

Chapter 10

The morphosyntax of andative forms in the Campiota vernacular: The synthetic behavior of restructuring roots

Andrea Calabrese

University of Connecticut

This article investigates the syntactic and morphological properties of andative motion verb constructions – i.e., constructions that are composed of the motion verb *go* and a main lexical verb – in Campiota, a southern Italian Salentino dialect. Campiota displays two of such constructions; one is mono-clausal/mono-eventive, and the other bi-clausal/bi-eventive. It will be shown that both constructions share the same root /f-/B-/ ‘GO’ with its idiosyncratic morphophonological properties, including its suppletive patterns. The same motion verb root, thus, displays a lexical use and an affixal one, which it will be argued results from a semantic bleaching operation. In its lexical use, the motion verb root may select argument structure and a full clause; on the other hand, when used as an affix, it is part of the full extended projection of the lower verb and has special morphological behavior: it can be reduplicated and is attached to the participle in participial compound tenses. It will be argued that the relation between the lexical verb GO and its bleached affixal counterpart in Campiota motion verb constructions (MVCs) is better understood if bleaching may entail an operation – referred to here as Syntactic Truncation – in which the higher motion verb selects a vP constituent and, therefore, all the projections of the lower verb are prevented from being projected. The characteristic properties of MVCs in other Italo-Romance varieties will also be investigated: this will lead to an analysis of the restructured and non-restructured infinitival MVCs and MVCs with double inflections found in these other varieties. It will then be shown how they correlate to the two andative MVCs in Campiota.

Andrea Calabrese. 2023. The morphosyntax of andative forms in the Campiota vernacular: The synthetic behavior of restructuring roots. In Zheng Shen & Sabine Laszakovits (eds.), *The size of things II: Movement, features, and interpretation*, 207–268. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.8427881 



1 Introduction

An examination of the syntactic and morphological properties of *motion verb constructions* (MVCs) (Cruschina 2013, Cruschina & Calabrese 2021), i.e., constructions that are composed of a motion verb (*go, come, pass (by)*, etc.) and a main lexical verb, in southern Italian dialects, reveals different types of morphosyntactic structures.¹ Specifically, the higher verbal form in such constructions can in principle be a lexical verb, but can also be analyzed as an aspectual marker. In the case of the verb GO, Cruschina (2013), along the lines of Cinque (1999, 2006), refers to this aspect as the “andative”, which signals that a distance, possibly also temporal, away from the speaker, must be covered for the action to be realized or executed, matching in this way the directional properties of this verb’s lexical semantics, (see Cinque 2006 for further references on this aspect, cf. also Heine & Kuteva 2018).² The Salentino “andative” verbal forms have been recently investigated in Ledgeway (2016) and Manzini et al. (2017), Cardinaletti & Giusti (2019) (see also Andriani 2017, Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 2003, Cruschina 2013, Cruschina & Calabrese 2021, Di Caro 2015, 2018, 2019, Di Caro & Giusti 2015, Manzini & Savoia 2005 on related constructions in other southern Italian and Sicilian dialects).

In this article, I will focus on Campiota, the Salentino dialect of Campi Salentina, in the northern part of the Lecce province, which displays two andative motion verb constructions (cf. 2–4). They have approximately the same meaning, insofar as Campiota speakers may translate the same Italian sentences in either way (1a = 2), (1b = 3), (1c = 4) and readily switch from one construction to the other despite the striking differences they may have in some cases³ (4, for example):

- (1) a. stasera vado a coricarmi presto
 tonight go-PRS.1SG. to go.to.bed-INF-self.CL earlier
 ‘Tonight, I will go to go to bed earlier.’
- b. stasera vado a comprarlo
 tonight go-PRS.1SG. to buy-INF-it.CL
 ‘Tonight, I will go to buy it.’

¹For ease of recognition, I decided to use the commonly used Italianized form Campiota to refer to this variety, instead of the most proper vernacular Kampiotu.

²Further bleaching of the original movement of GO meaning in MVCs may lead to the development of a future tense. This is a cross-linguistically common grammaticalization path (see Bybee et al. 1994). However, there is no southern Italian dialect in which GO has developed the temporal function that it has in many other Romance varieties, such as Spanish, Portuguese, and French, where in MVCs the GO element functions as a future marker (see, e.g., Squartini 1998, among many others).

³But see below on the subtle semantic differences between (10a) and (10b).

- c. ieri sono andato a comprarlo
 tonight BE-PRS.1SG. go-PTCP-M.SG to buy-INF-it.CL
 ‘Yesterday, I went to buy it.’
- (2) a. stasira au ku mme kurku mprima
 tonight go-PRS.1SG. ku self.CL go.to.bed-PRS.1SG earlier
 b. stasira me bba kkurku mprima
 tonight self.cl GO- go.to.bed -PRS.1SG. earlier
 ‘Tonight, I will go to bed earlier.’
- (3) a. stasira au ku llu kkattu
 tonight go-PRS.1SG. ku it.CL buy-PRS.1SG
 b. stasira lu bba kkattu
 tonight it.CL GO- buy-PRS.1SG
 ‘Tonight, I will buy it.’
- (4) a. jeri su futu ku llu kkattu
 yesterday BE-PRS.1SG. go-PTCP-M.SG ku it.CL buy-PRS.1SG
 b. jeri l’ addzu ffa kkattatu
 yesterday it.CL HAVE-PRS.1SG. GO- buy-PTCP-M.SG
 ‘Yesterday, I went to buy it.’

As shown below,⁴ the first construction is a bi-clausal/bi-eventive structure where a fully-fledged bundle of Tense and Agreement features is morphologically realized on the matrix verb. The matrix verb GO selects a clause introduced by the complementizer /ku/ which is similar to an independent infinitive in Italian or to a subjunctive in the Balkan languages (see Calabrese 1993), and may involve a reduced CP (FinP in Rizzi’s (1997) terms). I will refer to it as the Full-Fledged MVC.

The second construction is a mono-clausal/mono-eventive structure where it is the lower verb that is morphologically marked with the full-fledged bundle of Tense and Agreement features.⁵ The verbal GO element in it appears as an uninflected particle and behaves as an affix attached to the lower verb.⁶

⁴In order to demonstrate the mono-clausality/bi-clausality of Campiota MVCs I will use the diagnostics proposed by Cardinaletti & Giusti (2003) to test the mono-clausality/bi-clausality of Doubly Inflected Constructions (DICs) and the related Infinitival MVC in Sicilian dialects (see below for more discussion and Section 3.7 on the DICs).

⁵See Prete & Todaro (2020), Todaro & Prete (2018) for a semantic analysis of the single event interpretation of MVCs in Sicilian dialects.

⁶See Cruschina (2013), Cruschina & Calabrese (2021), and Ledgeway (2016) on the invariant forms as the final morphological step of a grammaticalization due to different morphophonological reduction processes. I will refer to it as the Reduced MVC.

A crucial issue will be the morphosyntactic status of the verbal GO element in Campiota Reduced MVCs. Cardinaletti & Giusti (2003) argue that the motion verbs that appear as the higher verbs in mono-clausal MVCs are “lexical categories merged as functional heads” in the extended projection of the lower verb. On the other hand, they define these verbs as “semi-lexical verbs” because, while it is true that they lack, or have lost, their canonical lexical properties, they still retain their motion semantics. The morphosyntactic status of the higher motion verbs in mono-clausal MVCs is, however, not fully investigated in their work. This is what I will do in this article building on their analysis. Specifically, I will propose that the GO element in Campiota Reduced MVCs is actually an affix (see Section 3.7 for the DICs studied by Cardinaletti & Giusti 2003). However, as expected in Cardinaletti & Giusti’s analysis, this affixal element shares semantic and crucially morphophonological properties – in particular, the same suppletive allomorphy – with its lexical counterpart. So, I will also propose that both Campiota MVC constructions share the same root /*ǰ*-/B-/ ‘GO’ with its idiosyncratic morphophonological properties, including its suppletive patterns.

It follows that the same motion verb root displays a lexical use and an affixal one: in its lexical use it may select argument structure and a full clause; when used as an affix, it is part of the full extended projection of the lower verb, and has special morphological behavior: it can be reduplicated and is attached to the participle in participial compound tenses. I will argue that the relation between the lexical verb GO and its bleached counterpart in Campiota MVCs is better understood if the bleaching involves an instance of an operation – referred to here as Syntactic Truncation – in which the higher motion verb selects a vP constituent and, therefore, all the projections of the lower verb are prevented from being projected (Wurmbrand 2014, 2015, 2017). This relation is instead not adequately captured in an approach like Cinque (2004, 2006), where all restructuring verbs are always functional heads. If we adopt this hypothesis, on the one hand, the fact that the reduced and full-fledged andative constructions of Campiota share the same lexical root becomes a matter of pure coincidence. In this approach, in fact, the sharing of the root can only be motivated historically, but not synchronically in which case one could expect totally different lexical exponents. On the other hand, the semantic interchangeability of these constructions also becomes a problem in the sense that one must also assume that there is an andative interpretation of the Full-Fledged MVC, which implies that the “andative” GO can be an aspectual functional head, not only in Reduced MVCs but also in full-fledged ones, something which is not explainable in this approach.

