs?

In section 4.1, I propose a classification for the class of kinship nouns, elaborated on the existing proposals and definitions from different linguistic areas presented in section 3.1. In my view, three properties (or factors) are sufficient to classify kinship nouns and further, to partly account for the variation kinship nouns display among SIDs. These factors are blood, vertical and direct. The first is based on the nature of the kinship relation. Examples for blood relatives are *mother* and *father*, in contrast to affinal relatives like *mother-in-law* or *father-in-law*. Both factors vertical and direct are based on the direction of the kinship relation. Vertical relations account for relatives from the previous generation (e.g. *grandfather*) and the following generation (e.g. *grandchild*). Direct relations account for relatives from the same generation, like *cousin*. Moreover, I also discuss Idone's (2015) proposal who argues that metrical constraints (and not the semantic and typological properties of kinship nouns) are a crucial factor that determine the (im)possibility of EPCs among SIDs (see section 4.1.2).

Research question 3 arose in relation to the specific nature of kinship nouns and the cross-linguistic evidence for their peculiar status in syntax presented in 3.1.

3. Kinship nouns are inherently relational and express inalienability. How can this property be captured in the syntax?

I argue in favour of a small clause analysis to capture the relational status of kinship nouns in syntax, and adopt den Dikken's (2006) analysis for inalienable constructions, i.e. an inverse order for Relator Phrases (RP), where the subject, i.e. the kinship noun, is an internal argument of R' (section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3). Moreover, I assume that EPCs are derived through movement and argue in favor of the N to D-raising analysis based on Longobardi (1996; see section 3.2.2 and section 4.2). He assumes that kinship nouns can occupy D° because they are similar to proper names. Hence, the kinship noun within RP moves out of its position to D°. This leads to the next research question.

4. In some dialects, singular kinship noun-EPCs display an obligatory article with the 3SG.EP. What is the reason for this article-based person split (1st and 2nd vs. 3rd)? And further, how are both structures, with and without an article, represented in the syntax, i.e. in DP and PossP?

The obligatory article with 3SG.EPs (and in some cases with plural kinship nouns) revealed that EPCs do not always move to D°. In section 4.2.1, I argue that both D° and Poss° can host EPCs. Therefore, whenever the EPC requires an obligatory article, the EPC remains lower in the structure and the article lexicalizes in D°. Further, I argue that the article-based dichotomy in singular kinship noun-EPCs is due to the deictic properties of the possessor-persons (Giorgi 2010 and Sigurðsson 2014).

The last component for the syntactic structure of EPCs is based on the role of NumP. I analyse NumP as a parametrised position that can block or allow further movement to the upper parts of the structure, i.e. to Poss° and D°. This issue is addressed in research question number 5:

5. In some dialects, plural kinship nouns are allowed to occur in EPCs, and in others, they block the possibility of EPCs. With respect to this dichotomy, what is the role of NumP in the EPC-structure?

The last research question concerns the similarities of EPCs to the Hebrew Construct State (CS). Longobardi (1996) compares Italian constructions with proper names and postnominal possessives (e.g. *Gianno mio* ‘Gianni my’) to the Hebrew CS, which also allows for a comparison between the Hebrew CS and EPCs. I discuss his proposal in section 4.2.2, arguing that not all properties he defined are consequences of a noun occupying D°. Evidence comes from the obligatory article (see question 4).

6. EPCs display parallels to the Hebrew CS. What do the similarities (and differences) of both constructions tell us about the syntax of EPCs?

The dissertation is organized as follows. In chapter 2 I describe the data collection and organization. I introduce the main sources (linguistic maps and databases) and my own fieldwork and present in detail the observations I made. Chapter 3 addresses the state of the art, referring to work by Longobardi (1994, 1996), D’Alessandro & Migliori (2017) and den Dikken (2006, 2015), the main proposals for the present analysis of EPCs. Moreover, I summarize proposals and definitions from different linguistic areas concerning kinship nouns. Chapter 4 provides the analyses and discussions for the research questions presented above. Chapter 5 gives the conclusions and presents open questions for future research.

2. Empirical work

This chapter illustrates how the data for the present work has been collected and organized with respect to several aspects that have been observed. The data comes mainly from four sources that are briefly presented in the following. First, I analyzed the data from the AIS (*Atlante Italo-Svizzero*, <http://www3.pd.istc.cnr.it/navigais-web/>), a collection of linguistic maps of Italy and Southern Switzerland. The results are summarized in section 2.1 and involve the data of 72 locations. Second, I extracted the relevant data concerning kinship nouns occurring in possessive constructions of 57 locations from the online database ASIt (*Atlante Sintattico d'Italia*, <http://asit.maldura.unipd.it/>, see section 2.2). Third, I used the extensive work of Manzini & Savoia (2005) as a further database and included the data of 76 locations in my empirical research (section 2.3). Fourth, I will present the method and the data of my fieldwork in the regions Calabria (2013, 2015) and Puglia (2016), see section 2.4, as well as data acquired after the fieldwork sessions, as I worked constantly with some collaborators mainly from Ceglie Messapica (BR), Leverano (LE), Lecce (LE) and Verzino (KR). In section 2.4.2 I will highlight the (enclitic) possessive system of the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) and Leverano (LE, Puglia). The summary in section 2.5 concludes the chapter and relates the observations made within the scope of the empirical work to the research questions presented in the previous section 1.2.

2.1 AIS – Atlante Italo-Svizzero

The AIS is a collection of linguistic maps including Italy and Southern Switzerland. In 1928 the first of eight volumes was published by Jaberg & Jud (1928-1940). The first volume contains the translations of the constructions under consideration, i.e. several kinship nouns occurring with a possessive. The data for the AIS was collected between 1919 and 1928, in Southern Italy by Gerhard Rohlfs and in Central Italy by Paul Scheuermeier who also conducted fieldwork in Southern Switzerland and Northern Italy. Max-Leopold Wagner collected the data in Sardinia. In general, for each location one informant was interviewed (see Goebel 2016:74).

A first investigation aimed at mapping the distribution of EPCs in SIDs without considering the microvariation within EPCs among the dialects. For this survey, I included the regions Lazio, Abruzzo/Molise, Campania, Basilicata, Puglia and Calabria

since the survey revealed that the phenomenon of EPCs mainly concentrates in this area.⁶ The AIS contains 27 possessive constructions with kinship nouns, 16 with a singular kinship noun and 11 with a plural one. The translations are mapped on 21 maps, i.e. some maps display the translations of two possessive constructions. Some locations have been excluded from the survey because their dialects differ from the ones under consideration, see (12).

(12)	AIS 715	Faeto (FG, Puglia)	<i>franco-provençal dialect</i>
	AIS 732	Picerno (PZ, Basilicata)	<i>gallo-italic dialect</i>
	AIS 748	Corigliano d'Otranto (LE, Puglia)	<i>salento greek dialect</i>
	AIS 751	Aquaformosa (CS, Calabria)	<i>arberësh dialect</i>
	AIS 760	Guardia Piemontese (CS, Calabria)	<i>occitan dialect</i>
	AIS 792	Ghorio (Roghudi) (RC, Calabria)	<i>italiot greek dialect</i>

Therefore, I included 13 locations for Lazio, 15 for Abruzzo/Molise, 13 for Campania, 6 for Basilicata, 15 for Puglia and 10 for Calabria (in total 72 locations).⁷

2.1.1 Difficulties

The main difficulty in organizing and evaluating the data of the AIS was that not all maps show the full paradigm of translations of the possessive construction under consideration. Reasons for these gaps are (i) missing translations, (ii) wrong/doubtful translations and (iii) two different translations.⁸ Another reason for which the data of the AIS requires careful interpretation is that the input the informants were given is not homogenous. As it is well known, singular kinship nouns omit the article in Standard Italian when they occur with a strong prenominal possessive (exception 3PL.POSS *loro* ‘they’). The input sentence sometimes included an article as in map 16 *il nostro nonno* ‘the our grandfather’ or map 27 *il suo cognato* ‘the his/her brother-in law’ (see also map 17, 21, 22, 29 and 73).

The constructions under consideration were not constantly embedded into the same context for every informant, as the authors note for example in the legend of map 16. In

⁶ EPCs are also found among others in Vagli di Sopra (LU, Toscana, M&S 2005:661), Filottrano (AN, Marche, M&S 2005:663), Ascoli Piceno (AP, Marche, AIS 578), Grottammare (AP, Marche, AIS 659) and Amelia (TR, Umbria, AIS 584).

⁷ Note that the political situation was different from nowadays so that (i) Molise did not exist as independent region so that the territory belonged to Abruzzo and (ii) some locations belonged to other provinces and regions at that time. For the organization of the data, I took the situation as it is mapped in the AIS although I indicate the present provinces and regions of the locations when cited.

⁸ Apart from this, in some ‘overloaded’ maps you have to be really careful in the alignment of a translation to the right location since only a puzzling strategy between the surrounding translations and the numbers indicating the locations led to the right alignment.

several cases the context is not indicated at all, as in map 14, 19, 20 and 72 (see appendix A where the context for every map is reported if given in the AIS). In addition, the authors report for several possessive constructions that the sentence under consideration had to be paraphrased in order to get the ‘right’ translation. The reason for this is that the informants replaced especially the possessives of 3SG and 3PL, as well as the possessive of 2PL (see map 19, 21, 27 and 73).

With respect to wrong/doubtful translations, it needs to be added that the situation in the AIS is twofold. As already mentioned above, in many cases a different possessive person than asked has been translated. In some of these cases the question arises if within the dialect a possessive substitutes another one, as it could be the case in (13), or if the translation is undoubtedly wrong, as exemplified in (14).

(13) **input:** *i nostri nipoti* [figli del figlio] (AIS map 18)
 the.M.PL our.M.PL grandchild[M].PL [children of child]
 ‘our grandchildren’

translation: *nepúti-mi* (Tagliacozzo, AQ, Abruzzo, AIS 645)
 grandchild.[M.]PL-my.[M.]PL
 ‘my grandchildren’ or 1SG.EP substitutes 1PL.EP: ‘our grandchildren’

(14) **input:** *le sue cognate* (AIS map 30)
 the.F.PL his/her.F.PL sister-in-law(F).PL
 ‘his/her sisters-in-law’

translation: *le gwináde tûe* (Leonessa, AQ, Abruzzo, AIS 615)
 the.F.PL sister-in-law(F).PL your(2SG).F.PL
 ‘your sisters-in-law’

Some translations could be verified or falsified by comparing the construction under consideration with the other data of the same dialect.

2.1.2 Quantitative distribution

Table 1 shows the quantitative distribution of possessives combined with a kinship noun (*part 1*) and the distribution of in total 1.201 proved translations that are adequate for a qualitative analysis of possessive constructions with kinship nouns (*part 2*).

Part 1: In the AIS, possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular were combined 10 times with a **singular** kinship noun (the 1SG.POSS occurs 4 times in a possessive construction, the 2SG.POSS twice and the 3SG.POSS 4 times) and possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural have been combined 6 times with a **singular** kinship noun (the 1PL.POSS,

2PL.POSS and 3PL.POSS occur each twice in a possessive construction). Moreover, possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular have been combined 6 times with a **plural** kinship noun (the 1SG.POSS, 2SG.POSS and 3SG.POSS occur each twice in a possessive construction) and possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural have been combined 5 times with a **plural** kinship noun (the 1PL.POSS occurs once and both the 2PL.POSS and the 3PL.POSS occur each twice in a possessive construction).

Part 2: First, the individual total of translations is indicated for each possessive combination, i.e. 277 translations with a 1SG.POSS and a singular kinship noun, 137 translations with a 2SG.POSS and a singular kinship noun and so on. Second, the totals per category are added together until the total of 1.201 translations (indicated in the last row of table 1).

POSSESSIVES WITH KINSHIP NOUNS: DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINATIONS												PART 1
NSG						NPL						
16						11						
1SG. POSS	2SG. POSS	3SG. POSS	1PL. POSS	2PL. POSS	3PL. POSS	1SG. POSS	2SG. POSS	3SG. POSS	1PL. POSS	2PL. POSS	3PL. POSS	
4	2	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	
POSSESSIVES WITH KINSHIP NOUNS: DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSLATIONS												PART 2
277	137	90	73	126	35	113	125	39	62	99	25	
504			234			277			186			
738						463						
1.201												

Table 1: AIS – Distribution of combinations and proved translations of possessives with kinship nouns

In table 2 the translated EPCs have been extracted out of table 1. This allows a quantitative comparison between each individual total in table 1 and table 3. Notably, nearly half of the translations in the AIS are EPCs. Moreover, the tendency becomes apparent that singular kinship noun-EPCs are more widespread (more than twice as much) in contrast to plural kinship noun-EPCs (less than twice as much): 427 singular kinship noun-EPCs out of 738 translations in total vs. 153 plural kinship noun-EPCs out of 463 translations in total.

EPCs: DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSLATIONS											
NSG						NPL					
1SG.E P	2SG.E P	3SG.E P	1PL.E P	2PL.E P	3PL.E P	1SG.E P	2SG.E P	3SG.E P	1PL.E P	2PL.E P	3PL.E P
223	120	25	6	48	2	50	55	3	11	34	0
368			56			108			45		
424						153					
577											

Table 2: AIS – Distribution of proved translations of EPCs

2.1.3 Structural distribution per map

In a second step, I organized the data from each map per region, location and translation with respect to the structure used for the possessive construction under consideration. The tables 3a and 3b (next pages) display the structural distribution for map 13 *tuo fratello; i tuoi fratelli* ‘your brother; the your brothers’ (see appendix A for this and all other maps). Examples for each structure are given in (15-16), exemplified with the singular kinship noun ‘brother’ with the exception of (16) since the structure D – N – Poss only occurred with the plural counterpart ‘brothers’.

(15) **input:** *[Dov' è] tuo fratello [?]* (AIS map 13)
 [where is] your(2SG).M.SG brother(M).SG [?]
 ‘[where is] your brother [?]’

translations: a. **N-EP**

frádi-du (Palombara, RM, Lazio, AIS 643)
 brother(M).SG-your(2SG).M.SG

b. **D – N-EP**

yu frátə-tè (Scanno, AQ, Abruzzo, AIS 656)
 the.M.SG brother(M).SG-your(2SG).[M.]SG

c. **Poss – N**

tù fratèllo (Amatrice, RI, Abruzzo, AIS 616)
 your(2SG).[M.SG] brother(M).SG

d. **N – Poss**

frát^u tú^u (San Chirico Raparo, PZ, Basilicata, AIS 744)
 brother(M).SG your(2SG).M.SG

e. **D – Poss – N**

el tú fratèllo (Tarquinia, VT, Lazio, 630)
 the.M.SG your(2SG).[M.SG] brother(M).SG

(16) **input:** *i tuoi fratelli* (AIS map 13)
 the.M.PL your(2SG).M.PL brother(M).PL
 ‘your brothers’

translation: **D – N – Poss**

i fráti tú^y (Mangone, CS, Calabria, AIS 761)
 the.M.PL brother(M).PL your(2SG).M.PL

Map 13 illustrates a construction that typically occurs as an EPC because it combines the most prominent 2SG.EP with a kinship noun denoting a close family member (for a detailed discussion of kinship nouns, see section 3.1 and 4.1). The map has been split up into two tables, one for the translations with the singular kinship noun ‘brother’ (table 3a) and one for the plural counterpart ‘brothers’ (table 3b). The numbers in italic indicate the

locations' numbers in the AIS and the row denoted *others* indicates how many translations/locations have been excluded for several reasons (e.g. missing/wrong translations or possessive omission), cf. table 3a and 3b.

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	5 (643, 654, 662, 664, 682)	13 (608, 615, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	11 (712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	5 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742)	8 (752, 761, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 794)	15 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	57
D – N-EP	0	1 (656)	0	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	5 (612, 632, 633, 640, 652)	1 (616)	0	0	1 (791)	0	7
N – POSS	0	0	0	1 (744)	1 (745)	0	2
D – POSS – N	1 (630)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	2 (603, 624)	0	2 (701, 710)	0	0	0	4
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 3a: Map 13a – [Dov' è] tuo fratello [?]

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	5 (643, 654, 662, 664, 682)	4 (615, 625, 637, 646)	4 (723, 724, 725, 740)	0	0	7 (706, 709, 716, 728, 729, 737, 738)	20
D – N-EP	0	4 (639, 648, 656, 666)	2 (713, 731)	0	0	0	6
POSS – N	1 (633)	0	0	0	0	0	1
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	1 (745)	0	1
D – POSS – N	5 (612, 630, 632, 640, 652)	1 (616)	0	0	1 (791)	0	7
D – N – POSS	0	3 (608, 618, 668)	4 (712, 720, 721, 722)	4 (726, 733, 735, 744)	8 (752, 761, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 794)	7 (707, 717, 718, 719, 727, 739, 749)	26
Others	2 (603, 624)	3 (619, 645, 658)	3 (701, 710, 714)	2 (736, 742)	0	1 (708)	11
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 3b: Map 13b – i tuoi fratelli

In addition, I indicated in table 4 the quantitative distribution per structure that is realized when the kinship noun changes from singular ‘brother’ to plural ‘brothers’. For this, the numbers of the locations in the first row of table 3a denoted N-EP have been compared to table 3b in order to see to which structure the EPC ‘went to’.

	N _{SG} -EP	→	N _{PL} -EP	D – N _{PL} -EP	D – N _{PL} – Poss	Other
Lazio	5		5	-	-	-
Abruzzo	13		4	4	3	3
Campania	11		4	2	4	1
Basilicata	5		-	-	4	2
Calabria	8		-	-	8	-
Puglia	15		7	-	7	1
Sum	57		20	6	26	7

Table 4: The structure used with the plural ‘brothers’ instead of singular ‘brother’ occurring in EPCs

The total of 57 EPCs splits up into three structures, i.e. 20 dialects maintain the structure N_{PL}-EP, 5 dialects realize a structure with an obligatory article, i.e. D – N_{PL}-EP, and 25

- c. *màmma-kḡre*; *nḡnnu-ma* (Mangone, CS, Calabria, AIS 761)
 mum(F).SG-heart(M).SG grandfather(M).SG-my[.M.SG] *or* -our[.M.SG]⁹
 ‘grandmother’ ‘my/our grandfather’
- d. *fradéllə* *kuḡínə*; *sḡr^a-mà* *kuḡínə* (Montesilvano, PE, Abruzzo, AIS 619)
 brother(M)[.SG] cousin[.M.SG] sister(F)[.SG]-my[.F.SG] cousin[.F.SG]
 ‘cousin (m.)’ ‘my cousin (f.)’

In the following examples (18), ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandmother’ are derived through the modification of the kinship nouns ‘dad’ and ‘mum’ by the postnominal adjective meaning ‘big’ or ‘old’. These compound structures are restricted to ‘grandfather/-mother’ and occur typically in the regions Puglia and Basilicata. Note that the construction for ‘our grandfather’ in (18c) displays one of few cases in the AIS where the EP can be interpreted as a 1PL.EP, i.e. *-nə* can be interpreted as the reduced clitic form of the strong possessive *nostro*. Apart from San Donato (FR, Campania) a similar case is attested in Sonnino (LT, Lazio, AIS 682).

- (18) **(D) – N – Adj**
- a. *iàta* *ránna*; *màmma* *ránna* (Palagianò, TA, Puglia, AIS 737)
 dad(M).SG big[.M.SG] mum(F)[.SG] big[.F.SG]
 ‘grandfather’ ‘grandmother’
- b. *lu* *iàta* *ránna* (Salve, LE, Puglia, AIS 749)
 the.M.SG dad(M).SG big[M.SG]
 ‘the grandfather’
- la* *màmma* *ránne* *nḡša*
 the.F.SG mum(F).SG big[.F.SG] our[.F.SG]
 ‘our grandmother’
- c. *mámma^a* *véčča* (San Donato, FR, Campania, AIS 701)
 mum(F).SG old.F[.SG]
 ‘grandmother’
- nónna-nə*
 grandfather(M)[.SG]-our[.M.SG]
 ‘our grandfather’

Maps 24 to 26 display a remarkable structure for ‘(my) cousin (m./f.)’ in the regions Abruzzo, Southern Lazio, Campania and Northern Puglia: The kinship nouns ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ occur with a 1SG.EP and are modified by the kinship noun ‘cousin (m./f.)’. The structure is thus N_{SG}-EP – N_{SG}. In (19-20) ‘cousin (m./f.)’ shows gender and number

⁹ *-ma* is typically a 1SG.EP, but since map 16 displays the translations for ‘our grandfather’ I indicated both glosses because it is not clear whether the informant translated the wrong possessor person or the possessive of 1PL gets substituted by the 1SG.EP in the dialect of Mangone (CS, Calabria).

agreement with the corresponding EP as well as the EP indicates whether the kinship noun has to be interpreted as singular or plural since the stems of the EPCs are alike. With plural kinship nouns the attested structures are N_{PL} -EP – N_{PL} in (19), D_{PL} – N_{PL} -EP – N_{PL} in (20), D_{PL} – N_{PL} – POSS – N_{PL} in (21) and D_{PL} – N_{PL} – N_{PL} – POSS in (22).

(19) **NSG-EP – NSG > NPL-EP – NPL**

a. *frádi-mu* *gogǵínu* (Palombara, RM, Lazio, AIS 643)
 brother(M)[.SG]-my.M.SG cousin.M.SG
 ‘my cousin (m.)’

frádi-mi *gogǵíni*
 brother(M)[.PL]-my.M.PL cousin.M.PL
 ‘my cousins (m.)’

b. *sor-ma* *gogǵína*
 sister(F)[.SG]-my.F.SG cousin.F.SG
 ‘my cousin (f.)’

sor-me *gogǵíne*
 sister(F)[.PL]-my.F.PL cousin.F.PL
 ‘my cousins (f.)’

(20) **NSG-EP – NSG > DPL – NPL-EP – NPL**

a. *fráče-mo* *koǵíno* (Ausonia, FR, Campania, AIS 710)
 brother(M).SG-my.M.SG cousin.M.SG
 ‘my cousin (m.)’

ti *fráči-mi* *kuǵíni*
 the.M.PL brother(M).PL-my.M.PL cousin.M.PL
 ‘my cousins (m.)’

b. *sor-ma* *koǵína*
 sister(F)[.SG]-my.F.SG cousin.F.SG
 ‘my cousin (f.)’

le *sor-me* *koǵíne*
 the.F.PL sister(F)[.PL]-my.F.PL cousin.F.PL
 ‘my cousins (f.)’

(21) **NSG-EP – NSG > DPL – NPL – POSS – NPL**

a. *frátə-m^o* *kućínə* (Napoli, NA, Campania, AIS 721)
 brother(M)[.SG]-my.M.SG cousin[.M.SG]
 ‘my cousin (m.)’

e *frátə* *myéy* *kućínə*
 the.[M.]PL brother(M)[.PL] my.M.PL cousin[.M.PL]
 ‘my cousins (m.)’

b. *sorə-m^a* *kućín^a*
 sister(F)[.SG]-my.F.SG cousin.F.SG
 ‘my cousin (f.)’

e *ssorə* *mějy* *kućínə*
 the.[F.]PL sister(F)[.PL] my.F.PL cousin[.F.PL]
 ‘my cousins (f.)’

- (22) **NSG-EP – NSG > DPL – NPL – NPL – Poss** (Monte di Procida, NA, Campania, AIS 720)
- a. *frɛ́tə-mə* *kunsurínə*
 brother(M)[.SG]-my.M.SG cousin[.M.SG]
 ‘my cousin (m.)’
- i frɛ́tə kunsurínə myéyə*
 the.M.PL brother(M)[.PL] cousin[.M.PL] my.M.PL
 ‘my cousins (m.)’
- b. *sɔ́rə-ma* *kunsurínə*
 sister(F)[.SG]-my.F.SG cousin[.F.SG]
 ‘my cousin (f.)’
- rə ssó̄rə kunsurínə mýyə*
 the.F.PL sister(F)[.PL] cousin[.F.PL] my.F.PL
 ‘my cousins (f.)’

In these examples (19-22), the EPs always attach at the first kinship noun, i.e. ‘brother’ or ‘sister’. The kinship noun ‘cousin (m./f.)’ modifies the kinship relation in order to express the actual relation denoted by these structures. In the AIS, one exception is attested in Scanno (AQ, Abruzzo), see (23a). Here, the EP is attached at the modifier ‘cousin (m.)’. The feminine counterpart does not display the same structure, see (23b).

- (23) a. **DSG – NSG – NSG-EP** (Scanno, AQ, Abruzzo, AIS 656)
- yu frátə kuǵínə-mè*
 the.M.SG brother(M)[SG] cousin[M.SG]-my[M.SG]
 ‘my cousin (m.)’
- b. **DSG – NSG – NSG – Poss**
- la sáwrə kuǵina máyə*
 the.F.SG sister(F)[SG] cousin.F.SG my[F.SG]
 ‘my cousin (f.)’

In (24), the construction is further modified by the adjective ‘consanguine’. In (25) the paradigm is inconsistent; the EPC for ‘cousin (f.)’ is further modified by the adjective ‘female’.

- (24) **DSG – NSG – NSG – Adj** (Roma, RM, Lazio, AIS 652)
- a. *um fratéllə guǵé̄nɔ̄ karnále*
 a.M.SG brother(M).SG cousin.M.SG consanguine[.M.SG]
 ‘my cousin (m.)’
- b. *na soréla goǵé̄tina karnále*
 a.F.SG sister(F).SG cousin.F.SG consanguine[.F.SG]
 ‘my cousin (f.)’

(25) **NSG-EP (– Adj)**

(Palagianò, TA, Puglia, AIS 737)

- a. *kuǵínə-mə*
 cousin[.M.SG]-my[.M.SG]
 ‘my cousin (m.)’

kuǵínə-mə
 cousin[.M.PL]-my[.M.PL]
 ‘my cousins (m.)’

- b. *kuǵínə-ma* *fémmanə*
 cousin[.F.SG]-my.F.SG female[.F.SG]
 ‘my cousin (f.)’

kuǵínə-mə
 cousin[.F.PL]-my[.F.PL]
 ‘my cousins (f.)’

Originally, *fratello* was the diminutive form of *frate* (both meaning ‘brother’) and *sorella* of *soro* (both meaning ‘sister’) but both lost the diminutive meaning (see Meyer-Lübke 1935 and Tappolet 1895). In general, *fratello* and *sorella* is used in Northern Italy and *frate* and *soro* in Southern Italy (Rohlf’s 1947:42f). Both forms of the same kinship noun are attested in Serrastretta (CZ, Calabria), Centrache (CZ, Calabria), Acri (CS, Calabria) and Saracena (CS, Calabria) but notably with different meanings: *frate/soro* meaning ‘brother’ and *fratello/sorella* meaning ‘cousin (m./f.)’, see (26-27).

- (26) a. *fratiddə-m^u*
 brother(M.DIM)[.SG]-my.M.SG
 ‘my cousin (m.)’

(Saracena, CS, Calabria, AIS 752)

i *fratiddə* *míyⁱ*
 the.[M.]PL brother(M.DIM)[PL] my[.M.PL]
 ‘my cousins (m.)’

suréddi-ma
 sister(F.DIM)[.SG]-my.F.SG
 ‘my cousin (f.)’

i *suréddⁱ* *míyⁱ*
 the.[F.]PL sister(F.DIM)[.SG] my[.F.PL]
 ‘my cousins (f.)’

- b. *fráti-ta*
 brother(M).SG-your(2SG).[M.]SG
 ‘your brother’

i *frát^t* *túə*
 the.[M.]PL brother(M).PL your(2SG).M.PL
 ‘your brothers’

súrtə-ta
sister(F).SG-your(2SG).[F.]SG
'your sister'

i súrə tíá
the.[F]PL sister(F).PL your(2SG).F.PL
'your sisters'

- (27) a. *fratiéllu-ma* (Acri, CS, Calabria, AIS 762)
brother(M.DIM).SG-my.[M.]SG
'my cousin (m.)'

i fratiélli m'ía
the.[M.]PL brother(M.DIM).PL my[M.PL]
'my cousins (m.)'

sorrélla-ma
sister(F.DIM).SG-my.[F.]SG
'my cousin (f.)'

i sorrélli m'ía
the.[F.]PL sister(F.DIM).PL my[F.PL]
'my cousins (f.)'

- b. *fráti-tta*
brother(M).[SG]-your(2SG).[M.]SG
'your brother'

i fráti ttúa
the.[M.]PL brother(M).[PL] your(2SG).[M.]PL
'your brothers'

swór-ta
sister(F).SG-your(2SG).[F.]SG
'your sister'

i swóru ttúa
the.[F.]PL sister(F).PL your(2SG).[F.]PL
'your sisters'

The data presented in (26-27) allows for the assumption that modification of the head noun in EPCs is/was not per se excluded among the dialects. As a consequence, the assumption that kinship nouns have to be necessarily unmodified in order to occur in EPCs should be questioned (see section 1.1).

2.2 ASIt – Atlante Sintattico d'Italia

The project of the ASIS database (*Atlante Sintattico dell'Italia Settentrionale*) started in the 1990s as a project for Northern Italian dialects and was extended afterwards to the rest of Italy, resulting in the ASIt database (*Atlante Sintattico d'Italia*). There were several stages of inquiries and constant feedback between the data and the analysis that required several interviews with the same informant. For this, the most qualified informants acted

as collaborators who helped to interpret the data of a specific dialect more properly (see Cornips & Poletto 2007). I had again the same difficulties in organizing and interpreting the data of the ASIt as with the data of the AIS: The ASIt contains gaps because of missing, wrong/doubtable or two different translations. The doubtable data has been excluded for the empirical survey. In total, 57 locations were included: 8 locations for Abruzzo, 3 for Molise, 13 for Campania, 2 for Basilicata, 24 for Puglia and 7 for Calabria.

2.2.1 Quantitative distribution

Table 5 shows the quantitative distribution of possessives combined with a kinship noun (*part 1*) and further, the distribution of 711 proved translations that are adequate for a qualitative analysis of possessive constructions with kinship nouns (*part 2*).

Part 1: In the ASIt, possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular were combined 18 times with a **singular** kinship noun (the 1SG.POSS occurs 7 times in a possessive construction, the 2SG.POSS 6 times and the 3SG.POSS 5 times) and possessives of 1st and 2nd person plural were combined twice with a **singular** kinship noun (the 1PL.POSS and the 2PL.POSS occur each once in a possessive construction). Moreover, possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular have been combined 7 times with a **plural** kinship noun (the 1SG.POSS occurs 4 times in a possessive construction, the 2SG.POSS twice and the 3SG.POSS once). No possessive of 1st, 2nd or 3rd person plural was combined with a **plural** kinship noun.

Part 2: It is organized in the same way as ‘part 2’ of table 1 (for the AIS). First, the individual total of translations is indicated for each possessive combination, i.e. 239 translations with a 1SG.POSS and a singular kinship noun, 179 translations with a 2SG.POSS and a singular kinship noun and so on. Second, the totals per category are added together until the total of 711 translations (indicated in the last row of table 5).

POSSESSIVES WITH KINSHIP NOUNS: DISTRIBUTION OF COMBINATIONS												PART 1
NSG						NPL						
13						5						
1SG. POSS	2SG. POSS	3SG. POSS	1PL. POSS	2PL. POSS	3PL. POSS	1SG. POSS	2SG. POSS	3SG. POSS	1PL. POSS	2PL. POSS	3PL. POSS	
7	6	5	1	1	0	4	2	1	-	-	-	
POSSESSIVES WITH KINSHIP NOUNS: DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSLATIONS												PART 2
239	179	113	47	31	-	44	29	29	-	-	-	
531			78			102			-			
609						102						
711												

Table 5: ASIt – Distribution of combinations and proved translations of possessives with kinship nouns

In table 6, the translated EPCs have been extracted out of table 5. As already mentioned for the AIS, this allows for a quantitative comparison between each individual total in table 5 and table 6. Notably, more than half of the translations are EPCs: 425 EPCs out of in total 711 translations.

EPCs: DISTRIBUTION OF TRANSLATIONS											
NSG						NPL					
1SG.E P	2SG.E P	3SG.E P	1PL.E P	2PL.E P	3PL.E P	1SG.E P	2SG.E P	3SG.E P	1PL.E P	2PL.E P	3PL.E P
185	173	31	4	12	-	12	8	0	-	-	-
389			16			20			-		
405						20					
425											

Table 6: ASIt – Distribution of proved translations of EPCs

2.2.2 Microvariational observations

I subdivided the translations of both tables 5 and 6 more precisely: Table 7 and 8 display for each possessive construction the number of translated EPCs out of the total number of translations. The reason for this was to detect possible saliences of specific *kinship noun – possessor person* combinations and to get a general overview of the distribution of EPCs in the ASIt. The grey cells indicate that these specific constructions are not represented in the ASIt.

	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.POSS	1PL.POSS	2PL.POSS	3PL.POSS
<i>mama</i>	10/45	21/22				
<i>padre</i>				0/47 (1SG.EP: 4/47)	1/31 (2SG.EP: 11/31)	
<i>figlio</i>	39/41					
<i>fratello</i>		50/50	14/46			
<i>sorella</i>		23/25	6/21			
<i>zio</i>	42/49	1/1	0/1			
<i>zia</i>	25/29	40/41				
<i>nipote, m.</i>	20/22					
<i>cugino</i>	<i>cug-EP</i> 14/24 <i>frat-EP – cug.</i> 8/24					
<i>cognata</i>		38/40				
<i>marito</i>			7/22			
<i>moglie</i>	27/29					
<i>suocera</i>			4/23			

Table 7: Overview of singular kinship nouns – the total of translated EPCs

Some observations for table 7 are listed below:

- (i) *mia mamma* ‘my mum’ occurs only 10 times as an EPC; a reason for this could be that ‘mum’ refers to the speaker’s mother and does not necessarily need to be specified by a 1SG.EP, another reason could be that the second syllable *–ma* and the 1SG.EP *–ma* undergo a case of dissimilation, i.e. a haplology, where one of the two identical syllables is dropped.
- (ii) The structure ‘brother-my cousin’ is still present in present-day dialects (and therefore even the female counterpart ‘sister-my cousin’); all 8 cases are attested in the region Campania.
- (iii) The 3SG.EP occurs less frequently among the dialects; note that no case with an obligatory article (D – N-EP) is attested in the ASIIt.
- (iv) 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs are evenly distributed; no salient differences can be seen with respect to *kinship noun – possessor person* combinations (with the exception of *mia mamma* ‘my mum’).
- (v) 1PL.POSS and 2PL.POSS have been substituted or paraphrased with the 1SG.EP and 2SG.EP (the exception indicated in table 7, i.e. 2PL.POSS + *padre* ‘father’, can be interpreted as a reduced form of the strong possessive *vostro* ‘your(2PL)’ → *-v* (see Locorotondo, BA, Puglia).

	1SG.POSS	2SG.POSS	3SG.POSS	1PL.POSS	2PL.POSS	3PL.POSS
<i>figlie</i>	7/23					
<i>figli</i>	4/19	7/28				
<i>fratelli</i>			0/29			
<i>sorelle</i>	1/1	1/1				
<i>cugini</i>	<i>cug-EP</i> 0/1					

Table 8: Overview of plural kinship nouns – the total of translated EPCs

Possessive constructions with plural kinship nouns are rare in the ASIIt database, as illustrated in table 8. The possessors of 1PL, 2PL or 3PL are not represented at all. Therefore, no assumptions can be made.