The article is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses the basic facts concerning the Campiota MVCs starting with the diagnostics for their bi-clausality/mono-causality, and shows that the Reduced MVCs are mono-clausal and the full-fledged ones bi-clausal (§2.1). The following sections deal with the special properties of these MVCs: §2.2 discusses the *ku*-clauses that are embedded in Full-Fledged MVCs; §2.3 shows that the *ffa/bba* piece that characterizes Reduced MVCs can be analyzed as having the same root of the andative element appearing in Full-Fledged MVCs insofar as they share the same basic morphophonological properties; §2.4 investigates the progressive aspect constructions which often co-occur with the reduced andative MVCs. §2.5 deals with the reduplication process targeting the *ffa/bba* piece in Reduced MVCs, and §2.6 with the peculiar position of the *ffa/bba* piece in compound tenses where it appears attached to the lower participle. Section 3 provides an analysis of the Campiota facts. §3.1 shows how abstract syntactic structures are converted into surface morphosyntactic head-complexes in Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993), the morphology model adopted here. §3.2 discusses the process of syntactic truncation, which converts Full-Fledged MVCs into reduced ones. §3.3 accounts for the progressive structure morphosyntax, and §3.4 for the formation of periphrastic structures, and the peculiar positioning of the *ffa/bba* piece in compound tenses. §3.5 analyzes the reduplication process characterizing the Reduced MVCs. The relation between the *ku*-clauses embedded in Full-Fledged MVCs in Campiota and the infinitival clauses of the same constructions in other Italo-Romance varieties is dealt with in §3.6. Finally, Section 3.7 deals with the Doubly Inflected MVCs of other southern Italo-Romance varieties in which both the higher motion verb and the lower verb share the same inflectional features. A brief conclusion ends the paper.

2 Facts

2.1 Diagnostics for clausality and the Motion verbs construction in Campiota

The first diagnostic used by Cardinaletti & Giusti (2003) is clitic climbing (Rizzi 1976). In fact, since clitic pronouns are clause-bound and target the first T-layer above them, they provide a good diagnostic for mono-clausality/bi-clausality. Clitic climbing to the higher GO element in the MVCs only occurs in the Reduced ones, as in (5a-ii), (6a-ii), (7a-ii) (vs. (5b-ii), (6b-ii), (7b-ii)), but not in the

Full-fledged ones (see (5a-i), (6a-i), (7a-i) vs. (5b-i), (6b-i), (7b-i)); in the latter case the pronoun follows the connecting element /ku/ and procliticizes onto the lower verb:⁷

- (5) a. i. Stasira famu ku nne kurkamu mprima
 tonight go-PRS.1PL ku self.CL go.to.bed-PRS.1PL earlier
 ii. Stasira ne ffa kkurkamu mprima
 tonight self.cl GO- go.to.bed-PRS.1PL earlier
- b. i. *Stasira ne famu ku kkurkamu mprima
 ii. *Stasira ffa nne kurkamu mprima
 ‘Tonight we will go to bed earlier.’
- (6) a. i. Stasira famu ku llu kkattamu
 tonight go-PRS.1PL ku it.CL buy-PRS.1PL
 ii. Stasira lu ffa kkattamu
 tonight it.CL GO- buy-PRS.1PL
- b. i. *Stasira lu famu ku kkattamu
 ii. *Stasira ffa llu kkattamu
 ‘Tonight we will buy it.’
- (7) a. i. jeri simu futi ku llu kkattamu
 yester. BE-PRS.1PL go-PTCP-M.PL ku it.CL buy-PRS.1PL
 ii. jeri l’ imu ffa kkattatu
 yesterday it.CL HAVE-PRS.1PL GO- buy-PTCP-M.SG
- b. i. *jeri lu simu futi ku kkattamu
 ii. *jeri imu lu ffa kkattatu / *jeri imu ffa llu kkattatu
 ‘Yesterday, I went to buy it.’

If a Reduced MVC is mono-clausal and the GO verbal element is a functional head, we expect that the latter cannot project its argument structure. This leads to Cardinaletti and Giusti’s second diagnostic: while a Full-Fledged MVC allows arguments – such as the directional locative in (8a) and the mean of transportation in (8b) – or lexically selected clitic clusters (8c), a Reduced MVC does not allow either (cf. 9a, 9b, 9c):

⁷The attentive reader will note that there are alternations in the length of the word-initial consonants in the following examples, e.g. *kurkamu* in (5a-i) vs. *kkurkamu* in (5a-ii). They are governed by the Raddoppiamento Sintattico process analyzed in Figure 1 (page 222). The word-initial geminate in the verb *kkattare* ‘buy’ (6) and (7), however, is underlying.

- (8) a. au rittu a mare ku mme ddifrisku
 go.PRS.1SG towards to sea ku self.CL freshen.up-PRS.1SG
 ‘I am going to the seashore to get some fresh air.’
- b. au ku ffatiu ku la makina
 go.PRS.1SG ku work.1p.sg with the car
 ‘I go to work with the car.’
- c. oꝑni ssira se ne ꝑꝑia ku ffatia
 every evening self.CL from-it.CL go.IPF.3SG ku work.PRS.3SG
 fore
 to.the.countryside
 ‘Every evening, he used to go to work in the countryside.’
- (9) a. * mme bba ddifrisku rittu a mare
 self.CL go.PRS.1SG freshen.up-PRS.1SG towards to sea
 ‘I am going to the square to get rest.’
- b. * bba ffatiu ku la makina
 GO work-PRS.3SG with the car
- c. oꝑni ssira (*se ne) ꝑꝑa ffatiava
 every evening (self.CL from-it.CL) GO work-IPF.1SG
 fore
 to.the.countryside

Strong support for a bi-clausal analysis of the Full-Fledged MVC comes from the third diagnostic proposed by Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 2019). Discussing Salentino examples from Lecce, Cardinaletti & Giusti (2019) observe that Full-Fledged MVCs refer to two different events, while reduced ones have a single event interpretation. Here I adapt their examples in the Campiota vernacular. By stating (10a) with a Reduced MVC, the speaker not only claims that she goes to buy chicory but, crucially, that she actually buys it every day. For this reason, the continuation, which implies that the event of buying has not taken place, is ungrammatical. This is not the case in the Full-Fledged MVC (10b), where the two verbs have separate Tenses:

- (10) a. bba kkattu le tꝑikorie oꝑni dzurnu (*ma nu lle
 GO buy-PRS.3SG the chicories every day (but not them.cl
 trou mai)
 find.PR3SG never)

- b. au ku kkattu le tfikorie oŋji dzurnu (ma nu lle
 go.1p.sg ku buy.PRS.3SG the chicories every day (but not them.cl
 trou mai)
 find.PR3SG never)
 ‘I go to buy the chicories every day but I never find them.’

In conclusion, a Reduced MVC is a mono-clausal/mono-eventive structure: the higher verbal element GO appears in a reduced and uninflected form; it lacks arguments, and there is obligatory clitic climbing onto it. Tense and Agreement are morphologically realized only on the lower verb. The Full-Fledged MVC is a bi-clausal/bi-eventive structure: the higher GO selects a clause introduced by the complementizer /*ku*/, shows full Tense and Agreement realization, and cannot be reduced morphologically; it has arguments, and does not allow clitic climbing.

2.2 *ku*-clauses

In Full-Fledged MVCs, the higher GO verb selects a clause introduced by /*ku*/. A brief discussion of such clauses is required. A /*ku*-clause can be analyzed as a reduced subordinate clause (FinP) with an independent TP. In this regard, they are parallel to the well-established subordinate clauses found in Balkan languages (Albanian, Romanian, Greek), which replace infinitival clauses (see Calabrese 1993, Rivero 1994, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Roberts & Roussou 2003 a.o.). *Ku* embedding in Salentino varieties covers all obligatory control and raising environments as well non-obligatory control contexts and subjunctive contexts in general. The particle /*ku*/ is typically used to introduce clauses embedded under verbs of ordering, desiring, warning, requesting, urging, fearing, etc., as well as purpose clauses, and “before that” clauses (but not “after that” ones). Thus, as detailed by Calabrese (1993), /*ku*/ introduces the clausal complement of verbs that express an attitude towards, or an attempt to bring about, an event, or eventuality, which is yet to come.⁸

With certain verbs, the *ku*-clauses may alternate with the full finite clause introduced by *ka* ‘that’.

- (11) a. speru lu Karlu ku bbene kraj
 hope.PRS.1SG the Karlu ku come.PRS.3SG tomorrow

⁸In this sense, the eventuality identified in the clause introduced by /*ku*/ does not refer to a specific point of reference in time: it does not have a deictic tense. Thus, in order to acquire a time reference so that it can be interpreted, the tense of this clause must refer to the time reference of the matrix clause (see Section 3.6 for analysis).

- b. speru ka lu Karlu ene kraj
 hope.PRS.1SG ka the Karlu come.PRS.3SG tomorrow
 'I hope that Charles comes tomorrow.'

Note that the position of the subject of the lower verb is above *ku* in (12) (see also 11a). This makes this finite clause different from the embedded clause introduced by the complementizer *ka*, which occurs above the subject position (see (11b) above).

- (12) ojjū lu Marju ku *lu Marju (bb)ene kraj
 want.PRS.1SG the Marju ku the Marju come.PRS.3SG tomorrow
 'I want Mario to come tomorrow.'

Following Calabrese (1993: 36), I take the subject to be in the usual preverbal subject position, where it receives nominative case. One can hypothesize that the connecting element *ku* occurs in a position of the IP field, which Roberts & Roussou (2003) takes to be MoodP, the same position as infinitival *to* in English and subjunctive *na* in Greek.

The independent subject position of the *ku*-clause can, but does not have to be, anaphoric to the subject of the main predicate:

- (13) a. ojjū ku bbejju kraj
 want.PRS.1SG ku come.PRS.1SG tomorrow
 'I want to come tomorrow.'
- b. ojjū ku bbene kraj
 want.PRS.1SG ku come.PRS.3SG tomorrow
 'I want that he comes tomorrow.'

When it is anaphoric, other languages require the clause to be infinitival (cf. (14a) in Italian and (14b) in English):

- (14) a. *Voglio che venga domani / voglio venire
 want.PRS.1SG che come.PRS.1SG tomorrow / want.PRS.1SG come.INF
 domani
 tomorrow
 'I want to come tomorrow.'
- b. *I want that I come tomorrow. / I want to come tomorrow.

As observed by Calabrese (1993), tense distinctions are neutralized in *ku*-clauses; so, sequence-of-tense restrictions are absent in such a clause. As discussed in

Calabrese (1993), the *ku*-clause contains a Tense anaphoric to the Tense in the higher verb (see Footnote 6) as is the case in subjunctives (cf. Calabrese 1993: 46–48 and Manzini & Savoia 2005: 652).

- (15) a. *ulia ku llu kkattu*
 want.IPF.1SG ku it-CL- buy-PRS.1SG
 ‘I would have liked to buy it.’
 b. **ulia ku llu kkattava*
 want.IPF.1SG ku it.CL- buy.IPF.1SG

Aspectual contrast, though, may occur in the *ku*-clause:

- (16) *ulia ku ll’ ia kkattatu mprima* (cf. (15))
 want.IPF.1SG ku it.CL- HAVE-past buy-PRS.1SG earlier
 ‘I would have liked to have bought it.’

Note, however, that aspectual contrasts are not possible in the Fully-Fledged MVC:⁹

- (17) a. *fia ku llu kkattu*
 go-IPF.1SG ku it.CL buy-PRS.1SG
 ‘I was going to buy it earlier.’
 b. **fia ku ll’ addzu kkattatu / l’ ia*
 go.IPF.1SG ku it.CL have.PRS.1SG buy.PTCP / it.CL have.IPF.1SG
 kkattatu
 buy.PTCP

It should also be noted that the subject of the embedded clause in this type of construction must always be anaphorically bound by the subject of the matrix clause:

- (18) *Lu Rontsu_i fiu pro_{i, *j} ku llu kkatta*
 The R. go-PRF.3SG pro_{i, *j} ku it.CL buy-PRS.1SG
 ‘Oronzo went to buy it.’

⁹The use of the progressive *sta* makes this sentence more felicitous (see Section 2.4):

- (i) *sta fia ku llu kkattu*

It should be noted that as an alternative to the present in the embedded clause in (17a), also the imperfect could be used as in (ii) in striking contrast with (15b). The reasons for this are unclear to me at this moment:

- (ii) *sta fia ku llu kkattava*

The connecting *ku* element may be absent in *ku*-clauses (see Ledgeway 2015 for an investigation of *ku*-omission patterns in Salentino). Note that, in this case, the neutralized temporal patterns discussed above are also found in the absence of *ku*. Note also that in this case the clitic pronoun remains on the lower verb:^{10,11}

- (19) a. *ulia ku llu mandzu*
 want.IPF.1SG *ku it.CL eat.PRS.1SG*
 b. *ulia llu mandzu*
 want.IPF.1SG *it.CL eat.PRS.1SG*
 ‘I would like to eat it.’

It is worth observing, finally, that the fact that clauses that would be infinitival in languages like Italian and English are replaced by *ku*-clauses in Salentino is not due to the morphological absence of infinitival morphology in this Romance variety (see Calabrese 1993). In fact, infinitival forms can actually be used when a verb is a complement of restructuring verbs such as modal or aspectual ones:

¹⁰In Northern varieties of Salentino (e.g. in the dialect of Mesagne) clitic climbing may occur when *ku* is absent (Calabrese 1993, Terzi 1992, 1994, 1996):

- (i) *nɔ lu vɔʃʃu ffattsu ccui*
 not it.CL want.1p.sg do.PRS.1SG anymore
 ‘I no longer want to do it.’

¹¹However, /*ku*/ omission is deprecated in *Campiota* in Full-Fledged MVC:

- (i) a. *stasira au ku mme kurku mprima*
 tonight go-PRS.1SG *ku self.CL go.to.bed-PRS.1SG* earlier
 b. *stasira au ku llu kattu*
 tonight go-PRS.1SG *ku it.CL buy- PRS.1SG*
 (ii) a. ??? *stasira au me kurku mprima*
 b. ?? *stasira au llu kattu*

In some other varieties *ku*-deletion is accepted: Carmiano: *famu nne kurkamu* GO-PRS.1PL self.cl go.to.bed -PRS.1PL. Note the absence of clitic climbing: **nne famu kurkamu*. Other varieties of the same type, especially from southern Salento, display neutralization of AGR distinction for the higher motion verb in the singular, as in (iii). Also these varieties do not allow clitic climbing if the higher verb is inflected: **nne famu kurkamu*:

- (iii) *bba mme korku (Tricase)*
 GO-PRS.1SG self.cl go.to.bed-PRS 1SG
bba tte korki 2SG
bba sse korka 3SG
famu nne korkamu 1PL
fati bbe korkati 2PL
ane sse korkane 3PL

must, be able, begin, finish, continue, stay, try, etc. In this case, we are dealing with a restructuring configuration, in which the restructuring verb behaves as a functional head (see Rizzi 1976, 1978, Cinque 2004, 2006, Wurmbrand 2001, 2004, 2015, 2017). As expected, clitic climbing is obligatory in this case:

- (20) a. *llu pottsu kkattare kraj*
 it.CL can-PRS.1SG buy-INF tomorrow
 ‘I can buy it tomorrow.’
 b. *ll’ addzu kkattare kraj*
 it.CL must-PRS.1SG buy-INF tomorrow
 ‘I must buy it tomorrow.’
 c. *llu ntʃijɲu a ffare kraj*
 it.CL begin-PRS.1SG a do-INF tomorrow
 ‘I begin to do it tomorrow.’
 d. *llu spittfu te pulittsare stasira*
 it.CL finish-PRS.1SG te clean-INF tonight
 ‘I finish to clean it tonight.’

Many of these verbs can also appear with *ku*-clauses – with no apparent meaning changes. In this case, no climbing is possible, as expected:¹²

- (21) a. *ntʃijɲu ku llu fattsu kraj* (cf. (20)c)
 begin-PRS.1SG ku it.CL do-PRS.1SG tomorrow
 b. *spittfu ku llu pulittsu stasira* (cf. (20)d)
 finish-PRS.1SG ku it.CL clean-PRS.1SG tonight

2.3 Reduced MVC

As already discussed, Reduced MVCs are characterized by an uninflected morphological piece *ffa/bba* attached to the lower inflected verb.

Note, first of all, that the *ffa/bba* piece and the verb to which it is attached are tightly connected and cannot be separated by adverbials or other materials.

- (22) a. *au sempre ku llu leggu allu bar*
 go-PRS.1SG always ku it-CL read-PRS.1SG to-the bar
 b. * *lu bba ssempre leggu allu bar*

¹²Note that *ku*-deletion is again deprecated in these cases in Campiota:

- (i) a. ??? *ntʃijɲu llu fattsu kraj*
 b. ??? *spittfu llu pulittsu stasira*

- c. lu bba lleggu sempre allu bar
 it-CL GO read-PRS.1SG always to-the bar
 'I always go to read it at the bar.'

The complex piece *ffa/bba* plus the following verb appears to be a single morphosyntactic constituent. This is also shown by the fact that it can be syntactically moved as a single syntactic piece in imperative forms. Note that even in these imperative forms, the clitic cannot appear between the andative form and the following verb:

- (23) a. bba kkatta=lu! (cf. lu bba kkatti)
 GO buy-IMPER.2SG=it-CL it-CL GO buy-PRS.2SG
 'Go buy it.' 'You go buy it.'
- b. ffa kurkamu=ne! (cf. ne ffa kurkamu)
 GO go.to.bed-IMPER.1PL=self-CL self-CL GO go.to.bed-PRS.1PL
 'Let's go to bed.' 'We go to bed.'
- c. * bba -lu kkatta!
 d. * ffa -ne kurkamu!

The *ffa/bba* piece does not correspond to any surface verbal forms. It is analyzed below. To understand its nature and composition it is necessary to consider the forms of *fire* as the main verb, and analyze them:

- (24) *fire* as a main verb:

a. Present:

i.	Today	go-PRS.	to.the.country.side	
1SG	Ofe	áú	fore	
2SG	Ofe	ái	fore	
3SG	Ofe	áe	fore	
1PL	Ofe	ffámu	fore	
2PL	Ofe	ffáti	fore	
3PL	Ofe	áune	fore	
ii.	Today	not	go-PRS	to.the.c.
1SG	Ofe	nu	bbáu	fore
2SG	Ofe	nu	bbái	fore
3SG	Ofe	nu	bbáe	fore
1PL	Ofe	nu	ffámu	fore
2PL	Ofe	nu	ffáti	fore
3PL	Ofe	nu	bbáune	fore

b. Imperfect:

quannu era varjnone, fía fore oŋŋi dzurnu
 when be.IPF.1SG child go-IPF-1SG to.country.side every day
 ‘When I was a child, I used to go to the countryside every day.’

c. Perfect:

jeri fívi a lla kasa te l’ isabbella
 yesterday go-PRF.1SG to the house of the Isabella.
 ‘Yesterday I went to Isabella’s home.’

d. Infinitive:

pottzu fíre ađđai moi
 be.able go-INF there now
 ‘I can go there now.’

Comparing forms such as *fámu/fíamu* with counterparts in other verbs such as *kattámu/kattá(v)amu*, *rumpímu/rumpíamu*, and *tenímu/teníamu*, the simplest segmentation leads to consider */-mu/* the suffixal marker for the 1st plural. We are therefore left with the bases *fá-/fía-*, *kattá-/kattá(v)a-*, *rumpí-/rumpía-*, *tení-/tenía-*. It can be assumed that the marker of the imperfect is the suffixal element */(v)-a-/*.¹³ This further segmentation gives us the following verbal themes: *fa-/fi-*, *katta-*, *rumpi-*, *teni-* (note that in these forms, I am removing the accent that is determined by rules that are not relevant to the discussion carried out here). One problem now is the state of the final vowel of the theme. The comparison of *katta-*, *rumpi-*, *teni-*, with other themes such as *manda-*, *parla-*, etc., *endi*, *pendi-*, etc., shows that the final vowel is common in different sets of themes. This final vowel can then be segmented into an element that is traditionally called the “thematic vowel”. To explain the distribution of thematic vowels, we must say that it is lexically conditioned: some verbs take the thematic vowel */-a-/*, and others the thematic vowel */-i-/*. At this point, it can be observed that the lexical meaning of the theme is due to the piece that precedes the thematic vowel. This piece is traditionally called the root. So, in the case of *fámu/fíamu* we have the root */f-/*, *katt-*, *rump-*, *ten-*, *mand-*, *parl-*, *end-*, *pend-*, etc., for the other verbs mentioned above. Note that *fíre* is also characterized by a change in the quality of the thematic vowel between the forms of the present and those of the non-present, as in the imperfect, perfect, infinitive: the thematic vowel is */-a-/* in the present (e.g. $[[f-]_{\text{Root}} a-]_{\text{Thematic Vowel}}$) otherwise it is */-i-/* (e.g. $[[f-]_{\text{Root}} i-]_{\text{Thematic Vowel}}$).