Both tables 7 and 8 give the impression that the data collection within the scope of the project ASIIt focuses on possessives of 1SG, 2SG or 3SG, combined with singular kinship nouns. A reason could be that the probability to get EPCs is higher than with plural kinship nouns and possessors of 1PL, 2PL or 3PL.

(29) *nə'pɔtə-me,* *nə'pɔt-tə* (Taranto, TA, Apulia, M&S 2005:675)
 nephew(M)[.SG]-my.[M.]SG, nephew(M)[.SG]-your(2SG).[M.]SG
 'my nephew, your nephew'

(30) *'mammu-ma,* *'mamma-ta/-sa* (Copertino, LE, Apulia, M&S 2005:682)
 mom(F)[.SG]-my.[F.]SG, mom(F)[.SG]-your(2SG).[F.]SG/-his/her.[F.]SG

Similar cases are found among others in Umbriatico (KR, Calabria), Giurdignano/Uggiano la Chiesa (LE, Apulia), Altomonte (CS, Calabria), Martina Franca (TA, Apulia) and Senise (PZ, Basilicata).

2.3.2 The 2SG.EP changes form

In two specific cases the 2SG.EP that bears an initial *t* changes to *d* as exemplified in (31). In some dialects the final *-r* of the stem triggers the initial *d-* of the 2SG.EP. This is not only the case with the kinship noun *soro* 'sister' but also in those dialects where *sire* is used for 'father' and not *padre* or similar forms.

(31) a. *sɔr-da,* *sir-da* (Leverano, LE, Puglia)
 sister(f).SG-your(2SG).[F.]SG, father(M).SG-your(2SG).[M.]SG
 'your sister, your father'

b. *but: fra-ta,* *tsiu-ta*
 brother(M).SG-your(2SG).[M.]SG, uncle(M).SG-your(2SG).[M.]SG

Dialects that behave like the dialect of Leverano in (31) are, among others, the dialects of Copertino, Giurdignano/Uggiano la Chiesa and Lecce (LE, Apulia), Monteparano (TA, Apulia), Agnone (IS, Molise) and Amandola (FM, Marche).

2.3.3 The kinship nouns 'mother' and 'father'

Most dialects use the hypocorism/vocative *mamma* 'mum' for EPCs and do not have a corresponding lexeme in their dialect for *madre* 'mother', as is the case in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria). In contrast, most dialects use the neutral form *padre* 'father' in EPCs and not 'dad' (*paʦɾə-ma* in Verzino vs. *'bab-te* in Urbino, Torre S. Tommaso, PU, Marche). In Bellona in (32), the co-occurrence of both kinship nouns 'father' and 'dad' occurring in EPCs is a rare situation that may depend on different contexts the EPCs can be used (but this is a pure supposition). In San Fili in (33), both kinship nouns 'mum' and 'mother' can occur in EPCs, again, a rare phenomenon among the investigated dialects.

(32) *'patə-te,* *'tatə-tə* (Bellona, CE, Campania,
 father(M).SG-your(2SG).[M]SG, dad(M).SG-your(2SG).[M]SG M&S 2005:669)
 'your father, your dad'

(33) *'mamma-ta,* *'maʃri-ta* (San Fili, CS, Calabria,
 mom(F).SG- your(2SG).[F]SG, mother(F).SG- your(2SG).[F]SG M&S 2005:677)
 'your mom, your mother'

As mentioned above, dialects like Verzino only have a lexeme for 'mum' but not for 'mother' in their dialect. Moreover, the kinship noun *tata* for 'dad' has been replaced through *papà* as the fieldwork brought to light (see Greco 2014). Meyer-Lübke (1935:518) states that in Southern Italy the form *padre*, used in the written language, replaces the familiar form *tata*¹⁰ and further, that *attanə* is related to *tata* (Meyer-Lübke 1935:710).

The data in Manzini & Savoia (2005) prove that in numerous dialects the old form *at'ta:nə* 'father' and similar forms survived through time and are attested among others in Montemilone (PZ, Basilicata) Accettura (MT, Basilicata), Minervino Murge and Canosa (BT, Apulia), Bitetto, Putignano and Ruvo di Puglia (BA, Apulia) and Monteparano and Martina Franca (TA, Apulia). Note that in general *at'ta:nə* and similar forms occur in EPCs whereas the hypocorism/vocative *tata* does not, see (34). Here, 'dad' in (34a) refers to the speaker's father.

(34) *ta'ta,* *at'tanə-me* (Garaguso, MT, Basilicata, M&S 2005:675)
 dad(M).SG, father(M).SG-my.[M.]SG'
 'dad (= my dad), my father'

Another peculiar lexeme for 'father' is *sire*¹¹ that occurs in EPCs as well, as in the dialects of Leverano and Lecce (LE, Apulia) and Copertino and Giurdignano/Uggiano la Chiesa (LE, Apulia).

2.3.4 The definite article with strong possessives and singular kinship nouns

According to Manzini & Savoia (2005), within the same dialect there can be irregularities with respect to the co-occurrence of a definite article with strong possessives and singular kinship nouns. This can depend on the possessor person as in (35) where the postnominal 1SG.POSS and 2SG.POSS occur without definite article in contrast to all other possessor persons.

¹⁰ Meyer-Lübke (1935:518): "[...] in Südtalien verdrängt die schriftsprachliche Form *padre* auch die Koseform *tata* [...]".

¹¹ Related to *signore* 'sir', see Pianigiani 1907 (<https://www.etimo.it/>).

- (35) *'fratə* *'miəjə* / *'tu:jə* (Albidona, CS, Calabria, M&S 2005:696)
 brother(M)[.SG] my.M[.SG]/ your(2SG)[.F.SG]
 'my/your brother'
- u* *'fratə* *'sujə* / *'nuəstə* / *'vuəstə* / *'yuərə*
 the.M.SG brother(M)[.SG] his/her.[M.SG] / our.[M.SG] / your(2PL)[.M.SG] / their[.M.SG]
 'his/her/our/your/their brother'

In (36), the presence of the article seems to depend on the nature of the kinship noun. Here, the 3SG.POSS occurs without an article with the kinship nouns 'dad' and 'mum' and with an obligatory article with the kinship nouns 'brother' and 'sister'. Unfortunately, Manzini & Savoia (2005) neither report how the kinship nouns 'dad' and 'mum' behave with plural possessors nor how other kinship nouns (apart from these) behave with respect to this structural dichotomy.

- (36) a. *tata* *'me:jə* / *'tu:jə* / *'su:jə* (Terranova, RC, Calabria, M&S 2005:695)
 dad(M).SG my[.M.SG]/ your(2SG)[.M.SG]/ his/her[.M.SG]
 'my/your/his/her dad'
- mamma* *'me:jə* / *'tu:jə* / *'su:jə*
 mom(F).SG my[.F.SG] / ...
 'my/... mom'
- b. *frəvətə* *'m^uəjə* / *'tu:jə*
 brother(M).SG my[.M.SG]/ your(2SG)[.M.SG]
 'my/your brother'
- u* *frəvətə* *'su:jə* / *'nuəstə* / *'vuəstə* / *'uə:rə*
 the.M.SG brother(M)[.SG] his/her[.M.SG] / our[.M.SG] / your(2PL)[.M.SG] / their[.M.SG]
 'his/her/our/your/their brother'
- 'suərə* *'me:jə* / *'to:jə*
 sister(F).SG my[.F.SG] / your(2SG)[.F.SG]
 'my/your sister'
- a* *'suərə* *'so:jə* / *'nɔstə* / *'vɔstə* / *'ɔ:rə*
 the.F.SG sister(F).SG his/her[.F.SG] / ...
 'his/her/... sister'

Note that most dialects realize the unmarked structure D – N – Poss with all kinship nouns and possessor persons.

2.3.5 The definite article with plural kinship noun-EPCs

Manzini and Savoia (2005) do not report any case where an article occurs with a 1SG.EP or a 2SG.EP (with singular kinship nouns!). For the 3SG.EP with singular kinship nouns, they only report two dialects where an obligatory article appears, namely in the dialect of

Monteparano (TA, Apulia) and Umbriatico (KR, Calabria). With respect to plural kinship nouns, different strategies can be observed among the dialects. The structures of plural kinship noun-EPCs in contrast to the corresponding singular kinship noun-EPCs are exemplified and briefly described in the following. In Guardiaregia in (37) the singular EPCs obtain an obligatory article, clearly marked for gender and number; *ri* (m./pl.) and *lə* (f./pl.). The stems as well as the masculine EP do not change, maybe due to their final schwa that neutralizes the differences concerning gender and number agreement morphemes.

- (37) a. *'fratə-mə,* *ri* *'fratə-mə* (Guardiaregia, CB, Molise,
brother(M)[.SG]-my[M.SG], the.M.PL brother(M)[.PL]-my[M.PL] M&S 2005:664)
'my brother, my brothers'
- b. *'sɔrə-ma,* *lə* *'sɔrə-mə*
sister(F)[.SG]-my.F.SG, the.F.PL sister(F)[.PL]-my[F.PL]
'my sister, my sisters'

For 'brother' and 'sister', Vastogirardi shows clear differences in terms of the form of the singular kinship noun and their plural counterpart in EPCs, see (38).

- (38) a. *'fratə-mə,* *re* *'friətə-mə* (Vastogirardi, IS, Molise,
brother(M).SG-my[M.SG], the.M.PL brother(M).PL-my[M.PL] M&S 2005:665)
'my brother, my brothers'
- b. *'sɔr-ma,* *lə* *sə 'rurə-mə*
sister(F).SG-my.F.SG, the.F.PL sister(F).PL-my[F.PL]
'my sister, my sisters'

A similar case, but with the absence of the obligatory article with plural kinship nouns, occurs in Martina Franca in (39), as well as in Monteparano (TA, Apulia).

- (39) *'suər-mə,* *sə 'rɔrə-mə* (Martina Franca, TA, Apulia, M&S 2005:674)
sister(F).SG-my[F.SG], sister(F).PL-my[F.PL]
'my sister, my sisters'

In Giffoni Montecorvino (40), as well as in Mascioni (AQ, Abuzzo), the EPs change their form and indicate the plurality of the EPCs (the stem is the same in all cases). In Contursi in (41), as well as in Poggio Imperiale (FG, Puglia) and Palo del Colle (BA, Puglia), the EPCs are syncretic. Hence, the context determines the singularity or plurality of the EPCs.

- (40) *'fiλλə-me* / *-te* (Giffoni Montecorvino, SA, Campania, M&S 2005:670)
 son(M)[.SG]-my.M.SG / -your.M.SG
 'my/your son'
- 'fiλλə-mi* / *-ti*
 son(M)[.PL]-my.M.PL / -your.M.PL
 'my/your sons'
- (41) *'fiλλə-mə* / *-tə* (Contursi, SA, Campania, M&S 2005:670)
 son(M)[.SG]-my[.M.SG] / -your[.M.SG]
 son(M)[.PL]-my[.M.PL] / -your[.M.PL]
 'my/your son(s)'

Finally, in the case of Amandola the stem and the EP agree in all cases in gender and number, see (42).

- (42) a. *'fiju-mu,* *'fiji-mi* (Amandola, FM, Marche, M&S 2005:663)
 son(M).SG-my.M.SG, son(M).PL-my.M.PL
 'my son, my sons'
- b. *'fija-ma,* *'fije-me*
 daughter(F).SG-my.F.SG, daughter(F).PL-my.F.PL
 'my daughter, my daughters'

2.3.6 Co-occurrence of EPCs and strong possessives

At first sight, it seems redundant to combine EPCs with strong possessives, but Manzini & Savoia (2005) report this for a variety of dialects. This co-occurrence, exemplified in (43), could be due to the need of an emphatic stress. The dialects that allow this kind of (syntactic) doubling maybe treat EPCs as lexicalized forms that can be modified through the corresponding strong possessive. As already mentioned, most dialects use the structure D – N – Poss if there is the need to emphasize the possessive expression.

- (43) *'sor-ma* (*'mia*) (Morano Calabro, CS, Calabria, M&S 2005:719)
 sister(F)[.SG]-my.[F.]SG (my.F.SG)
 'my sister'

Similar cases are reported among others for Capracotta, Miranda and Vastogirardi (IS, Molise), Canosa (BT, Apulia), Montenerodome and Colledimacine (CH, Abruzzo), Guardia Perticara and Acerenza (PZ, Basilicata), Volturara Appula (FG, Apulia), Contursi (SA, Campania), Palo del Colle and Ruvo di Puglia (BA, Apulia) and Altomonte, S. Marco Argentano, Cervicati and S. Lorenzo del Vallo (CS, Calabria).

2.4 Fieldwork

The first fieldwork session took place in 2013 where the full paradigm of possible EPCs in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) was elaborated. In 2015 the fieldwork was repeated with a new questionnaire, as a follow-up survey for the present work. The third fieldwork session took place in Puglia in 2016 and mainly focused on the dialects of Leverano (LE), Lecce (LE) and Ceglie Messapica (BR).

In the following, I will introduce the design and the aim of the questionnaire (section 3.4.1) before I highlight two dialects I worked most with: the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria; section 2.4.2.1) and the dialect of Leverano (LE, Puglia; section 2.4.2.2). The questionnaires, the overview of the informants and the collected data of all dialects included in the fieldwork are given in appendix B.

2.4.1 Design and aim of the questionnaire

The first fieldwork session in 2013 was part of my magister thesis. The full paradigm of possible EPCs in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) was elaborated with 27 speakers of the dialect by distributing a written questionnaire and collaborating with several speakers¹² before and after the survey (Greco 2014). In the questionnaire, the informants were asked to choose the adequate answer(s) to a given context. The answers were formulated in dialect and displayed a variation from ungrammatical to acceptable to frequently used. Moreover, the given answers displayed a variation between possessive constructions with EPs and strong possessives. The fieldwork in Verzino has been repeated with a new questionnaire in 2015 as a follow-up survey for the present work. The design of the questionnaire was the same, but focused on uncertain and/or problematic cases that arose in the first fieldwork session. Again, a group of 25 speakers of the dialect participated and I collaborated with several speakers afterwards in order to clarify data. The aim of the follow-up survey was to revise the full paradigm of possible EPCs in the dialect of Verzino. The third fieldwork session took place in Puglia in 2016. In the following, I will illustrate how the questionnaire was designed and implemented in order to be used for 7 different dialects of this region, a new challenge in contrast to the first two fieldwork sessions that focused only on one dialect.

¹² These informants could distinguish very well between the system of Standard Italian on the one hand and the system of their own dialect on the other hand. For that reason they were chosen for several consultations.

First, a previous survey, mainly based on the data of the AIS and both fieldwork sessions in Verzino, showed that the 3SG.EP has a special status with respect to the presence and absence of a definite article. This peculiar behaviour was the reason why the fieldwork in Puglia mainly focused on the 3rd person singular in order to collect more data concerning EPCs with 3SG.EPs. In the literature, it is well known that the 3SG.EP occurs less frequently among the dialects (see Manzini & Savoia 2005). Moreover, at that point of my research, I only had the full set of data concerning EPCs of one specific dialect (the dialect of Verzino). Due to the fact that in this dialect the 3SG.EP only occurs with a few kinship nouns, I had to expect that other dialects may behave similar. To increase the chance to collect relevant data, I decided to include the close family members ‘mum’, ‘dad’, ‘grandfather/-mother’, ‘sister’ and ‘brother’ in the questionnaire. Second, the AIS shows that in the region Puglia, compound and modified structures are present. There are some cases of compounds with *nonno* and *nonna* ‘grandfather/-mother’ in the Northern part of the region and modified structures, where ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ are modified by the kinship noun ‘cousin (m./f.)’ in the Northern and Central parts of the region (see AIS maps 16, 17, 24-26). Therefore, I added ‘cousin (m./f.)’ to the questionnaire. Finally, the nouns *casa* ‘home’ and *mano* ‘hand’ served as fillers. Moreover, I aimed at finding EPCs with *mano* as reported by Rohlfs (1968) for Puglia but this has not been the case.

Table 9 illustrates the schema of the questionnaire. The possessives of 1SG and 2SG were divided among the kinship nouns that have been grouped pairwise with respect to their gender-related counterpart, e.g. ‘mum’ vs. ‘father’, ‘brother’ vs. ‘sister’ and so on. On the one hand, the division had economic reasons: to restrict the total number of tasks. Hence, the time required to conduct the questionnaire with one informant (introduction, questionnaire/interview and debriefing) did not exceed 60 minutes so that the informants could stay concentrated until the end of the questionnaire. On the other hand, I focused on the gender-related microvariation within the minimal pairs to detect similarities, differences and agreement patterns.

<i>mamma</i>	‘mum’	✓ mia		✓ sua
<i>padre</i>	‘father’	✓ mio		✓ suo
<i>nonno</i>	‘grandfather’		✓ tuo	✓ suo
<i>nonna</i>	‘grandmother’		✓ tua	✓ sua
<i>cugino</i>	‘cousin, m.’		✓ tuo	✓ suo
<i>cugina</i>	‘cousin, f.’		✓ tua	✓ sua
<i>sorella</i>	‘sister’	✓ mia		✓ sua
<i>fratello</i>	‘brother’	✓ mio		✓ suo
<i>casa</i>	‘home’	✓ mia	✓ tua	✓ sua
<i>mano</i>	‘hand’	✓ mia	✓ tua	✓ sua

Table 9: Schema of the questionnaire

The questionnaire contained two different tasks: (i) the informants were asked to translate a sentence given in Standard Italian into their dialect and (ii) the informants were asked to formulate an adequate answer in their dialect to a given context. Since I elaborated the questionnaire always together with the informants.

The locations of the fieldwork are listed in the following: Leverano (LE), Salve (LE), Lecce (LE), Castrignano del Capo (LE), San Giovanni Rotondo (FG), Polignano a Mare (BA) and Ceglie Messapica (BR). I collaborated with some speakers several times after the fieldwork session to elaborate the full paradigm of possible EPCs (see appendix B.3.2 to B.3.4 for Lecce, Ceglie Messapica and Leverano). In other areas, I had difficulties to find willing informants. Therefore, for some locations, I only had one to three informants and/or I had to shorten the questionnaire during the interview.

In the next section, I will present in detail the enclitic and strong possessive system of the dialects of Verzino (KR) and Leverano (LE).

2.4.2 Highlighting the two dialects

The microvariation displayed by these two cases exemplifies that the phenomenon of EPCs has a really rich morphological and semantic variation. The dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) belongs to what I call the *oblig. D*-group, in that it realizes an obligatory article with 3SG/PL.EPs.¹³ In contrast, the dialect of Leverano (LE, Puglia) does not show an article with EPCs (i.e. it belongs to the *no D*-group¹⁴; for a detailed analysis see section 4.2.1). In the dialect of Verzino, the EPs of 3SG/PL are much more complex with respect to their morphology and semantics and occur only with a few kinship nouns. In contrast,

¹³ The notion *oblig. D* means that a specific dialect realizes an article with 3SG/PL.EPs, but not with 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs. For a detailed analysis and an overview of dialects that behave like the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) see section 4.2.1.

¹⁴ The notion *no D* means that a specific dialect does not show an article with any person-EP. For an overview of dialects that behave like the dialect of Leverano (LE, Puglia) see also section 4.2.1.

in the dialect of Leverano, each person-EP occurs with every kinship noun. In the following, I will introduce the enclitic and strong possessive system of both dialects and present their full paradigm of attested EPCs.

2.4.2.1 Verzino (KR, Calabria)

The dialect of Verzino (KR) was the starting point for the investigation of enclitic possessives with kinship nouns in Southern Italian dialects. Verzino is located in the Calabrian mountains, 549m above sea level and 49km northwest from the capital of its province Crotona (KR) and has about 2373 inhabitants¹⁵. The dialect of Verzino belongs to the Southern Italian dialects and more precisely to the group of central Calabrian dialects but is not part

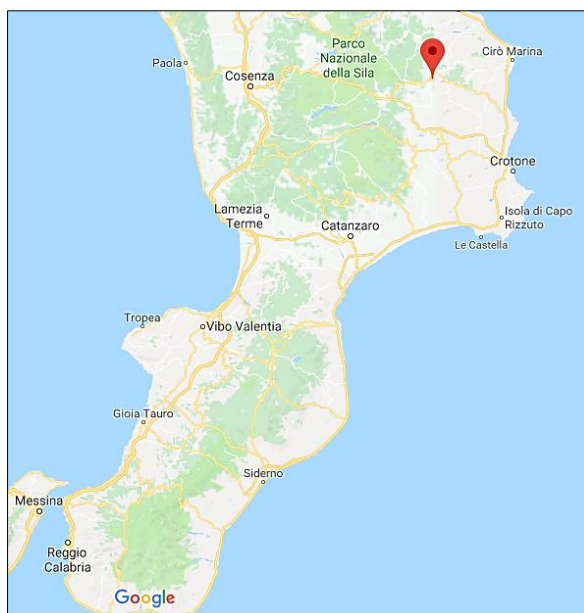


Figure 1: Verzino (KR, Calabria)

of the so-called Lausberg area (see Lausberg 1939 and Pellegrini 1977).

The fieldwork took place first in 2013, as part of my magister thesis where the full paradigm of possible EPCs was elaborated with a group of 27 speakers of the dialect by distributing a written questionnaire and collaborating with several speakers before and after the survey (Greco 2014). In the questionnaire, I sketched the context of a situation and asked to choose the adequate answer(s) that were given in dialect. The given answers displayed a variation from ungrammatical to acceptable to frequently used. Moreover, the answers displayed a variation between possessive constructions with EPs and strong possessives.

The fieldwork was repeated with a new questionnaire in 2015, as a follow-up survey for the present dissertation. The design of the questionnaire was the same but this time the focus lied on uncertain and/or problematic cases that arose from the first fieldwork session. Again, a group of 25 speakers of the dialect participated and I collaborated with several speakers afterwards (see appendix B).

¹⁵ <http://www.comune.verzino.kr.it/index.php?action=index&p=86>, accessed on october 30, 2017.

A – Strong possessives

In table 10, the system of strong possessives in the dialect of Verzino is briefly illustrated. The possessor, i.e. the strong possessive, agrees in gender and number with the singular possessed noun. The masculine suffix $-ɔ$ and the feminine $-a$ are present with all possessor persons but 3PL. With plural nouns, strong possessives lack gender and number agreement. Both are neutralized by the suffix $-ə$. The 3PL is introduced by the preposition *di* ‘of’.

Personal pronoun		Possessive/Possessor		
		M.SG	F.SG	M/F.PL
1SG	io	miɔ	mia	miə
2SG	tu	tuɔ	tua	tuə
3SG	illo/illa	suɔ	sua	suə
1PL	nuə	nɔrrɔ	nɔrra	nɔrrə
2PL	vuə	vɔrrɔ	vɔrra	vɔrrə
3PL	illə	d'illə	d'illə	d'illə

Table 10: Personal pronouns and strong possessives in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) – full paradigm

In the dialect of Verzino, as in the majority of SIDs, the unmarked word order with strong possessives with all noun classes is D – N – Poss (44a). In Standard Italian, this structure is only possible with a contrastive reading, the unmarked word order for kinship nouns is Poss – N (44b) since Standard Italian lacks the article only with kinship nouns (it is obligatory for all other noun classes, e.g. *mio nonno* ‘my grandfather’ vs. *il mio libro* ‘the my book’). In both cases, the structure D – Poss – N is ungrammatical with kinship nouns (44c).

(44) ‘my grandfather’

a. **D – N – Poss**

u *nannɔ* *miɔ* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
the.M.SG grandfather(M).SG my.M.SG

* *il* *nonno* *mio* (Standard Italian¹⁶)
the.M.SG grandfather(M).SG my.M.SG

b. **Poss – N**

* *miɔ* *nannɔ* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
my.M.SG grandfather(M).SG

mio *nonno* (Standard Italian)
my.M.SG grandfather(M).SG

¹⁶ The structure is possible as a contrastive focus, but ungrammatical as unmarked structure.

- c. **D – Poss – N**
 * *u* *miɔ* *nannɔ* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
 the.M.SG my.M.SG grandfather(M).SG
- * *il* *mio* *nonno* (Standard Italian)
 the.M.SG my.M.SG grandfather(M).SG
- d. **N – Poss**
 * *nannɔ* *miɔ* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
 my.M.SG grandfather(M).SG
- * *nonno* *mio* (Standard Italian¹⁷)
 my.M.SG grandfather(M).SG

As already mentioned, in most SIDs the unmarked word order for all nouns classes is D – N – Poss, whereas in Standard Italian strong possessives occur preminally so that the unmarked word order with all but kinship nouns is D – Poss – N, see (45).

(45) ‘my book’

- a. **D – N – Poss**
u *libro* *miɔ* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
 the.M.SG book(M).SG my.M.SG
- * *il* *libro* *mio* (Standard Italian¹⁸)
 the.M.SG book(M).SG my.M.SG
- b. **Poss – N**
 * *miɔ* *libro* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
 my.M.SG book(M).SG
- * *mio* *libro* (Standard Italian)
 my.M.SG book(M).SG
- c. **D – Poss – N**
 * *u* *miɔ* *libro* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
 the.M.SG my.M.SG book(M).SG
- il* *mio* *libro* (Standard Italian)
 the.M.SG my.M.SG book(M).SG
- d. **N – Poss**
 * *libro* *miɔ* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
 book(M).SG my.M.SG
- * *libro* *mio* (Standard Italian)
 book(M).SG my.M.SG

¹⁷ The structure is possible as a vocative, a predicative or an exclamation, but ungrammatical as unmarked structure.

¹⁸ The structure is possible as a contrastive focus, but ungrammatical as unmarked structure.

Both tables 11 and 12 summarize the results from the examples (44-45). The possible unmarked word order for strong possessives with kinship nouns is shown in table 11 and for strong possessives with common nouns in table 12.

word order	D – Poss – N	D – N – Poss	Poss – N	N – Poss
<i>Standard It.</i>	X	X	✓	X
<i>Verzino</i>	X	✓	X	X

Table 11: Unmarked word order for **kinship nouns** with strong possessives

word order	D – Poss – N	D – N – Poss	Poss – N	N – Poss
<i>Standard It.</i>	✓	X	X	X
<i>Verzino</i>	X	✓	X	X

Table 12: Unmarked word order for **common nouns** with strong possessives

B – Enclitic possessives

The dialect of Verzino has EPs for 1SG, 2SG and 3SG/PL, see table 13. The 1SG.EP (*-ma*) and the 2SG.EP (*-ta*) are only compatible with singular kinship nouns. The 3SG/PL.EPs are more complex: all three EPs (*-sɔ*, *-sa* and *-sə*) refer to 3SG ‘his/her’ as well as to 3PL ‘their’. Moreover, the EPs *-sɔ* and *-sa* are only compatible with singular kinship nouns and show gender agreement, so that *-sɔ* occurs with masculine singular kinship nouns and *-sa* with feminine singular ones (see in table 13: 3SG/PL.EPs-*type A*). The EP *-sə* is only compatible with plural kinship nouns, but refers to 3SG and 3PL, too (see in table 13: 3SG/PL.EPs-*type B*). In addition, all types of 3SG/PL.EPs must occur with an obligatory article (marked in bold in table 13). The definite article *u* (m./sg.) has to occur with *-sɔ*, the definite article *a* (f./sg.) with *-sa* and the definite article *i* (m./pl, f./pl.) with *-sə*.

EP	1SG ‘my’	2SG ‘your’	3SG/PL ‘his/her’ and ‘their’
Structure	N-EP	N-EP	D – N-EP
NSG	<i>-ma</i> (m./f.)	<i>-ta</i> (m./f.)	<i>u</i> <i>-sɔ</i> (m.) / <i>a</i> <i>-sa</i> (f.) <i>type A</i>
NPL	/	/	<i>i</i> <i>-sə</i> (m./f.) <i>type B</i>

Table 13: Enclitic possessives and the distribution of an obligatory article in the dialect of Verzino

The data in table 14a and table 14b illustrate the EPC-system in the dialect of Verzino, exemplified by the kinship noun *zio* ‘uncle’. Table 14a displays the data for 1SG, 2SG and 3SG with both the singular kinship noun (*u*) *tsiɔ* ‘the uncle’ and the plural counterpart (*i*) *tsiə* ‘the uncles’. Table 14b displays the data for 1PL, 2PL and 3PL, again with the

singular/plural kinship noun *zio/-i* ‘uncle(s)’. The blue cells highlight the possible EPCs, the white cells the alternative structure that is used whenever an EPCs is not possible, i.e. D – N – Poss.

		Possessor		
		1SG.EP/POSS	2SG.EP/POSS	3SG.EP
Possessee	NSG	<i>tsiə-ma</i> uncle(M).SG-my.[M.]SG ‘my uncle’	<i>tsiə-ta</i> uncle(M).SG-your.[M.]SG ‘your uncle’	<i>u tsiə-sə</i> the.M.SG uncle(M).SG-his/her/their.M.SG ‘his/her uncle’
	NPL	<i>i tsiə miə</i> the.[M.]PL uncle(M).PL my.[M.]PL ‘my uncles’	<i>i tsiə tuə</i> the.[M.]PL uncle(M).PL your.[M.]PL ‘your uncles’	<i>i tsiə-sə</i> the.M.PL uncle(M).PL-his/her/their.M.PL ‘his/her uncles’

Table 14a: EPC-system in the dialect of Verzino (possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular)

		Possessor		
		1PL.POSS	2PL.POSS	3PL.EP
Possessee	NSG	<i>u tsiə nərrə</i> the.[M.]SG uncle(M).SG our.[M.]SG ‘our uncle’	<i>u tsiə vərrə</i> the.[M.]SG uncle(M).SG your.[M.]SG ‘your uncle’	<i>u tsiə-sə</i> the.M.SG uncle(M).SG-his/her/their.M.SG ‘their uncle’
	NPL	<i>i tsiə nərrə</i> the.[M.]PL uncle(M).PL our.[M.]PL ‘our uncles’	<i>i tsiə vərrə</i> the.[M.]PL uncle(M).PL your.[M.]pl ‘your uncles’	<i>i tsiə-sə</i> the.M.PL uncle(M).PL-his/her/their.M.PL ‘their uncles’

Table 14b: EPC-system in the dialect of Verzino (possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural)

It should be noted that in this dialect singular *zio* ‘uncle’ and *zia* ‘aunt’ agree in gender and number with the article, see (46a-b). The plural kinship nouns lose the gender marking, hence, (46c) is ambiguous due to the final schwa (–ə). Moreover, only the article marks the plurality of the kinship noun in (46c). Evidence comes from the stem that ends with a schwa, too, and can be interpreted as singular or plural as well as feminine or masculine, cf. (47-48). The same ambiguity is displayed by *cugino/-a* ‘cousin (m./f.)’ and *nonno/-a* ‘grandfather/-mother’.

- (46) a. *a tsiə*
the.F.SG aunt(F).SG
‘the aunt’
- b. *u tsiə*
the.M.SG uncle(M).SG
‘the uncle’
- c. *i tsiə*
the.[F.]PL aunt(F).[PL]
the.[M.]PL uncle(M).[PL]
‘the aunts, the uncles’
- (47) a. *tsiə-ma*
aunt(F).[SG]-my.[F.]SG
uncle(M).[SG]- my.[M.]SG
‘my aunt, my uncle’

- b. *tsiə-ta*
 aunt(F).[SG]-your(2SG).[F.]SG
 uncle(M).[SG]- your(2SG).[M.]SG
 ‘your aunt, your uncle’
- (48) a. *a tsiə-sa*
 the.F.SG aunt(F).[SG]-his/her/their.F.SG
 ‘his/her/their aunt’
- b. *u tsiə-sə*
 the.M.SG uncle(M).[SG]-his/her/their.M.SG
 ‘his/her/their uncle’
- c. *i tsiə-sə*
 the.[F.]PL aunt(F).[PL]-his/her/their.[F.]PL
 the.[M.]PL uncle(M).[PL]-his/her/their.[M.]PL
 ‘his/her/their aunt, his/her/their uncle’

In this dialect, the EPs differ according to the kinship nouns they are compatible with. The 2SG.EP is the most productive one, i.e. it occurs with most kinship nouns, closely followed by the 1SG.EP that shows two gaps in the paradigm (*mamma* and *nonno/-a*). The 3SG/PL.EP is very rare and occurs only with four kinship nouns (*mamma*, *zio/-a*, *cugino/-a* and *nonno/-a*). Hence, the dialect of Verzino shows a hierarchy within the person-EPs concerning their individual quantitative distribution: 2SG.EP > 1SG.EP > 3SG.EP.

Table 15 (next page) presents the full paradigm of EPCs. In the first column, the kinship nouns are given in dialect, followed by the English translations. The empty cells indicate the absence of an adequate EPCs. Here, the alternative structure with strong possessives (D – N – Poss) has to be realized to express the individual possessive relation, see table 14a and table 14b.

Kinship noun		NSG-1SG.EP 'my'	NSG-2SG.EP 'your'	D – NSG-3SG/PL.EP 'his/her/their'	D – NPL-3SG/PL.EP 'his/her/their'
mamma	<i>mum</i>		mammə-ta	a mammə-sa	i mammə-sə
paʃrə	<i>father</i>	paʃrə-ma	paʃrə-ta		
filjə/-a	<i>son/daughter</i>	filjə-ma	filjə-ta		
fratə	<i>brother</i>	fratə-ma	fratə-ta		
soro	<i>sister</i>	sər-ma	sər-ta		
maritə	<i>husband</i>	maritə-ma	maritə-ta		
muljəra	<i>wife</i>	muljər-ma	muljər-ta		
tsiə/-a	<i>uncle/aunt</i>	tsiə-ma	tsiə-ta	u tsiə-sə a tsiə-sa	i tsiə-sə
kudzinjə/-a	<i>cousin</i>	kudzinjə-ma	kudzinjə-ta	u kudzinə-sə a kudzinə-sa	i kudzinə-sə
nannə/-a	<i>grandfather/-mother</i>		nannə-ta	u nannə-sə a nannə-sa	i nannə-sə
nɪputə	<i>nephew/grandchild</i>	nɪputə-ma	nɪputə-ta		
kanatə/-a	<i>brother-/sister-in-law</i>	kanatə-ma	kanatə-ta		
səʃjərə/-a	<i>father/mother-in-law</i>	səkrə-ma	səkrə-ta		
kumpərə	<i>godfather</i>				
kumarə	<i>godmother</i>				
jənnərə	<i>son-in-law</i>				
nəra	<i>daughter-in-law</i>	nərə-ma	nərə-ta		

Table 15: Distribution of EPCs in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) – full paradigm

C – Generalizations

Specific generalizations for the dialect of Verzino are summarized in (G1_{VERZINO}) to (G3_{VERZINO}). In total, three generalizations can be formulated on the basis of the data presented in this section.

- (G1_{VERZINO}) EPCs occur exclusively with kinship nouns.
- (G2_{VERZINO}) Verzino has EPs for the 1SG, 2SG and 3SG/PL.
- 1SG.EP and 2SG.EP occur only with **singular** kinship nouns;
Structure: NSG-1/2SG.EP
 - 3SG/PL.EPs occur with both **singular** and **plural** kinship nouns and an **oblig. article**;
Structure: *type A* → D – NSG-3SG/PL.EPs and *type B* → D – NPL-3SG/PL.EP
- (G3_{VERZINO}) Only *type A* 3SG/PL.EPs are marked for gender and number and agree with the article

For salient properties concerning the complex structure of the 3SG/PL.EPs and the need of an obligatory article, see section 4.2.1.