¹³The element */-a-/*, in this case, is the thematic vowel of the imperfect node. The exponent of the imperfect is actually */-v-/* which is deleted, as in this case, unless it is between identical vowels. See below for a brief discussion of the allomorphy of this element.

We can now consider the other forms of the verb *fire* in (1). It is evident that the root does not always appear in the same form, as happens with other verbs. There is a surface alternation between radical allomorphs such as [∅-], [bb-], [f-] and [ff-] (e.g., ∅-*a-u*/*bb-a-u*/*f-a-mu*/*ff-a-mu*).

In order to account for these alternations, we need to deal with some aspects of the phonology of consonants in Salentino, and specifically in Campiota. I begin with the phonology of voiced labial obstruents since it is of fundamental importance to understand the alternations involving the root GO.

Note first of all that there are no single voiced stops in Salentino. They were affected by a process of lenition that turned them into fricatives ([b]→[v], [g]→[j/∅]), although they could also devoiced ([d]→[t], [g]→[k] (see Calabrese 1988a for discussion and an analysis). Voiced stops were preserved only when geminated [bb/dd/gg]. I will consider only the labial ones here and neglect the other ones.

The outcome [v] of single /b/ is neutralized with the etymological single voiced labial fricative [v] in Campiota as shown by the fact that the latter does not alternate with a geminated [vv]¹⁴ but with a geminated [bb] (see below for examples).

At the same time, in Campiota, single voiced labial fricatives are deleted unless they are found between identical vowels in word-medial positions. For example, the imperfect suffix /-v-/ is systematically deleted after the TV [i] of the second conjugation although preserved after the TV [a] of the first conjugation when another suffixal low vowel follows: *fatf-i-∅-a-mu* make-TV-IPF-TV-1PL ‘we were making’, *fin-i-∅-a-mu* finish-TV-IPF-TV-1PL ‘we were finishing’, but *kkatt-a-[v]-a* buy-TV-IPF-TV-1sg ‘I was buying’, *kkatt-a-[v]-a-mu* buy-TV-IPF-TV-1pl ‘we were buying’¹⁵ (cf. also *f-i-v-i* ‘GO-PERF-1SG’ vs. *f-i-∅-u* ‘GO-PERF-3SG’). In the same way, word-initial [v] is deleted in Campiota: *inire* ‘come’, *itire* ‘see’, cf. the Salentino dialect of Latiano: *vinire* ‘come’, *vitire* ‘see’ (Urgese 2003). This created situations where one observes alternations between [∅] and [bb]. To understand these alternations, one must consider the so-called *raddoppiamento sintattico* (RS) (‘syntactic doubling’), another process that characterizes Salentino as well as other central and southern Italo-Romance varieties. It triggers gemination of word-initial consonants in certain phonological and morphological contexts (Chierchia 1986, Loporcaro 1997). In Salentino, it is triggered by morphemes such as *kkju* ‘more’, *pi* ‘for’, *ku* ‘with’, *nu* ‘negation’, elements such as *ku* ‘ku’, *sta* ‘STAY_[+progr]’, *bba/ffa* ‘GO_[+and]’ etc.

¹⁴Other Northern Salentino varieties, such as that of Latiano for example, do indeed have geminated [vv], cf. Latiano: *veni* come-PRS.3SG ‘he comes’ vs. *ku vveni* ‘ku he comes’ (Urgese 2003).

¹⁵Note the IPF.2SG form *kkatt-a-[v]-i* buy-TV-IPF-TV-2sg ‘you(sg) were buying’ without [v]-deletion. This form points out to a derivation in which [v]-deletion precedes the independently needed rule of TV-deletion before vowels (TV→∅/___V), i.e., *kkatt-a-[v]-a-i*→[v]Del: *n/a*→*kkatt-a-[v]-a-i*→TVDel→*kkatt-a-[v]-∅-i*

- (25) a. i. ete pattfu
 be.PRS.3SG crazy
 ‘He is crazy.’
 ii. ete kju ppattfu
 be.PRS.3SG more crazy
 ‘He is crazier.’
- b. i. kraj
 tomorrow
 ii. pi kkraj
 for tomorrow
- c. i. lu tene
 it.CL hold-PRS.3SG
 ‘He holds it.’
 ii. lu sta ttene
 it.CL STAY[+progr] hold-.3SG
 ‘He is holding it.’
- d. i. le kattsa
 them.CL crack-PRS.3SG
 ‘S/he cracks them.’
 ii. ole ku kkattsa mennule
 want-PRS.3SG ku crack-PRS.3SG almonds
 ‘S/he wants to crack almonds.’

The RS rule is proposed in Figure 1. It inserts a skeletal position after diacritically marked morphemes. Automatic resyllabification and melodic spreading, as in Figure 1b, leads to gemination.

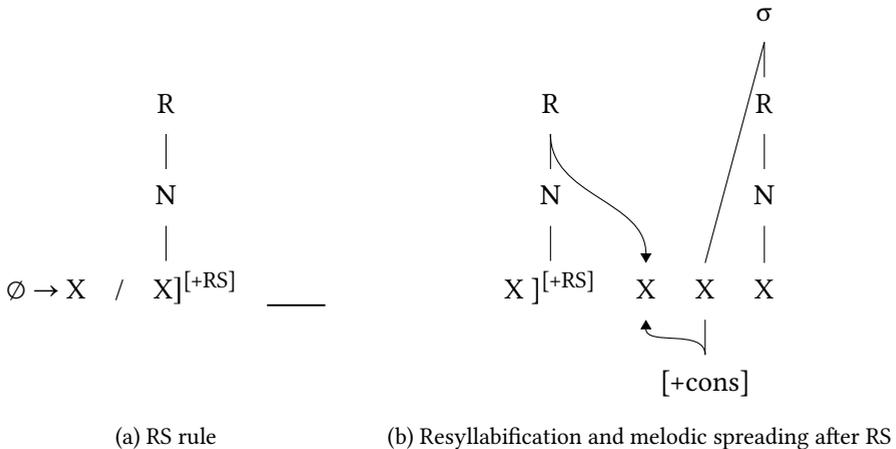
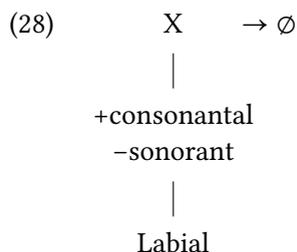
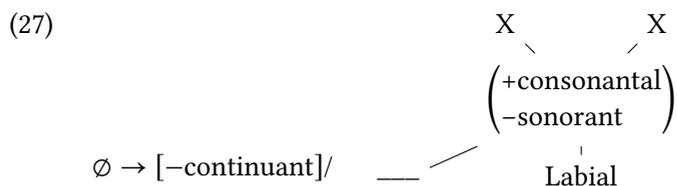


Figure 1: Formal analysis of Raddoppiamento Sintattico

We can now consider the surface alternations between $[\emptyset]$ and $[bb]$ in Campiota. Consider the words in (26), which etymologically have an initial $/b/$ or $/v/$ (cf. Italian *battere* ‘beat’, *basso* ‘short’, *venire* ‘come’). These words always display a geminated $[bb]$ in RS environments:

- (26) a. i. lu atte
it.CL beat-PRS.3SG
's/he beats.'
- ii. lu sta bbatte
it.CL STAY[+progr] beat-PRS.3SG
'S/he is beating it.'
- b. i. affu
short
- ii. kju bbaffu
more short
- c. i. eɲɲu
come-PRS.1SG
'I come.'
- ii. ojju ku bbepɲu
want-PRS.1SG ku come-PRS.1SG
'I want to come.'

I assume that they all contain an underlying abstract labial obstruent /B/, i.e., [+consonantal, -sonorant, +labial] segment, which is assigned the feature [-continuant] when geminated (27) but is otherwise deleted (28).¹⁶



We now have all the machinery needed to account for the surface alternations between [Ø-], [bb-], [f-], and [ff-] displayed by the root GO in (1). The first step

¹⁶The same alternations occur with vowel initial words that were etymologically onsetless (cf. Italian: *alto* 'high', *alzare* 'lift'). One must assume that they were reanalyzed as having an initial [B]:

- (i) a. i. ete autu
be-PRS-3sg high
'He is high.'
- ii. gll ete kju bbautu
be-PRS-3sg more high
'He is higher.'
- b. i. lu ausu
it.CL lift-PRS.1SG
'I lift it.'
- ii. lu sta bbaus
it.CL STAY[+progr] lift-PRS.1SG
'I want to lift it.'

is the observation that in this case there is a root suppletivism as in Italian GO verbal forms where one finds the suppletive alternant /*vad-*/ in the present forms with the exception of the 1PL and 2PL, otherwise one finds the alternant /*and-*/ (cf. *vado/vai/va/andiamo/andate/vanno* ‘GO-PRS-1SG/2SG/3SG/ 1PL/2PL/3PL’, *andavo* ‘GO-IMPF-1SG’, *andare* ‘GO-INF’).¹⁷ For the root GO in Campiota, one can propose the underlying suppletive alternants /*B-*/ and /*f-*/. As seen in (24), the alternant /*f-*/ has a wider distribution than that of the alternant /*B-*/, which is restricted only to the present with the exception of 1PL and 2PL (i.e., like that of the Italian *vad-* with respect to *and-*). This alternant can, therefore, be considered the basic elsewhere suppletive exponent of the root GO, as shown in the VI in (29):

- (29) a. /*B-*/ ↔ GO / ____ [-Past]_{T⁰}
 b. /*f-*/ ↔ GO

The geminated instances of these exponents are due to RS, cf. (24a-ii), where they are triggered by the negation particle /*nu-*/. Furthermore, /*B-*/ is either deleted by the rule in (28) when it is single or is assigned the feature [-continuant] by the rule in (27) when it is geminated.

The alternations for the root GO observed in the present forms in (24) can now be analyzed as in (30):

- (30) a. [[[[B-]_{Root-a}]_{TV}]_{v⁰} -u]_{T⁰} [-Pst]_{+AGR} → (28) →
 [[[[∅-]_{Root-a}]_{TV}]_{v⁰} -u]_{T⁰} [-Pst]_{+AGR} (cf. *au* in (24a-i))
 b. [[[[B-]_{Root-a}]_{TV}]_{v⁰} -u]_{T⁰} [-Pst]_{+AGR} → RS →
 [[[[BB-]_{Root-a}]_{TV}]_{v⁰} -u]_{T⁰} [-Pst]_{+AGR} → (27) →
 [[[[bb]_{Root-a}]_{TV}]_{v⁰} -u]_{T⁰} [-Pst]_{+AGR} (cf. *bbau* in (24a-ii))
 c. [[[[f-]_{Root-}]_{TV}]_{v⁰} -mu]_{T⁰} [-Pst]_{+AGR} (cf. *famu* in (24a-i))
 d. [[[[f-]_{Root-a}]_{TV}]_{v⁰} -mu]_{T⁰} [-Pst]_{+AGR} → RS →
 [[[[ff-]_{Root-a}]_{TV}]_{v⁰} -mu]_{T⁰} [-Pst]_{+AGR} (cf. *ffamu* in (24a-ii))

Once this analysis is done, we can observe that the root suppletive alternants found in Reduced MVCs have the same distribution as their counterparts in the Full-Fledged MVCs and in the uses of *fire* ‘GO’ as a main verb with the proviso that the TV of the Reduced MVC is always /*a-*/.¹⁸

¹⁷The same pattern is found in most other Italo-Romance varieties. Calabrese (2012, 2015), following Embick (2010), accounts for it in terms of impoverishment of the special diacritic triggering suppletion. Due to space restrictions, I cannot deal with this issue further here.

¹⁸The extension of the thematic vowel /*a-*/ to all forms of GO in the Reduced MVC is characteristic of Campiota. Other northern Salentino varieties, such that of Latiano (Urgese 2003), display

Now, as noted above, the initial consonant of the exponent of GO in the Reduced MVC is systematically geminated in Campiota. So, we not only always have *bb* but also *ff* in this case.¹⁹ I assume that this is due to the fact that the rule in Figure 1a was generalized in this context as (31) – plausibly a case of analogical levelling due to the frequent occurrence of this allomorph in an RS environment, e.g., after progressive *sta*.²⁰

(31)

$$\begin{array}{c} \sigma \\ \diagup \\ R \\ | \\ N \\ | \\ \varnothing \rightarrow X \quad / \quad [____ X \quad X]^{[+andative]} \end{array}$$

2.4 Progressive constructions

A description of the behavior of the andative requires discussion of the progressive since the andative forms are more felicitous when used with the progressive. Whereas progressive aspect in standard Italian is realized periphrastically with the auxiliary verb *stare* ‘stay’ followed by the verbal root inflected as a gerund (i.e., /-ndo/) (*sto mangiando una mela* stay-PRES.1SG eat-TV-Gerund an apple ‘I am eating an apple’ (see Section 3.4 below on periphrastic structures), in Campiota,

the same alternation in TV *a/i* one observes when GO is the main verb: Present: *Stasira mmi va kurku mprima/nni fa kurkamu mprima* vs. Non-present: *oppji sera mmi fi kurkava alle noe/m’aggju ffi kurkari* ‘Tonight I am going to bed earlier. / Tonight we are going to bed earlier.’ vs. ‘Every night, I was going to bed at 9 o’clock./I have to go to bed.’ (cf. Campiota: Present: *stasira me bba kurku mprima/stasira ne ffa kurkamu mprima* vs. Non-present: *oppji sira me ffa kurkava alle noe/m’addzu ffa kurkare*).

¹⁹This is again a characteristic feature of Campiota. Thus, in the northern Salentino varieties of Latiano, the initial consonant of the Reduced MVC andative exponent is geminated only in RS contexts; otherwise, it is single. See examples in the preceding note.

²⁰Note that Salentino allows onset geminates, as in the imperative of the verb *kkattare* ‘buy’:

- (i) # *kkatta-lu*
buy.Imperative.2SG it.CL
‘Buy it.’

So, the onset geminate consonant generated by the application of (31) (and 32) is left untouched.

as in other Salentino varieties of Italo-Romance, this aspect is realized with a construction parallel to that of the Reduced MVC, in which the invariant piece *sta* is attached to the main verb where inflectional T and AGR contrasts are marked:

- (32) a. ne sta kkurkamu
 self-CL STAY go.to.bed-PRS.1PL
 ‘We are going to bed.’
 b. se sta kkurkane
 self-CL STAY go.to.bed-PRS.3PL
 ‘They are going to bed.’

There is also another construction displaying the verb *stare*, in addition to its use as a main verb (see 33). This construction is parallel to a Full-Fledged MVC insofar as here the inflected verb *stare* governs a clause introduced by /*ku*/. However, unlike a Full-Fledged MVC that is readily interchangeable with a Reduced one from a semantic point of view, this construction does not have a progressive meaning, rather an inceptive or inchoative one that can be translated in English with “being about to”.

- (33) kraj stau a kkasa tutta la matina
 tomorrow stay-PRS.1SG at home all the morning
 ‘Tomorrow, I will stay home all morning.’
 (34) a. stamu ku nne kurkamu
 stay-PRS.1PL ku self-CL go.to.bed-PRS.1PL
 b. staune ku sse kurkane
 stay-PRS.3PL ku self-CL go.to.bed-PRS.3PL
 ‘We are about to go to bed. / They are about to go to bed.’

As in the case of the Reduced MVC, in progressive constructions, clitic climbing is required (35), and no adverbial can occur between /*sta*-/ and the verb, differently than in its Italian counterpart *lo sta già facendo* (36):

- (35) a. ne sta kkurkamu / se sta kkurkane
 self-CL STAY go.to.bed-PRS.1PL / self-CL STAY go.to.bed-PRS.3PL
 b. * sta nne kurkamu / * sta sse kurkane
 (36) a. * lu sta ddža face
 it-CL STAY already do-PRS.3SG
 b. lu sta fface dža / dža lu sta fface
 ‘He is already doing it.’

Although durative or frequentative present forms do not require the presence of /*sta-*/ as in (37), present forms normally appear with /*sta-*/ (37):

- (37) au fore ojnissira
 go.PRS.1SG to-the.countryside every night
 ‘I go to the countryside every night.’
- (38) sta bbau fore
 STAY- go.PRS.1SG to-the.countryside
 ‘I am going to the countryside.’

As observed earlier, andative forms are more felicitous when used with the progressive. The same properties discussed earlier for the non-progressive Reduced MVC hold for the progressive ones, in particular clitic climbing and the same suppletive patterns:

- (39) Clitic climbing:
- a. i. stau ku mme bba kkurku mprima
 stay-PRS.1SG ku self-CL GO- go.to.bed-PRS.1SG earlier
 ‘I am going to bed earlier.’
- ii. stau ku llu bba kkattu
 stay-PRS.1SG ku it-CL GO- buy-PRS.1SG
 ‘I am going to buy it.’
- b. me sta bba kkurku mprima / lu sta bba kkattu
- (40) Clitic climbing & suppletion:
- | | |
|--|---------|
| stau ku llu bba kkattu / llu sta bba kkattu | PRS.1SG |
| stay-PRS.1SG ku it-CL GO- buy-PRS.1SG | |
| stai ku llu bba kkatti / llu sta bba kkatti | PRS.2SG |
| stae ku llu bba kkatta / llu sta bba kkatta | PRS.3SG |
| stamu ku llu ffa kkattamu / llu sta ffa kkattamu | PRS.1PL |
| stae ku llu ffa kkattati / llu sta ffa kkattati | PRS.2PL |
| staune ku llu bba kkattane / llu sta bba kkattane | PRS.3PL |
- (41) a. stia ku mme ffa kkurkava
 stay-PRS.1SG ku self-CL GO- go.to.bed-PRS.1SG
- b. me sta ffa kkurkava
 self-CL STAY GO- go.to.bed-PRS.1SG
 ‘I was going to go to bed.’

2.5 Elative reduplication of the andative

The andative particle that appears in Reduced MVCs can be reduplicated “per rafforzare il suo significato” (‘to strengthen its meaning’) as reported by a Campiota speaker. I will refer to it as the elative reduplication of the andative.²¹ It is shown in (42) (observe that elative reduplication does not interfere with clitic climbing):

- (42) a. i. ofe me bba kkurku mprima
 Today self.cl GO- go.to.bed -PRS.1SG. earlier
 ii. → ofe me ffa bba kkurku mprima
- b. i. ofe me sta bba kkurku mprima
 Today self.cl STAY GO- go.to.be-PRS.1SG. earlier
 ii. → ofe me sta ffa bba kkurku mprima
 ‘Today I am going to bed earlier.’

The order of the reduplicative element appears to be fixed:

- (43) ??? ofe me bba ffa kkurku mprima

The sequences *bba bba/ffa ffa* are disallowed: the second andative element always appears as *bba* regardless of what the base should be, and the first one as *ffa*:

- (44) a. * me sta bba bba kkurku mprima
 self.cl STAY GO- go.to.bed -PRS.1SG. earlier
 me sta ffa bba kkurku mprima
 ‘I am going to bed earlier.’
- b. * ne sta ffa ffa kkurkamu mprima
 self.cl STAY GO- go.to.bed -PRS.1PL. earlier
 nne sta ffa bba kkurkamu mprima
 ‘We are going to bed earlier.’
- c. * me sta ffa ffa kkurkava kwannu ete rriatu
 self.cl STAY GO- go.to.bed -IPF.1SG when be-PRS.3SG arrive-PP
 me sta ffa bba kkurkava kwannu ete rriatu
 ‘I was going to bed when he arrived.’