2.4.2.2 Leverano (LE, Puglia)

Leverano is located between the coast of the Ionian Sea (11km) and the capital of its province Lecce (23km) and has about 14.238 inhabitants¹⁹. The geographical peninsular of the region Puglia is called Salento. Leverano belongs to the extreme Southern Italian dialects and in particular to the central salentino dialects (Pellegrini 1977).

The fieldwork took place in September 2016. The full paradigm of EPCs was elaborated with 10 speakers of the dialect. Several consultations took place with a qualified collaborator to complete the possessive system of this dialect.

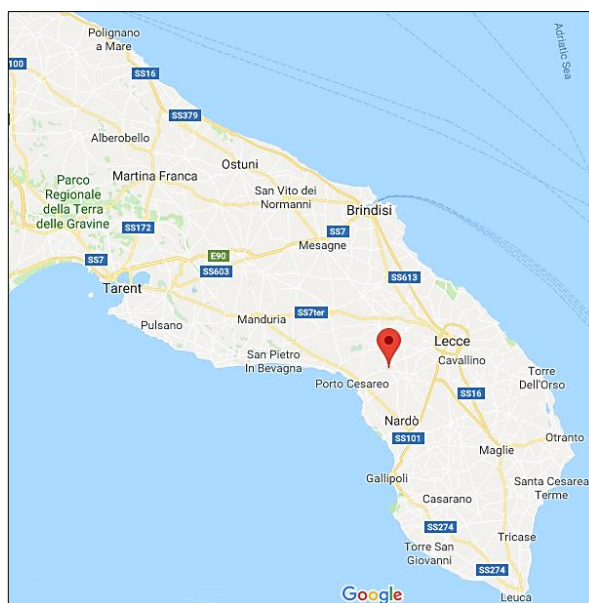


Figure 2: Leverano (LE, Puglia)

A – Strong possessives

The strong possessive system is illustrated in table 16. The form of the possessives of 1SG, 2SG, 3SG and 3PL are invariable: they do not show neither gender, nor number agreement with respect to the possessee, i.e. the (kinship) noun. The masculine possessives of 1PL and 2PL do agree in gender and number with the possessee whereas the feminine singular and plural possessives of 1PL and 2PL lack number agreement.

Person	Possessive/Possessor			
	M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL
1SG	mia	mia	mia	mia
2SG	tua	tua	tua	tua
3SG	sua	sua	sua	sua
1PL	nuefu	noʃa	nuefi	noʃa
2PL	uefu	oʃa	uefi	oʃa
3PL	loru	loru	loru	loru

Table 16: Strong possessives in the dialect of Leverano (LE, Puglia) – full paradigm

In the dialect of Leverano, as in the majority of the SIDs, the unmarked word order with strong possessives with all noun classes is D – N – Poss (49).

¹⁹ <http://www.comune.leverano.le.it/dovesiamo.html>, accessed on december 28, 2017.

- (49) **D – N – Poss**
- a. *lu nonnu mia*
 the.M.SG grandfather(M).SG my[.M.SG]
 ‘my grandfather’
- b. *la casa mia*
 the.F.SG house(F).SG my[.F.SG]
 ‘my house’

Table 11 and table 12, concerning the (un)grammatical word order within the dialect of Verzino, also account for the dialect of Leverano (see section 2.4.2.1).

B – Enclitic possessives

The dialect of Leverano has EPs for 1SG (*–ma*), 2SG (*–ta*) and 3SG (*–sa*), see table 17. The EPs are only compatible with singular kinship nouns. The 2SG.EP *–da* is a common phonological modification and is realized when the stem ends with *–r*, as in the cases of *sir-* ‘father’ and *sor-* ‘sister’.²⁰ This dialect belongs to the *no D*-group, meaning that with all possessor-persons the structure N-EP is realized.

EP	1SG ‘my’	2SG ‘your’	3SG ‘his/her’
Structure	N-EP	N-EP	N-EP
NSG	<i>–ma</i> (m./f.)	<i>–ta/–da</i> (m./f.)	<i>–sa</i> (m./f.)
NPL	/	/	/

Table 17: Enclitic possessives in the dialect of Leverano

The unmarked structure with postnominal strong possessives (D – N – Poss) is used whenever EPCs are not possible due to plural kinship nouns or possessors of 1PL, 2PL or 3PL, see table 18a and table 18b.

		Possessor		
		1SG.EP/POSS	2SG.EP/POSS	3SG.EP/POSS
Possessum	NSG	<i>tsiu-ma</i> uncle(M).SG-my.[M.]SG ‘my uncle’	<i>tsiu-ta</i> uncle(M).SG-your.[M.]SG ‘your uncle’	<i>tsiu-sa</i> uncle(M).SG-his/her.[M.]SG ‘his/her uncle’
	NPL	<i>li tsii mia</i> the.M.PL uncle(M).PL my.[M.]PL ‘my uncles’	<i>li tsii tua</i> the.M.PL uncle(M).PL your.[M.]PL ‘your uncles’	<i>li tsii sua</i> the.M.PL uncle(M).PL his/her.[M.]PL ‘his/her uncles’

Table 18a: EPC-system in the dialect of Leverano (possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular)

²⁰ The same phenomenon is found among others in Montefortino (FM, Marche, AIS 577), Sant’ Elpidio a Mare (FM, Marche, AIS 559), Esanatoglia (MC, Marche, AIS 557) and Ceglie Messapica (BR, Puglia).

		Possessor		
		1PL.POSS	2PL.POSS	3PL.POSS
Possessum	NSG	<i>lu tsiu nuefu</i> the.M.SG uncle(M).SG our.M.SG 'our uncle'	<i>lu tsiu uefu</i> the.M.SG uncle(M).SG your.M.SG 'your uncle'	<i>lu tsiu loru</i> the.M.SG uncle(M).SG their[.M.SG] 'their uncle'
	NPL	<i>li tsii nuefi</i> the.M.PL uncle(M).PL our.M.PL 'our uncles'	<i>li tsii uefi</i> the.M.PL uncle(M).PL your.M.PL 'your uncles'	<i>li tsii loru</i> the.M.PL uncle(M).PL their[.M.PL] 'their uncles'

Table 18b: EPC-system in the dialect of Leverano (possessives of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural)

In contrast to the dialect of Verzino where most stems end in schwa, here, the pairs *figlio/-a* 'son/daughter', *zio/-a* 'uncle/aunt', *cugino/-a* 'cousin (m./f.)', *nonno/-a* 'grandfather/-mother', *cognato/-a* 'brother-/sister-in-law', *suocero/-a* 'father-/mother-in-law' are still marked for gender when they occur in EPCs. The suffixes are *-u* for masculine and *-a* for feminine kinship nouns. EPCs are very productive in the dialect of Leverano, every EP is compatible with every kinship noun. As already mentioned, there are two phonological exceptions within the paradigm where *-ta* changes to *-da* due to the final *-r* in 'father' and 'sister'. The full paradigm of EPCs is illustrated in table 19.

Kinship noun	NSG-1SG.EP 'my'	NSG-2SG.EP 'your'	NSG-3SG.EP 'his/her'
<i>mum</i>	mama	mama-ta	mama-sa
<i>father</i>	sir-ma	sir- da	sir-sa
<i>son</i>	fiju-ma	fiju-ta	fiju-sa
<i>daughter</i>	fija-ma	fija-ta	fija-sa
<i>brother</i>	fra-ma	fra-ta	fra-sa
<i>sister</i>	sor-ma	sor- da	sor-sa
<i>husband</i>	maritu-ma	maritu-ta	maritu-sa
<i>wife</i>	mujeri-ma	mujeri-ta	mujeri-sa
<i>uncle</i>	tsiu-ma	tsiu-ta	tsiu-sa
<i>aunt</i>	tsia-ma	tsia-ta	tsia-sa
<i>cousin (m.)</i>	kufinu-ma	kufinu-ta	kufinu-sa
<i>cousin (f.)</i>	kufina-ma	kufina-ta	kufina-sa
<i>grandfather</i>	nonnu-ma	nonnu-ta	nonnu-sa
<i>grandmother</i>	nonna-ma	nonna-ta	nonna-sa
<i>nephew/grandchild</i>	niputi-ma	niputi-ta	niputi-sa
<i>brother-in-law</i>	kagnatu-ma	kagnatu-ta	kagnatu-sa
<i>sister-in-law</i>	kagnata-ma	kagnata-ta	kagnata-sa
<i>father-in-law</i>	suekru-ma	suekru-ta	suekru-sa
<i>mother-in-law</i>	sokra-ma	sokra-ta	sokra-sa
<i>godfather</i>	kumpari-ma	kumpari-ta	kumpari-sa
<i>godmother</i>	kumari-ma	kumari-ta	kumari-sa
<i>son-in-law</i>	fennu-ma	fennu-ta	fennu-sa
<i>daughter-in-law</i>	nora-ma	nora-ta	nora-sa

Table 19: Distribution of EPCs in the dialect of Leverano (LE, Puglia) – full paradigm

C – Generalizations

Three generalizations that can be derived from the data presented in this section. In general, the EP-system of the dialect of Leverano is very homogeneous and productive: there are no gaps within the paradigm and all EPs behave alike.

- (G1_{LEVERANO}) EPCs occur exclusively with **singular** kinship nouns.
- (G2_{LEVERANO}) Every EP is compatible with every **singular** kinship noun.
- (G3_{LEVERANO}) Leverano has EPs for the 1SG, 2SG and 3SG.
Structure: NSG-1/2/3SG.EP

2.5 Summary

The data presented in this chapter, organized and described in a detailed way, revealed a lot of (micro-)variation within this specific phenomenon of EPCs among SIDs. The quantitative and structural distribution of EPCs in section 2.1 and 2.2, as well as the comparison of the two dialects in section 2.4.2, revealed that the class of kinship nouns does not behave uniformly within and among the SIDs. As already mentioned in chapter 1, the dialects differ with respect to (i) the set of kinship nouns that are compatible with an EP (within a specific dialect), and (ii) the person-EP that is compatible with a specific kinship noun (within a specific dialect); a characteristic of this phenomenon that I derived from the empirical work. The research questions presented in section 1.1, that are based on these findings, are repeated below.

- How can the class of kinship nouns be categorized to account for the variation found among the SIDs?
- Kinship nouns are inherently relational and express inalienability. How can this property be captured in the syntax?

A crucial point for the present work is the presence or absence of an obligatory article (section 2.3.5 and section 2.4.2). It can appear with singular kinship noun-EPCs (only with 3.SG/PL.EPs) as well as with plural kinship noun-EPCs (not restricted to a specific person-EP). I investigate both aspects in section 4.2 where I propose a syntactic analysis for singular kinship noun-EPCs and discuss the difficulties to account for plural kinship noun-EPCs. The research question related to the presence or absence of the article with singular kinship noun-EPCs is the following:

- What is the reason for the article-based person split (1st and 2nd vs. 3rd) in singular kinship noun EPCs? And further, how are both structures, with and without an article, represented in the syntax, i.e. in DP and PossP?

Moreover, in section 2.1.3 I showed on the basis of a subset of data (‘my brother’ vs. ‘my brothers’) two aspects regarding plural kinship nouns: (i) dialects display various structures to realize plural kinship noun-EPCs and (ii) plural kinship nouns block the possibility of EPCs and the unmarked structure with strong possessives is realized instead (in general, D – N – Poss). Related to this, I discuss the role of NumP in section 4.3.1. The research question is the following:

- How can the syntactic analysis of EPCs capture the dichotomy regarding plural kinship nouns and further, what is the role of NumP in the EPC-structure?

The compound or compound like status of certain kinship nouns, i.e. ‘grandfather/-mother’ and ‘cousin (m./f.)’, made me investigate the Hebrew Construct State that proved to be an important piece of evidence for the syntactic analysis of EPCs. The research questions, listed below, are discussed in section 4.2.2 and section 4.3.2.

- What do the similarities (and differences) between the Hebrew CS and EPCs tell us about the syntax of EPCs?
- What is the syntactic representation of EPCs?

The goal of the present work is twofold. As mentioned above, the goal of the syntactic part is to propose a syntactic analysis for EPCs that captures the plurality of kinship nouns as a possible EPC-blocker and the presence or absence of an obligatory article. The goal of the empirical part is to contribute new (and for four dialects full sets of) data and a detailed and organized overview of (micro-)variational observations from different sources, i.e. AIS, ASI_t and Manzini & Savoia (2005). These findings revealed not only syntactic, but also phonological, morphological and semantic aspects of the phenomenon that are beyond the scope of the present work, but presented and summarized within this work to enable further research.

3. State of the art

There are many papers discussing a wide range of the world's languages in terms of possession and possessive structures (e.g. Aikhenvald 2012, Nichols 1988, *WALS*²¹). Within different linguistic areas, some focus on a specific (inalienable) possessive construction (e.g. Baerman 2014, D'Alessandro & Di Sciullo 2009, Lødrup 2009) and some on the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession (e.g. Alexiadou 2003, den Dikken 2006, 2015, Chandra & Kumar 2012). Moreover, also kinship nouns gained a lot of attention among different linguistic areas due to their specific behavior within different languages (e.g. Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001, Delsing 2013, Evans 2006, Hölker 1998, Malinowski 1930).

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 3.1 introduces some basic concepts and definitions concerning kinship nouns with respect to anthropology, semantics, typology and syntax. With respect to anthropology, in section 3.1.1, I address the notion of the *nuclear family*. In section 3.1.2 I present the semantic definitions concerning kinship nouns and how their semantics is captured by features in syntax, discussing Penello's (2002) proposal (see section 3.1.4). In section 3.1.3 I introduce the parental prototype by Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) who aim to account for the (structural) variation kinship nouns display with respect to a specific construction (like it is the case with EPCs). Section 3.2 introduces main approaches to syntax-based theories of (in)alienable possession. These are the possessor-raising hypothesis (e.g. Szabolcsi 1983, Landau 1999, Lee-Schoenfeld 2006) and the small clause hypothesis (e.g. Weiß 2008, Alexiadou 2003, Moro 1995). Section 3.3 is an overview of previous proposals for EPCs (e.g. Sotiri 2007, Silvestri 2013, Idone 2015). In the last section 3.4 I refer to the main approaches for the present work including the N to D-raising hypothesis by Longobardi (1994, 1996) and the small clause hypothesis by D'Alessandro & Migliori (2017) and den Dikken (2006, 2015).

3.1 Introduction to kinship nouns

Kinship nouns are intrinsically relational in that the relation “involve[s] two participants, one defined with respect to the other” (Aikhenvald 2013:8). According to Aikhenvald (2013:3), kinship nouns occur in possessive noun phrases and the notion possession is

²¹ *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, <https://wals.info/>.

tripartite in the central meanings of (a) ownership, (b) part-whole relations (including body parts and plant parts) and (c) kinship relation. Hence, kinship nouns display a subarea of possession. Examples for all three areas are given in (50-52). Languages like English in (50) use the same set of constructions to express all three types of possession²²: (i) an 's attached to a proper name, (ii) an *of*-construction and (iii) prenominal strong possessives. Standard Italian as well as the dialects under consideration in (51-52) express kinship relations syntactically differently than ownership and part-whole relations. Standard Italian omits the article only with singular kinship nouns (except with the 3PL.POSS *loro* 'their'), see (51c). In general, SIDs express kinship relations through EPCs and most dialects use the unmarked structure D – N – Poss as an alternative whenever an EPCs is not allowed (e.g. plural or incompatibility of a kinship noun with a person-EP). Both Standard Italian and the majority of SIDs can express all types of possession through *di*-constructions (for a more detailed discussion, see D'Alessandro & Migliori 2017 in section 3.4.2) The genitive 's or comparable structures do not exist in Standard Italian and Italian dialects.

- (50) English:
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>John's car;</i> | <i>The car of John;</i> | <i>His car</i> | (ownership) |
| b. | <i>John's hand;</i> | <i>The hand of John;</i> | <i>His hand</i> | (part-whole) |
| c. | <i>John's mother;</i> | <i>The mother of John;</i> | <i>His mother</i> | (kinship) |
- (51) Standard Italian:
- | | | | | |
|----|-----|--|---|--------------|
| a. | – ; | <i>La macchina di Gianni;</i>
'The car of G.' | <i>La sua macchina</i>
'The his/her car' | (ownership) |
| b. | – ; | <i>La mano di Gianni;</i>
'The hand of G.' | <i>La sua mano</i>
'The his/her hand' | (part-whole) |
| c. | – ; | <i>La madre di Gianni;</i>
'The mother of G.' | <i>Sua madre</i>
'His/her mother' | (kinship) |
- (52) Dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria):
- | | | | | |
|----|-----|--|---|--------------|
| a. | – ; | <i>A makina i Gianni;</i>
'The car of G.' | <i>A makina sua</i>
'The car his/her' | (ownership) |
| b. | – ; | <i>A mano i Gianni;</i>
'The hand of G.' | <i>A mano sua</i>
'The hand his/her' | (part-whole) |
| c. | – ; | <i>A mamma i Gianni;</i>
'The mother of G.' | <i>A mamma sua</i> or <i>a mammə-sa</i>
'His/her mum or the mum-his/her/their' ²³ | (kinship) |

Kinship nouns are known to have a special syntax among various languages of the world and the variation among languages concerns the type(s) of possession that is (or are)

²² Note that not every expression is equally accepted. Both examples *The car of John* and *The hand of John* are dispreferred over the more natural expressions *John's/His car/hand*.

²³ For a detailed analysis of the EPC-system in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria), see section 2.4.2.1.

nouns and/or body part nouns. The aim of this section is to give an overview of kinship nouns from different perspectives.

3.1.1 Kinship nouns in anthropology

Kinship was one of the key areas of research interest among anthropologists in the nineteenth century, one of the most hotly debated areas of theory in the early and mid-twentieth century, and yet an area of waning interest by the end of the twentieth century. Schenk & Mattison (2011:1)

According to Schenk & Mattison (2011:3), among the anthropologists of the early stages who argued for a unilineal evolution²⁴, Morgan's work was influential and outstanding since he was the first to include empirical data from various cultures in his research collected by missionaries and colonial administrators. Morgan (1907 [1877]) discussed the link between the progress of a society and the progress of technology, and established the division into three common stages that every culture has to pass through, i.e. *savagery*, *barbarism* and *civilisation*. According to this unilineal view, the Western culture was considered to be at the peak of evolution, whereas Indigenous cultures were considered to still be in an earlier stage and would pass through the next at some point. In Morgan (1870), the unilineal evolutionist perspective was based on a huge cross-cultural description of various kinship systems. Back in the nineteenth century, this concept that the evolution of a culture was based on a universal order from 'primitive' to 'civilized' had been the predominant view, but was rejected in the early twentieth century (e.g. Boas 1920, 1932, 1940 who argued that a society can only be understood through its individual cultural and historical context). Although unilineal evolutionism is outdated nowadays, it has been of major importance for anthropology (Schenk and Mattison 2011:3):

[...] the unilineal evolutionists together [e.g. Bachofen 1897 [1861], McLennan 1865, Morgan 1870, 1907 [1877], Tylor 1871] set the stage for future anthropological studies of kinship, addressing, among other topics, universalism, hierarchical and internal structure, terminology, symbolism, genealogy, and inequality, and helping to move anthropology from the armchair to the field.

Kinship and kinship nouns were not only of interest for anthropological linguists, but also for semanticists. The approaches to this topic mainly split up into a universalist (the nuclear family is a universal notion based on biological constraints) and a relativist

²⁴ A theory arguing that the evolution of societies and cultures is based on the same track, i.e. every society and culture passes through the same stages of evolution.

perspective (against the nuclear family and in favour of social structures, see Foley 1997:131). Foley's introduction into kinship in anthropology focuses on the universalist perspective, what is called the structural-functionalist perspective by Schenk & Mattison (2011:4). In this view, the nuclear family is considered to be a universal notion in every kinship and social system (e.g. Malinowski 1930, Murdock 1949, Radcliffe-Brown 1941). Within this view, one debate concerns the universality of the parents in kinship systems. Wierzbicka (1992), whose focus lies on semantics and cross-cultural linguistics, argues that for biological reasons *mother* and *father* are universal notions, whereas others contradict this by saying that only *mother* is universal and innate and *father* is probably a social concept that developed over time (see Murdock 1949, Sahlins 1977). The nuclear family then is only defined by the relation *mother-child* (e.g. Foley 1997, Goodenough 1970, Malinowski 1930). The relativist's perspective is the critique on biological constraints, and focuses rather on social structures where in consequence, the nuclear family loses its importance within the kinship system (e.g. Needham 1971). Finally, a last important period in anthropological research was introduced by Schneider (1968, 1984), whose influential critique on biologically and genealogically based kinship studies put an end to the former studies on the one hand, and inspired modern studies to include concepts such as divorce, homosexuality and reproductive technologies on the other (Schenk & Mattison 2011:4, 10).

The nuclear family and how to define it (*mother-father* or *mother-child*) gained a lot of attention in the nineteenth till the mid-twentieth century. Interestingly, EPCs are a piece of evidence that kinship nouns belonging to the nuclear family improve the possibility of realizing EPCs (for a detailed discussion, see section 4.1). Moreover, also the typological account by Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) assign a major importance to the parents being the kinship nouns that are the most likely to be singled out by syntax in various languages (see section 3.1.3).

3.1.2 Kinship nouns in semantics

In contrast to the previous section, where I sketched how the notion of a nuclear family evolved and has been discussed over time, in what follows I summarize the semantic definitions concerning kinship nouns that are relevant for the present work.

Kinship nouns are two-place predicate terms involving a referential argument (usually expressed through a possessive construction) and an additional argument called *propositus* that denotes the relative of the referential argument (Löbner 2002:106). In

example (54), the referential argument of *sister* is *your sister*, i.e. the addressee's sister, and the referential argument of *brother* is *John's brother*, with a linking 's. The *propositus* for *your sister* is then the addressee expressed through the possessive *your* and for *John's brother* it is the proper name *John* referring to an individual both the speaker and the addressee know.

(54) *Your sister knows John's brother.*

(adopted from Löbner 2002: 107)

Hence, kinship nouns always denote an inalienable relation between two individuals. This aspect is also captured by the following definition. In semantics, the relation denoted by kinship noun pairs like *brother/sister* or *uncle/nephew* is called converseness, i.e. two lexical items refer to the same relationship from two different points of view such that one kinship noun presupposes the existence of the other kinship noun or converse term, respectively (see Crystal 2008:114). What distinguishes kinship nouns from all other noun classes, especially from other noun classes denoting inalienable relations such as body part nouns is what Barker & Dowty (1993:8) identify as lexicalized inverses, e.g. *parent/child* or *husband/wife*: "As far as we know, kinship nouns are the only class of ultra-nominals which have lexicalized inverses. All other (ultra-nominal) relational nouns seem to [...] fail to have lexicalized inverses". The converse term of *grandfather* is *grandchild*, i.e. *grandchild* is the lexicalized inverse of *grandfather*.

Therefore, kinship nouns are relational in that the relation they denote always includes two individuals (they always presuppose the existence of the converse term or lexicalized inverse). This innate relation between two individuals is what clearly distinguishes kinship nouns from other noun classes.

3.1.3 Kinship nouns in typology

The concept of the parental prototype by Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001), presented in the following, is like the nuclear family of special interest for a classification of kinship nouns and my own proposal (see section 4.1). By Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm's (2001) definition, the possessor is the anchor that can be explicit like in *my mother* or implicit like in *mum*. In anthropology, it is common to use the notion ego for anchor which Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm adopt in their terminology. The possessee is called the referent. They distinguish between proper kin terms that are exclusively used to describe kinship relations and improper kin terms that do not describe a kinship relation but can be used

as such, like *boy* or *girl*. Moreover, they distinguish five ways (or contexts) of usage of kinship nouns. Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001:202) state that “the identity of the anchor” is important for the classification. The “taxonomy of uses” is listed below (see Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001:202f).

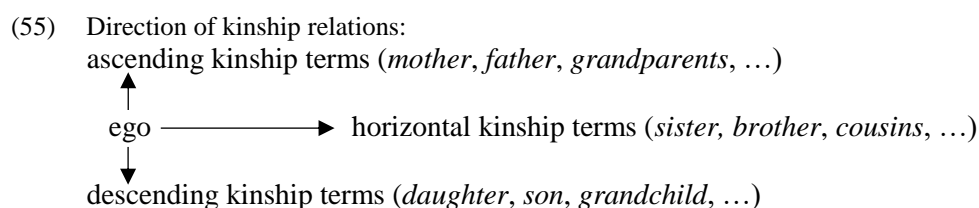
- (i) an **egocentric use** is given when the anchor/possessor includes one or more speech act participants (e.g. *my sister to me: “Are mom and dad coming?”*)
- (ii) a **non-egocentric use** is given when the anchor/possessor is not identical to the speaker of the utterance; i.e. the speaker refers to a different anchor/possessor (e.g. *husband to wife: “Are grandma and grandpa coming?”*; *referring to his children’s grandparents*)
- (iii) an **in-family use** is given when the speech act participants and the anchor/possessor belong to the same family
- (iv) an **out-of family use** is given when the speech act participants and the anchor/possessor do not belong to the same family
- (v) a **proper name like use** is given when the kinship noun used has a unique referent in the context (e.g. *mother, father*)

In addition, they list three functions a kinship noun can take in an utterance (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001:203):

- (vi) **vocative use** (*Where are you, Daddy?*)
- (vii) **referential use** (*Where is Daddy?*)
- (viii) **predicative use** (*He is my Daddy.*)

The proper name like use as well as a further classification of kinship relations are the most relevant aspect for the parental prototype, presented in the following.

Most important for the present work is their distinction in terms of the direction of the relation, where the starting point is always the possessor, i.e. the ego in the terminology Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) adopt. The kinship nouns that describe a relation from the previous generation are the ascending kinship terms, the kinship nouns from the same generation are the horizontal kinship terms and the kinship nouns from the following generation are the descending kinship terms, cf. (55).



Based on the direction of classification, see (55), and the proper name like use of the parental kinship nouns *mother* and *father*, see function (v), they propose the parental prototype to account for the variation found within certain phenomena. Evidence comes from the fact that a certain construction within a language is often restricted to a subset of the class of kinship nouns (for a detailed discussion, see Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001, I also refer to Aikhenvald 2013). According to Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001:213), the class of kinship nouns display “a universal partial ordering [...] (‘hierarchy’ being too strong), based on [their] closeness to [...]” parental kinship nouns, i.e. *mother* and *father*. In a previous (unpublished) version of their paper²⁵ the authors gave a more precise definition of their concept of a parental prototype and a partial ordering within the class of kinship nouns: A kinship noun is more likely to be singled out for special morphosyntactic treatment if it denotes an ascending relation (*father* rather than *son*), if it refers to a unique referent within the family (*father* rather than *uncle*) and if the distance is no more than one generation (*father* rather than *grandfather*). In addition, they point out that ascending generations have always priority over descending generations, e.g. *grandfather* is more likely to be singled out or to occur in a proper name like use than *son*.

3.1.4 Kinship nouns in syntax

Penello (2002) investigates possessive constructions with kinship nouns in Old Italian and Old Venetian and compares the diachronic data to some present-day dialects. She tries, from a syntactic point of view, to account for what Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) define as the concept of the parental prototype (see previous section). In order to do so, she claims that kinship nouns have a feature [kin] that has to be ‘filled’²⁶ in order to determine the referential meaning of the kinship noun (“[...] questo argomento debba essere obbligatoriamente riempito affinché si determini la referenza del nome di parentela”, Penello 2002:328). What improves the ‘filling’ of the [kin] feature is their belonging to a certain kinship type, see (56). Related to the variation within the class, and important for the EPCs, is her subcategorization of the kinship types based on the underlying relation they express. Penello (2002:343) proposes the following implicational hierarchy in (56):

²⁵ The paper is not available anymore online.

²⁶ Penello (2002) uses this terminology (it. *riempire* ‘to fill’), I adopt her terminology.

(56) Implicational kinship type hierarchy:

blood (*mother, father, ...*) > **affinal** (*husband, ...*) > **religious** (*godfather, ...*) > **friendly** (*friend, ...*)

The core group of family members like ‘mother’ and ‘father’ fall within the blood relations. Affinal relations like *wife* and *husband* are the in-law-relations as a result of marriage. The kinship nouns *aunt* and *uncle* can also be part of the affinal relations as well as of the blood relations, as they (one’s *aunt* and *uncle*) can be the sister or the brother of one’s parents. Note here, that Italian and its varieties do not differentiate (morphosyntactically) between these two possible relations. Religious relations are defined by *godparents* and friendly relations are not part of the family but nonetheless describe a relation between two individuals (see 57 as an overview). The fact that in older stages of the language nouns like *sir* and *dear* could also appear in EPCs is, for Penello (2002), an argument in favor of an underlying [kin] feature that is not restricted to kinship nouns but can be present on relational nouns as well.

(57) **blood relations:**

mother, father, sister, brother, child, grandmother, grandfather, grandson, aunt, uncle, cousin, nephew

affinal relations:

aunt, uncle, cousin, nephew, in-law-relations, wife, husband

religious relations:

godparents

friendly relations:

friend, girl-/boyfriend, colleague

Her analysis aims at answering the question why only the class of (singular) kinship nouns displays a peculiar behavior with respect to their (non-)occurrence with an article when a possessive is present (Standard Italian still displays it, e.g. *mio zio* ‘my uncle’ vs. *il mio libro* ‘the my book’). She assumes firstly that kinship nouns share properties with both proper names (e.g. definiteness and reference, see also Longobardi 1996) and common nouns (e.g. plural and indefinite articles). The more factors kinship nouns share with a class, the more they semantically belong to them. This depends on the context a kinship noun is used in, as well as on each kinship noun itself, as there is a lot of variation concerning the treatment of an individual kinship noun within a specific language or dialect (see chapter 2). This goes along with the parental prototype based among others on the proper name like use of kinship nouns (see previous section). Secondly, Penello (2002:344f) argues that the possessive is the syntactic realization of the feature [kin] and further, that the genitive case on the kinship noun becomes visible through the possessive. In consequence, the article disappears. Moreover, she describes the structure POSS – N_{KIN}

(e.g. *mio zio* ‘my uncle’) as prototypically proper name like, meaning that the structure is the same as with proper names (e.g. *mio Gianni* ‘my Gianni’). Due to the lack of article, she concludes that kinship nouns are similar to proper names. But whenever kinship nouns are morphologically modified through a plural or a diminutive, then they become more similar to the prototypical common nouns and the article gets obligatory, see (58-59). This (un)modified status has consequences on the [kin] feature of a kinship noun being ‘filled’ (i.e. proper name like status) or less ‘filled’ (i.e. common noun like status). She notes further that this analysis is not valid for every dialect as there is a lot of structural variation going on.

(58) prototypically proper name like:

mio zio
my.M.SG uncle(M).SG
‘my uncle’

mio Gianni
my.M.SG Gianni(M).SG
‘my G.’

(59) prototypically common noun like:

il mio zietto
the.M.SG my.M.SG uncle(M).DIM.SG
‘my little uncle’

il mio libro
the.M.SG my.M.SG book(M).SG
‘my book’

Thirdly, following Giusti (2001), who states that the article lost its semantic properties and its behavior is hence syntactically driven, Penello (2002:344) describes the presence or absence of the definite article with POSS – N_{KIN} word orders as a superficial morphological phenomenon to explain its (non-)occurrence with these structures. This means that the article has no semantic or lexical content. Consider the following fieldwork data, as both structures are definite and identical in their semantic meaning, with the only exception that in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) the EP substitutes both the 3SG and the 3PL:

(60) a. *a mammə-sa* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
the.F.SG mom(F).[SG]-his/her/their.F.SG
‘his/her/their mom’

b. *mamma-sa* (Leverano, LE, Puglia)
mom(F).SG-his/her.[F.]SG
‘his/her mom’

The assumption of a [kin] feature that is ‘filled’ or not seems too vague to account for the variation concerning (enclitic) possessive constructions with kinship nouns among the dialects. With respect to the present work, Penello’s (2002) proposal does not account for the data presented above.

3.2 Main approaches to syntax-based theories of (in)alienable possession

In the literature, there are two main approaches proposed for possessive constructions denoting an (in)alienable possession. In the following, I will present both the possessor-raising hypothesis (e.g. Szabolcsi 1983, Landau 1999) and the small clause hypothesis (e.g. Weiß 2008, Alexiadou 2003, Moro 1995). This section aims at sketching some salient syntax-based theories of (in)alienable possession, although not all works are included in the analysis of the present work (see section 3.4).

As Lødrup (2009) points out, the possessor-raising hypothesis has actually been developed to account for transitive verbs where the possessor is raised out from its base position within the DP containing the possessee, e.g. a body part noun as illustrated in (61). Hence, the possessor is the direct object of the verb and the possessee the object of a locative preposition.

(61) She kissed him on the cheek. (Lødrup 2009:421)

Moreover, he states that in the literature the notion of possessor-raising is used in a confusing way, accounting for two different phenomena: (i) possessor-raising with transitive verbs as in (61) and (ii) dative external possessor constructions as in (62), taken from Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992).

(62) *Le médecin leur a examiné la gorge.* (Vergnaud and Zubizarreta 1992:597)
the doctor them.DAT has examined the throat
‘The doctor examined their throats.’

In (62), the crucial difference to possessor-raising in (61) is that here, the possessee is the direct object and the possessor, marked for dative, is not selected as an argument by the verb (see Lødrup 2009 for a further discussion of possessor-raising with transitive and unergative verbs in Norwegian). In the following, I use the notion possessor-raising in a broader sense than denoted by Lødrup (who does so in his own paper, too). Two salient works arguing for a possessor-raising analysis are Szabolcsi (1983) for Hungarian and

Landau (1999) for Hebrew. Both their analyses are case driven and do not discuss specific inalienable possessive constructions in Hungarian and Hebrew.

Szabolsci (1983) states that Hungarian has two possessive structures that differ as to the case marking of the possessor. In one context, the possessive DP is marked nominative and in the other context, it is marked dative. The nominative possessor always occurs to the right of the article *a(z)* ‘the’ and the dative possessor always to its left, cf. (63).

- (63) a. *az én-Ø vendég-e-m* (Szabolsci 1983:89, 91)
 the I-NOM guest-POSS-1SG
 ‘my guest’
- b. *én-nek-em a vendég-e-m*
 I-DAT-1SG the guest-POSS-1SG
 ‘my guest’

Szabolsci (1983:91) argues that the nominative and the dative case marker correspond structurally to different positions since there would be no explanation for the behavior of the article in both possessive structures. Support for this comes from *wh*-movement, since in Hungarian, a *wh*-element must be marked for dative: only (64b) is grammatical, whereas (64a) is not.

- (64) a.* *(a) ki-Ø vendég-e-Ø* (Szabolsci 1983: 91f)
 the who-NOM guest-POSS-3SG
 ‘whose guest’
- b. *ki-nek a vendég-e-Ø*
 who-DAT the guest-POSS-3SG
 ‘whose guest’

The fact that in Hungarian *wh*-elements must be marked for dative and that the possessor to the left of the article must also be marked for dative, gives rise to the analysis of Szabolsci (1983) that DP and CP have analogous structures. She argues that parallel to the Comp position in CP that hosts *wh*-elements, is the inferior operator position *Komp* in DP which acts as an escape hatch for dative possessors that occupy a peripheral position within the maximal projection.

Landau (1999) also argues for a possessor raising analysis, mainly discussing Hebrew, but also some Romance possessive dative constructions (PDC) where the possessor dative (PD) possesses the DP, i.e. the possessee. In Hebrew, there are three types of PDCs where the PD possesses DP₂, see (65). In his paper, Landau’s (1999) focus lies on transitive PDCs and full DPs.

- (65) a. DP₁ V PD DP₂ (transitive) (Landau 1999:4)
Gil šavar le-Rina et ha-miškafayim.
 Gil broke to-Rina ACC the-glasses
 ‘Gil broke Rina’s glasses on her’
- b. DP₁ V PD t₂ (passive/unaccusative)
ha-sefer avad le-Gil
 the-book got-lost to-Gil
 ‘Gil’s book got lost’
- c. DP₁ V PD [_{pp} P DP₂] (unergative)
Gil gar le-Rina ba-xacer.
 Gil lives to-Rina in-the-yard
 ‘Gil lives in Rina’s yard’

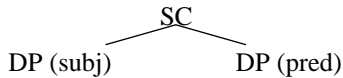
According to Landau (1999:2), the debate on PDs focuses on the question whether they are an argument of the verb or of the possessee. The reason behind this is that the possessor receives its semantic role from the possessee, whereas its syntactic behavior is determined by the verb. By arguing for a possessor raising analysis, he claims that the PD is a semantic argument of the possessee, i.e. of full DPs like in (65), and only because of the need to move, the PD seems to be a syntactic argument of the verb since its landing site is in fact Spec-VP, the only position where dative case can be checked in Hebrew. Hence, he argues for a case-driven movement analysis, where the PD must move out from a caseless Spec position within the possessed DP₂ (where it is generated) to check the dative case in Spec-VP. Since the PD forms a chain with its trace in Spec-DP₂, this chain may bear only one theta role, i.e. possessor/creator, the one that the PD gets assigned within DP₂ (see Landau 1999:11).

Further works which argue in favor of a possessor-raising hypothesis include, among others, Lee-Schoenfeld (2006), who discusses German PDCs as an instance of external possession and argues, contrary to Landau (1999), that both roles of the PD must be encoded in syntax. Keach & Rochemont (1994) propose a similar analysis for Swahili as Landau (1999); in his dissertation, Kuo (2009) provides a minimalist analysis of possessor raising in Japanese and Korean inalienable possessive constructions; Munro (1984) and Ravinski (2007) investigate indigenous languages of North America, namely Western Muskogean and Nuu-chah-nulth; and Rodrigues (2010) proposes a possessor-raising analysis for external possessive constructions through thematic positions in Brazilian Portuguese.

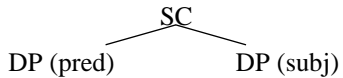
The small clause hypothesis is another standard analysis to analyze possessive constructions across the world’s languages. Williams (1975) introduced the term small clause, originally to refer to sentences like *The man [_{sc} driving the bus] is Norton’s best*

friend (ibid, p. 249), and through Williams (1980), he contributes a salient work to the syntax of predication. In general, small clauses denote tenseless subject-predicate constructions where the predicate can be a noun, an adjective or a phrase headed by a preposition (for a more detailed introduction concerning the origins and the state of the art of small clauses, see Carreira, Foltran & Knöpfle 2017).

Moro (1995:112) discusses small clauses with predicative nominals and states “that the direction of the predicative link is fixed within the small clause”. The structure in (66) is considered to be the canonical one, where the predicate follows the subject. An example is given in (66b) where *to be* is optional and indicates the possibility discussed by Moro to extract the subject out of the small clause with copula constructions.

- (66) a.  (Moro 1995:112)
- b. I consider [[_{DP} John]_t to be [_{SC} *t* [_{DP} the cause of the riot]]]

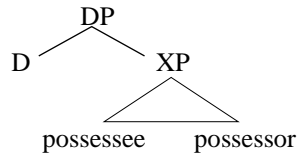
In (67a), the inverse small clause structure is given. Here, the predicate is followed by the subject. In contrast to (66b), in English (67b) is only possible with a copula selecting a nominal small clause. Moro (1995:121) refers to these constructions as inverse copula sentences, an item adopted by D’Alessandro & Migliori (2017) for their analysis of Italian possessive constructions (see section 3.4.2). Consider the structures given in (68), where in canonical copula sentences, the subject, and in inversed ones the predicate, move out of the small clause structure up to Spec-IP (see Moro 1995 for a further discussion of the Italian data *Gianni e Maria sono la causa della rivolta* ‘Gianni and Maria are the cause of the riot’).

- (67) a.  (Moro 1995:112)
- b. I consider [[_{DP} the cause of the riot]_t to be [_{SC} [_{DP} John] *t*]]
- (68) a. DP_{SUBJ} be ... [*t* DP_{PRED}]
 b. DP_{PRED} be ... [DP_{SUBJ} *t*]

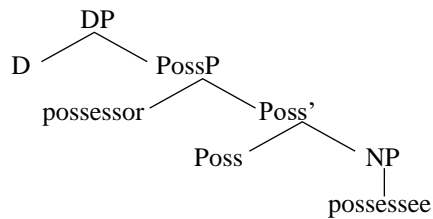
Alexiadou (2003) argues in favor of distinct structures, too, discussing mainly Greek inalienable and alienable possessive constructions, where the inalienable ones are instantiated by body part nouns. Her main claim is that inalienable possession is structurally represented by complex predicate formation (69a), as Vergnaud &

Zubizarreta (1992) argue for French, whereas possessors of alienable possessive constructions are external arguments of the possessee (69b).

(69) a. Inalienable (Alexiadou 2003:10)



b. Alienable



In (69a), the possessor is the complement of the possessee or “[a]lternatively, one could suggest that the possessor is a complement of a light head which encodes the semantics of ‘part-whole’ relation[s]” (Alexiadou 2003:10). In (69b), she assumes that alienable possessives are situated in PossP behaving syntactically independently, i.e. as external arguments to the NP containing the possessee.

Weiß (2008) argues for a similar analysis of possessive structures in colloquial and dialectal German. More precisely, Weiß (2008:379) investigates possessive constructions that show “a kind of double marking on the morphological level: the combination of a DP-internal possessor(-DP) with a possessive pronoun”; consider the dialectal example in (70).

(70) *am Sepp sei Haus* (Weiß 2008:379)
 the.DAT Sepp his house
 ‘the house of Sepp/Sepp’s house’

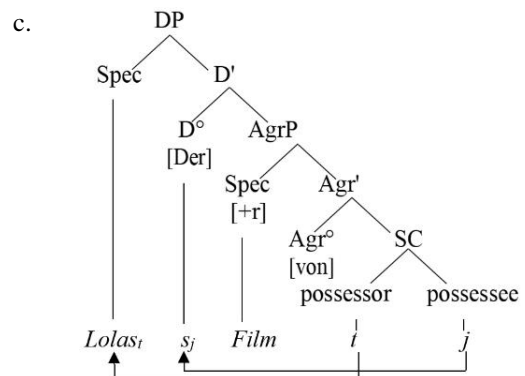
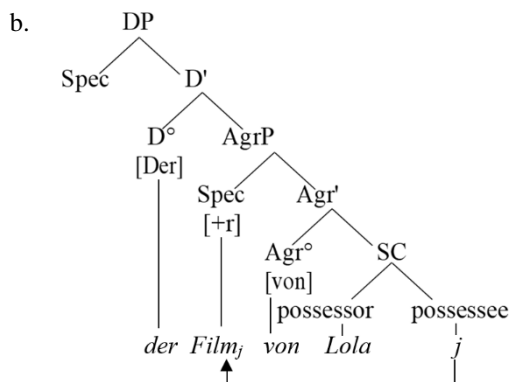
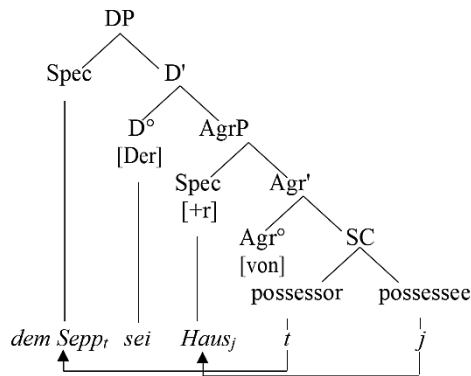
His hypothesis is that only the possessor-DP *am Sepp* ‘the.DAT Sepp’ refers to the possessor, while the possessive pronouns *sei* ‘his’ marks the possessive relation, i.e. it bears what Weiß calls a POSS feature. His analysis accounts for possessive relations in general and not exclusively for inalienable possessive constructions, assuming that the possessor and the possessee express a predicative relation and as a consequence, can be reduced to a small clause. According to Weiß (2008:386), the (micro-)variation of the

three major surface manifestations within the German dialectal syntax of possession, reported in (71), is restricted to PF (*phonetic form*).

- (71) a. *der Film von Lola* (Weiß 2008:386)
 the film of Lola
- b. *Lolas Film*
 Lola's film
- c. *der Lola ihr Film*
 the Lola.DAT her film

The structure for the dialectal sentence in (70) and the similar one in (71b) is given in (72a) and the structures for (71a-b) in (72c-d). Weiß (2008:388) argues that in the German dialects the head of AgrP is always a form of the preposition *von* 'of' and if the preposition is not part of the structure like in (72a) then Agr° moves to D° and is realized as the pronoun *sei* 'his' or *ihr* 'her'. As a consequence, the possessor-DP (*dem Sepp* or *der Lola*) occupies Spec-DP, the position where it is case-marked. Following Uriagereka (2002), Weiß assumes that AgrP bears a referential feature.

- (72) a. (adopted from Weiß 2008:389)



Further work has been done among others for example by Cheng & Ritter (1988) who propose a small clause analysis of Mandarin and French inalienable possessive constructions with body part nouns. The work by D'Alessandro & Migliori (2017) and by den Dikken (2006) are introduced in section 3.4.2. D'Alessandro & Migliori (2017) were the first to propose a small clause analysis for EPCs and den Dikken (2006) proposes that every predication is mediated by a relator, a functional head establishing the formation of a small clause. Both analyses are relevant for my approach to a syntactic representation of EPCs and are thus part of section 3.4.2 instead of being introduced in this general overview of some main approaches to possession.

3.3 Previous proposals for EPCs

In the following, I will summarize previous work concerning EPCs. These include Delsing & Egerland (2002), Delsing (2013), Hölker (1998), Idone (2015), Silvestri (2013, 2015) and Sotiri (2007).

Delsing & Egerland (2002) show similarities between SIDs and Scandinavian concerning kinship nouns occurring with (enclitic) possessives. They state that the aim of their work is descriptive and comparative in nature with respect to definiteness, number and word order, and do not propose a syntactic and/or semantic analysis. The properties of SIDs (excluding Sicily) with respect to the lack of an article with kinship nouns in possessive constructions are defined on the basis of mainly one dialect, namely the dialect of Catanzaro (CZ, Calabria), and are listed in (73). The dialect of Catanzaro displays EPCs with 1SG.EPs, 2SG.EPs and 3SG.EPs (lacking the article in all cases) and uses the unmarked structure D – N – Poss when a specific EPC cannot be realized.

- (73) A nominal expression with possessive pronouns has no definite article if (Delsing & Egerland 2002:108)
- a. the head noun describes a kinship relation
 - b. the head noun is singular
 - c. the possessive pronoun is post-nominal
 - d. the possessive pronoun is unstressed
 - e. the possessive pronoun is singular

The properties in (73) are not adequate to capture the peculiar behavior of EPCs, neither for SIDs, nor for the dialect of Catanzaro in particular. In fact, the really interesting cases of variation within EPCs are reported in the footnotes (e.g. substitution of plural-possessors through singular EPs with data reported from the AIS or the restriction of the

3SG.EP to the kinship nouns *mamma* ‘mum’, *nonno* ‘grandfather’ and *nonna* ‘grandmother’ in the dialect of Catanzaro; for a detailed overview of the variation among EPCs, see chapter 2). In addition, they state in footnote 7 (Delsing & Egerland 2002:108) that they disregard these peculiarities since their main aim is to compare Italian and Scandinavian, or more precisely to elaborate on the similarities between both languages. They report for example that Icelandic only lacks the enclitic article with kinship nouns (when they occur with possessives), see (74). The strong possessives occur postnominally and do not show any number restrictions with respect to the noun and to the possessor-person. Other noun classes do not lack the article as in (75).

- (74) a. *bróðir minn, bróðir okkar* (Delsing & Egerland 2002:111)
 brother my, brother our
 ‘my brother, our brother’
- b. *bræður mínir, bræður okkar*
 brothers my, brothers our
 ‘my brothers, our brothers’
- (75) *bíl-inn minn* (Delsing & Egerland 2002:111)
 car-the my
 ‘my car’

This behaviour is more similar to Standard Italian than to EPCs even though in Standard Italian the unmarked structure with common nouns is D – Poss – N and with kinship nouns Poss – N (enclitic articles do not exist); in both structures, the strong possessive occurs prenominally. In the majority of SIDs, the unmarked structure with all noun classes is D – N – Poss (for more on variation, see section 2.3). According to the authors, the fact that in both Italian and Scandinavian, kinship nouns display a specific behaviour in syntax is stated to be “a piece of evidence in favour of the innateness of grammar” (Delsing & Egerland 2002:119) that seems to be a sudden conclusion in their work. Delsing (2013) presents a more detailed overview of the phenomenon, but again mainly discussing data from the dialect of Catanzaro (CS, Calabria) and the dialect of San Martino in Pensilis (CB, Molise). In his paper, he argues that uniqueness (i.e. one single referent as is the case with the parental kinship nouns) plays a more important role in the understanding of EPCs than inalienability. Delsing (2013) and Delsing & Egerland (2002) give a general overview of EPCs, excluding a range of peculiarities that are important for a better understanding of the phenomenon.

Hölker (1998) discusses the influence of EPCs in Old Tuscan²⁷ on modern Standard Italian. According to him, and also to Rohlfs (1968), the lack of an article with kinship nouns occurring with a prenominal strong possessive is due to the existence of EPCs in older stages of the language. Rohlfs (1968:127) notes that in Old Tuscan, the use of the definite article with strong possessives seemed to be more or less free (among all nominal classes) even though he already describes some regularities concerning the presence or absence of the definite article (e.g. *il mio bellissimo libro* ‘the my prettiest book’ where the article is obligatory due to the modifying adjective). He assumes that as a consequence the structure D – Poss – N generalized into all cases except singular kinship nouns (displaying the structure Poss – N instead of D – Poss – N). Returning to Hölker (1998:567), who based his own approach on Rohlfs’ work, he states that EPCs in Old Tuscan did not disappear without leaving traces:

I possessivi enclitici [...] si combinavano soltanto con i sostantivi di parentela e con pochi altri sostantivi quali *casa, signore, vita o caro*, e l’uso di un determinatore era escluso. [...] i possessivi enclitici non sono spariti senza lasciare tracce. [...] l’assenza dell’articolo nei sintagmi in cui un possessivo precede un sostantivo di parentela nell’italiano di oggi (ad es. *mia madre, tuo fratello*, etc.) è dovuta alla presenza dei possessivi enclitici in antico toscano.²⁸

Instead of relating the findings in Old Tuscan to the present-day use of EPCs in SIDs, he concentrates on a diachronic explanation for modern Standard Italian and elaborates on the similarities summarized in the following (see Hölker 1998:569f). First, plural kinship noun-EPCs were rare in Old Tuscan and disappeared early (whatever ‘early’ may mean). For this reason, Hölker concludes that no articleless construction could generalize over time for plural kinship nouns, cf. St. Italian **miei fratelli* ‘my brothers’ in contrast to *i miei fratelli* ‘the my brothers’. Second, in Old Tuscan, the use of the definite article was optional with prenominal strong possessives and obligatory with postnominal ones, e.g. *(il) mio corpo* ‘(the) my body’ vs. *il corpo mio* ‘the body my’. Hence, he assumes that the consistent behaviour with postnominal strong possessives generalized over kinship nouns in modern Standard Italian as well, e.g. *lo zio vostro* ‘the uncle your(2PL)’ (note that in Standard Italian, postnominal possessives have a contrastive reading). Third, a strong

²⁷ Standard Italian is based on Old Tuscan, more precisely on the dialect of Florence (among others, see Loporcaro 2013).

²⁸ Engl.: EPs [...] only occurred with kinship nouns and some others such as *house, master, life* and *dear*, excluding the use of an article (or determiner). [...] EPs did not disappear without leaving traces. [...] The lack of article with kinship nouns in Standard Italian (i.e. Poss – N) is due to the lack of article with kinship nouns occurring in EPCs in Old Tuscan.

generalization that evolved from Old Tuscan to modern Standard Italian, is the obligatory use of the definite article when the construction is modified by an adjective, e.g. *il suo gentile marito* ‘the his/her gentle husband’. Lastly, in modern Standard Italian, modified structures require an obligatory article, e.g. if an adjective or a diminutive suffix is present. This property is similar to the fact that EPs in Old Tuscan could only appear with unmodified kinship nouns. A difference is described in the following: The presence of the definite article with the 3PL.POSS *loro* ‘their’ is due to the fact that no EP for the 3PL existed in Old Tuscan. There were no EPs for the 1PL.POSS *nostro* ‘our’ and 2PL.POSS *vostro* ‘your(2PL)’ in Old Tuscan either, but Hölker claims that here the absence of the article with kinship nouns is a consequence of an extension of the property of lacking it with the possessives of 1SG, 2SG and 3SG. Hölker (1998:570f) claims that the possessive system was twofold in Old Tuscan, i.e. clitic and non-clitic and further, that the clitic system was more robust in its regularities than the non-clitic one. He argues that the reason for the similarities presented above, are the consequence of the stable system of EPCs, thus able to influence the modern strong possessive system. Hölker (1998) focuses on the presence or absence of an article with kinship nouns occurring with possessives, arguing that the structures in Old Tuscan influenced modern Standard Italian.

Idone (2015) proposes an interesting approach from a phonological point of view. She argues that metrical constraints play a crucial role in licensing EPCs in many SIDs. On the basis of the dialect of Serra San Bruno (VV, Calabria), she claims the following: (i) if the root is stressed on the last or penultimate syllable, the enclisis of the possessive is allowed (76a) and (ii) if the root is stressed on the antepenultimate syllable, the enclisis is ungrammatical (76b).

- (76) a. *pàtri-ta*, *canàtu-sa* (Serra San Bruno, VV, Calabria, Idone 2015)
 father-your(2SG), brother-in-law-his/her
 ‘your father, his/her brother-in-law’
- b. **jènnaru-ta*, **sòcera-ma*
 son-in-law-your(2SG), mother-in-law-my
 ‘your son-in-law, my mother-in-law’

As a next step, she extended her fieldwork to 14 other dialects and defined the following three types. *Type A* dialects behave like the dialect of Serra San Bruno (VV, Calabria), where EPCs are not possible if the root is stressed on the antepenultimate syllable (e.g. Petronà (CZ, Calabria) and Fontanarosa (AV, Campania)). *Type B* dialects allow the constraint in (ii) but only by deleting the central unstressed syllable (e.g. **jènnarə-ma* >

jénnə-ma ‘son-in-law-my’). The dialects of Altomonte (CS, Calabria) and Santèramo in Colle (BA, Puglia) belong to this type. *Type C* dialects are those where the constraint in (ii) is not active (e.g. Isola del Liri (FR, Latium) *jénnə-rə-tə* ‘son-in-law-your(2SG)’). Idone’s (2015) approach shows that metrical constraints, as an independent factor, can account for the gaps within the paradigm of EPCs within a specific dialect. The term ‘independent’ meaning that the variation found is analysed independently from the semantic peculiarities of kinship nouns discussed in section 3.1. In my view, Idone’s analysis is an important contribution to account for the variation presented in section 1.1: The dialects differ as to the kinship nouns that are allowed to occur in EPCs within a specific dialect.

Within the scope of her dissertation, Silvestri (2013) discusses, among other things, the nature of the genitive case in relation to the phenomenon of EPCs, mainly based on the dialect of Verbicaro (CS, Calabria), see (77). The EPs of 1SG and 2SG only occur with kinship nouns, excluding exceptions like ‘home’ or other common nouns. The 3SG.POSS is omitted, a common phenomenon among the SIDs. The structure D – N refers to the 3SG.

- (77) a. *'patrə-ma,* *'patər-ta,* (Verbicaro, CS, Calabria,
 father(M)[.SG]-my[.M.SG], ...-your(2SG)[.M.SG], Silvestri 2013:116, 170)
 ‘my/your father’
- b. *o pwaatrə*
 the.M.SG father(M)[.SG] (= his/her)
 ‘his/her father’

Notably, the dialect of Verbicaro lacks the article with kinship nouns when they occur with a postnominal strong possessive, e.g. *papajə toa* ‘dad your(2SG)’, in contrast to common nouns, e.g. *u kwanə mwija* ‘the dog my’. For the dialect of Verbicaro, Silvestri (2013) reports an interesting pattern illustrated in (78): The EPC with the kinship noun *fratello* ‘brother[*DIM*]’ used to express ‘cousin (m.)’ in (78a), is disused in favour of the kinship noun *cugino/-a* ‘cousin (m./f.)’ in (78b), that cannot occur in EPCs. In other words, due to (78b), (78a) disappears. Presumably, *cugino/-a* ‘cousin (m./f.)’ was introduced later in the dialect and the phenomenon of EPCs did not extent to this kinship noun.

- (78) a. *fratiəddə-ma,* *fratiəddə-ta* (Verbicaro, CS, Calabria,
 brother(M)[*DIM*.SG]-my[.M.SG], brother(M)[*DIM*.SG]-your(2SG)[.M.SG] Silvestri 2013:117)
 ‘my/your cousin (m.)’

b. *koddʒwɪnə* *mwija*, *koddʒwɪnə* *toa*
 cousin(M)[.SG] my[.M.SG], cousin(M)[.SG] your(2SG)[.M.SG]
 ‘my/your cousin (m.)’

For an analysis of the behaviour of possessives in the so called *Lausberg area*, comprising Southern Lucania and Northern Calabria (including the dialect of Verbicaro), Silvestri (2013) adopts the N to D-raising hypothesis by Longobardi (1996). Evidence, in the specific case of EPCs, comes from the fact that they cannot be preceded by an adjective, see (79). Hence, she concludes that the EPC “reaches the highest position available in D, so that no space for another element (such as ‘poor’) is left” (Silvestri 2013:133).

(79) * *ˈpɔvəra* *zɪjə-ta* (Silvestri 2013:133)
 poor.F.SG aunt(F)[.SG]-your(2SG)[F.SG]
 ‘your poor aunt’

Silvestri (2013) supports my analysis in section 4.2 by adopting the N to D-raising hypothesis, showing that prenominal adjectives are ungrammatical.

Sotiri (2007) discusses the syntactic behavior of possessives with kinship nouns in various dialects of the region Puglia (the data is accessible through the ASIt database, <http://asit.maldura.unipd.it/>). These are Capurso (BA), Gallipoli (LE), Lesina (FG), Lizzano (TA) and Ortelle (LE). Following Giusti (1993), Sotiri (2007:9f) states that articles are heads and possessives are specifiers of the noun, so the differences among the languages is due to the necessity, optionality or impossibility of the possessive moving from Spec-NP to Spec-DP. Hence, either the head or the specifier, or both elements can be realized. Sotiri’s (2007) approach contradicts Sportiche’s (1998) analysis of strong possessives being in Spec-NP and clitics being the head of a PossP. In my work, I adopt Sportiche’s analysis (see section 4.2).

In this section, I presented and summarized the work done so far concerning EPCs. Some relevant assumptions and analysis contribute to the answering (or further discussion) of the research questions of the present dissertation (e.g. N to D-raising (Silvestri 2013), metrical constraints (Idone 2015) and additional (diachronic) data (Silvestri 2013, Hölker 1998). In what follows, I will present the work on which I mainly based my analysis on in chapter 4: Longobardi (1994, 1996) in section 3.4.1 as well as D’Alessandro & Migliori (2017) and den Dikken (2006) in section 3.4.2.

3.4 Main approaches for the syntactic analysis of the present work

3.4.1 The N to D-raising hypothesis: Longobardi (1994, 1996)

The N to D-raising hypothesis by Longobardi (1994, 1996) is most important for the syntactic analysis of the present work. In his analysis, N-raising means that a restricted class of nouns is able to license a prepositionless genitive case. The motivation is to check the positive value of a [\pm R(eferential)] feature present in D° via substitution of the article by what Longobardi calls an object-referring expression, i.e. proper names, kinship nouns and *casa* ‘home’. In addition, Longobardi (1994:659f) states that the article (when occurring with an object-referring expression) is semantically empty, and the positive value of the [\pm R] feature in D° is checked by establishing a chain with the noun like in (80b).

- (80) a. *noi* (*medici*)
we (doctors) (Longobardi 1994:660)
b. *la Maria*
the Maria
c. *Maria*
Maria

He assumes that kinship nouns can occupy the D° because they are similar to proper names and seem to allow possessives to occur even higher in the structure than usual, i.e. in Spec-DP, cf. the Standard Italian data, shown in (81-82) adapted from Longobardi (1996:2f).

- (81) a. *Mio zio ha finalmente telefonato.*
my uncle has finally phoned
b. *Zio mio ha ...*
uncle my has ...
‘My uncle has finally phoned’
- (82) a. *Il mio Gianni ha finalmente telefonato.*
the my Gianni has ...
b. *Gianni mio ...*
Gianni my ...
‘My Gianni has finally phoned’

The structures in (81b) and (82b), where the possessives occur postnominally are only possible with proper names, kinship nouns and the noun *casa* ‘home’. The structure Poss – N in (81a) is restricted to kinship nouns since this is the only nominal class that lacks the article with prenominal possessives in Standard Italian. All other noun classes

have the obligatory structure D – Poss – N as in (82a). Longobardi (1996:14) states the following generalization for N-raising.

- (83) Movement of a common noun to (an empty) D is licensed only if an overt or understood genitive argument is realized (in other words, if a corresponding argument role is somehow discharged)

According to Longobardi (1996), evidence to explain the existence of the generalization in (83) comes from the Hebrew *construct state* (CS). Hebrew CS constructions can be phrasal as in (84a) or compounds as in (84b) where two nouns fuse and in consequence, form a semantic and phonological unit; simply said, two combined nouns result in a third one with a new meaning.

- (84) a. *beyt ha-mora (he-xadaš)* (Rothstein 2012:227ff)
house.M.SG DEF-teacher.F.SG (DEF-new.M.SG)
‘the teacher’s (new) house’
- b. *beyt (ha-)sefer*
house.M.SG (DEF-)book.M.SG
‘(the) school’

In both examples, the head noun ‘house’ is in the *construct state* meaning that it is phonologically reduced (*bayit* > *beyt*). The complement or *annex* (see Shlonsky 2004), ‘teacher’ and ‘book’ is in the neutral *absolute state*. Moreover, the complement of a CS construction bears the genitive case and can, in contrast to the head noun, be preceded by an article. Longobardi (1996:7) identifies the following properties for Hebrew CS constructions.

- (85) A. **N first:** the noun heading the construction occurs first in the whole nominal phrase (arguably, a DP);
- B. **obligatory Genitive:** a phrase semantically understood as a genitive argument always follows the head noun;
- C. **lack of article:** the article of the head noun disappears;
- D. **lack of preposition:** the preposition usually introducing genitive arguments (e.g. Hebrew *Sel*, Arabic *dyal*, roughly corresponding to English *of*, Romance *de/di*) disappears;
- E. **strict adjacency:** no modifier (e.g. adjective) may intervene between the head noun and its genitive argument;
- F. **phonological reduction:** the head noun occurs in a particular form (precisely, the construct state), apparently deaccented and often with vowels reduced (cf. Hebrew *bayit* > *beyt* ‘house’);
- G. **definiteness inheritance:** the definiteness value of the head noun depends on (is harmonic with) the +/- definite status of the complement

He assumes that each of these properties surface in Romance and further, that they have inherent genitive case, cf. Longobardi (1996:18):

a prepositionless realization of Genitive becomes possible (or necessary) even in languages without morphological Case if and only if the head noun undergoes a raising process to a functional head in its extended projection: [the D position], with Genitive obligatorily realized in the Spec immediately subjacent to D, to which it must raise by ‘last resort’ [...]

As already mentioned, Longobardi (1994) assumes two possible ways for N to D-raising: one is adjunction like in Romanian where the enclitic article attracts the noun because of its clitic status and the other is substitution like in Standard Italian where object-referring expressions, i.e. proper names, kinship nouns and *casa* ‘home’, can occupy D°, where as a consequence the construction lacks the article. He states that in Western Romance, N to D-raising never takes place via adjunction but in fact it does in Southern Italian dialects in EPCs as I will discuss in section 4.2.

Following Longobardi (1994), I assume N to D-raising of kinship nouns and I will show that the whole EPCs can move up to D°. Further evidence comes from the ungrammaticality of an adjective preceding EPCs (see Silvestri 2013, section 3.3). Moreover, I extend his proposal of drawing parallels between the Hebrew CS and raised proper names (e.g. *Gianni mio* ‘Gianni my’) in that I compare the Hebrew CS to EPCs (see section 4.2.2). A last point concerns his claim of the semantically empty status of articles when they occur with what Longobardi calls object-referring expressions: This could explain the obligatory article with some plural kinship noun-EPCs that is part of the discussion in section 4.2.1.4).

3.4.2 The Small Clause hypothesis: D’Alessandro & Migliori (2017) and den Dikken (2015)

D’Alessandro & Migliori (2017) were the first to adapt the small clause hypothesis to EPCs in SIDs, in their case, to several dialects of the region Abruzzo. They claim that in the majority of SIDs, there is a co-occurrence of possessive constructions that encode inalienable possession within the same dialect. Apart from EPCs, they report a widespread construction lacking the preposition *di* ‘of’ that encodes inalienable possession including also body part nouns and *casa* ‘home’, cf. (86a-d) taken from Silvestri (2013). Moreover, they report that some dialects extend this type of construction to alienable possessed nouns, too, as it is the case in the dialect of Verbicaro (CS, Calabria) in (86d).

- (86) a. *a mɔɣwɛra ɔ 'mɪdɔkə* (Verbicaro, CS, Calabria, Silvestri 2013:136ff)
 the wife the doctor
 'the wife of the doctor, the doctor's wife'
- b. *a nʊɛ̄ ɔ kʊɔddə*
 the nut the neck
 'the nut of the neck, i.e. cervical spine'
- c. *a kasa ɔ 'mɪdɔkə*
 the house the doctor
 'the house of the doctor, the doctor's house'
- d. *ɔ sakkiəttə a farma*
 the sack the flour
 'sack of flour'

A third possibility to express inalienable possession is the use of copula-constructions. In (87) the possessor in dative can be expressed through a proper name or a strong possessive. In a previous version of their paper, D'Alessandro & Migliori (2014) report the data in (88) for the dialect of Arielli (CH, Abruzzo) where (88a) and (88b) are considered to be equivalent.

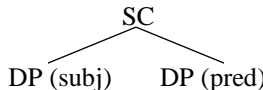
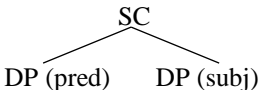
- (87) a. *jè fɪgghjə a Pitruzzə* (Silvestri 2013:145)
 (he) is son to Pitruzzə
 'he is Peter's son'
- b. *jè / su parentə a Marija*
 (he) is / (they) are relative(s) to Marija
 'he is a relative of Maria, they are relatives of Maria'
- c. *su cuḡḡinə a mija / tija / jidda / ...*
 (they) are cousins to me / you / her / ...
 'they are my/your/her/... cousins'
- (88) a. *Ma'rijə jɛ 'mammə a me* (Arielli, CH, Abruzzo, D'Alessandro & Migliori 2014:8)
 Ma'rijə is mom to me
 'Maria is my mom'
- b. *Ma'rijə jɛ 'mammə-me*
 Ma'rijə is mom-my
 'Maria is my mom'

Finally, D'Alessandro & Migliori (2014, 2017) report the so-called locative genitive, a term adopted from previous work (D'Alessandro & Di Sciullo 2009). They consider the construction exemplified in (89) to typically occur with inalienably possessed nouns such as *casa* 'home', and nouns referring to terrain or means of transport (D'Alessandro & Migliori 2014:4, 2017:59). The preposition *di* 'of' seems to be optional, presumably only acceptable with inalienable possessed nouns. Note that there is a gender mismatch

between both articles (see for a detailed discussion on agreement mismatch D’Alessandro & Di Sciullo 2009 and D’Alessandro & Pescarini 2015).

- (89) *la 'kasə jε (də) lu 'mε* (Arielli, CH, Abruzzo, D’Alessandro & Migliori 2014:4, 2017:59)
 the.F.SG house(F).SG is (of) the.M.SG mine
 ‘The house is mine’

D’Alessandro and Migliori (2017) argue that the underlying predicative structure in all cases is that of a small clause and further, that the coexistence of (86-89) within a dialect is not accidental but systematically anchored in the grammar. For their analysis of EPCs, they adopt the canonical small clause structure proposed by Moro (1995) where the subject is followed by the predicate, cf. (90).

- (90) a. **canonical:**  b. **inverse:**  (Moro 1995:112)

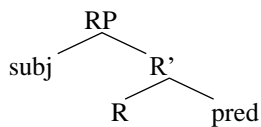
D’Alessandro & Migliori (2017) propose the structure in (91a) for *no D*-EPCs (N-EP) where both elements are within the small clause. As a consequence, this would mean that the authors claim the following: If the underlying structure of possessive constructions encoding inalienable possession in SIDs is that of a small clause, and if both elements of EPCs are base-generated within a small clause, then all possessive constructions under consideration can be reduced to be an EPC.

- (91) a. [_{SC} possessee possessor] (D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017:62f)
 b. [_{SC} 'mammə -mə]

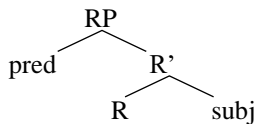
The different syntactic realizations of the possessive constructions under consideration are hence morphophonological: same syntax, but different spell-outs. Moreover, they argue that the N to D-raising hypothesis is not sufficient, because it accounts only for EPCs and as a consequence, for EPCs as an isolated phenomenon (D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017:61ff). Their main reasons to argue for a small clause hypothesis are listed as follows: (i) possessive constructions encoding inalienable possession in SIDs (i.e. EPCs, genitive constructions lacking the preposition *di* ‘of’ and copula-constructions) all have an underlying predicative structure of a small clause and (ii) the coexistence of these constructions is not accidental but systematically anchored in the grammar. Following D’Alessandro & Migliori (2017), I adopt their analysis of EPCs being small clauses (see

section 4.3) to highlight the predicative relation of both components, i.e. kinship noun and EP. In contrast, I assume that EPCs are derived through movement (see previous section and section 4.2) and are not base-generated within a canonical structure of small clauses. Moreover, I will discuss in section 4.3.2 that only the kinship noun is base-generated within the small clause (or more precisely, within a relator phrase) to account for the property of kinship nouns to be relational even without a definite reference established through a possessive (see section 3.1.2). Following den Dikken (2015), I will adopt the reverse predication structure. According to him, the structure is alienable when the possessor, i.e. the predicate, is in the complement position of the relational phrase and inalienable when the structure is inverted so that the possessor/predicate is in Spec-RP. In both structures in (92) and (93), the possessee is the subject of the predication.