²¹I must admit that I am unable to express the difference in meaning brought about by the reduplication in the translation and to make explicit what “rafforzare il suo significato” (‘strengthen its meaning’) really conveys in this context. Note that in some speakers, reduplication appears to be obligatory. Perhaps, as a morphological device, reduplication simply emphasizes the presence of the reduced construction, and its semantic effect, which has become obligatory for some speakers. In any case, given my doubts and unclarity about the semantic purport of reduplication, I decided to neglect referring to meaning changes in the translation.

- d. * m addʒu ʃʃa ʃʃa kkurkare subbra lu tivanu
 self.cl must-PS-1SG GO- go.to.bed -INF on the sofa.bed
 m addʒu ʃʃa bba kkurkare subbra lu tivanu
 ‘I must go to bed on the sofa bed.’

2.6 *fire* in periphrastic construction with an auxiliary

As already noted, in Reduced MVCs, tense and aspectual contrasts appear on the lower verb, as shown in (45) by comparing Full-Fledged MVCs to reduced ones:

- (45) a. i. sta bbau ku llu kkattu
 STAY go-PRS.1SG ku it.CL buy-PRS.1SG
 ii. → lu sta bba kkattu
 it.CL STAY GO buy-PRS.1SG
 ‘I am going to buy it.’
 b. i. sta ʃʃia ku llu kkattu
 STAY go-IPF.1SG ku it.CL buy-PRS.1SG
 ii. → lu sta bba kkattava
 it.CL STAY GO buy-IPF.1SG
 ‘I was going to buy it.’
 c. i. fivi ku llu kkattu
 go-PRF.1SG ku it.CL buy-PRS.1SG
 ii. → lu ʃʃa kkattai
 it.CL GO buy-PRF.1SG
 ‘I went to buy it.’

Now observe what happens in the case of compound tenses with an auxiliary and a participle: the participial morphology that in the Full-Fledged MVC appears on the andative verb appears on the lower verb in the reduced one; the andative *ʃʃa* appears between the auxiliary and the participle and attaches to the latter; at the same time, the auxiliary²² is obligatorily selected from the lower verb and displays the Tense and Mode features of the higher andative verb of the Full-Fledged MVC:

²²*fire* appears to be the only unaccusative verb that selects the auxiliary *essere* ‘be’ in Campiota. All other unaccusative verbs appear to select *aire* ‘have’, e.g. *enire* ‘come’ ~ *addʒu inutu* ‘I have come’, *partire* ‘leave’ ~ *addʒu partutu* ‘I have left’, *murire* ‘die’ ~ *a muertu* ‘he has died’. Optionally, *fire* can also select *aire* ‘have’: *addʒu futu*. No optionality is possible in the case of the Reduced MVCs in (46).

- (46) a. i. su futu ku llu kkattu
 be-PRS.1SG. go-PTCP-M.SG ku it.CL buy-PRS.1SG
 ii. → l' addzu ffa kkattatu
 it.CL have-PRS.1SG. go buy-PTCP-M.SG
 'I went to buy it.'
- b. i. era dza futu ku mme kurku
 be-IPF.1SG already go-PTCP-MSG ku self.cl go.to.bed-PRS.1SG
 quannu e' rriatu
 when be-PRS.3SG arrive-PP
 ii. → m' ia dza ffa kkurkatu quannu
 self.cl have-IPF.1SG already GO go.to.bed-PTCP-M.SG when
 e' rriatu
 be-PRS.3SG arrive-PP
 'I had already gone to bed when he arrived.'
- c. i. lu Pissu ulia ku (bb) era dza
 the P. want.PTCP.IPF.3SG ku be-IPF.3SG already
 futu ku sse kurka
 go-PTCP-MSG ku self.cl go.to.bed-PRS.1SG
 ii. → lu Pissu ulia ku ss ia dza ffa
 the P. want.PTCP.IPF.3SG ku self.cl have-IPF.3SG already GO
 kkurkatu
 go.to-bed PTCP-MSG
 'Pissu would have liked to have already gone to bed.'

2.7 Summary

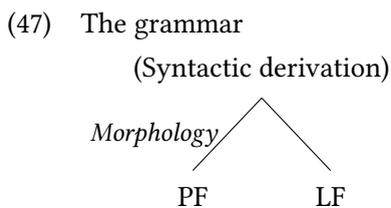
As shown in the previous sections, Full-Fledged and Reduced MVCs have a close relationship despite their clear structural differences. This is demonstrated not only by the fact that these constructs can be easily exchanged semantically but also by the fact that they seem to share the same root /f-/B-/ with all its idiosyncratic suppletive properties. At the same time, when this root is in a Full-Fledged MVC, it behaves like a lexical root in being capable of selecting an argument structure. In contrast, when it is in a Reduced MVC, it becomes a functional element syntactically and semantically integrated into the extended projection of the adjacent verb. In this case, it behaves morphologically like an affix so that it can appear attached to the participle and in a position lower than that of the auxiliary in structures such as that of *l'addzu ffa kkattatu* (see 46). In this case,

it can also undergo a morphological operation such as reduplication in *ofe me ffa bba kurku mprima* (see 42). Any analysis of these constructions must explain how their root can be converted from a verbal position capable of syntactic projection into a functional element included in the extended projection of the lower verb and behaving like an affix.

3 Analysis

3.1 A morphosyntactic analysis of lexical and functional restructuring

The theory of Distributed Morphology proposes a piece-based view of word formation, in which the syntax/morphology interface is made as transparent as possible by incorporating hierarchical structure into morphology. Thus, it assumes the input to morphology to be syntactic structure where morphosyntactic and semantic features (or feature bundles) are distributed over nodes forming morphemes (see Halle & Marantz 1993). Morphology manipulates these syntactic structures and eventually converts them into linear sequences of phonological representations:



The derivation of all morphological forms then takes place in accordance with the architecture given in (47). Roots and other morphemes are combined into larger syntactic objects, which are moved when necessary (Merge, Move). Words, i.e., X^0 complexes, are generated by head movement operations. These X^0 -complexes are the (abstract) morphosyntactic representations that are the input to phonological spell-out. During phonological spell-out, phonological realizations are assigned to the terminal nodes via the cyclic application of a process called *Vocabulary Insertion* from the inside out. By this process, individual *Vocabulary Item* (VI) rules that pair a phonological exponent with a morphosyntactic context are consulted. The most specific VI that can apply to an abstract morpheme is inserted (in the so-called Elsewhere (Subset, Paninian) ordering). Finally, after Vocabulary Insertion, morphophonological and phonological rules apply. These rules eventually determine the surface allomorphy of words. I will not deal with these rules here.

Along the lines of Wurmbrand (2015), I will assume the verbal functional structure in (48), which expresses the basic core temporal, aspectual, and modal structure of eventualities:

$$(48) \quad [_{\text{MoodP}} \text{Mood}^0 [_{\text{TenseP}} \text{T}^0 [_{\text{AspP}} \text{Asp}^0 [_{\text{VoiceP}} \text{Voice}^0 [_{\text{vP}} \text{v}^0 [_{\sqrt{\text{P}}} \sqrt{\text{Root}}^0]]]]]]]$$

Additional functional heads may be provided by bleached lexical roots (= verbs triggering syntactic truncation/restructuring).²³ I will refer to these bleached roots using the term semi-lexical roots as Cardinaletti and Giusti do for andative verbs of Reduced MVCs. The semi-lexical roots express additional “nuances” of the eventualities. I assume that the progressive and the andative are nuances of this type.

Semi-lexical roots have the property of being syntactically merged as normal lexical roots; therefore, from the formal point of view, they can select sentences and arguments and project a functional structure. Their other essential property, however, is that of being able to lose this ability. Thus, once inserted, they can trigger an operation of syntactic truncation/restructuring that will be discussed later.

Before doing that, however, I want to consider the question of how a universal hierarchical structure like that in (48) is mapped onto surface morphological forms. In Calabrese (2019), I try to account for this mapping of functional structure into surface verbal forms. This model also accounts for when periphrastic morphology occurs. Here I will introduce this model by illustrating the derivation of simple forms such as Campiota *kkattavamu* ‘buy.IPF.1PL’.

As mentioned above, X^0 complexes are generated by head movement operations. Along the lines of Calabrese & Pescarini (2014), I assume that morphological operations and syntactic derivation are cyclically *interleaved*. So, head-movement operations, during what I call morphological spell-out (Calabrese 2019), may first generate X^0 -complexes, i.e., words, that can then be targeted by other syntactic head movement operations such as V-to-C movement, etc. The word-forming head movement operations are the only ones of relevance here.

²³It can be hypothesized that the root, in this case, is subject to an operation of semantic impoverishment (= bleaching) that affects the root semantics in such a way that 1) it removes its ability to identify and describe an independent eventuality but 2) it preserves its abstract logical framework (see Roberts 2010 for a more detailed discussion). This logical framework can describe aspectual or other properties of another eventuality. Thus, the impoverished form of the root ANDARE in Salentino loses its ability to refer to a separate event of movement and comes to indicate an aspectual property – the “andative” one – of the eventuality described by the lower verb.

I assume that the affixal properties of functional heads during morphological spell-out follow from the morphological requirement in (49):

- (49) Synthetic morphology constraint: Each functional head X^0 in an extended projection, with the exception of the topmost one,²⁴ must be adjoined to a root or to a Y^0 complex including a root.