- (92) **alienable possession**
 canonical predication: [_{RP} subject [_{R'} RELATOR [predicate]]] (den Dikken 2015:122)



- (93) **inalienable possession**
 reverse predication: [_{RP} predicate [_{R'} RELATOR [subject]]] (den Dikken 2015:122)



Den Dikken (2006, 2015) proposes that the subject and the predicate are related to one another through a RELATOR, the head of a relator phrase RP, establishing the relationship between both the subject and the predicate. Further, he argues that the difference between alienable and inalienable possession is the direction of predication, an aspect that is not part of the present work: I do not discuss the directionality of the predication in (in)alienable possessive constructions in SIDs, but adopt his structure for inalienable possession to account for EPCs (see 4.3.2 and section 4.3.3).

4. Analysis

The aim of this chapter is to elaborate the syntactic representation of EPCs. The analysis of EPCs is subdivided into three main parts. The first part deals with the class of kinship nouns, proposing a reorganization based on several factors derived from the approaches and definitions presented in section 3.1. The second part concerns the upper part of the EPC-structure, namely DP and PossP. Based on empirical data, I show that both positions can host EPCs (section 4.2). The third part concerns the lower part of the EPC-structure, completing the syntactic representation of the constructions under consideration. I will discuss the role of NumP for the (im)possibility of plural kinship noun-EPCs and argue in favour of a relator phrase (RP) as a base position for kinship nouns (section 4.3).

Each subsection addresses a peculiar aspect found within the scope of the extensive empirical work. The research questions are repeated below:

1. The class of kinship nouns does not behave uniformly within and among the SIDs. How can the class of kinship nouns be categorized to account for the variation found among the SIDs?

The first research question is addressed in section 4.1. I will introduce three factors that can (partly) account for the cross-linguistic evidence presented in section 3.1.3. I will also discuss Idone's (2015) proposal. She argues that metrical constraints (and not the semantic properties of kinship nouns) are a crucial factor that determine the (im)possibility of EPCs among the SIDs.

2. In some dialects, singular kinship noun-EPCs display an obligatory article with the 3SG.EP. What is the reason for this article-based person split (1st and 2nd vs. 3rd)? And further, how are both structures, with and without an article, represented in the syntax, i.e. in DP and PossP?
3. EPCs display parallels to the Hebrew Construct State (Hebrew CS). What do the similarities (and differences) of both constructions tell us about the syntax of EPCs?

The subsequent two research questions are addressed in section 4.2. Here, I will address the article-based person split with singular kinship noun-EPCs within a small group of dialects and show that both D^o and Poss^o can host EPCs (section 4.2.1). I will argue in

favour of the N to D-raising hypothesis, mainly based on Longobardi (1996), and further, that this article-based dichotomy is due to the deictic properties of the possessor-persons (Giorgi 2010 and Sigurðsson 2014). I will show in section 4.2.1.2 that (up to now) the presence or absence of the article with EPCs does not correlate with other phenomena. In section 4.2.1.3 I will elaborate on the syntax of the upper parts of the EPC-structure, based on the data concerning the article-based person split. The discussion in section 4.2.1.4 deals with the presence or absence of the article with plural kinship noun-EPCs and further, why the analysis proposed so far cannot account for them. Afterwards, section 4.2.2 deals with the striking similarities to the Hebrew CS, claiming that not all properties defined by Longobardi (1996) for the Hebrew CS are situated in D° but also in $Poss^\circ$, again based on the data concerning the article-based person split. The discussion summarizes some observations made concerning further issues of both EPCs and Hebrew CSs (section 4.2.2.2).

4. In some dialects, plural kinship nouns are allowed to occur in EPCs, and in others, they block the possibility of EPCs. With respect to this dichotomy, what is the role of NumP in the EPC-structure?
5. Kinship nouns are relational and express inalienability. How can this property be captured in the syntax?
6. What is the syntactic representation of EPCs?

Research questions 4 to 6 are dealt with in section 4.3 which addresses the lower part of the EPC-structure. Evidence for the role of NumP as a parametrised position for the (im)possibility of further movement to the upper parts of the structure will be presented in section 4.3.1. Subsequently, I will argue in favour of a small clause analysis to capture the relational status of kinship nouns in syntax, and adopt den Dikken's (2006) analysis for inalienable constructions, i.e. an inverse order for RPs, where the subject is an internal argument of R' (section 4.3.2 and 4.3.3). With respect to the movement of the kinship noun out of RP, two possible analyses for the proposed EPC-structure will be discussed.

4.1 The Classification of Kinship Nouns

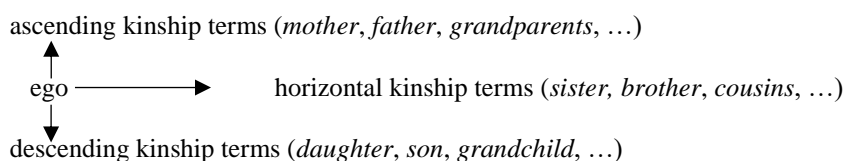
In many languages, kinship nouns display a different syntactic behavior than other noun classes (see section 3.1). Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001:213) suggest that the class of kinship nouns display “a universal partial ordering [...]” and the irregular distribution

of EPCs within specific dialects is a further piece of evidence for this hypothesis because not every person-EP is compatible with every kinship noun within a specific system (see chapter 1). According to the anthropological approach, there are biological and cultural reasons to assume that the nuclear family, i.e. ‘mother’ and ‘father’, is a universal notion and again, EPCs support the hypothesis with empirical evidence. Manzini & Savoia (2005:661f) report several dialects that only realize EPCs with ‘mum’ and ‘dad’ and the 2SG.EP, the most prominent EP, e.g. Torre S. Tommaso (Urbino, PU, Marche) ‘*mam-ta*’ ‘mom-your’ and ‘*bab-te*’ ‘dad-your’. Both kinship nouns are blood relatives, a concept I will adopt from Penello (2002), who argues in favor of an implicational hierarchy within the class of kinship nouns, based on the type of relation they denote, i.e. blood, affinal, religious or friendly. In the following, I will present my approach to the irregular picture EPCs display concerning the (in)compatibility of kinship nouns and EPs.

4.1.1 Three main factors to classify kinship nouns

I argue that three factors (blood, vertical and direct) can account for the fact that the class of kinship nouns does not behave uniformly as is the case with EPCs. Cross-linguistic evidence has been presented in section 3.1 (for more details, see Aikhenvald 2013). For my proposal, I adopt some terms and the definitions of Penello’s (2002) and Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm’s (2001) approaches: On the one hand, I include the type of relation kinship nouns denote, i.e. blood and affinal like *mother* vs. *mother-in-law*. On the other hand, I include the direction of the kinship relation, i.e. vertical and horizontal like *mother-child* (different generations) vs. *sister-brother* (same generation). The factors or properties I will present below are crucial for licensing EPCs. Nonetheless, they do not predict a specific behavior within a specific dialect, because I agree with Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) that a hierarchy is not adequate to describe the complex variation among the dialects, but that there is a descending order within the class of kinship nouns where *mother* and *father* occupy the highest position. Further, the implicational hierarchy proposed by Penello (2002), with the descending order from blood to affinal, does not account for EPCs since only blood and affinal relatives are relevant for the constructions under consideration. Both proposals are repeated below.

(94) **Direction of kinship relations:** (see Dahl & K.-Tamm 2001:201ff)



- where a kinship noun is more likely to be singled out for special treatment, if it denotes an ascending relation, ..., if it denotes a unique relation (e.g. *mother* and *father*), and if it denotes a relation between two successive relations (e.g. *mother* vs. *grandmother*)

(95) **Implicational kinship type hierarchy:** (Penello 2002:343)

blood > affinal > religious > friendly

- where the probability to be singled out for special treatment decreases from blood relations to friendly relations

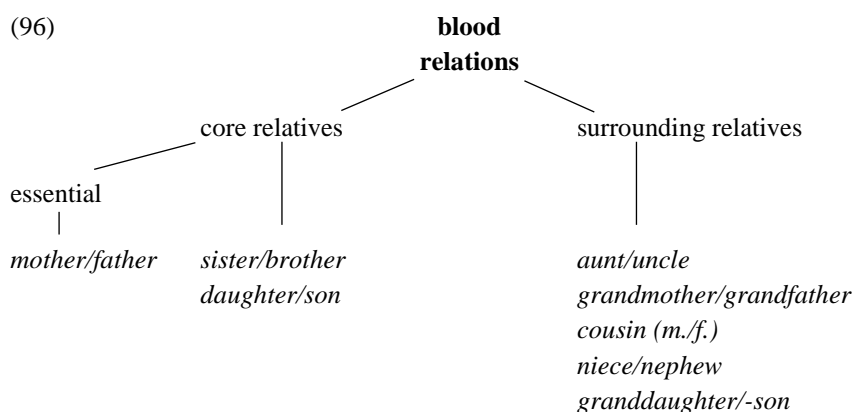
The semantic relation between the possessor (EP) and the possessee (kinship noun) determines the possibility of EPCs and this depends first and foremost on two salient factors: (i) the kinship noun denotes a close family member, i.e. it is part of what I call the ‘core relatives’ and (ii) the individual point on an (undefined) scale where a dialect separates the kinship nouns that are compatible with EPs from those that are not. Remember that there is also variation in terms of the (in)compatibility of a kinship noun with different EP-persons within the same dialect as is the case in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria; see section 2.4.2.1). In what follows, I will argue in favor of the need of the factors (or properties) blood, vertical and direct to classify kinship nouns.

A – Blood

I assume that kinship nouns can be ordered pairwise with respect to the relation they denote, e.g. *sister/brother*, *mother/father*, *aunt/uncle*. These pairs share the same properties, e.g. *sister* and *brother* are from the same generation denoting the relation to a sibling, *mother* and *father* both refer to unique relatives denoting an ascending relation to the subsequent generation and so on. This assumption, that they occur in pairs, is reflected in all orderings I propose for the properties blood, vertical and direct. In addition, it seems to be true that these pairs are in a dependency with one another, i.e. if within a specific dialect *sister* occurs in EPCs than *brother* occurs in EPCs, too, and vice versa.

Blood relations capture (slightly more than) half of the kinship nouns that occur in EPCs. In Italian and its dialects there is no lexical distinction of whether the status of an *aunt* or an *uncle* is blood (by being the sibling of a parent) or affinal (by being related by marriage). Therefore, I subsume these kinship nouns under blood relatives, too, since

there is no empirical evidence to treat them differently. In my view, the class of blood relations can be subcategorized into the core relatives and the surrounding relatives, see (96). Moreover, the property that distinguishes *mother* and *father* from all other kinship nouns is that they are essential for the existence of the ego. For this reason, I subdivide once again the core relatives to highlight the unique character of the parents.

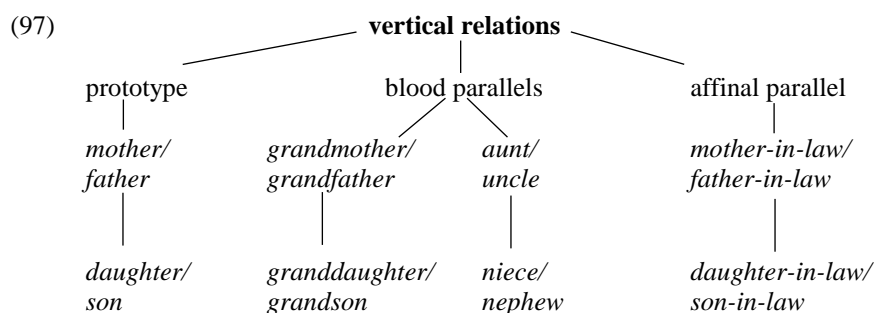


The classification captures the fact that *mother* and *father* have unique referents and are essential for every individual. In a broader sense, one could argue that the *grandparents* could be classified as being essential, too, but here I limit the classification to the narrow perspective of the ego. The kinship nouns *daughter* and *son* are the converse terms to *mother* and *father* and at the same time a *daughter* and a *son* are a possible *sister* or a possible *brother*, still being in the same relation to the parents. This connection is the reason why *sister* and *brother*, in contrast to the other kinship nouns, belong to the core relatives. Following Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) and Penello (2002), I argue that blood relatives are more likely to occur in EPCs than affinal relatives. In addition, I argue that if a dialect does not allow all blood relatives to occur in EPCs than it is probable that only the core relatives (or the essential relatives, i.e. the parental kinship nouns) occur in EPCs.

B – Vertical

My ordering of vertical relations captures two arguments proposed by Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001). First, the superiority of the vertical relations in contrast to the horizontal ones concerning their probability to occur in specific constructions (here, in EPCs), and second, the notion of prototypes denoting the similarity of kinship nouns to proper names (see section 3.1.1). Within the vertical relations, I distinguish the

prototype, the blood parallels and the affinal parallel, see (97). The notion parallel means that each relation line displays a vertical relation between kinship nouns from one generation to the converse kinship nouns from the following generation. The kinship nouns are again ordered pairwise. The prototype indicates the straight linear relation between parents and children. Within the blood parallels, we can distinguish between two relation lines, ordered parallel to the prototype: the *grandparents* as well as the *aunt* and the *uncle* are on the same level as the parents and their converse terms are on the same level as the children. The same holds for the affinal parallels.



Here, many kinship nouns overlap with the property blood, meaning that these kinship nouns possess two factors that can potentially increase their probability to behave differently within the syntax of a specific system than other kinship nouns.

C – Direct

This factor denotes the kinship relations on the horizontal axis (including both blood and affinal relations) within the same generation, see (98).

- (98) *sister – brother*
cousin (m.) – cousin (f.)
husband – wife

In my view, the notion direct also means affinity of two individuals to each other. Related to this, the factor direct accounts for the common occurrence of *husband* and *wife* in EPCs and highlights the fact that affinity seems to play a crucial role in licensing EPCs.

4.1.2 Discussion

As already mentioned, there is no strict hierarchy within the class of kinship nouns that allows for a predictable behavior regarding the system of EPCs within a specific dialect.

two strategies to solve the problem. First, the dialect uses a structure with strong possessives (e.g. *lu jènnaru miu* ‘the son-in-law my’) or it deletes the central unstressed syllable (e.g. *swócre-me* instead of **swócəre-mə* ‘father-in-law-my’).

In sum, not only the kinship noun itself but all factors involved determine the huge variation found among the SIDs. Which factor or factors are active (or relevant) within a specific dialect needs to be investigated individually and is beyond the general goal of the present work.

4.2 The upper Part of the EPC-Structure: DP and PossP

4.2.1 Singular kinship noun EPCs: The article-based EP person-split

The 3SG.EP is attested less frequently among SIDs than the 1SG.EP and the 2SG.EP. Those that have a 3SG.EP split up into two groups, one realizes an obligatory article (101) whereas the other does not (102). Hence, in a small group of dialects 3SG.EPs (and 3PL.EPs like in the case of Verzino where the forms are syncretic²⁹) are singled out for special treatment by requiring an additional element, i.e. an article. This person-split of 1SG and 2SG possessors versus 3SG/PL possessors happens only under the premise that the kinship noun is singular, cf. (101c) and (102c).

(101) **oblig. D-group with 3SG.EP:**

- a. *tsiə-ma* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
uncle(M).SG-my.[M.]SG
‘my uncle’
- b. *tsiə-ta*
uncle(M).SG-your(2SG).[M.]SG
‘your uncle’
- c. *u tsiə-sə*
the.M.SG uncle(M).SG-his/her/their.M.SG
‘his/her/their uncle’

(102) **no D-group with 3SG.EP:**

- a. *tsiu-ma* (Leverano, LE, Puglia)
uncle(M).SG-my.[M.]SG
‘my uncle’
- b. *tsiu-ta*
uncle(M).SG-your(2SG).[M.]SG
‘your uncle’
- c. *tsiu-sa*
uncle(M).SG-his/her.[M.]SG
‘his/her uncle’

²⁹ Due to the fact that many dialects substitute the (enclitic) possessive of 3PL with the (enclitic) possessive of 3SG, in this work, I refer to it 3SG/PL.EP to highlight this possible ambiguity. See also AIS map 19 ‘their uncle(s)’ and 20 ‘their aunt(s)’ in the appendix.

The number of dialects that behave like Verzino in (101) is smaller than the number of dialects that behave like Leverano in (102). Table 20 shows the distribution of both structures, i.e. with and without an article, summarized from various sources (e.g. AIS, ASIIt, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Sortiri 2007, Delsing & Egerland 2002, Idone 2015 and fieldwork). In a total of 40 dialects a 3SG/PL.EP is attested³⁰, 10 dialects belong to the *oblig. D*-group, whereas 30 dialects belong to the *no D*-group. Although this table is not complete, a preliminary conclusion can be formulated: The *oblig. D*-structure is less frequent than the *no D*-structure.

<i>obligatory D</i> -group → D – NSG-3SG/PL.EP	<i>no D</i> -group → NSG-3SG/PL.EP
<p><i>Abbruzzo:</i> Sassa (AQ, AIS) Scanno (AQ, AIS) Tagliacozzo (AQ, AIS)</p> <p><i>Calabria:</i> Cirò Marina (KR, M&S 2005) Umbriatico (KR, M&S 2005) Verzino (KR, fw)</p> <p><i>Puglia:</i> Carovigno (BR, AIS) Ceglie Messapica (BR, fw) Monteparano (TA, M&S 2005) Villa Castelli (BR, fw)</p>	<p><i>Lazio:</i> Palombara (RM, AIS)</p> <p><i>Calabria:</i> Arena (VV, M&S 2005) Benestare (RC, AIS) Catanzaro (CZ, D&E 2002) Centrache (CZ, AIS) Conidoni/Briatico (VV, AIS) Corigliano Calabro (CS, fw) Iacurso (CZ, M&S 2005) Melissa (KR, AIS) Monasterace (RC, ASIIt) Monterosso Calabro (VV, M&S 2005) Sant’Agata del Bianco (RC, M&S 2005) Serra San Bruno (VV, Idone 2015)</p> <p><i>Puglia:</i> Alliste (LE, M&S 2005) Avetrana (TA, AIS) Castrignano del Capo (LE, fw, ASIIt) Copertino (LE, M&S 2005) Corigliano d’Otranto (LE, ASIIt) Gallipoli (LE, fw, ASIIt, Sortiri 2007) Giurdignano (LE, M&S 2005) Lecce (LE, fw, AIS) Leverano (LE, fw) Maglie (LE, M&S 2005) Ortelle (LE, ASIIt, Sortiri 2007) Putignano (BA, M&S 2005) Salve (LE, fw, AIS) Santa Cesarea Terme (LE, ASIIt) Tricase (LE, ASIIt) Trepuzzi (LE, ASIIt) Uggiano la Chiesa (LE, M&S 2005) Vernole (LE, AIS)</p>

Table 20: Distribution of both structures – *oblig. D* and *no D*

³⁰ In total, I had access to the data of about 200 dialects. In most cases, not the whole paradigm but only parts of the possible EPCs within a specific dialect have been presented in the various sources.

With respect to this peculiar behaviour within the phenomenon of EPCs, several questions arise. They are listed below and will be addressed and discussed subsequently:

1. Does an article ever occur with a 1SG.EP or a 2SG.EP when the kinship noun is singular? (section 4.2.1.1)
2. Does the article-based person split correlate with other phenomena such that one implicates the other? (section 4.2.1.2)
3. What is the reason for this article-based person split? And what is the syntactic representation of singular kinship noun-EPCs, with and without an article? (section 4.2.1.3)
4. What about plural kinship noun-EPCs? Do they show the person split, too? (section 4.2.1.4)

4.2.1.1 The (non-)occurrence of the article with the 1SG.EP and 2SG.EP

According to the general assumption in the literature, I argue that in present-day dialects 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs never occur with an obligatory article if the kinship noun is singular (e.g. Manzini & Savoia 2005, Delsing & Egerland 2002). In the AIS, some exceptions are attested and presented below in (103-104). The AIS is the only source where in some cases an article is attested with singular kinship noun-EPCs with a possessive of 1SG or 2SG.³¹ Its data was collected nearly 100 years ago (see section 2.1). Therefore, I emphasize that my hypothesis concerns present-day dialects, since no exception has been found in the ASI, in Manzini & Savoia (2005), in the A.L.Ba.³² or within the scope of the fieldwork.

- (103) a. *lu fəyyə-mì* (Bellante, TE, AIS 608)
 the.M.SG son(M)[.SG]-my[M.SG]
 ‘my son’
- b. *lu kuǵínə-mí*
 the.M.SG cousin(M)[.SG]-my[M.SG]
 ‘my cousin (m.)’
- c. *la kuǵǎna mí*
 the.F.SG cousin(F).SG my[F.SG]
 ‘my cousin (f.)’

³¹ More data can be extracted out of the overviews to each map in the appendix.

³² The A.L.Ba. contains linguistic maps and investigates the region Basilicata.

- (104) a. *yu frātə-tè* (Scanno AQ, AIS 656)
 the.M.SG brother(M)[.SG]-your[M.SG]
 ‘your brother’
- b. *la sòʷrə-tè*
 the.M.SG sister(F)[.SG]-your[F.SG]
 ‘your sister’

Interestingly, these data are mainly situated in the region Abruzzo, but, as already discussed in chapter 3, the data needs to be interpreted carefully for several reasons, e.g. one informant per location or inconsistent structures when comparing them to other EPCs of the same dialect. The latter is shown by example (103b) in contrast to (103c) where in the masculine case the 1SG.POSS has been translated and transcribed as an EP and in the feminine case as a strong possessive. Moreover, the 1SG.EP in (103b) is accented, which could hint at an incorrect transcription of the data since EPs cannot bear accents.³³ Since no source containing data of present-day dialects displays an article with 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs the observation in (105) can be formulated.

- (105) In present-day dialects 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs never co-occur with an obligatory article when the kinship noun is singular.

In the following, I will present the phenomena that have been investigated in order to discover possible correlations or implications to the article-based person split. Afterwards, I argue that 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs lack the article because of the deictic properties of 1st and 2nd person singular, which are discourse participants, i.e. the speaker and the addressee. Then I will discuss why this analysis only holds for singular kinship noun-EPCs and not for plural kinship noun-EPCs.

4.2.1.2 Correlations with other phenomena

In the following, I will present three constructions that I investigated in order to discover if one of them co-occurs only in those dialects that belong to the *oblig. D*-group or only in those dialects that belong to the *no D*-group. I looked at constructions containing strong possessives and/or definite articles. No correlation has been observed so far.

³³ There are more ‘gender mismatches’ like this in the AIS (cf. data of **map 24** and **25** ‘my cousin (m./f.)’ → Serrone (FR, AIS 654), Matera (MT, AIS 736) and Spinazzola (BT, AIS 727); data of **map 27** and **29** ‘his/her sister/brother-in-law’ → Scanno (AQ, AIS 656), Sassa (AQ, AIS 625) and Conidoni (Briatico, VV, AIS 780); data of **map 16** and **17** ‘our grandmother/-father’ → San Donato (FR, AIS 701), Carovigno (BR, AIS 729), Avetrana (TA, AIS 738) and Mangone (CS, AIS 761)).

A – Does the unmarked word order with strong possessives correlate with EPCs?

The unmarked word order with strong possessives has been investigated, but most SIDs realize the unmarked structure D – N – Poss. Therefore, kinship nouns are not treated differently than other noun classes when they occur with strong possessives. The dialect of Giurdignano (LE, Puglia) as well as the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) display this typical structure with all noun classes that is also used as the alternative structure when an EPC is not possible (e.g. with plural possessor persons), see (106-107).

(106) **no D-group:**

- a. *u* 'kane 'meu /'tɔu /'sɔu (Giurdignano, LE, Puglia, M&S 2005:560, 683)
 the.M.SG dog.M.SG my.M.SG / your.M.SG / his/her.M.SG
 'my/your/his/her dog'
- b. *'frai-ma/-ta/-sa*
 brother(M).SG-my.[M.]SG/-your.[M.]SG/-his/her.[M.]SG
 'my/your/his/her brother'
- c. *u* 'frate 'nɔʃʃu /'vɔʃʃu /'lɔru
 the.M.SG brother(M).SG our.M.SG / your(2PL).M.SG / their[M.SG]
 'our/your/their brother'

(107) **oblig. D-group:**

- a. *u* cane miɔ (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
 the.M.SG dog.M.SG my.M.SG
 'my dog'
- b. *frate-ma*
 brother(M).SG-my.[M.]SG
 'my brother'
- c. *u* frate nɔrrɔ
 the.M.SG brother(M).SG our.M.SG
 'our brother'

Further investigations where the word order with strong possessives differs from the typical unmarked structure D – N – Poss presented above are not related to the dichotomy among the SIDs belonging to the *no D-* or the *oblig. D-*group, too (for more word order variation, see section 2.3).

B – Does the co-occurrence of the article with proper names correlate with EPCs?

The use of the definite article with proper names has been investigated based on the input sentence *Gianni è potuto uscire* 'Gianni could go out' of the ASI database. Proper names are definite and can occupy D° just as EPCs that lack the article (see section 4.2.1.3). The suggestion that the co-occurrence of the definite article with both elements (i.e. proper

names and 3SG/PL.EPS) is found within the same dialects, could not be verified, cf. (108-109).

(108) **no D-group:**

Castrignano del Capo (LE, Puglia, ASIt)	<i>Lu Gianni...</i>	D – N
Corigliano d'Otranto (LE, Puglia, ASIt)	<i>Lu Gianni...</i>	D – N
Tricase (LE, Puglia, ASIt)	<i>U Gianni...</i>	D – N
Ortelle (LE, Puglia, ASIt)	<i>U Gianni...</i>	D – N
Monasterace (RC, Calabria, ASIt)	<i>Gianni...</i>	Ø – N

‘(The) Gianni...’

(109) **oblig. D-group:**

Verzino (KR, Calabria, fw)	<i>Gianni...</i>	Ø – N
Ceglie Messapica (BR, Puglia, fw)	<i>Gianni...</i>	Ø – N
Cirò Marina (KR, Calabria, fw)	<i>Gianni...</i>	Ø – N
Umbriatico (KR, Calabria, fw)	<i>Gianni...</i>	Ø – N

‘Gianni...’

The use of a definite article with proper names is clearly not related to the need of an obligatory article with 3SG/PL.EPS in the *oblig. D*-group. Moreover, this phenomenon seems to be a typical characteristic of the province Lecce in Puglia (see ASIt for Campi Salentina, Copertino, Cutrofiano, Lecce, Maglie, Monteroni, Soleto, Squinzano and Trepuzzi).

C – Is the partitive construction *di* ‘of’ + D – Poss related to EPCs?

Since the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria), belonging to the *oblig. D*-group, was the starting point for this work on EPCs, I compared its properties to other dialects. This was the reason for checking this last aspect of a peculiar partitive construction with the structure D – N – *di* ‘of’ + D – Poss, see (110). This structure is possible with kinship nouns as well as with common nouns.

(110)	<i>nu</i>	<i>filju</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>mio</i>	(Verzino, KR, Calabria)
	a.M.SG	son(M).SG	of.the.M.SG	my.M.SG	
	‘one of my sons’				

This structure is also found in the dialect of Cirò Marina (KR, Calabria, Manzini & Savoia 2005:751) but is not possible in the dialect of Ceglie Messapica (BR, Puglia), both *oblig. D*-dialects. In the *no D*-dialects of Leverano and Lecce (both LE, Puglia) this partitive structure is not possible. Manzini & Savoia (2005:751f) and D’Alessandro & Di Sciullo (2009) report more dialects that realize this construction with a partitive, but none of these

has a 3SG.EP. There is no evidence to assume a correlation between both phenomena due to insufficient data.

Up to now, no correlations or implicational dependences have been found with respect to the dichotomy within the SIDs (*oblig. D* vs. *no D*) and other phenomena present within the same dialects.

4.2.1.3 The syntax of the article-based EP person split

In this section, I will put forth a hypothesis to explain the dichotomy found among the SIDs with respect to the 3SG/PL.EP, making use of Longobardi's (1996) N to D-raising hypothesis. Related to this, I assume that the deictic properties of 1SG and 2SG, being the discourse participants in contrast to the 3SG, the so-called *non-person*, are the reason for the structural split within the *oblig. D*-group. This peculiar co-occurrence with the article leads to the assumption that not all properties defined by Longobardi (1994, 1996) are properties of D° (see section 3.2.2).

Deixis is the anchoring of person, place and time through linguistic expressions with deictic reference. These deictic elements attain their meaning by being interpreted in relation to the deictic centre, i.e. *I, here, now*, as the reference point (for a more detailed definition, see Kragh & Lindschow 2013). I assume that the person split (1SG and 2SG vs. 3SG) in the *oblig. D*-group is due to their different deictic properties. As already mentioned above, 1SG and 2SG form the discourse participants, i.e. the speaker and the addressee, whereas the 3SG has a different status: it refers to something that is neither the speaker, nor the addressee. Moreover, it is not necessarily a person nor necessarily present in the communicative situation (see Da Milano 2015). Hence, the person split in the *oblig. D*-group clearly sets apart the deictic persons from the non-deictic one. Giorgi (2010) claims that 1SG and 2SG need to be bound by the speaker's coordinates located in the left periphery of the clause, whereas the 3SG does not. Sigurðsson (2014:71) makes a similar claim by saying that "[...] the left periphery of every phase, the phase edge, contains a bundle of silent but syntactically active linking features, *edge linkers*" and calls the traditional notions speaker and addressee *logophoric agent* and *logophoric patient*. Following Giorgi (2010) and Sigurðsson (2014), I argue that in 1SG and 2SG EPCs the singular kinship noun plus the EP raise up to D° to be bound by the speaker's coordinates and to attain their referential interpretation, whereas 3SG EPCs can stay lower in the structure, i.e. they do not need to be bound or interpreted by the speaker's coordinates. As a consequence, the article lexicalizes in D°.

This person split in the *oblig. D*-group has consequences for the way movements internal to the DP have to be analysed, see (111). The example is taken from the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria), meaning ‘your uncle’ (111a) and ‘his/her/their uncle’ (111b).

- (111) a. **N-EP**
 [DP [D° tsiə-ta] [PossP [Poss° tsiə-ta] [NP [N° tsiə]]]]
-
- b. **D – N-EP**
 [DP [D° u] [PossP [Poss° tsiə-sə] [NP [N° tsiə]]]]
-

Longobardi (1996) claims that kinship nouns are similar to proper names and can thus occupy D°. Following him, I argue that 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs first attract the kinship noun to Poss° (i.e. the noun incorporates to the EP) and then the whole construction raises up from Poss° to D°, see (111a). EPCs with an obligatory article as in (111b) lack the second movement path: the EP attracts the kinship noun to Poss° while the article occupies D°.

A second observation can be added concerning 3SG/PL.EPs:

- (112) In present-day dialects only 3SG/PL.EPs can co-occur with an obligatory article if (a) the kinship noun is singular and (b) the dialect distinguishes between the deictic 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs (being the discourse participants) and the non-deictic 3SG/PL.EPs (not necessarily being a discourse participant).

This person split of 1SG and 2SG vs. 3SG/PL is expressed through an article that lexicalizes in D° and prohibits the second movement path from Poss° to the upper part of the DP. In conclusion, in *oblig. D*-dialects, singular kinship noun-EPCs are sensitive to the possessor person: only 3SG/PL.EPs can co-occur with an obligatory article by lacking the second movement path to D°.

4.2.1.4 Discussion

This section investigated singular kinship noun-EPCs and the peculiar phenomenon found within a relatively small group of dialects, labelled *oblig. D*-group, which realize an obligatory article with 3SG/PL EPCs, while 1SG and 2SG EPCs display the structure N-EP. The observations (105) and (112), repeated below, concerned the structural behaviour of singular kinship noun-EPCs, but what about plural kinship noun-EPCs?

- (105’) In present-day dialects 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs never co-occur with an obligatory article when the kinship noun is singular.

(112') In present-day dialects only 3SG/PL.EPs can co-occur with an obligatory article if (a) the kinship noun is singular and (b) the dialect distinguishes between the deictic 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs (being the discourse participants) and the non-deictic 3SG/PL.EPs (not necessarily being a discourse participant).

The different structures dialects use to build EPCs with plural kinship nouns were presented in section 2.3.5, including structures that require an obligatory article triggered by the plurality of the kinship noun. The crucial point is that the number of the kinship noun triggers the article, no matter which EP-person is linked to the kinship noun (1SG.EP, 2SG.EP or 3SG/PL.EP). The analysis presented in the previous section considering a two-step N to D-movement and a person split between 1SG and 2SG vs. 3SG only accounts for singular kinship noun-EPCs, see (113).

- (113) a. *'fratə-mə,* *ri* *'fratə-mə* (Guardiaregia, CB, Molise,
 brother(M)[SG]-my[M.SG], the.M.PL brother(M)[pl]-my[M.PL] M&S:664)
 'my brother, my brothers'
- b. *'sɔrə-ma,* *lə* *'sɔrə-mə*
 sister(F)[SG]-my.F.SG, the.F.PL sister(F)[PL]-my[F.PL]
 'my sister, my sisters'

I assume that the plural is an instance of modification that sometimes requires, like other cases of modification, an obligatory article even with 1SG and 2SG as in (113) or blocks the possibility of realizing an EPC as in (114).

- (114) a. *tsiu-ma,* (Leverano, LE, Puglia)
 uncle(M).SG-my.[M.].SG
 'my uncle'
- b. *li* *tsii* *mia*
 the.M.PL uncle(M).PL my[M.PL]
 'my uncles'

This phenomenon is also found in Standard Italian: only singular unmodified kinship nouns lack the article whereas modification, e.g. plural, adjectives or affixes, requires an obligatory article, cf. (115).

- (115) a. *mio* *zio*
 my.M.SG uncle(M).SG
 'my uncle'
- b. *i* *miei* *zii*
 the.M.PL my.M.PL uncle(M).PL
 'my uncles'

- c. *il mio bello zio*
 the.M.SG my.M.SG beautiful.M.SG uncle(M).SG
 ‘my beautiful uncle’
- i miei begli zii*
 the.M.PL my.M.PL beautiful.M.PL uncle(M).PL
 ‘my beautiful uncles’
- d. *il mio zietto*
 the.M.SG my.M.SG uncle(M).DIM.SG
 ‘my little/lovely uncle’
- i miei zietti*
 the.M.PL my.M.PL uncle(M).DIM.PL
 ‘my little/lovely uncles’

Possessive constructions with singular unmodified kinship nouns display a different syntactic behaviour than (i) singular modified kinship nouns, as well as (ii) plural kinship nouns. As discussed in the previous section, singular kinship noun-EPCs of *oblig. D*-dialects are sensitive to the possessor person, whereas plural kinship noun-EPCs do not show this person split, i.e. other factors affect the presence or absence of an article. In conclusion, this means that plural kinship noun-EPCs need a different syntactic explanation with respect to the co-occurrence of the article with 1SG.EPS and 2SG.EPS being the speaker and the addressee: a preliminary suggestion is that the article indicating the plural is ‘transparent’ so that 1SG and 2SG can still be bound by the speaker’s coordinates. Related to this, one could think about adopting Longobardi’s assumption of expletive articles briefly presented in section 3.4.1. The properties of plural kinship noun-EPCs need further research and cannot be answered within the scope of the present work.

4.2.2 The Similarities to the Hebrew Construct State

As discussed in section 4.2.1.3, I argue that *no D*-EPCs show a two-step N to D-raising movement: In the first movement, the EP attracts the noun to Poss° . In the second movement, the whole EPC moves up to D° . The second movement is omitted if an *oblig. D*-EPC requires an obligatory article that lexicalizes in D° .

Longobardi (1996:14) states the following cross-linguistic generalization for N to D-raising:

- (116) Movement of a common noun to (an empty) D is licensed only if an overt or understood genitive argument is realized (in other words, if a corresponding argument role is somehow discharged)

Subsequently, he compares the Hebrew CS to the possibility of proper names in Italian to move to D° by crossing over intervening elements like adjectives and possessives

(*Gianno mio ha telefonato* ‘Gianni my has phoned’). The examples for the Hebrew CS as well as the cluster of properties identified by Longobardi (1996:7) for the Hebrew CS are repeated below (see for a detailed discussion section 3.2.2).

(117) a. *beyt ha-mora (he-xadaš)* (Rothstein 2012:227ff)
 house.M.SG DEF-teacher.F.SG (DEF-new.M.SG)
 ‘the teacher’s (new) house’

b. *beyt (ha-)sefer*
 house.M.SG (DEF-)book.M.SG
 ‘(the) school’

- (118) A. **N first**: the noun heading the construction occurs first in the whole nominal phrase (arguably, a DP);
 B. **obligatory genitive**: a phrase semantically understood as a genitive argument always follows the head noun;
 C. **lack of article**: the article of the head noun disappears;
 D. **lack of preposition**: the preposition usually introducing genitive arguments (e.g. Hebrew *Sel*, Arabic *dyal*, roughly corresponding to English *of*, Romance *de/di*) disappears;
 E. **strict adjacency**: no modifier (e.g. adjective) may intervene between the head noun and its genitive argument;
 F. **phonological reduction**: the head noun occurs in a particular form (precisely, the construct state), apparently deaccented and often with vowels reduced (cf. Hebrew *bayit* > *beyt* ‘house’);
 G. **definiteness inheritance**: the definiteness value of the head noun depends on (is harmonic with) the +/- definite status of the complement

I assume that the Hebrew CS shares these properties with *no D*-EPCs. Moreover, *oblig. D*-EPCs lead to the hypothesis that not all properties defined by Longobardi (1996) are situated in D°. Evidence comes in fact from the obligatory article: Both structures, with and without the article, are definite, i.e. the article in the *oblig. D*-group has a different purpose than marking the EPC [+definite].

In the following, I compare *no D*- and *oblig. D*-EPCs to the properties listed in (118) and I argue that some properties belong to PossP.

4.2.2.1 *No D*- and *oblig. D*-EPCs and the Hebrew Construct State

No D-EPCs share the same properties as the Hebrew CS. The example *mammə-ta* ‘mum-your’ in (119) illustrates this.

- (119) A. **N first**: *mammə-* as the head noun of the construction occurs first, i.e. occupies D°
 B. **obligatory genitive**: the EP *-ta* bears the genitive case and is adjacent to the head noun
 C. **lack of article**: ‘simple’ EPCs lack the article; **a mammə-ta*
 D. **lack of preposition**: ‘simple’ EPCs lack the preposition due to the strict adjacency
 E. **strict adjacency**: is given; nothing may intervene between the noun and the EP
 F. **phonological reduction**: *mammə-* is phonologically reduced/modified (*mamma* > ~ə)
 G. **definiteness inheritance**: ‘simple’ EPCs are always definite; the EP *-ta* makes the EPC [+definite]

Due to the fact that kinship nouns occupy D° , property A is satisfied: the head noun occurs as the first element of the whole construction, having moved to D° . As a consequence, the construction lacks the article (C) that is itself a D-element, i.e. in this context nouns and articles are in a complementary distribution. In other words, the positive value of property A implicates the positive value of property C.

The EPs occur in the second position of the construction, which satisfies the strict adjacency between the head noun and the EP (E). Once this property E, which prohibits intervening elements, is given, it implicates the positive value of property D: The construction lacks the preposition that usually introduces the genitive case. The consequence is that another element has to bear the obligatory genitive case (B), in these cases it is the EP itself. So far, the properties in (119) can be interpreted as a chain reaction:

- (i) $A > C$, the positive value of property A implicates the positive value of property C
- (ii) $E > D > B$, the positive value of property E implicates the positive value of property D that implicates the positive value of property B

Property F is independent from the properties discussed so far. The phonological reduction is a characteristic of the head noun being in the construct state in contrast to the absolute state that indicates the standard form of the noun. The kinship nouns occurring in EPCs are usually reduced or phonologically modified forms of the ground form so that this property is also satisfied (see section 2.3.1).

The last property G concerns the definiteness inheritance. *No D-EPCs* are always definite due to the specific deictic reference the construction expresses. More precisely, by combining an EP with a kinship noun, the EP assigns a definite reference to an individual person. This individual person is a relative of the speaker (when occurring with *-ma*), of the addressee (*-ta*) or of a third person not necessarily being part of the communicative situation (*-sa*). Property G is somehow different than the others. According to Longobardi (1996), the [\pm definite] status of the construction depends on the [\pm definite] status of the complement, meaning that property G itself has no positive or negative value. It is only a property of the complement that is satisfied as to whether it is positive [+ definite] or negative [- definite]. EPs are always [+ definite], while Hebrew CSs are indefinite unless an article occurs before the complement, see (117b). This intervening element is an exception to property E.

In sum, *no D-EPCs* fulfil all conditions listed in (118). Longobardi (1996:9) states that “the whole pattern [118] can eventually be shown to surface in Romance, but it must be

carefully reconstructed by [...] fragments of evidence from different languages and dialects”. *No D-EPCs* are a piece of evidence that all properties defined by Longobardi (1996) surface in one very prominent and widespread construction among SIDs.

Oblig. D-EPCs obviously lack the first implicational cluster of properties in (i): due to the obligatory article the head noun does not occupy D° , e.g. *a mammə-sa* ‘the mom-his/her/their’. What does this mean as a consequence for the N to D-raising hypothesis and the generalization in (116)? Longobardi’s generalization says that N to D-movement is only licensed if an overt or understood genitive argument is realized. Moreover, he states with property B that the genitive is obligatory and further, that the element bearing the genitive is adjacent to the head noun. Hence, if property B is satisfied, the N to D-movement is allowed but not obligatory, cf. (120). In (120a) the article blocks the movement of the EPC up to D° even though it is licensed through the obligatory genitive, expressed through the postnominal possessive. The possibility to have an EPC in the case of (120b) causes the lack of the article. As discussed above, *no D-EPCs* fulfil all properties defined by Longobardi for the Hebrew CS. In (120c) an EPCs is also possible, but the article does not disappear as in (120b). In contrast, it obligatorily occupies D° since the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) belongs to the *oblig. D*-group (see section 2.4.2.1).

- (120) a. *a mamma mia* (Verzino, KR, Calabria)
the.F.SG mum(F).SG my.F.SG
‘my mum’
- **mammə-ma*
mum(F)[.SG]-my.[F.]SG
‘my mum’
- **a mammə-ma*
the.F.SG mum(F)[.SG]-my.[F.]SG
‘my mum’
- b. *a mamma tua*
the.F.SG mum(F).SG your(2SG).F.SG
‘your mum’
- mammə-ta*
mum(F)[.SG]-your(2SG).[F.]SG
‘your mum’
- c. *a mamma sua*
the.F.SG mum(F).SG his/her.F.SG
‘his/her mum’
- a mammə-sa*
the.F.SG mum(F)[.SG]-his/her/their.F.SG
‘his/her/their mum’

This set of data shows that the generalization (116) and the properties in (118) need to be modified in order to capture the structural variation found in EPCs. First, the pattern in (120a) gives evidence for the fact that N to D-raising is licenced, but not obligatory, if an overt or understood genitive is realized. Otherwise, EPC-gaps within a specific system like in (120a) would not exist. Second, the example in (120c) leads to the assumption that not all properties in (118) are part of the DP, i.e. they are the consequence of a noun occupying D°. *Oblig. D-EPCs* fulfil all properties but A and C. Hence, I argue that properties B, D and E are situated lower in the structure, i.e. in PossP (see section 4.2.1.3 where I argue that both DP and PossP can host EPCs).

4.2.2.2 Discussion

As discussed in section 3.2.2, the Hebrew CS can be phrasal or a compound, see again (117'). In the previous section, I discussed the similarities of both constructions, i.e. EPCs and Hebrew CSs, based on the properties defined by Longobardi (1996). The aim of this section is to describe further similarities with respect to modification and to discuss the patterns that have been observed so far. Hebrew CSs can be modified through adjectives. The additional adjective is obligatorily [+definite] and triggers the attachment of the definite article to the complement (or *annex*) of the CS, see (117'a). This is not the case for EPCs: the strict adjacency between the kinship noun and the EP is given without any exceptions.

- (117') a. *beyt ha-mora (he-xadaš)* (Rothstein 2012:227ff)
 house.M.SG DEF-teacher.F.SG (DEF-new.M.SG)
 'the teacher's (new) house'
- b. *beyt (ha-)sefer*
 house.M.SG (DEF-)book.M.SG
 '(the) school'

SIDs split up into two groups when EPCs are modified by an additional adjective. Dialects that behave like the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) in (121) need an article that separates the EPC from the adjective. This structure is similar to a relative clause: the main clause 'my brother' gets specified by adding the subordinate clause 'the big'. Hence, in these dialects, EPCs cannot be modified directly by an adjective, as the adjective must be introduced through an article as a subordinate complement to the EPC. In a broader sense, the structure D – Adj (to the right of both constructions) is a parallel between the phrasal Hebrew CS (117'a) and the EPC (121). The difference is again that as a

referential meaning, an EP is required, see (123), as the exceptional element in terms of the strict adjacency.

- (124) a. *frate* + *cugino/-ə* > *cugino* ‘cousin (m.)’
b. *soro* + *cugina/-ə* > *cugina* ‘cousin (f.)’

The aim of this section was to illustrate that the parallels between EPCs and Hebrew CSs are more far-reaching than discussed in the previous section. Further research may address the syntax-semantic interface with respect to modification through adjectives and the representation of the definiteness inheritance, also in relation to the strict adjacency. Moreover, the Hebrew CS-compounds and modified EPCs lead to interesting patterns that need further research. The similarities sketched in this section do not aim at proposing an analysis, but illustrate that the similarities between Hebrew CSs and EPCs are worth to be investigated more precisely.

4.3 The lower part of the structure: NumP and RP

This last section of the analysis completes the syntactic structure I propose for EPCs. In the previous sections I argued in favour of the N to D-raising hypothesis, discussing the upper parts of the EPC-structure (DP and PossP) and disregarding the lower parts of it. To simplify matters in section 4.2, I assumed kinship nouns to occupy the head of NP and did not account for further projections within the syntax of EPCs.

Here, I will first discuss the role of NumP within the syntactic structure of EPCs. Based on the (im)possibility of plural kinship noun-EPCs, I will argue in favour of NumP as a parameterized projection that can block or allow EPCs depending on whether this parameter is active or not within a specific dialect (section 4.3.1). According to D’Alessandro & Migliori (2017) who propose a small clause analysis for EPCs, I will argue in section 4.3.2 that, due to their semantics, kinship nouns are relational and are thus analysed as small clauses. Based on this, I will adopt den Dikken’s (2006, 2015) analysis, who claims that the subject and the predicate are related to one another through a RELATOR which is the head of the relator phrase RP and complete the syntactic structure of EPCs (section 4.3.3). According to this, I will propose two different movement analyses for the same structure in section 4.3.4.

4.3.1 Plural kinship noun-EPCs: The role of NumP

Plural kinship noun-EPCs are a challenge for the syntactic analysis of EPCs. As mentioned several times, plural kinship nouns block the possibility of realizing EPCs in a variety of dialects. In these cases, a different structure with strong possessives is required, in general D – N – Poss. In other dialects, plural kinship noun-EPCs are allowed and display a range of variation (see chapter 3). Some main aspects and peculiarities are illustrated in (125-128).

(125) Plural kinship nouns require an obligatory article:

<i>'fratə-mə,</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>'fratə-mə</i>	(Guardiaregia, CB, Molise,
brother(M)[.SG]-my[.M.SG],	the.M.PL	brother(M)[.PL]-my[.M.PL]	M&S 2005:664)
'my brother, my brothers'			

(126) Plural kinship nouns require a specific EP:

<i>'fiλλə-me,</i>	<i>'fiλλə-mi</i>	(Giffoni Montecorvino, SA, Campania,
son(M)[.SG]-my.M.SG,	son(M)[.PL]-my.M.PL	M&S 2005:670)
'my son, my sons'		

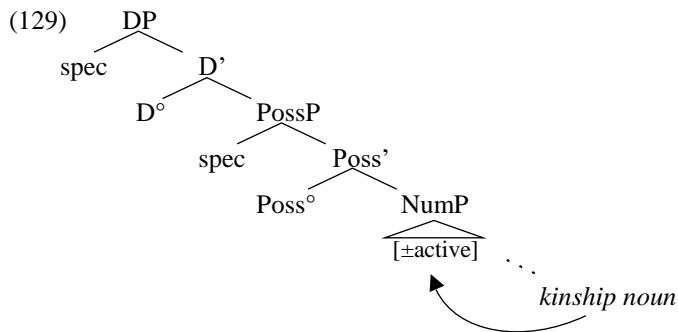
(127) Plural and singular kinship noun-EPCs are syncretic:

<i>'fiλλə-mə</i>	(Contursi, SA, Campania, M&S 2005:670)
son(M)[.SG]-my[.M.SG]	
son(M)[.PL]-my[.M.PL]	
'my/your son(s)'	

(128) Plural and singular kinship noun-EPCs show number agreement between the article and the EP:

<i>u</i>	<i>tsiə-sə,</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>tsiə-sə</i>	(Verzino, KR,
the.M.SG	uncle(M)[.SG]-his/her/their.M.SG,	the.[M.]PL	uncle(M)[.PL]-his/her/their.[M.]PL	Calabria)
'his/her/their uncle, his/her/their uncles'				

In section 4.2.1.4 I showed why the analysis for singular kinship noun-EPCs regarding the article-based person split cannot account for plural kinship noun-EPCs: the lexicalization of the article is not linked to the person-EP, i.e. it is not restricted to the 3SG/PL.EP. The plural seems to be an instance of modification that (i) in some cases requires an article and in others not and (ii) is allowed in some cases and in others it is disallowed (similar to the modification through adjectives, see section 4.2.2.2). Moreover, (up to now) I could not find any evidence that predicts how the plural behaves within a specific dialectal system, but the data leads to the hypothesis that NumP sets a parameter that is either active or not, cf. (129).



I argue that kinship nouns cross NumP where they get assigned a plural feature. Moreover, there is evidence to assume that NumP contains another feature that allows or blocks further movement of the kinship noun to Poss° to merge to the left of the EP. Therefore, I assume NumP to be a parametrized position: If the feature is [+active] plural kinship noun-EPCs are allowed, if it is [-active] then plural kinship noun-EPCs are disallowed and further movement is blocked. Hence, every system sets its value that is displayed in the full paradigm of attested EPCs within a specific dialect.

This mechanism presented above requires further research, causing the same problems concerning the analysis as singular kinship noun-EPCs: Not every plural kinship noun seems to be able to occur in EPCs. This leads to the hypothesis that the conditions formulated for singular kinship noun-EPCs account for plural kinship noun-EPCs, too, cf. (130).

- (130) The dialects differ with respect to:
- (i) the set of kinship nouns that are compatible with an EP (within a specific dialect), and
 - (ii) the person-EP that is compatible with a specific kinship noun (within a specific dialect)

Evidence comes from the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) that displays plural kinship noun-EPCs only with a few kinship nouns, e.g. ‘cousin (m./f.)’, ‘aunt/uncle’, ‘mum’ and ‘grandfather/-mother’. These are the same nouns that occur with the 3SG/PL.EP (see section 2.4.2.1).

For the syntactic analysis, I adopt the role discussed here for NumP as a parameter that can block further movement up to PossP (and to DP in *no D*-EPCs) without proposing an analysis on the level of microvariation of a specific dialect.

4.3.2 Interim summary

Kinship nouns and therefore EPCs are relational. This assumption is mainly based on the semantics of kinship nouns that in many languages is also expressed through a syntactically different behavior in contrast to other noun classes (see section 3.1 and Aikhenvald 2013 for a cross-linguistic overview). As Barker & Dowty (1993:8) point out, kinship nouns are the only class that have lexicalized inverses, meaning that each kinship noun implies the existence of another kinship noun, describing the same relation from a different point of view, e.g. *mother/child*, *uncle/nephew*, etc. This relation is also called converseness (see Crystal 2008:114). In the case of EPCs, the relation denoted by a kinship noun gets its definite reference through the deictic properties of the possessor person, e.g. 1SG.EP, 2SG.EP or 3SG.EP. The relational property of EPCs, i.e. the relational status of the subject and the predicate, is the reason for D'Alessandro & Migliori (2017) to propose a small clause analysis for EPCs (and other structures encoding (in)alienable possession, see section 3.2.3).

EPCs express an inalienable relation between the possessor (EP) and the possessee (kinship noun). Moreover, in present-day dialects EPCs are restricted to kinship nouns (with the exception of *casa* 'home' in a few cases). But not every potential EPC is grammatical in every dialect, consider again the following conditions:

- (131) The dialects differ with respect to:
- (i) the set of kinship nouns that are compatible with an EP (within a specific dialect), and
 - (ii) the person-EP that is compatible with a specific kinship noun (within a specific dialect), and
 - (iii) the person-EPs that actually exist within a specific dialect.

I argue that EPCs are relational although the class of kinship nouns does not behave uniformly among SIDs (depending on several factors, see section 4.1.2).

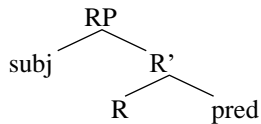
4.3.3 Completing the syntax of EPCs

Following D'Alessandro & Migliori (2017), I argue that the possessor and the possessee display a predicative relation. The authors were the first to propose a small clause analysis for EPCs, arguing that the kinship noun and the EP are base-generated within a small clause and do not show further movement (see for a detailed discussion section 3.2.3). Den Dikken (2006, 2015) proposes that the subject and the predicate of possessive constructions are related to one another through a RELATOR, the head of the relator phrase RP (see also section 3.2.3). Further, he argues that the difference between alienable and

inalienable possession is the direction of predication, cf. (132-133). The structure is alienable when the possessor, i.e. the predicate, is in the complement position of RP and inalienable when the structure is inverted so that the possessor/predicate is in Spec-RP. In both structures the possessee is the subject of the predication, cf. (132) and (133).

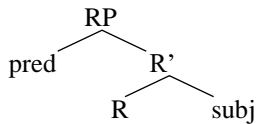
(132) **alienable possession**

canonical predication: [RP subject [R' RELATOR [predicate]]] (den Dikken 2015:122)



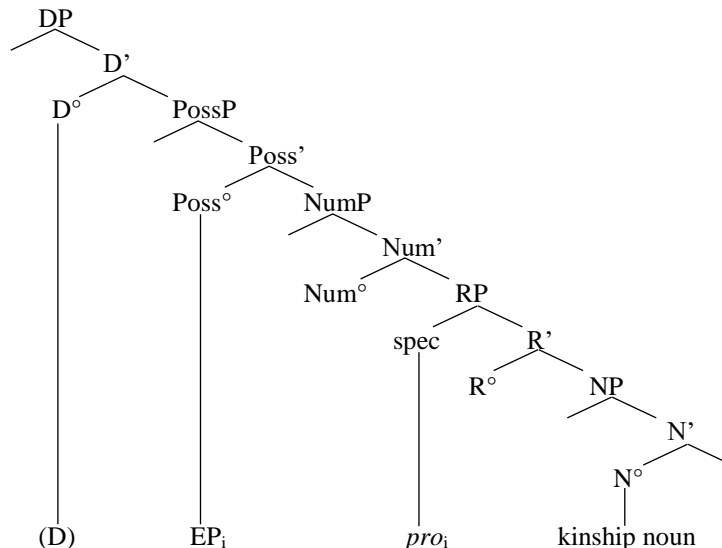
(133) **inalienable possession**

reverse predication: [RP predicate [R' RELATOR [subject]]] (den Dikken 2015:122)



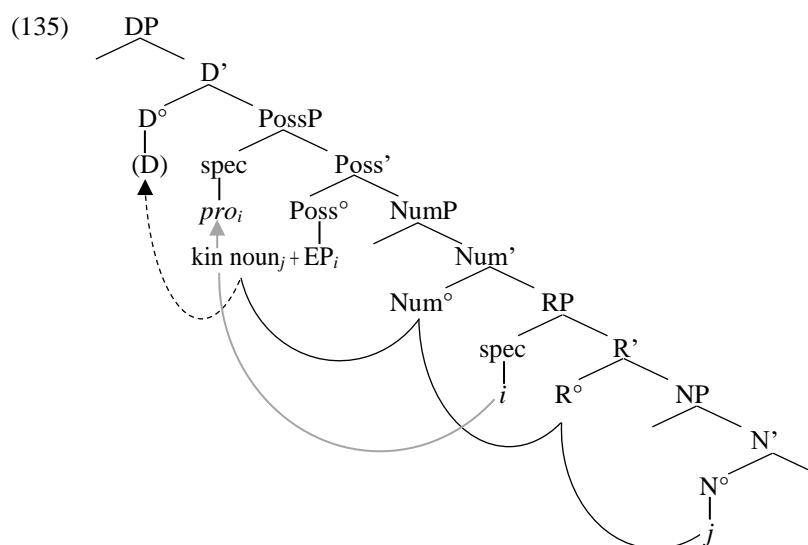
Den Dikken (2006:56) argues that in inalienable structures, i.e. in a reverse predication, the subject, being in the complement position of RP, is “actually an *internal* argument in X'-theoretic terms”. Hence, in (133) the subject is an internal argument of R' in contrast to (132) where it is external to the R'-projection. This goes along with Alexiadou's analysis although she does not take into account distinct directions of predication within the same maximal projection, but that alienable and inalienable possession have different syntactic structures (see section 3.2). Since the distinction between both types of possession is not the topic of the present work, I will not discuss this further. For the syntactic analysis of EPCs, I will adopt den Dikken's reverse predication structure, see (134).

(134)

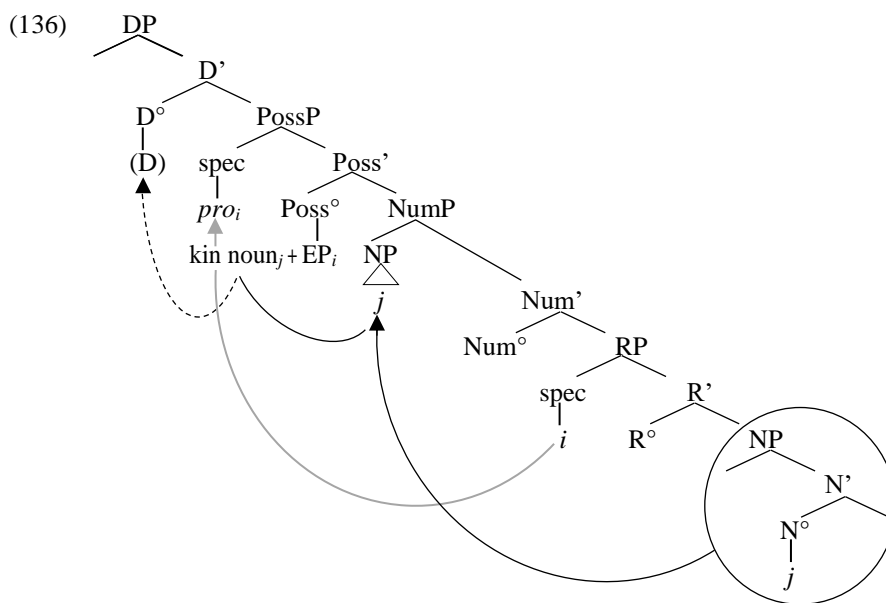


I argue that kinship nouns, as the head nouns of EPCs, are subjects and, according to den Dikken (2006), are internal arguments of R'. Therefore, they are situated as the head of NPs in the complement position of RP. The EPs occupy Poss°, licensing a little *pro* within RP. This *pro* moves up to Spec-PossP, getting its features from the head, i.e. from Poss°. This assumption goes along with the analysis of subject and object clitics in Northern Italian dialects to occur higher in the structure than weak pronouns, i.e. in a preverbal position (for a detailed discussion, see Cardinaletti and Repetti 2008). Moreover, I assume that EPCs are derived through movement and I have argued in favor of the N to D-raising analysis (see section 4.2). Hence, the kinship noun has to move out of its position. With respect to this need of movement, in what follows, I will present two possible analyses. Both approaches can account for the derivation of EPCs since there is no empirical evidence that excludes either analysis.

The first analysis considers head movement. The kinship noun is allowed to occur higher than other noun classes in SIDs. This is displayed by the restriction of EPCs to kinship nouns in present-day dialects. Passing through R°, it moves to Num°, where it gets assigned its number feature and where further movement is maybe blocked (see section 4.3.1). If further movement is allowed, the kinship noun merges to the left of the EP, resulting in a complete EPC. Now there are two possibilities for the EPC: (a) if the EPC requires an obligatory article than it remains in Poss° and the article lexicalizes in D° or (b) if no article is required than the EPC moves once again to D°, satisfying completely the N to D-raising analysis, see (135).



The second analysis considers XP-movement. According to Sportiche (1998) and Cardinaletti and Starke (1999), the derivation of EPCs could be analyzed as an XP-movement, followed by an X movement, i.e. head movement. Under these conditions, the kinship noun, i.e. the NP within RP containing the kinship noun, moves to spec-NumP. Here, the same mechanism as proposed in the previous analysis takes place: The kinship noun gets assigned its number feature and further movement is maybe blocked (see section 4.3.1). If further movement is allowed, the kinship noun can merge with the EP in Poss°. Again, the possibility of the complete EPC is twofold: if no obligatory article is required than the EPC can move up to D°, see (136).



Both analyses can account for the derivation of EPCs, with and without an article. Moreover, in both approaches NumP serves as landing site for the kinship noun before it merges with the EP. This relates to NumP as a parametrized projection within the analyses.

4.3.3 Discussion

In this section, I discussed the lower part of the EPC-structure, i.e. NumP and RP. I argued that NumP sets a parameter concerning the (im)possibility of further movement of the kinship noun to the upper parts of the structure, i.e. Poss° (and D°). In section 4.3.1, I already discussed that this assumption needs to be further elaborated due to the microvariation SIDs display with singular as well as with plural kinship noun-EPCs. It

depends not only on the positive or negative value of the parameter within a specific dialect, but also on several other factors. Not every kinship noun, regardless of whether it is singular or plural, is allowed to occur in an EPC and not every kinship noun is allowed to occur with all person-EPs that exist within a specific dialect. This, as well as the various structural realizations of plural kinship noun-EPCs, are a challenge for the syntactic analysis of EPCs.

In the previous section, I presented two movement analyses, claiming that there is no empirical evidence that can distinguish between the two. The structure proposed accounts for the derivation of EPCs and achieved the goal of the present work to answer the research question about the syntactic representation of EPCs, with and without article. Nonetheless, the structure cannot account for the cases where EPCs are not possible. More specifically, the syntactic structure in (135-136) cannot predict which alternative possessive construction is realized. In general, it is the unmarked structure with postnominal strong possessives, i.e. D – N – Poss. But the data proves that with strong possessives the dialects display a range of variation, too, even within a specific system (see section 2.3.4). This peculiarity of the SIDs needs to be investigated independently and is the reason why it has not been possible to include the alternative structure to the EPC-structure proposed here.

5. Conclusions

In this work, I presented the variation displayed by EPCs, a typical phenomenon of SIDs that occur nearly exclusively with kinship nouns and I proposed a syntactic analysis for the constructions under consideration.

Chapter 1 introduced the phenomenon, its main characteristics and some aspects of variation. In the majority of dialects, EPCs are restricted to singular kinship nouns and to the possessives of 1SG, 2SG and 3SG. Plural kinship nouns (as well as possessives of 1PL, 2PL and 3PL) block the possibility of realizing EPCs. Here, the alternative structure with a postnominal strong possessive is used, i.e. D – N – Poss, but in a variety of dialects, EPCs are also possible with plural kinship nouns. Therefore, the first main aspect of variation concerns the possibility of plural kinship noun-EPCs. Moreover, EPCs can display the following structures:

- (i) N-EP
- (ii) D – N-EP

In some dialects, a 3SG/PL.EP and/or plural kinship nouns can trigger an obligatory article, displaying the structure (ii). This dichotomy among SIDs is the second main aspect of variation. The third main aspect concerns the compatibility between person-EPs and kinship nouns, see (iii-iv).

- (iii) dialects differ as to the person-EPs that are compatible with the same kinship noun within a specific dialect, and
- (iv) dialects differ as to the set of kinship nouns that are allowed to occur in EPCs within a specific dialect.

The last aspect of variation in EPCs concerns the implicational hierarchy that EPs display, i.e. 2SG.EP < 1SG.EP < 3SG.EP.

Chapter 2 presented the empirical data, organized and described in a detailed way, giving an overview of (micro-)variational observations from different sources, i.e. AIS, ASI_t and Manzini & Savoia (2005). Moreover, I highlighted the (enclitic) possessive system of the dialects of Verzino (KR, Calabria) and Leverano (LE, Puglia). The empirical work revealed six research questions that lead to a syntactic analysis for the constructions under consideration.

1. The class of kinship nouns does not behave uniformly within and among the SIDs. How can the class of kinship nouns be categorized to account for the variation found among the SIDs?
2. In some dialects, singular kinship noun-EPCs display an obligatory article with the 3SG.EP. What is the reason for this article-based person split (1st and 2nd vs. 3rd)? And further, how are both structures, with and without an article, represented in the syntax, i.e. in DP and PossP?
3. EPCs display parallels to the Hebrew Construct State (Hebrew CS). What do the similarities (and differences) of both constructions tell us about the syntax of EPCs?
4. In some dialects, plural kinship nouns are allowed to occur in EPCs, and in others, they block the possibility of EPCs. With respect to this dichotomy, what is the role of NumP in the EPC-structure?
5. Kinship nouns are relational and express inalienability. How can this property be captured in the syntax?
6. What is the syntactic representation of EPCs?

As mentioned above, crucial points for the present work are (a) the presence or absence of an obligatory article (triggered by 3.SG/PL.EPs and/or plural kinship nouns), (b) the possibility of plural kinship noun-EPCs and (c) the compatibility of a specific person-EP with a specific kinship noun within a dialect.

Chapter 3 introduced some definitions and concepts concerning kinship nouns with respect to different linguistic areas and previous proposals for EPCs, pointing at their advantages and disadvantages. Moreover, I presented the main approaches for the present work including the N to D-raising hypothesis by Longobardi (1994, 1996) and the small clause hypothesis by D'Alessandro & Migliori (2017) and den Dikken (2006, 2015), as well as I sketched the state of the art concerning syntax-based theories of (in)alienable possession.

Chapter 4 proposed a syntactic analysis for EPCs, considering the main aspects of variation presented in chapter 1 and 2. The analysis was subdivided into three main parts: (a) the classification of kinship nouns, (b) DP and PossP as the upper parts of the EPC-structure and (c) NumP and RP as the lower parts of the EPC-structure. Each subsection addressed a research question. The main arguments are summarized in what follows.

1. The first research question concerned the behavior of kinship nouns among SIDs. I presented three factors, i.e. blood, vertical and direct, to propose a further elaborated

classification for kinship nouns to the existing classifications (section 3.1 and section 4.1). I argued that the close family members are more likely to occur in EPCs when a dialect only allows a subset of kinship nouns in EPCs. This is confirmed by some dialects that only allow both parental kinship nouns, *mom* and *father*, to occur in EPCs. Moreover, I argued that the fact that kinship nouns do not behave uniformly among SIDs does not only depend on the semantics of kinship nouns, but on various other factors like metrical constraints (see Idone 2015).

2. With respect to the article-based person split displayed by singular kinship noun-EPCs, I argued that this is due to the deictic properties of the possessor-persons. Following Giorgi (2010) and Sigurðsson (2014), 1SG.EPs and 2SG.EPs need to be bound by the speaker's coordinates in the left periphery of the clause, whereas 3SG.EPs do not. As a consequence, 1SG and 2SG EPCs move to the highest position, i.e. to D° , and 3SG EPCs can stay lower in the structure, i.e. in $Poss^\circ$. Based on this article-based dichotomy, I argue that both D° and $Poss^\circ$ can host EPCs (see section 4.2.1).

3. The comparison of EPCs to the Hebrew CS revealed that *no D*-dialects and Hebrew CSs share the same properties. Therefore, *no D*-EPCs are a piece of evidence that all properties defined by Longobardi (1996) surface in one very prominent and widespread construction among SIDs (see section 4.2.2). *Oblig. D*-dialects lack some of these properties (A. *N first* and C. *lack of article*). Based on this, I argued that properties B. *obligatory genitive*, D. *lack of preposition* and E. *strict adjacency* are situated lower in the structure, i.e. in $Poss^\circ$. This goes along with the assumption that both positions (D° and $PossP^\circ$) can host EPCs.

4. Plural kinship nouns can block the possibility of EPCs within a dialect. In order to capture this aspect of variation, I argued that NumP, as a parametrised position, can block further movement of the kinship noun to $Poss^\circ$ (and to D°), if a dialect does not allow plural kinship nouns to occur in EPCs (see section 4.3.1).

5. The last piece of the puzzle concerned the relational nature of kinship nouns and how to account for it in the syntax. I adopted den Dikken's (2006) analysis for inalienable constructions, i.e. an inverse order for RPs, where the subject is an internal argument of R'. I argued that kinship nouns, as the head nouns of EPCs, are subjects and hence, internal arguments of R' (see section 4.3.3).

6. In the present work, I proposed the following structure for EPCs: [DP [PossP [NumP [RP]]]] (see section 4.3.2). I argued that kinship nouns are base-generated within the complement position of RP, and EPs in $Poss^\circ$, licensing a little *pro* in Spec-RP. In order

to derive EPCs, the kinship nouns must move out of their position. With respect to this need of movement, two possible analyses were presented that can account for the derivation of EPCs. The first analysis considered head movement, the second one considered XP-movement. In both analyses the kinship noun lands in NumP, the position where further movement is probably blocked. If further movement is allowed, the kinship noun merges to the left of the EP, resulting in a complete EPC in Poss°. The last leg of the movement to D° depends on the presence or absence of an obligatory article.