In this system, syntactic representations in violation of (49) are repaired through the operation in (50), from Harizanov & Gribanova (2019) (for the sake of simplicity, the alternative operation of head lowering is not covered in this paper since it is not directly relevant to the analysis developed here; see Calabrese (2019) for more discussion):²⁵

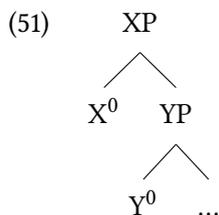
- (50) A syntactic complementation relation $[_{XP} \dots X^0 \dots [_{YP} \dots Y^0 [_{ZP} \dots]]]$ may be realized in the morphology as a complex head by:

Head Raising:

$[_{XP} \dots X^0 \dots [_{YP} \dots Y^0 [_{ZP} \dots]]] \rightarrow [_{XP} \dots [_{X^0 Y^0 X^0}] [_{YP} \dots [_{ZP} \dots]]]$

(where X^0 and Y^0 are heads, X^0 c-commands Y^0 , and there is no head Z^0 that c-commands Y^0 and is c-commanded by X^0)

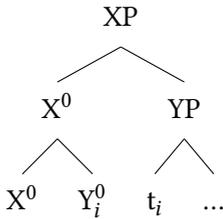
Given the syntactic structure in (51), head raising generates the structure in (52):



²⁴This accounts for why the functional head C is not a verbal affix but an independent particle, even if often cliticized to a verb or to another adjacent word. When C is targeted by head movement in V-to-C operations, V is always a fully formed verbal complex.

²⁵In this approach, a single mechanism – the synthetic morphology constraint (49) – with head raising (and head lowering) as the associated repair implements word formation. Such an approach is simpler, and more parsimonious, than other approaches such as that of Bjorkman (2011), where m-word formation (head movement in her theory) is associated with inflection, or Pietraszko (2017), where word formation can be implemented by the mechanism of c-selection with m-word formation (head movement in her theory) as an additional strategy. It is closer to what has been proposed by Arregi & Pietraszko (2018) with a single operation, Generalized Head Movement, which includes both head raising and lowering.

(52) A word generated by head raising:



Therefore, given the structure in (48), head raising to satisfy (49) will create the structure in Figure 2 by moving the root or a constituent, including the root, in a roll-up fashion upwards cyclically and adjoining them to the functional head in the extended projection.²⁶

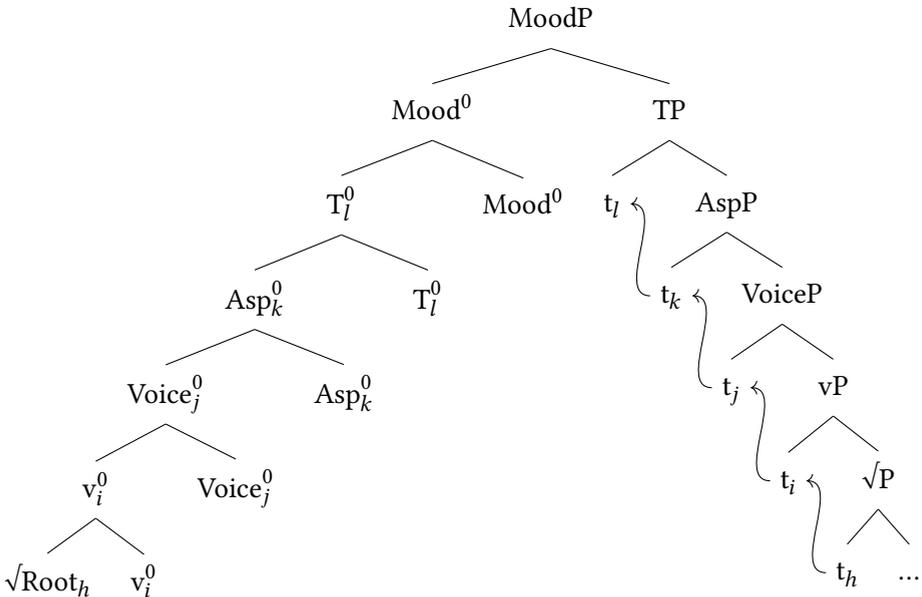


Figure 2: Derivation of verbal X^0 complex by cyclic head movement

Three important operations are needed to derive the surface structure of Romance verbal forms, including the Campiota ones. Two of them insert ornamental²⁷ morphological pieces such as AGR (Halle & Marantz 1993, Bobaljik 2000)

²⁶The positioning of the exponent of the head as a suffix/prefix is due to information associated with the exponent and not a morphosyntactic property (see below).

²⁷Ornamental means that they do not have syntactico-semantic functions or content but only a morphophonological one.

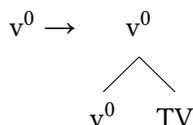
and Thematic Vowels (Ultra-Massuet & Arregi 2005). The third delinks nodes with non-overt exponents through a pruning operation.

The rules inserting ornamental pieces are the following. The rule in (53) inserts AGR. The two rules in (54a) and (54b), instead, insert Thematic Vowels (TV) in Italo-Romance verbal forms. One rule adjoins a TV to v^0 (see 54a). It applies early in the derivation before Vocabulary Insertion (and the subsequent pruning operations discussed below). Another rule of TV insertion applies after Vocabulary Insertion and the pruning operations; hence it adjoins a TV only to overt functional heads (54b):

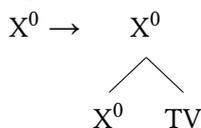
(53) AGR insertion:

Given a complex X^0 not including inherent phi-features, adjoin AGR_V to its highest X^0 (to be revised later).

(54) a. (it applies before VI)



b. (X^0 = functional; it applies after VI and pruning, if α is an overt exponent)



So, (53) and (54a) apply in the case of the complex head structure in (1). Hence, Figure 3 is generated in the case of the form *kkattavamu* ‘buy-IPF-1PL’ (before Vocabulary Insertion).

Now let’s move onto the third operation necessary to derive the surface structure of verb forms. The complex head in Figure 3 is the basic structure of the Italo-Romance verb forms, including Campiota Salentino, before the insertion of the lexical entries. It is an agglutinative structure, i.e., a cumulation of morphological nodes. However, in Italo-Romance, functional categories such as aspect, tense and mood are no longer represented as independent morphological pieces as in the Latin pluperfect subjunctive form *laud-a-vi-s-se-mus*, i.e., [[[[[*laud-*]_{Root} [-*a*]_{TV}] _{v^0} -*v*-[-*i*]_{TV}]_{[+perf]-Asp⁰}]_{[+past]-T⁰} -*s*-[-*e*]_{TV}]_{[+irr]-Mood⁰}]_[1PL-AGR] ‘praise.PLUPRF.SUBJ1PL’ (see Calabrese forthcoming for discussion of the constituency of Latin verbs). On the contrary, a single morpheme /-v-/ appears for the string Aspect_[-perfect] + T_[+past] + Mood_[-irrealis] in the Campiota

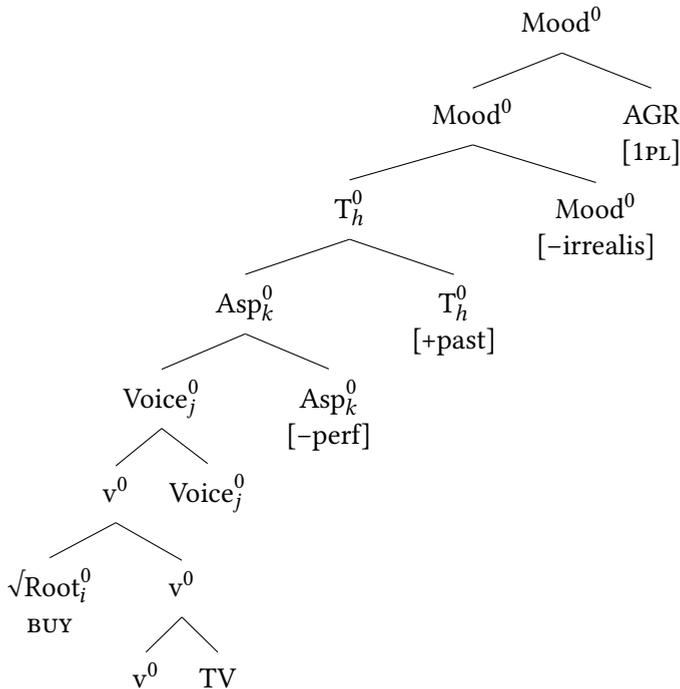


Figure 3: Basic structure of Italo-Romance verbal forms

kkattavamu. An operation that can account for this is null node pruning proposed by Calabrese (2019, forthcoming).²⁸ It consists of the cyclic delinking of nodes with non-overt exponence. Note that an exponent /-Ø-/ is automatically inserted into a independently motivated terminal node when there is no Vocabulary Insertion rule that assigns to this node a phonologically overt exponent. After this pruning operation, the features that become floating by pruning are docked upwards onto the highest adjacent node. In a system like the Salentino one discussed so far where only the terminal node [-perfective, +past]_{T⁰} is as-

²⁸Pruning was originally proposed by Embick (2010) only for non-overt category defining nodes. Following Christopoulos & Petrosino (2017) and Christopoulos (2018), Calabrese (2019) extended it to all types of non-overt category nodes and reformulated it as in (35) and used it 1) to simplify the phonological realization of morphosyntactic structures, 2) to account for the convergence of possibly complex morphosyntactic structures and their possibly simpler PF surface shape, and also 3) crucially to explain the fact that phonologically null exponents – regardless of their marked/unmarked status – appear not to act as interveners for morphological locality (cf. Embick 2010, Calabrese 2019). Null node pruning also provides an alternative to fusion (cf. Halle & Marantz 1993).

signed overt exponence, i.e., /-v-/, all other nodes are assigned \emptyset as in (55), and pruned away, given their cyclic bottom-up order.