The goal of the present work was twofold. The empirical part aimed to contribute new data and a detailed and organized overview of (micro-)variational observations from data of different sources, i.e. AIS, ASI and Manzini & Savoia (2005). The syntactic part aimed to propose a syntactic analysis for EPCs that captures two main aspects of variation: the (im)possibility of plural kinship nouns in EPCs and the presence or absence of an obligatory article (triggered by 3SG.EPs and/or plural kinship nouns). Some aspects were beyond the scope of the present work that give rise to future research questions. One question concerns the interaction of several factors licensing EPCs (e.g. plural kinship nouns, the semantics of kinship nouns, further modification through adjectives and metrical constraints): Is it possible to detect or to predict which factors are relevant in which dialect? A second question addresses the diachronic development of EPCs. I briefly introduced some diachronic data in section 1.1 to illustrate that EPCs were not restricted to kinship nouns. Moreover, Hölker (1998) reports data concerning EPCs from Old Tuscan where nowadays EPCs do not exist. Therefore, the diachronic development should address (i) changes of the EPC-system within specific SIDs and (ii) the geographical distribution of EPCs in older stages of the dialects. A third research question concerns the observed (micro)variation in EPCs from a phonological point of view. According to Idone (2015), metrical constraints play a crucial role in determining the possibility of EPCs. This needs to be further investigated, including for example the variation observed regarding kinship nouns changing their form with respect to the EP they occur with. A last question concerns the similarity to the Hebrew CS. As mentioned in section 4.2.2.2, there seem to be more interesting parallels between both constructions with respect to modification through adjectives.

The phenomenon of EPCs displays a huge variation among SIDs and needs to be investigated from different perspectives and different linguistic areas. The present work contributed to the puzzle of EPCs new data and a syntactic analysis.

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Appendix

A. AIS Tables – Structural distribution

A.1 Map 8 – [Guarda come somiglia] sua madre

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	1 (643)	0	0	0	4 (765, 772, 780, 794)	2 (738, 749)	7
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	1 (729)	1
POSS – N	2 (633, 640)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	3
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	2 (603, 612)	1 (616)	0	0	0	0	3
D – N – POSS	0	1 (668)	1 (720)	0	0	0	2
Others	8 (624, 630, 632, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	13 (608, 615, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666)	12 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	5 (745, 752, 761, 762, 771)	12 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 737, 739)	56
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 1: Map 8 – [Guarda come somiglia] sua madre

(A1) [Guarda come somiglia] sua madre
 [look how look.like.3SG] his/her.F.SG mother(F).SG
 ‘[Look, s/he looks like] his/her mother’

Notes:

- wrong input → *somigliare a qn/qc*
- 738, 749, 772, 780, 794 → the *a* before the translated EPCs is not the definite article, but the preposition that emerged from the question with the verb *somigliare a qn./qc.* ‘to look like sb./sth.’, cf. with data from maps 27 *il suo cognato* and 73 *sua moglie*
- most translations in ‘others’ show the typical possessive omission with the 3SG → D – N

A.2 Map 9 – Quando mio figlio...

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	7 (624, 633, 643, 654, 664,682, 662)	12 (615, 616, 618, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	4 (733, 735, 736, 742)	8 (752, 762, 765, 761, 771, 772, 780, 794)	13 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738)	56
D – N-EP	0	1 (608)	0	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	3 (632, 640, 652)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	4
N – POSS	0	0	0	1 (744)	1 (745)	0	2
D – POSS – N	3 (603, 612, 630)	0	0	0	0	0	3
D – N – POSS	0	0	1 (720)	1 (726)	0	1 (749)	3
Others	0	2 (619, 656)	0	0	0	1 (739)	3
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 2: Map 9 – Quando mio figlio...

(A2) *Quando mio figlio ...*
when my.M.SG son(M).SG ...
‘When my son ...’

A.3 Map 13a – [Dov' è] tuo fratello [?]

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	5 (643, 654, 662, 664, 682)	13 (608, 615, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	11 (712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	5 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742)	8 (752, 761, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 794)	15 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	57
D – N-EP	0	1 (656)	0	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	5 (612, 632, 633, 640, 652)	1 (616)	0	0	1 (791)	0	7
N – POSS	0	0	0	1 (744)	1 (745)	0	2
D – POSS – N	1 (630)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	2 (603, 624)	0	2 (701, 710)	0	0	0	4
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 3: Map 13a – [Dov' è] tuo fratello [?]

(A3) [Dov' è] tuo fratello [?]
 [whereis] your(2SG).M.SG brother(M).SG [?]
 '[where is] your brother [?]

A.4 Map 13b – i tuoi fratelli

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	5 (643, 654, 662, 664, 682)	4 (615, 625, 637, 646)	4 (723, 724, 725, 740)	0	0	7 (706, 709, 716, 728, 729, 737, 738)	20
D – N-EP	0	4 (639, 648, 656, 666)	2 (713, 731)	0	0	0	6
POSS – N	1 (633)	0	0	0	0	0	1
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	1 (745)	0	1
D – POSS – N	5 (612, 630, 632, 640, 652)	1 (616)	0	0	1 (791)	0	7
D – N – POSS	0	3 (608, 618, 668)	4 (712, 720, 721, 722)	4 (726, 733, 735, 744)	8 (752, 761, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 794)	7 (707, 717, 718, 719, 727, 739, 749)	26
Others	2 (603, 624)	3 (619, 645, 658)	3 (701, 710, 714)	2 (736, 742)	0	1 (708)	11
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 4: Map 13b – i tuoi fratelli

(A4) *i* *tuoi* *fratelli*
the.M.PL your(2SG).M.PL brother(M).PL
‘your brothers’

A.5 Map 14a – tua sorella

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	6 (624, 643, 654, 662, 664, 682)	13 (608, 615, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	13 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	8 (752, 761, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 794)	15 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	61
D – N-EP	0	1 (656)	0	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	1 (633)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	2
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	1 (745)	0	1
D – POSS – N	4 (612, 630, 632, 652)	0	0	0	0	0	4
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Others	2 (603, 640)	1 (616)	0	0	0	0	3
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 5: Map 14a – tua sorella

(A5) *tua* *sorella*
your(2SG).F.SG sister(F).SG
‘your sister’

A.6 Map 14b – le tue sorelle

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	5 (643, 654, 662, 664, 682)	4 (615, 625, 637, 645)	4 (723, 724, 725, 740)	1 (735)	0	7 (706, 708, 709, 716, 728, 729, 737)	21
D – N-EP	0	3 (639, 648, 666)	5 (710, 712, 713, 714, 731)	0	0	0	8
POSS – N	1 (633)	0	0	0	0	0	1
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	5 (612, 630, 632, 640, 652)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	6
D – N – POSS	0	5 (608, 618, 646, 656, 668)	4 (701, 720, 721, 722)	4 (726, 733, 736, 744)	9 (745, 752, 761, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 794)	6 (717, 718, 719, 727, 739, 749)	28
Others	2 (603, 624)	3 (616, 619, 658)	0	1 (742)	0	2 (707, 738)	8
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 6: Map 14b – le tue sorelle

(A6) *le* *tue* *sorelle*
the.F.PL your(2SG).F.PL sister(F).PL
‘your sisters’

A.7 Map 16 – [è morto/ me l’ha detto] il nostro nonno

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	1 (701)	0	0	0	1
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	1 (632)	1 (616)	0	0	0	0	2
N – POSS	0	1 (668)	1 (740)	5 (726, 733, 735, 742, 744)	2 (745, 752)	1 (727)	10
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	1
D – N – POSS	1 (682)	3 (608, 625, 656)	1 (731)	1 (736)	4 (765, 772, 780, 794)	0	10
Others	11 (603, 612, 624, 630, 633, 640, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664)	10 (615, 618, 619, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666)	10 (710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725)	0	3 (761, 762, 771)	14 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	48
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 7a: Map 16 – [è morto/ me l’ha detto] il nostro nonno – translations containing a 1PL.POSS

- (A7) a. [è morto] il nostro nonno
 [is dead] the.M.PL our.M.SG grandfather(M).SG
 ‘our grandfather has died’
- b. [me l’ ha detto] il nostro nonno
 [me it has said] the.M.PL our.M.SG grandfather(M).SG
 ‘our grandfather said it to me’

Notes for map 16 on the next page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	1 (654)	0	1 (731)	0	1 (761)	2 (729, 738)	5
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	2 (603, 612)	0	0	0	0	0	2
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	10 (624, 630, 632, 633, 640, 643, 652, 662, 664, 682)	15 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	9 (745, 752, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 791, 794)	13 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 737, 739, 749)	65
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 7b: Map 16 – [è morto/ me l’ha detto] il nostro nonno – **translations containing a 1SG.POSS**

Translations of the input sentences on the previous page!

Notes:

- wrong input → *D – Poss – N, Poss - N
- difficult to interpret if the 1SG.POSS substitutes the 1PL.POSS or if the translations are wrong
- often the translations consist only of the noun ‘grandfather’ (and lack the possessive and the article), probably used as vocative
- 654 → two translations: N-EP and D – N, probably used in two different contexts
- 625 → two translations: N and D – N – Poss, probably used in two different contexts
- 637, 646, 648, 658, 666, 710, 712, 718, 722, 723, 724, 725 → *tatōn^o* or similar; *question*: could it be the case that *-n^o* or similar in some of the translations is a 1PL.EP instead to be part of the translated word for grandfather
- 714 → *pātā tarītā*; compound structure N – N?
- 706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 719, 720, 726, 728, 733, 737, 739, 744, 745, 749 → compound structures
- 731 → two translations: N-EP and D – N – Poss

A.8 Map 17 – la nostra nonna [cucinava a quella finestra]

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	1 (643)	2 (666, 668)	2 (723, 740)	5 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742)	2 (745, 752)	1 (718)	13
D – POSS – N	5 (612, 632, 633, 640, 652)	2 (616, 637)	0	0	1 (791)	0	8
D – N – POSS	2 (630, 664)	3 (625, 645, 656)	5 (713, 720, 721, 724, 731)	1 (744)	4 (765, 772, 780, 794)	5 (728, 729, 738, 739, 749)	20
Others	5 (603, 624, 654, 662, 682)	8 (608, 615, 618, 619, 639, 646, 648, 658)	6 (701, 710, 712, 714, 722, 725)	0	3 (761, 762, 771)	9 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 719, 727, 737)	31
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 8a: Map 17 – la nostra nonna [cucinava a quella finestra] – translations containing a 1PL.POSS

(A8) *la nostra nonna [cucinava a quella finestra]*
the.F.SG our.F.SG grandmother(F).SG [cooked at that window]
‘our grandmother [used to cook at that window]’

Notes for map 17 on the next page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – POSS	0	1 (608)	0	0	0	0	1
Others	13 (603, 612, 624, 630, 632, 633, 640, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	13 (615, 616, 618, 619, 625 , 637, 639 , 645, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666 , 668)	13 (701 , 710 , 712 , 713 , 714 , 720 , 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726 , 733, 735, 736 , 742, 744)	10 (745, 752, 761 , 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 791, 794)	15 (706 , 707 , 708 , 709 , 716 , 717 , 718 , 719 , 727, 728 , 729, 737 , 738, 739 , 749)	71
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 8b: Map 17 – la nostra nonna [cucinava a quella finestra] – **translations containing a 1SG.POSS**

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

Notes:

- wrong input → *D – Poss – N, Poss - N
- **719** → *la mamma a nōst*; intervening preposition
- **625**, **666**, **668**, **710**, **712**, **714**, **718**, **719**, **736** → diminutive form of ‘mother’ for ‘grandmother’
- **744** → two translations: D – N – Poss and compound structure D – N – Adj
- **639**, **701**, **706**, **707**, **708**, **709**, **716**, **717**, **720**, **726**, **728**, **737**, **739**, **744**, **749**, **761** → compound structures with ‘mother/mum’

A.9 Map 18 – i nostri nipoti (figli del figlio)

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	1 (682)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N-EP	0	0	1 (701)	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	3 (630, 632, 633)	2 (616, 618)	1 (731)	0	1 (791)	0	7
D – N – POSS	3 (643, 654, 662)	7 (608, 625, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666)	7 (710, 712, 713, 720, 721, 724, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	9 (745, 752, 761, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 794)	10 (707, 708, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 737, 739)	42
Others	6 (603, 612, 624, 640, 652, 664)	6 (615, 619, 637, 639, 645, 668)	4 (714, 722, 723, 725)	0	0	5 (706, 709, 729, 738, 749)	21
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 9a: Map 18 – i nostri nipoti (figli del figlio) – translations containing a 1PL.POSS

(A9) *i nostri nipoti [figli del figlio]*
the.M.PL our.M.PL grandchild[M].PL [children of child]
‘our grandchildren’

Notes for map 18 on the next page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	2 (664, 682)	1 (645)	0	0	0	4 (706, 709, 729, 738)	7
D – N-EP	0	2 (619, 639)	0	0	0	0	2
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	2 (603, 652)	0	0	0	0	0	2
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	9 (612, 624, 630, 632, 633, 640, 643, 654, 662)	12 (608, 615, 616, 618, 625, 637, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666, 668)	13 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	10 (745, 752, 761, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 791, 794)	11 (707, 708, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 737, 739, 749)	61
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 9b: Map 18 – i nostri nipoti (figli del figlio) – **translations containing a 1SG.POSS**

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

Notes:

- **668** → *i năpŭtă e nuoștră*
- **682** → *nepŭteno; -ne; particular case, legend of the map: 682 - nepŭtemo; -me ‘grandchild-my, grandchildren-my’*

A.10 Map 19a – il loro zio

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	1 (745)	0	1
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – POSS	0	1 (656)	2 (720, 731)	3 (726, 735, 742)	4 (752, 771, 772, 780)	3 (708, 727, 738)	13
Others	13 (603, 612, 624, 630, 632, 633, 640, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	14 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	11 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 740)	3 (733, 736, 744)	5 (761, 762, 765, 791, 794)	12 (706, 707, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	58
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 10a: Map 19a – il loro zio – translations containing a 3PL.POSS

(A10) *il* *loro* *zio*
the.M.SG their[M.SG] uncle(M).SG
‘their uncle’

Notes for map 19 on the next page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	1 (794)	0	1
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	1 (612)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	2
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	1 (630)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	1 (765)	0	1
Others	11 (603, 624, 632, 633, 640, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	15 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666, 668)	13 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	7 (745, 752, 761, 762, 771, 772, 780)	15 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	67
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 10b: Map 19a – il loro zio – translations containing a 3SG.POSS

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

Notes:

- „Das Pron. Bereitete dem Suj. häufig Schwierigkeiten. Es wurde öfters weggelassen oder durch ein anderes Pron. ersetzt. Einzelne Antworten sind durch die umschreibende Erklärung des Explor. ‘s bedingt.“ → Jaberg/Jud notice that many informants had problems with the 3PL.POSS; the informants did not translate the 3PL.POSS or substituted it with another possessive; in some cases the interviewer had to paraphrase the input sentence
- many translations in ‘others’ contain a paraphrased structure for the 3PL.POSS, i.e. *de kílili* ‘of them’ and similar
- **668** → *u tsyénə r lórə, i tsyínə ~ ~*; intervening preposition

A.11 Map 19b – i loro zii

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	1 (640)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N – POSS	0	1 (656)	1 (731)	1 (735)	5 (745, 752, 771, 772, 780)	1 (708)	9
Others	12 (603, 612, 624, 630, 632, 633, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	14 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 740)	5 (726, 733, 736, 742, 744)	5 (761, 762, 765, 791, 794)	14 (706, 707, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	62
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 11a: Map 19b – i loro zii – translations containing a 3PL.POSS

(A11) *i* *loro* *zii*
the.M.PL their[M.PL] uncle(M).PL
‘their uncles’

Notes for map 19 on the previous page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	2 (612, 630)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	3
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	2 (765, 794)	0	2
Others	11 (603, 624, 632, 633, 640, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	15 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666, 668)	13 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	7 (745, 752, 761, 762, 771, 772, 780)	15 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	67
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 11b: Map 19b – i loro zii – translations containing a 3SG.POSS

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

A.12 Map 20a – la loro zia

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – POSS	0	0	2 (720, 731)	3 (726, 735, 742)	5 (745, 752, 771, 772, 780)	2 (727, 738)	12
Others	13 (603, 612, 624, 630 , 632, 633, 640, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	15 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666, 668)	11 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 740)	3 (733, 736, 744)	5 (761, 762, 765, 791, 794)	13 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 728, 729, 737, 739, 749)	60
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 12a: Map 20a – la loro zia – translations containing a 3PL.POSS

(A12) *la loro zia*
the.F.SG their[F.SG] aunt(F).SG
‘their uncles’

Notes for map 20 on the next page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	1 (794)	0	1
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	1
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	1 (612)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	1 (765)	0	1
Others	12 (603, 624, 630 , 632, 633, 640, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	15 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666, 668)	13 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	7 (745, 752, 761, 762, 771, 772, 780)	15 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	68
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 12b: Map 20a – la loro zia – translations containing a 3SG.POSS

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

Notes:

- **630** → *la lóro tsáa; lè tu tsíe*; note in the legend that *loro* is modern (maybe this is the reason for D – Poss – N), but the unmarked structure seems to be D – N – Poss
- Anmerkung AIS *loro* ist modern, deswegen others aber struktur scheint D – poss – n
- **668** → *a tsyéna e lórə, i ~ ~ ~*; intervening preposition

A.13 Map 20b – le loro zie

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – POSS	0	0	1 (731)	1 (735)	4 (752, 771, 772, 780)	0	6
Others	13 (603, 612, 624, 630 , 632, 633, 640, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	15 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 740)	5 (726, 733, 736, 742, 744)	6 (745, 761, 762, 765, 791, 794)	15 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	68
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 13a: Map 20b – le loro zie – translations containing a 3PL.POSS

(A13) *le* *loro* *zie*
the.F.PL their[F.PL] aunt(F).PL
‘their uncles’

Notes for map 20 on the previous/next page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	1 (612)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	2
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	2 (765, 794)	0	2
Others	12 (603, 624, 630 , 632, 633, 640, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	15 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 656, 658, 666, 668)	13 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	7 (745, 752, 761, 762, 771, 772, 780)	15 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	68
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 13b: Map 20b – le loro zie – **translations containing a 3SG.POSS**

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

Notes:

- many missing translation w.r.t. the plural input sentence

A.14 Map 21a – [Dov' è] il vostro nipote

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	1 (682)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	2 (632, 633)	0	0	0	1 (771)	0	3
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	1 (745)	0	1
D – POSS – N	5 (603, 612 , 630, 640, 652)	0	1 (731)	0	0	0	6
D – N – POSS	1 (662)	6 (608, 618, 625, 645, 656, 666)	7 (713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 724, 740)	3 (726, 733, 744)	5 (752, 765, 772, 780, 794)	5 (717, 718, 719, 739, 749)	27
Others	4 (624, 643 , 654, 664)	9 (615, 616, 619, 637 , 639, 646, 648, 658, 668)	5 (701, 710 , 712, 723, 725)	3 (735, 736, 742)	3 (761, 762, 791)	10 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738)	34
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 14a: Map 21a – [Dov' è] il vostro nipote – translations containing a 2PL.POSS

(A14) [Dov' è] il vostro nipote
 [where is] the.M.SG your(2PL).M.SG nephew[m].SG
 '[where is] your nephew'

Notes for map 21 on the next page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	4 (624, 643 , 654, 664)	5 (619 , 637 , 639, 646, 648)	1 (712)	1 (736)	2 (761, 762)	10 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738)	23
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	9 (603, 612 , 630, 632, 633, 640, 652, 662, 682)	10 (608, 615, 616 , 618, 625, 645, 656, 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710 , 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	5 (726, 733, 735 , 742 , 744)	8 (745, 752, 765, 771, 772, 780, 791 , 794)	5 (717, 718, 719, 739, 749)	49
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 14b: Map 21a – [Dov' è] il vostro nipote – **translations containing a 2SG.POSS**

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

Notes:

- wrong input → *D – Poss – N, Poss – N
- **612**, **643** → note in the legend that only 2SG.POSS ‘you’ is used although in **612** a 2PL.POSS is translated → doubtful data
- **616** → two translations: D – N and D – Poss – N
- **637** → *nepōtātā*; interpreted as NSG because only one translation is given
- **643** → *nebōdedè*, interpreted as NSG because only one translation is given
- many missing translation w.r.t. the plural input sentence
- note in the legend that many informants *misunderstood* the 2PL.POSS as the (common) polite form in SIDs
- **668** → *u nāpōtā e vōštrā*; *i nāpūtā ~ ~*; intervening preposition
- **710** → *nepūčičō*; *ti –čī*; not sure how to interpret the data
- **735** → *nipōttā*; N or N-EP? Moreover, two translations → 2nd: D – N – Poss
- **791** → not sure if NSG or NPL

A.15 Map 21b – i vostri nipoti

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	1 (682)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	1 (742)	0	0	1
D – POSS – N	0	0	1 (731)	0	0	0	1
D – N – POSS	1 (662)	2 (656, 666)	5 (714, 721, 722, 724, 740)	3 (726, 733, 744)	6 (745, 752, 771, 772, 780, 794)	4 (717, 718, 719, 749)	21
Others	11 (603, 612 , 624, 630, 632, 633, 640, 643 , 652, 654, 664)	13 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619 , 625, 637 , 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 668)	7 (701, 710 , 712, 713, 720, 723, 725)	2 (735, 736)	4 (761, 762, 765, 791)	11 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739)	48
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 15a: Map 21b – i vostri nipoti – translations containing a 2PL.POSS

(A15) *i* *vostr* *nipoti*
the.M.PL your(2PL).M.PL nephew[M].PL
‘your nephews’

Notes for map 21 on the previous page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	3 (624, 654, 664)	0	0	1 (736)	0	8 (706, 708, 709, 716, 728, 729, 737, 738)	12
D – N-EP	0	3 (615, 639, 648)	1 (712)	0	0	0	4
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – POSS	0	1 (646)	0	0	2 (761, 762)	2 (707, 727)	5
Others	10 (603, 612 , 630, 632, 633, 640, 643 , 652, 662, 682)	11 (608, 616, 618, 619 , 625, 637 , 645, 656, 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710 , 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	5 (726, 733, 735, 742 , 744)	8 (745, 752, 765, 771, 772, 780, 791, 794)	5 (717, 718, 719, 739, 749)	51
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 15b: Map 21b – i vostri nipoti – translations containing a 2SG.POSS

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

A.16 Map 22 – la vostra nipote

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	1 (682)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	1 (633)	0	0	0	2 (771, 791)	0	3
N – POSS	0	0	0	1 (742)	1 (745)	0	2
D – POSS – N	6 (603, 612, 630, 632, 640, 652)	2 (608, 616)	0	0	0	0	8
D – N – POSS	1 (662)	4 (618, 625, 645, 666)	9 (713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 731, 740)	3 (726, 733, 744)	5 (752, 765, 772, 780, 794)	5 (717, 718, 719, 739, 749)	27
Others	4 (624, 643, 654, 664)	9 (615, 619, 637, 639, 646, 648, 656, 658, 668)	4 (701, 710, 712, 725)	2 (735, 736)	2 (762, 761)	10 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738)	31
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 16a: Map 22 – la vostra nipote – translations containing a 2PL.POSS

(A16) *la* *vostra* *nipote*
the.F.SG your(2PL).F.SG niece[F].SG
‘your niece’

Notes for map 22 on the next page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	3 (624, 643, 664)	4 (637, 639, 646, 648)	2 (710, 712)	1 (736)	2 (762, 761)	10 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738)	22
D – N-EP	0	1 (615)	0	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – POSS	0	1 (656)	0	0	0	0	1
Others	10 (603, 612, 630, 632, 633, 640, 652, 654, 662, 682)	9 (608, 616, 618, 619, 625, 645, 658, 666, 668)	11 (701, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	5 (726, 733, 735 , 742, 744)	8 (745, 752, 765, 771, 772, 780, 791, 794)	5 (717, 718, 719, 739, 749)	48
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 16b: Map 22 – la vostra nipote – translations containing a 2SG.POSS

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

Notes:

- wrong input → *D – Poss – N, Poss – N
- many informants *missunderstood* the 2PL.POSS as the (common) polite form in SIDs
- **668** → *a nḗpótḗ e vōstrḗ*; intervening preposition
- **735** → two translations, see notes A.14
- **762** → two translations: N-EP and D – N – Poss

A.17 Map 23 – le vostre nipoti

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	1 (682)	0	0	0	0	0	1
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	6 (612, 624, 630, 632, 633, 640)	1 (616)	0	0	0	0	7
D – N – POSS	1 (662)	5 (625, 618, 646, 656, 666)	6 (714, 721, 722, 724, 731, 740)	4 (726, 733, 735, 744)	6 (745, 752, 771, 772, 780, 794)	5 (717, 718, 719, 727, 749)	27
Others	5 (603, 643, 652, 654, 664)	9 (608, 615, 619, 637, 639, 645, 648, 658, 668)	7 (701, 710, 712, 713, 720, 723, 725)	2 (736, 742)	4 (761, 762, 765, 791)	10 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739)	37
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 17a: Map 23 – le vostre nipoti – translations containing a 2PL.POSS

(A17) *le* *vostre* *nipoti*
the.F.PL your(2PL).F.PL niece[F].PL
‘your nieces’

Notes for map 23 on the next page!

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	3 (624, 643, 664)	0	0	1 (736)	0	8 (706, 708, 709, 716, 728, 729, 737, 738)	12
D – N-EP	0	2 (639, 648)	2 (710, 712)	0	0	0	4
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – POSS	0	0	0	0	2 (761, 762)	1 (707)	3
Others	10 (603, 612, 630, 632, 633, 640, 652, 654, 662, 682)	13 (608, 615, 616, 618, 619, 625, 637, 645, 646, 656, 658, 666, 668)	11 (701, 713, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	5 (726, 733, 735, 742, 744)	8 (745, 752, 765, 771, 772, 780, 791, 794)	6 (717, 718, 719, 727, 739, 749)	53
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 17b: Map 23 – le vostre nipoti – translations containing a 2SG.POSS

Translation of the input sentence on the previous page!

Notes:

- **624** → two translations: D – Poss – N and N-EP; note in the legend „Wir brauchen die 2. Form“, i.e. they use/prefer the EPC
- **668** → *i napōtā e vōstrā*; intervening preposition

A.18 Map 24a – mio cugino

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	1 (648)	2 (712, 713)	5 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742)	7 (752, 762, 761, 771, 772, 780, 794)	11 (708, 709, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	26
D – N-EP	0	3 (608, 625, 637)	0	0	0	0	3
N-EP – N	4 (624, 643, 662, 682)	7 (618, 639, 645, 646, 658, 666, 668)	11 (701, 710, 714, 721, 720, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	0	0	4 (706, 707, 716, 717)	26
D – N-EP – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – N-EP	0	1 (656)	0	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	3 (633, 640, 664)	1 (616)	0	0	1 (791)	0	5
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	1 (745)	0	1
D – POSS – N	4 (603, 612, 630, 632)	0	0	0	0	0	4
D – N – POSS	0	1 (615)	0	1 (744)	1 (765)	0	3
D – N – Poss – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – N – Poss	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Others	2 (652, 654)	1 (619)	0	0	0	0	3
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 18: Map 24a – mio cugino

(A18) *mio* *cugino*
my.M.SG *cousin.M.SG*
‘my cousin (m.)’

Notes:

- see chapter 3.1 for a detailed discussion; the structures in bold are the compound structures (**first N always ‘brother’ second N always ‘cousin’**)
- **654** → two translations for NSG (→ legend of the map): compound structure *frādimo guġġino* and rare article with 1SG.EP *yo kuġġinomé*; for NPL: *i (?) -nimè, i goġġnimè*
- **752, 762, 765, 771, 772** → N → ‘brother’ or ‘brother.DIM’ as stem for EPC
- **708** → structure N-EP but stem unclear → *kućġnəmə, corr. kuntəprġnəmə*

A.19 Map 24b – i miei cugini

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	1 (736)	0	4 (709, 729, 737, 738)	5
D – N-EP	1 (654)	4 (608, 625, 637, 648)	2 (712, 713)	0	0	1 (719)	8
N-EP – N	3 (643, 662, 682)	0	3 (724, 725, 740)	0	0	1 (716)	7
D – N-EP – N	0	2 (646, 666)	3 (701, 710, 731)	0	0	0	5
D – N – N-EP	0	1 (618)	0	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	2 (633, 640)	0	0	0	0	0	2
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	2 (765, 771)	0	2
D – POSS – N	5 (603, 612, 630, 632, 664)	1 (616)	0	0	1 (791)	0	7
D – N – POSS	0	1 (615)	0	4 (726, 735, 742, 744)	7 (745, 752 , 762 , 761, 772 , 780, 794)	4 (718, 727, 739, 749)	16
D – N – Poss – N	0	0	2 (721, 722)	0	0	0	2
D – N – N – Poss	0	0	1 (720)	0	0	1 (707)	2
Others	2 (624, 652)	6 (619, 639, 645, 656, 658, 668)	2 (714, 723)	1 (733)	0	4 (706, 708 , 717, 728)	15
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 19: Map 24b – i miei cugini

(A19) *i* *miei* *cugini*
the.M.PL my.M.PL cousin.M.PL
‘my cousins (m.)’

Notes:

- see chapter 3.1 for a detailed discussion; the structures in bold are the compound structures (**first N always ‘brother’ second N always ‘cousin’**)
- when there was only one translation, I interpreted them as construction 24a, i.e. with the kinship noun in singular
- **752, 762, 765, 771, 772** → N → ‘brothers’
- **708** → legend of the map notes *nəpōtə kučīnə* ‘nephew/niece cousin’ meaning ‘second cousin’

A.20 Map 25 – mia cugina

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	1 (648)	2 (712, 713)	4 (726, 733, 735, 742)	7 (752, 761, 762, 771, 772, 780, 794)	9 (708, 709, 718, 719, 728, 729, 738, 739, 749)	23
D – N-EP	0	2 (625, 637)	0	0	0	0	2
N-EP – N	5 (624, 643, 662, 664, 682)	7 (618, 619, 639, 645, 646, 666, 668)	11 (701, 710, 714, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	0	0	4 (706, 707, 716, 717)	27
D – N-EP – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	2 (633, 640)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	3
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	4 (603, 612, 630, 632)	1 (616)	0	0	0	0	5
D – N – POSS	0	2 (608, 615)	0	2 (736, 744)	2 (745, 765)	1 (727)	7
D – N – Poss – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – N – N – Poss	0	1 (656)	0	0	0	0	1
Others	2 (652, 654)	1 (658)	0	0	0	1 (737)	4
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 20: Map 25 – mia cugina

(A20) *mia* *cugina*
my.F.SG cousin.F.SG
‘my cousin (f.)’

Notes:

- see chapter 3.1 for a detailed discussion; the structures in bold are the compound structures (**first N always ‘sister’ second N always ‘cousin’**)
- **654** → two translations: D – N – Poss and N-EP N
- **752, 762, 765, 771, 772** → N → ‘sister’ or ‘sister.DIM’ as stem for EPC
- **729** → stem unclear; *kušīnim^a*, *kussuprīnəm^a*
- **737** → additional adjective; *kuġīnəma fēmməna*

A.21 Map 26 – le mie cugine

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	4 (709, 729, 737, 738)	4
D – N-EP	1 (654)	2 (625, 637)	2 (712, 713)	0	0	0	5
N-EP – N	4 (643, 662, 664, 682)	0	3 (724, 725, 740)	0	0	1 (716)	8
D – N-EP – N	0	2 (646, 666)	5 (701, 710, 714 , 722, 731)	0	0	0	7
D – N – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	1 (633)	0	0	0	0	0	1
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	5 (603, 612, 630, 632, 640)	1 (616)	0	0	1 (791)	0	7
D – N – POSS	0	3 (608, 615, 648)	0	5 (726, 736, 735, 742, 744)	7 (752, 762, 765, 761, 771, 772, 780)	5 (718, 719, 727, 739, 749)	20
D – N – Poss – N	0	0	1 (721)	0	0	0	1
D – N – N – Poss	0	1 (618)	1 (720)	0	0	1 (707)	3
Others	2 (642, 654)	6 (619, 639, 645, 656, 658, 668)	1 (723)	1 (733)	2 (745, 794)	4 (706, 708, 717, 728)	16
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 21: Map 26 – le mie cugine

(A21) *le mie cugine*
the.F.PL my.F.PL cousin.F.PL
‘my cousins (f.)’

Notes:

- see chapter 3.1 for a detailed discussion; the structures in bold are the compound structures (**first N always ‘sister’ second N always ‘cousin’**)
- 752, 762, 765, 771, 772 → N → ‘sisters’ or ‘sisters.DIM’ as stem
- many missing translations

A.22 Map 27 – il suo cognato

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	2 (780, 794)	3 (738, 739, 749)	5
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	1 (633)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	2
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	1 (745)	0	1
D – POSS – N	5 (603, 612, 630, 632, 640)	2 (616, 639)	1 (731)	0	0	0	8
D – N – POSS	0	3 (619, 656, 645)	1 (720)	1 (726)	3 (752, 762, 765)	2 (727, 728)	10
Others	7 (624, 652, 643, 654, 662, 664, 682)	10 (608, 615, 618, 625, 637, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	11 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 725, 724, 740)	5 (733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	3 (761, 771, 772)	10 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 729, 737)	46
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 22: Map 27 – il suo cognato

(A22) *il suo cognato*
the.M.SG his/her.M.SG brother-in-law(M).SG
‘his/her brother-in-law’

Notes:

- wrong input → *D – Poss – N, Poss - N
- **668** → *lu kainētā e sēyā*; intervening preposition
- many translations in ‘others’ contain a paraphrased structure for the 3PL.POSS, i.e. *de killi* ‘of them’ and similar

A.23 Map 28 – i suoi cognati

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	1 (738)	1
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	7 (603, 612, 630, 632, 633, 640, 652)	1 (616)	0	0	0	0	8
D – N – POSS	0	2 (625, 656)	1 (720)	0	5 (752, 762, 765, 780, 794)	3 (727, 739, 749)	11
Others	6 (624, 643, 654, 662, 664, 682)	12 (608, 615, 618, 619, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	5 (745, 761, 771, 772, 791)	11 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 728, 729, 737)	52
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 23: Map 28 – i suoi cognati

(A23) *i* *suoi* *cognati*
the.M.PL his/her.M.PL brother-in-law(M).PL
‘his/her brothers-in-law’

Notes:

- many missing translations
- many translations in ‘others’ show the typical possessive omission with the 3SG → D – N
- many translations in ‘others’ contain a paraphrased structure for the 3PL.POSS, i.e. *de kílly* ‘of them’ and similar
- **668** → *i kainít^p e s’íye*; intervening preposition

A.24 Map 29 – la sua cognata

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	1 (794)	3 (738, 739, 749)	4
D – N-EP	0	1 (656)	0	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	2 (633, 652)	0	0	0	1 (791)	0	3
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	5 (603, 612, 630, 632, 640)	2 (616, 639)	1 (731)	0	0	0	8
D – N – POSS	0	3 (608, 619, 645)	1 (720)	1 (726)	5 (745, 752, 762, 765, 780)	2 (727, 729)	12
Others	6 (624, 643, 654, 662, 664, 682)	9 (615, 618, 625 , 637, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	11 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 740)	5 (733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	3 (761, 771, 772)	10 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 729, 737)	44
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 24: Map 29 – la sua cognata

(A24) *la sua cognata*
the.F.SG his/her.F.SG sister-in-law(F).SG
‘his/her sister-in-law’

Notes:

- wrong input → *D – Poss – N, Poss – N
- **625** → two translations: D – N-EP and corrected N → *là goñádasè*, *corr. kwináda*; on map 27 no EPC with masculine noun *cognato*, thus, doubtful data
- **668** → *a kaynětə e séyə*; intervening preposition
- many translations in ‘others’ show the typical possessive omission with the 3SG → D – N
- many translations in ‘others’ contain a paraphrased structure for the 3PL.POSS, i.e. *de kílly* ‘of them’ and similar

A.25 Map 30 – le sue cognate

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	1 (738)	1
D – N-EP	0	1 (656)	0	0	0	0	1
POSS – N	1 (633)	0	0	0	0	0	1
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	5 (603, 612, 630, 632, 640)	1 (616)	0	0	0	0	6
D – N – POSS	0	1 (608)	1 (720)	0	5 (752, 762, 765, 780, 794)	3 (727, 739, 749)	10
Others	7 (624, 643, 652, 654, 662, 664, 682)	12 (615, 618, 619, 625, 637, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	6 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742, 744)	5 (745, 761, 771, 772, 791)	11 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 728, 729, 737)	53
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 25: Map 30 – le sue cognate

(A25) *le sue cognate*
the.F.PL his/her.F.PL sister-in-law(F).PL
‘his/her sisters-in-law’

Notes:

- many missing translations
- **668** → *i kainĩtə e sĩyə*; intervening preposition
- many translations in ‘others’ show the typical possessive omission with the 3SG → D – N

A.26 Map 72 – mio marito

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	6 (624, 643, 654 , 662, 664, 682)	12 (608, 615, 616 , 618, 619, 639, 645, 646, 648, 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	5 (726, 733, 735, 736, 742)	8 (752, 761, 762, 765, 771, 772, 780, 794)	15 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737, 738, 739, 749)	58
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	5 (612, 632, 633, 640, 652)	1 (637)	0	0	1 (791)	0	7
N – POSS	0	0	0	1 (744)	1 (745)	0	2
D – POSS – N	2 (603, 630)	0	0	0	0	0	2
D – N – POSS	0	2 (625, 656)	0	0	0	0	2
Others	0	0	1 (720)	0	0	0	1
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 26: Map 72 – mio marito

(A26) *mio* *marito*
my.M.SG husband(M).SG
‘my husband’

Notes:

- **654** → two translations: Poss – N and corrected N-EP → *mi marítto*, *corr. marídimo*
- **616** → two translations: Poss – N and N-EP → *me marídu*, *marídemù*
- **720** → *marítamə myéy*; peculiar case N-EP – Poss

A.27 Map 73 – la sua moglie [è gravida]

	Lazio	Abruzzo	Campania	Basilicata	Calabria	Puglia	Sum
N-EP	0	0	0	0	4 (765, 772, 780, 794)	3 (738, 739, 749)	7
D – N-EP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
POSS – N	2 (633, 640)	1 (637)	0	0	1 (791)	0	4
N – POSS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
D – POSS – N	3 (603, 612, 630)	0	0	0	0	0	3
D – N – POSS	2 (652, 682)	0	1 (720)	2 (736, 742)	1 (745)	0	6
Others	6 (624, 632, 643, 654, 662, 664)	14 (608, 615 , 616 , 618 , 619, 625, 639 , 645 , 646, 648, 656 , 658, 666, 668)	12 (701, 710, 712, 713, 714, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 731, 740)	4 (726, 733, 735, 744)	4 (752, 761, 762, 771)	12 (706, 707, 708, 709, 716, 717, 718, 719, 727, 728, 729, 737)	52
Sum	13	15	13	6	10	15	72

Table 27: Map 73 – la sua moglie [è gravida]

(A27) *la sua moglie [è gravida]*
the.F.SG his/her.F.SG wife(F).SG [is pregnant]
‘his(/her) wife [is pregnant]’

Notes:

- wrong input → *D – Poss – N, Poss - N
- many translations in ‘others’ show the typical possessive omission with the 3SG → D – N
- many wrong translations with 1SG.POSS and 2SG.POSS
- **615**, **616**, **618**, **656** → EPCs with 2SG.EP
- **639** → EPC with 1SG.EP
- **645** → *la môte e vîo la môtésé*; not sure how to interpret
- **668** → *a motə^e séyə*; intervening preposition

B. Fieldwork

B.1 Design

B.1.1 Questionnaire - 1st Fieldwork – Verzino (KR, Calabria, 2013)

In ogni numero viene descritta una situazione. Qui di seguito dovete scegliere tra le possibilità la risposta che usereste normalmente in una conversazione in dialetto. In caso potete mettere anche due crocette se due possibilità vi sembrano entrambe buone. Le frasi sono scritte orientativamente in Verzinese usando la normale grafia dell'italiano. Se nessuna delle opzioni vi sembra possibile o se esiste un'altra possibilità, potete aggiungerne una nella riga punteggiata in basso.

1. Stai parlando con tua sorella. Ti sei dimenticata quanti anni ha vostra nonna. Chiedi:

- a. Quant' anne tena a nanna?
- b. Quant' anne tena a nanna nostra?
- c. Quant' anne tena nanna?
- d.

.....

2. Chiedi a tuo padre dov'è tua sorella Luisa:

- a. E sorma duv'è?
- b. E sorma mia duv'è?
- c. E sorma Luisa duv'è?
- d. E a soro duv'è?
- e.

.....

3. Stai raccontando a tua sorella che tua suocera ti ha fatto un bel regalo per Natale. Dici:

- a. A socra m' ha fatto nu bello regalo pe Natale.
- b. Socrema m' ha fatto nu bello regalo pe Natale.
- c. Socrema mia m' ha fatto nu bello regalo pe Natale.
- d. Socra m' ha fatto nu bello regalo pe Natale.
- e.

.....

4. Tua figlia non vuole mangiare la pappa. Le dici:

- a. Mangia figlia mia!
- b. Mangia mamma!
- c. Mangia!
- d.

.....

5. Ti viene a trovare un'amico. Ti saluta, poi dice: "Mo ca sugno venuto aio scuntato a zia. Ti manna tante salute." La zia *di chi* ti manda tanti saluti?

- a. tua zia
- b. la zia del tuo amico
- c. non si capisce

6. I fratelli Mario e Paolo hanno raccontato che i loro nonni hanno tutti più di novant'anni. Chiedi a un'amica se hai capito giusto.

- a. È vero ca i nannese tenano chiu i novant'anne?
 - b. È vero ca i nannese i Mario e Paolo tenano chiu i novant'anne?
 - c. È vero ca i nanne i Mario e Paolo tenano chiu i novant'anne?
 - d.
-

7. Tua cugina Maria ti viene a trovare. Dici:

- a. Cugi, che bella sorpresa!
 - b. Mari, che bella sorpresa!
 - c.
-

8. Stai raccontando alla tua vicina di casa che il suocero di tuo fratello l'ha aiutato a montare la cucina. Dici:

- a. U socio c'ha aiutato a muntare a cucina nova a fratema.
 - b. U socio i fratema c'ha aiutato a muntare a cucina nova.
 - c. U socio suo c'ha aiutato a muntare a cucina nova.
 - d.
-

9. Chiedi alla tua vicina di casa come sta sua madre.

- a. A mamma cume sta?
 - b. Mammeta cume sta?
 - c. Mamma cume sta?
 - d.
-

10. Passa un conoscente e ti chiede se tua madre è a casa. Tu rispondi:

- a. A mamma è nisciuta a fare a spisa cu sorma Luisa.
 - b. A mamma mia è nisciuta a fare a spisa cu ra sorella mia Luisa.
 - c. Mamma è nisciuta a fare a spisa cu sorma Luisa.
 - d. Mammama è nisciuta a fare a spisa cu sorma Luisa.
 - e.
-

11. Tua nipote ti viene a trovare. Dici:

- a. Nipù, che bella sorpresa!
 - b. Zi, che bella sorpresa!
 - c.
-

12. Stai per uscire con amici. Ti manca solamente il tuo portafoglio e lo cerchi. Una tua amica ti aiuta e chiede: "È chisto cà?". Rispondi:

- a. No. Chisto è chillo vecchio, stao cercanno u partafoglio du mio novo.
 - b. No. Chisto è chillo vecchio, stao cercanno u partafoglio novo du mio.
 - c.
-

13. Stai parlando con un'amica e vuoi sapere quanti anni ha suo nonno. Chiedi:

- a. Quant' anne tena u nanno?
 - b. Quant' anne tena u nanno tuo?
 - c. Quant' anne tena nanneta?
 - d. Quant'anne tena nanno?
 - e.
-

14. Chiedi a una tua amica se la madre di Giuseppe lavora ancora come maestra di scuole elementare.

- a. A mamma i Giuseppe ancora lavora cume maestra?
 - b. A mamesa i Giuseppe ancora lavora cume maestra?
 - c. A Mammesa ancora lavora cume maestra?
 - d. Mammesa ancora lavora cume maestra?
 - e. Mamma ancora lavora cume maestra?
 - f.
-

15. Una vicina di casa si lamenta del cane di Giuseppe, che abita qua vicino. Ti racconta che il cane ha abbaiato tutta la notte. Rispondi:

- a. No, era u cane du mio.
 - b. No, era chillo du mio.
 - c. No, era u cane mio.
 - d. No, era chillo cane du mio.
 - e.
-

16. Chiedi alla tua amica qualcosa su Maria, una vostra compagna di scuola:

- a. Ma i ziese i Maria tutti stannu a ru nord?
 - b. Ma i ziese tutti stannu a ru nord?
 - c. Ma i zie tutti stannu a ru nord?
 - d.
-

17. Sei con tuo zio sul campo. Passa tuo fratello Francesco e tuo zio lo chiama:

- a. Nipù, vene ca duve u zio.
 - b. Ciccio, vene ca duve u zio.
 - c. Zi, vene ca duve u zio.
 - d.
-

18. Tuo padre vuole passare dopo cena. Dici a tua moglie: "Stasira passa papà." Tua moglie cosa capisce?

- a. tua moglie pensa che passa suo padre
 - b. tua moglie pensa che passa tuo padre
 - c. tua moglie non sa a chi ti riferisci
 - d.
-

Qualche informazione su di te:

→ Luogo di nascita:

.....

→ Data di nascita:

.....

→ I miei genitori sono nati a:

.....

→ In famiglia parliamo:

.....

→ Mestiere:

.....

→ Dove parla abitualmente dialetto?

in famiglia, con gli amici, al lavoro, altro:.....

B.1.2 Questionnaire – 2nd Fieldwork – Verzino (KR, Calabria, 2015)

In ogni numero vi viene chiesto di tradurre una frase, di scegliere tra le possibilità la risposta che usereste normalmente in una conversazione in dialetto o di giudicare tra varie possibilità.

In caso potete mettere anche due crocette se due possibilità vi sembrano entrambe buone. Le frasi sono scritte orientativamente in Verzinese usando la normale grafia dell'italiano. Se nessuna delle opzioni vi sembra possibile, se esiste un'altra possibilità o avete qualche commento da fare, potete aggiungerne una nella riga libera in basso.

1. Sei a pranzo con tua sorella e un'amica. Dici all'improvviso: *Dumane tena u compleanno a zia!* A chi ti rivolgi?

➤ A una tua amica

➤ A tua sorella

➤ _____

2. Sei al mercato con tua mamma. Incontrate parenti e amici. Tu le stai raccontando che stanotte tuo figlio non ha dormito bene e che è anche raffreddato eccetera eccetera. All'improvviso ti sfugge di bocca *Cum' è crisciuto u figlio!* Il figlio di chi?

➤ Tuo figlio

➤ Il figlio di qualcun altro

➤ _____

3. Tua nuora è passata a portarti dei pasticcini. Ti rivolgi al tuo vicino di casa e dici:

➤ Vene piate nu pasticcino. Me la portate _____
(nuora/mia). A proposito, è partorita _____ (nuora/tua)?

➤ _____

4. La ricordi questa canzone come richiesta di matrimonio? Riempi lo spazi vuoto.

Signu venutu a ti parrari chiaru

Sono venuto a parlarti chiaro

*Signu venutu a ti parrari chiaru,
si mi la dai _____ o chi dici.*

Sono venuto a parlarti chiaro,
se me la dai a **tua figlia** o che dici.

*Si mi la duni ti chiamu mamma
si 'nno ti chiamo scellerata donna.*

Se me la dai ti chiamo mamma
se no ti chiamo scellerata donna.

5. Traduci *Ti saluta il tuo compare!*

➤ _____

6. Quale domanda accetti o accetti entrambi?

➤ Cume si chiama zieta?

➤ Cume si chiama zianeta?

➤ _____

7. Vedi tuo fratello da lontano e lo chiami. Dici:

➤ _____

8. Un uomo da fuori città ti toglie la precedenza. Devi fare una frenata a fondo. Sei arrabbiatissimo e gridi:

➤ _____

9. Suona il telefono. E tua sorella. Come rivolgi la parola a lei?

➤ _____, a stapiò aspettanno a chiamata tua!

➤ _____

10. Quali dei seguenti frasi accetti in dialetto per dire che ha chiamato tua madre rispettivamente tuo padre?

➤ Ha chiamato mamma?

➤ Ha chiamato papà?

➤ Ha chiamato a mamma?

➤ Ha chiamato u papà?

➤ Ha chiamato u patre?

➤ _____

11. Il termine *madre* si usa nel dialetto verzinense?

➤ _____

12. Che vuol dire la frase seguente ossia il tratto sottolineato:

Eugè, ci dici a mammeta ca sugnu juta a fare na 'mmaschiata!

➤ _____

13. Quale o quali delle seguenti possibilità può o possono essere un sottointeso accettato del tratto sottolineato della frase: *I tsiese stanno tutte all'estero*. I zii di chi?

➤ Tutti i miei zii

➤ Tutti i tuoi zii

➤ Tutti i suoi zii

➤ Tutti i nostri zii

➤ Tutti i vostri zii

➤ Tutti i loro zii

Qualche informazione su di te:

➤ Luogo e data di nascita:

➤ Hai vissuto anche in un'altra città/in un altro paese? Se sì per quanto tempo?:

➤ I miei genitori sono nati a:

➤ In famiglia parliamo:

➤ Il mio mestiere:

➤ Dove parli abitualmente dialetto?

• in famiglia,

• con gli amici e parenti,

• al lavoro,

• nella vita quotidiana cioè al supermercato eccetera

• altro:

➤ Vuoi aggiungere qualche osservazione?

B.1.3 Questionnaire – 3rd Fieldwork – Puglia (2016)

In ogni numero vi chiedo di tradurre una frase, di formulare una possibile risposta che usereste normalmente in una conversazione in dialetto o di giudicare tra varie possibilità.

Se nessuna delle opzioni vi sembra possibile, se esiste un'altra possibilità o avete qualche commento da fare, potete aggiungerlo nella riga libera in basso.

1. *Traduca*: Mio padre e mia madre hanno lavorato insieme in vigna.

Commento?

2. *Risponda al contesto*: (Lei) è in un bar con Mario. Entra un altro amico, Giovanni. Dica a Mario che suo nonno (di Giovanni) ha lavorato per tanti anni in Germania.

Commento?

3. *Traduca*: La tua casa è bella.

Commento?

4. *Risponda al contesto*: Al mercato incontra ad un amico che si chiama Mario. Parlate di un altro amico in comune che si chiama Giovanni. Chieda a Mario come sta sua madre (di Giovanni).

Commento?

5. *Risponda al contesto*: (Lei) è in un bar con Mario. Entra un altro amico, Giovanni. Dica a Mario che sua sorella (di Giovanni) si è sposata l'anno scorso.

Commento?

6. *Traduca*: Ti saluta tua cugina!

Commento?

7. *Traduca*: La sua mano è più grande della tua.

Commento?

8. *Risponda al contesto:* (Lei) è in un bar con Mario. Entra un altro amico, Giovanni. Dica a Mario che sua nonna (di Giovanni) è morta poco tempo fa.

Commento?

9. *Traduca:* Tuo nonno mi ha raccontato che la sua casa in montagna è bellissima.

Commento?

10. *Risponda al contesto:* Al mercato incontra ad un amico che si chiama Mario. Parlate di un altro amico in comune che si chiama Giovanni. Chieda a Mario come sta suo padre (di Giovanni).

Commento?

11. *Traduca:* La mia mano è più grande della tua.

Commento?

12. *Traduca:* Sono stato a pranzo da mia sorella. Per il caffè è arrivato anche mio fratello.

13. *Risponda al contesto:* (Lei) è in un bar con Mario. Chieda a Mario come si chiama sua nonna.

Commento?

14. *Traduca:* Guarda come somiglia a sua cugina!

Commento?

15. *Risponda al contesto:* (Lei) è in un bar con Mario. Entrano due amici suoi, Giovanni ed Antonio che sono fratelli. Dica a Mario che Giovanni somiglia molto a suo fratello.

Commento?

16. *Traduca:* La tua mano è più piccola della mia.

Commento?

17. *Traduca:* La mia casa è bella.

Commento?

18. *Risponda al contesto:* (Lei) è in un bar con Mario. Dica a Mario che (lei) ha incontrato suo cugino (di Mario).

Commento?

19. *Traduca:* Ho incontrato Mario e suo cugino che si chiama Antonio.

Qual è la traduzione più naturale per esprimere i seguenti modificazioni?

- ❖ suo cugino Antonio

- ❖ il suo bel/bello cugino

- ❖ il suo bello cugino Antonio

Commento?

Qualche informazione su di lei (i dati personali non vengono pubblicati):

- ❖ Nome del partecipante:

 - ❖ Luogo e data di nascita:

 - ❖ Ha vissuto anche in un'altra città/in un altro paese? Se sì per quanto tempo?

 - ❖ Dove sono nati i suoi genitori?

 - ❖ Qual è il suo mestiere:

 - ❖ Dove parla abitualmente dialetto?
 - in famiglia, O
 - con gli amici e parenti, O
 - al lavoro, O
 - nella vita quotidiana cioè al supermercato eccetera O
 - altro:
-

Informazioni opzionali (i dati personali non vengono pubblicati, sono solo importanti in caso si fa un secondo giro di inchieste sul dialetto e voi sareste disposti a partecipare)

❖ Indirizzo postale:

❖ Numero di telefono/cellulare e/o indirizzo e-mail:

B.2 Informants

B.2.1 1st Fieldwork – Verzino (KR, Calabria, 2013)

Informant N°	Sex	Year of Birth	Residence	Job	Use of dialect
1	w	1997	Verzino	student	high
2	w	1996	Verzino	student	high
3	w	1997	Verzino	student	high
4	m	1969	Verzino	comp. scientist	high
5	m	1988	Verzino	employer	low
6	w	1985	Verzino	student	middle
7	w	1982	Verzino	secretary	middle
8	w	1958	Verzino	housewife	high
9	m	1953	Verzino	retired	high
10	w	1978	Verzino	secretary	middle
11	w	1962	Verzino	employee	middle
12	w	1997	Verzino	student	high
13	m	1942	Verzino	retired	low
14	w	1983	Verzino	teacher	low
15	m	1970	Verzino	employee	high
16	w	1986	Verzino	student	high
17	m	1987	Verzino	student	high
18	m	1960	Verzino	unemployed	high
19	m	1972	Verzino	-	high
20	m	1977	Verzino	-	middle
21	w	1985	Verzino	employee	middle
22	m	1976	Verzino	forensic doctor	high
23	w	1974	Verzino	unemployed	middle
24	w	1930	Verzino	housewife	high
25	w	1932	Verzino	housewife	high
26	m	1930	Verzino	retired	high
27	m	1941	Verzino	retired	high

Table 28: 1st Fieldwork in Verzino (KR, Calabria) - Informants

B.2.2 2nd Fieldwork – Verzino (KR, Calabria, 2015)

Informant N°	Sex	Year of Birth	Residence	Job	Use of dialect
1	w	1988	Verzino	employee	high
2	m	1983	Verzino	unemployed	high
3	w	1998	Verzino	student	low
4	w	1995	Verzino	student	middle
5	w	1960	Verzino	housewife	high
6	m	1952	Verzino	retired	high
7	m	1960	Verzino	employee	middle
8	m	1978	Verzino	farmer	high
9	m	1983	Verzino	employer	high
10	w	1985	Verzino	employee	high
11	w	1977	Verzino	unemployed	high
12	w	1990	Verzino	student	middle
13	w	1982	Verzino	secretary	middle
14	m	1950	Verzino	retired	high
15	w	1975	Verzino	unemployed	high
16	m	1996	Verzino	student	high
17	m	1996	Verzino	student	middle
18	w	1978	Verzino	domestic help	high
19	w	1936	Verzino	housewife	high
20	m	1938	Verzino	retired	high
21	w	1930	Verzino	housewife	high
22	w	1958	Verzino	employee	high
23	w	1959	Verzino	housewife	low
24	m	1960	Verzino	employee	middle
25	m	1951	Verzino	retired	middle

Table 29: 2nd Fieldwork in Verzino (KR, Calabria) - Informants

B.2.3 3rd Fieldwork – Puglia (2016)

Informant N°	Sex	Year of Birth	Residence	Job	Use of dialect
Leverano (LE)					
1	w	1987	Leverano	secretary	low
2	w	1934	Leverano	housewife	middle
3	m	1986	Leverano	student	high
4	m	1996	Leverano	student	high
5	w	1989	Leverano	student	high
6	w	1994	Leverano	student	high
7	w	1965	Leverano	housewife	high
8	m	1950	Leverano	retired	middle
9	w	1931	Leverano	housewife	high
10	w	1994	Leverano	student	middle
Salve (LE)					
1	m	1932	Salve	retired	high
2	m	1929	Salve	retired	high
3	m	1932	Salve	retired	high
4	m	1930	Salve	retired	high
5	w	1942	Salve	housewife	high
Lecce (LE)					
1	m	1982	Lecce	teacher	high
2	m	1950	Lecce	professor	low
3	m	1963	Lecce	professor	low
Castrignano del Capo (LE)					
1	m	1962	C. del Capo	engineer	high
2	m	1963	C. del Capo	employee	high
San Giovanni Rotondo (FG)					
1	m	1942	S. Giovanni	retired	high
2	w	1946	S. Giovanni	retired	high
3	m	1965	S. Giovanni	-	low
4	m	1940	S. Giovanni	-	low
5	w	1985	S. Giovanni	employee	middle
6	w	1983	S. Giovanni	employee	low
Polignano a Mare (BA)					
1	m	1980	Polignano	employee	high
2	m	1951	Polignano	retired	high
3	w	1979	Polignano	-	middle
Ceglie Messapica (BR)					
1	w	1998	C. Messapica	cosmetician	high
2	w	1992	C. Messapica	-	high

Table 30: 3rd Fieldwork in Puglia - Informants

B.3 Data

B.3.1 Verzino (KR, Calabria)

Kinship noun		NSG- 1SG.EP 'my'	NSG- 2SG.EP 'your'	D – NSG- 3SG/PL.EP 'his/her/their'	D – NPL- 3SG/PL.EP 'his/her/their'
mamma	<i>mum</i>		mammə-ta	a mammə-sa	i mammə-sə
paʦtə	<i>father</i>	paʦtə-ma	paʦtə-ta		
filjə/-a	<i>son/daughter</i>	filjə-ma	filjə-ta		
fratə	<i>brother</i>	fratə-ma	fratə-ta		
soro	<i>sister</i>	sər-ma	sər-ta		
maritə	<i>husband</i>	maritə-ma	maritə-ta		
muljəra	<i>wife</i>	muljər-ma	muljər-ta		
tsiə/-a	<i>uncle/aunt</i>	tsiə-ma	tsiə-ta	u tsiə-sə a tsiə-sa	i tsiə-sə
kudzino/- a	<i>cousin</i>	kudzino- ma	kudzino-ta	u kudzinə-sə a kudzinə-sa	i kudzinə-sə
nanno/-a	<i>grandfather/- mother</i>		nannə-ta	u nannə-sə a nannə-sa	i nannə-sə
nıputə	<i>nephew/grandchild</i>	nıputə-ma	nıputə-ta		
kanatə/-a	<i>brother-/sister-in- law</i>	kanatə-ma	kanatə-ta		
səʦjərə/-a	<i>father/mother-in- law</i>	səkrə-ma	səkrə-ta		
kumpərə	<i>godfather</i>				
kumarə	<i>godmother</i>				
jənnərə	<i>son-in-law</i>				
nəra	<i>daughter-in-law</i>	nərə-ma	nərə-ta		

Table 31: Distribution of EPCs in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) – full paradigm

Personal pronoun		Possessives		
		M.SG	F.SG	M/F.PL
1SG	iə	miə	mia	miə
2SG	tu	tuə	tua	tuə
3SG	illə/illa	suə	sua	suə
1PL	nuə	nərrə	nərra	nərrə
2PL	vuə	vərrə	vərra	vərrə
3PL	illə	i dillə	i dillə	i dillə
	killə	i killə	i killə	i killə

Table 32: Personal pronouns and strong possessives in the dialect of Verzino (KR, Calabria) – full paradigm

B.3.2 Leverano (LE, Puglia)

Kinship noun	NSG-1SG.EP 'my'	NSG-2SG.EP 'your'	NSG-3SG.EP 'his/her'
<i>mum</i>	mama	mama-ta	mama-sa
<i>father</i>	sir-ma	sir- da	sir-sa
<i>son</i>	fiju-ma	fiju-ta	fiju-sa
<i>daughter</i>	fija-ma	fija-ta	fija-sa
<i>brother</i>	fra-ma	fra-ta	fra-sa
<i>sister</i>	sor-ma	sor- da	sor-sa
<i>husband</i>	maritu-ma	maritu-ta	maritu-sa
<i>wife</i>	mujeri-ma	mujeri-ta	mujeri-sa
<i>uncle</i>	tsiu-ma	tsiu-ta	tsiu-sa
<i>aunt</i>	tsia-ma	tsia-ta	tsia-sa
<i>cousin (m.)</i>	kufīnu-ma	kufīnu-ta	kufīnu-sa
<i>cousin (f.)</i>	kufīna-ma	kufīna-ta	kufīna-sa
<i>grandfather</i>	nonnu-ma	nonnu-ta	nonnu-sa
<i>grandmother</i>	nonna-ma	nonna-ta	nonna-sa
<i>nephew/grandchild</i>	niputi-ma	niputi-ta	niputi-sa
<i>brother-in-law</i>	kagnatu-ma	kagnatu-ta	kagnatu-sa
<i>sister-in-law</i>	kagnata-ma	kagnata-ta	kagnata-sa
<i>father-in-law</i>	suekru-ma	suekru-ta	suekru-sa
<i>mother-in-law</i>	sokra-ma	sokra-ta	sokra-sa
<i>godfather</i>	kumpari-ma	kumpari-ta	kumpari-sa
<i>godmother</i>	kumari-ma	kumari-ta	kumari-sa
<i>son-in-law</i>	fennu-ma	fennu-ta	fennu-sa
<i>daughter-in-law</i>	nora-ma	nora-ta	nora-sa

Table 33: Distribution of EPCs in the dialect of Leverano (LE, Puglia) – full paradigm

Person	Possessive/Possessor			
	M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL
1SG	mia	mia	mia	mia
2SG	tua	tua	tua	tua
3SG	sua	sua	sua	sua
1PL	nuefu	noʃa	nuefi	noʃa
2PL	uefu	oʃa	uefi	oʃa
3PL	loru	loru	loru	loru

Table 34: Strong possessives in the dialect of Leverano (LE, Puglia) – full paradigm

B.3.3 Lecce (LE, Puglia)

Kinship noun	NSG-1SG.EP 'my'	NSG-2SG.EP 'your'	NSG-3SG.EP 'his/her'
<i>mum</i>	maʃʃi-ma	mamma-ta	mamma-sa
<i>father</i>	sir-ma	sir- da	sir-sa
<i>son</i>	figghiu-ma	figghiu-ta	figghiu-sa
<i>daughter</i>	figghia-ma	figghia-ta	figghia-sa
<i>brother</i>	frai-ma	frai-ta	frai-sa
<i>sister</i>	sor-ma	sor- da	sor-sa
<i>husband</i>	maritu-ma	maritu-ta	maritu-sa
<i>wife</i>	muggghieri-ma	muggghieri-ta	muggghieri-sa
<i>uncle</i>	ziu-ma	ziu-ta	ziu-sa
<i>aunt</i>	zia-ma	zia-ta	zia-sa
<i>cousin (m.)</i>	kuʃinu-ma	kuʃinu-ta	kuʃinu-sa
<i>cousin (f.)</i>	kuʃina-ma	kuʃina-ta	kuʃina-sa
<i>grandfather</i>	nonnu-ma	nonnu-ta	nonnu-sa
<i>grandmother</i>	nonna-ma	nonna-ta	nonna-sa
<i>nephew/grandchild</i>	nipute-ma	nipute-ta	nipute-sa
<i>brother-in-law</i>	caniatu-ma	caniatu-ta	caniatu-sa
<i>sister-in-law</i>	caniata-ma	caniata-ta	caniata-sa
<i>father-in-law</i>	sokru-ma	sokru-ta	sokru-sa
<i>mother-in-law</i>	sokra-ma	sokra-ta	sokra-sa
<i>godfather</i>	cumpare-ma	cumpare-ta	cumpare-sa
<i>godmother</i>	cummare-ma	cummare-ta	cummare-sa
<i>son-in-law</i>	ʃenneru-ma	ʃenneru-ta	ʃenneru-sa
<i>daughter-in-law</i>	noru-ma	noru-ta	noru-sa

Table 35: Distribution of EPCs in the dialect of Lecce (LE, Puglia) – full paradigm

Person	Possessive/Possessor			
	M.SG	F.SG	M.PL	F.PL
1SG	miu/meu	mia/mea	mei	mee
2SG	tou	toa	toi	toe
3SG	sou	soa	soi	soe
1PL	nueʃu	noʃa/neʃa	nueʃi	noʃe/neʃe
2PL	ueʃu	oʃa/ueʃa	ueʃi	oʃe/ueʃe
3PL	loru	loru	loru	loru

Table 36: Strong possessives in the dialect of Lecce (LE, Puglia) – full paradigm

B.3.4 Ceglie Messapica (BR, Puglia)

Kinship noun	NSG-1SG.EP 'my'	NSG-2SG.EP 'your'	NSG-3SG.EP 'his/her'
<i>mum</i>	mam	mam-t	a mam-s
<i>father</i>	iattan-m	iattan- d	
<i>son</i>	figghj-m	figgh(i)j-t	
<i>daughter</i>	figghj-m	figgh(i)j-t	
<i>brother</i>	frat(i)-m	frat-t	
<i>sister</i>	sor-m	sor- d	
<i>husband</i>	marit(i)-m	marit-t	
<i>wife</i>	migghijer-m	migghijer- d	
<i>uncle</i>	zi-m	zi-t	u zi-s
<i>aunt</i>	zi-m	zi-t	a zi-s
<i>cousin (m.)</i>	cussuprin(i)-m	cussuprin-t	
<i>cousin (f.)</i>	cussuprin(i)-m	cussuprin-t	
<i>grandfather</i>	nan(i)-m	nan(i)-t	u nan-s
<i>grandmother</i>	nan(i)-m	nan(i)-t	a nan-s
<i>nephew/grandchild</i>	nipot(i)-m	nipot-t	
<i>brother-in-law</i>	canat(i)-m	canat-t	
<i>sister-in-law</i>	canat(i)-m	canat-t	
<i>father-in-law</i>	suruec-m suecri-m	suruec-t suecr-t	
<i>mother-in-law</i>	siroc-m	siroc-t	
<i>godfather</i>			
<i>godmother</i>	comar-m(ə)	comar- d (ə)	
<i>son-in-law</i>	?	?	?
<i>daughter-in-law</i>	nor-m(ə)	nor- d (ə)	

Table 37: Distribution of EPCs in the dialect of Ceglie Messapica (BR, Puglia) – full paradigm

B.3.5 Salve (LE, Puglia)

Kinship noun	NSG-1SG.EP ‘my’	NSG-2SG.EP ‘your’	NSG-3SG.EP ‘his/her’
<i>mum</i>	?	mamme-ta	mamme-sa
<i>father</i>	sir-ma	sir- da	sir-sa
<i>grandfather</i>	?	nonnu-ta	?
<i>grandmother</i>	?	nonne-ta	?
<i>cousin (m.)</i>	kugginə-ma	kugginə-ta	kugginə-sa
<i>cousin (f.)</i>	kugginə-ma	kugginə-ta	kugginə-sa
<i>sister</i>	sor-ma	sor- da	sor-sa
<i>brother</i>	frate-ma	frave-ta	frave-sa
<i>house</i>			
<i>hand</i>	?	?	?

Table 38: EPCs in the dialect of Salve (LE, Puglia)

Notes:

- *papà* ‘dad’ = *lu tata* ‘the dad’
- *mio nonno* ‘my grandfather’ = *tatalia* ‘dad.DIM’
- *nonno/-a* ‘grandfather/-mother’ = *tata ranno* ‘dad big’, *mamma rannə* ‘mom big’
- *bisnonno/-a* ‘great-grandfather/-mother’ = *sbinonno*, *sbinonna*; *sbi* ‘old’

B.3.6 Castrignano del Capo (LE, Puglia)

Kinship noun	NSG-1SG.EP ‘my’	NSG-2SG.EP ‘your’	NSG-3SG.EP ‘his/her’
<i>mum</i>	mama	mamma-ta	mamma-sa
<i>father</i>	sir-ma	sir-ta	sir- za
<i>grandfather</i>	?	nonna-ta	nonna-sa
<i>grandmother</i>	?	nonna-ta	nonna-sa
<i>cousin (m.)</i>	?	cuggina-ta	cuggina-sa
<i>cousin (f.)</i>	?	cuggina-ta	cuggina-sa
<i>sister</i>	sor-ma	sor-ta	sor- za
<i>brother</i>	frata-ma	?	frava-sa
<i>house</i>			
<i>hand</i>			

Table 39: EPCs in the dialect of Castrignano del Capo (LE, Puglia)

B.3.7 San Giovanni Rotondo (FG, Puglia)

Kinship noun	NSG-1SG.EP 'my'	NSG-2SG.EP 'your'	NSG-3SG.EP 'his/her'
<i>mum</i>	?	?	
<i>father</i>	?	?	
<i>grandfather</i>	nunnə-mə	nunnə-tə	
<i>grandmother</i>	nunnə-ma	nunnə-ta	
<i>cousin (m.)</i>	cugginə-mə	cugginə-tə	
<i>cousin (f.)</i>	cugginə-ma	cugginə-ta	
<i>sister</i>	?	?	
<i>brother</i>	?	?	
<i>house</i>	?	?	?
<i>hand</i>	?	?	?

Table 40: EPCs in the dialect of San Giovanni Rotondo (FG, Puglia)

Notes:

- AIS Map 24/25: *kucinəmə*, corr. *kuntsəprinəmə* (m.), *kuntsəprinəmə* (f.)
- AIS Map 16/17: *tata rossə* 'dad big', *mamma rossə* 'mum big'; informants: *papanonn* 'dad.grandfather', *mammanonn*/'~nonna 'mom.grandmother'

B.3.8 Polignano a Mare (BA, Puglia)

Kinship noun	NSG-1SG.EP 'my'	NSG-2SG.EP 'your'	NSG-3SG.EP 'his/her'
<i>mum</i>	mammə	mamə-tə	
<i>father</i>	attanə-mə	attanə-tə	
<i>grandfather</i>	?	nonnə-tə	
<i>grandmother</i>	?	nonnə-tə	
<i>cousin (m.)</i>	?	cugginə-tə	
<i>cousin (f.)</i>	?	cugginə-tə	
<i>sister</i>	sorə-mə	sorə-tə	
<i>brother</i>	fratə-mə	fratə-tə	
<i>house</i>		kəss-tə	
<i>hand</i>			

Table 41: EPCs in the dialect of Polignano a Mare (BA, Puglia)