- (55) a. $\emptyset \leftrightarrow v^0$
 b. $\emptyset \leftrightarrow \text{Voice}^0$
 c. $\emptyset \leftrightarrow \text{Asp}^0$
 d. /v/ $\leftrightarrow [-\text{perfective}, +\text{past}]_{T^0}$
 e. $\emptyset \leftrightarrow \text{Mood}^0$

Phonological spell-out operates cyclically node-by-node bottom-up. TV insertion and Vocabulary Insertion – where in addition to overt exponents, \emptyset s are inserted, followed by their pruning and feature docking – will generate the cyclic derivation in Figure 4 on pages 238–239, where some of the verbal functional nodes are fused together due to pruning – in cyclic steps, due to the cyclic nature of Vocabulary Insertion.

For the sake of the exposition, I will then represent derivations such as that in Figure 4 as in Figure 5 (page 240), where all of the different cyclic steps are compacted together. The final output is given in Figure 6 (page 241), where for simplicity, I replace the complex fused [$v^0 + \text{TV}$] with TV, [$\text{Voice}^0 + \text{Asp}^0 + T^0$] with T^0 , and [$\text{Mood}^0 + \text{AGR}$] with AGR. Furthermore, I relabel the topmost headless Mood^0 with T^0 .

3.2 A morphosyntactic analysis of the Reduced MVC

As shown in the preceding sections, the Full-Fledged MVC and the Reduced MVC, despite their clear structural differences, have a close relationship. Putting aside the striking semantic interchangeability between these two constructions, they share what appears to be the same root /f-/B-/ ‘GO’ with its idiosyncratic suppletive properties. At the same time, whereas this root is clearly fully lexical when it is in a Full-Fledged MVC – and, therefore, it is characterized by the ability to select a CP and argumental structure, it becomes syntactically and semantically functional, and thus integrated in the extended projection of the lower verb, when it is in a Reduced MVC. At this point, I need to account for how the andative root of a Reduced MVC can be converted from its syntactic projecting verbal position into a functional head included in the extended projection of the lower verb.

I assume that the Reduced MVC is derived from the structure underlying the Full-Fledged MVC. As shown below, this accounts for the presence and preservation of the higher functional structure of the GO verb, which is identical in the Full-Fledged MVC and in the Reduced MVC:

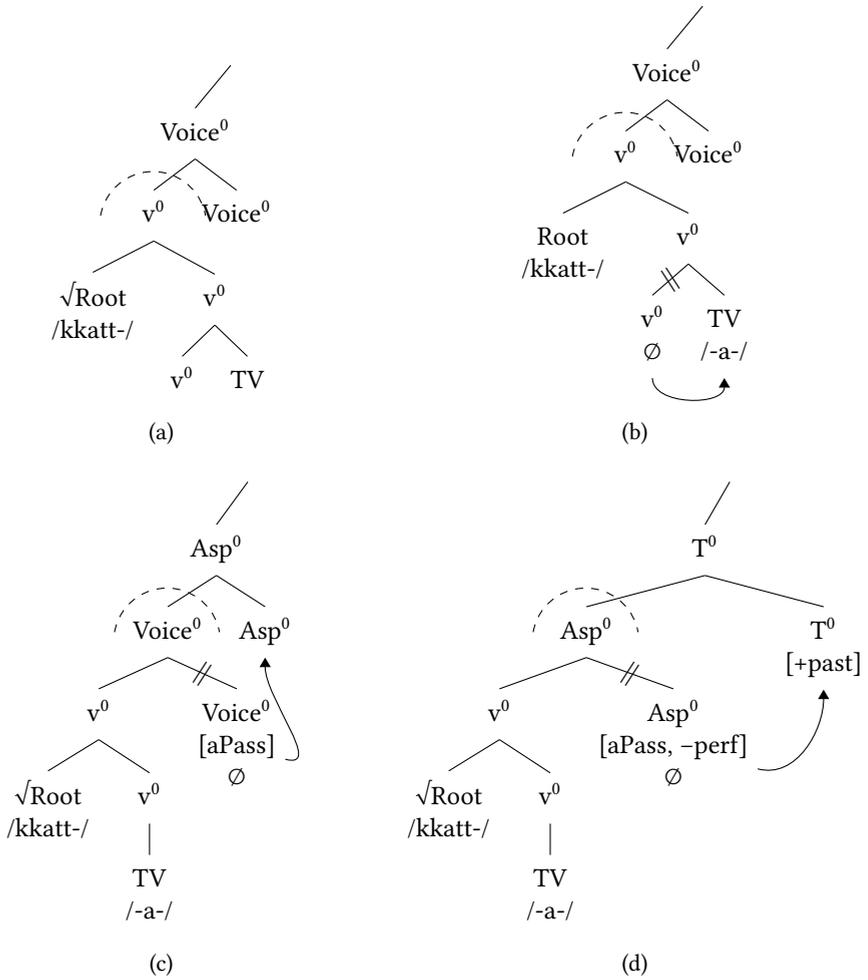


Figure 4: Step-by-step cyclic derivation of surface Campiota verb form *kkattavamu* (where dashed frames indicates a cyclic domain)

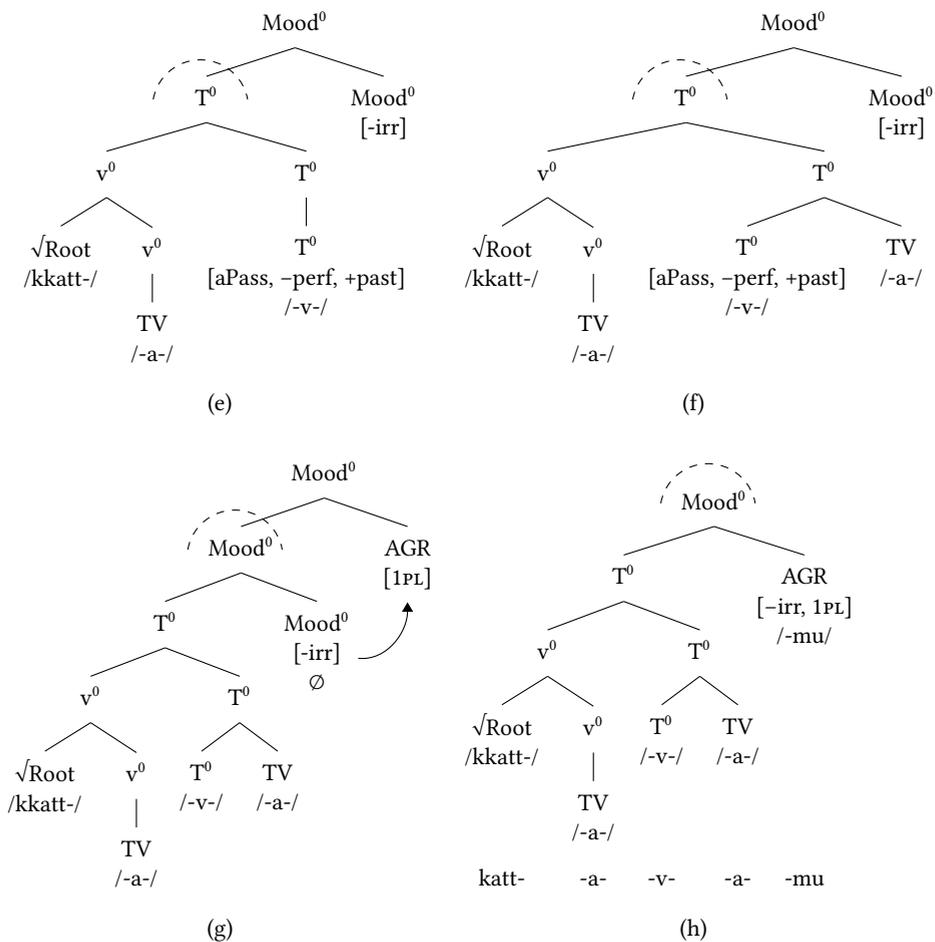


Figure 4 (continued): Step-by-step cyclic derivation of surface Campiota verb form *kkattavamu*

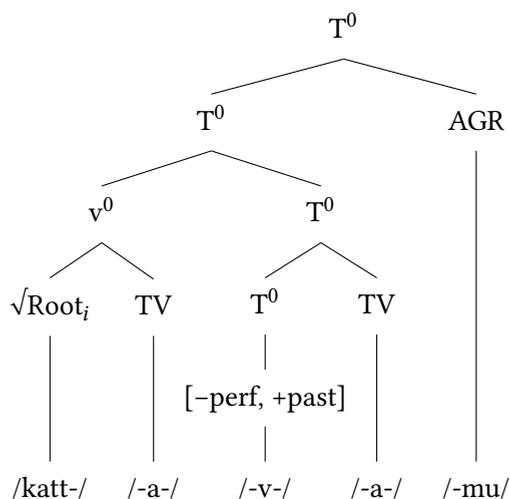


Figure 6: Output structure of verbal form *kattavamu*

Reduced MVC. This explains the possibility of a semantic interchangeability between the two constructions. In this case, however, there is no application of syntactic reduction, an operation that characterizes only Reduced MVCs.

The hypothesis is thus that semi-lexical verb roots are inserted as normal lexical roots capable of projecting an extended projection, selecting argument structure and governing clauses referring to events. In their bleached form, however, they can further undergo an operation of syntactic truncation such as that proposed in Wurmbrand (2014, 2015, 2017), that is, an operation of stripping of the structure associated with the bi- eventual interpretation of the previous construction. Thus, the temporal and aspectual structure of the lower proposition is removed, although not the v^0 of the lower verb, which must be left intact given the preservation of verbalizers in the lower verb in the examples in (57):

- (57) a. (Denominal from *mattsa* ‘club’ + verbalizer *-if-*)
 lu ʃʃa mmattsifu
 it-CL GO give.beating-PRS1SG
 ‘I am going to give him a beating.’
- b. (Deadjectival from *frisko* ‘fresh’)
 ne ʃʃa ddifriskamu
 self.CL GO refresh
 ‘We are going to refresh ourselves.’

Thus through “bleaching”, the andative GO becomes a functional head. As a functional head, it selects a reduced constituent vP, as in Wurmbrand’s syntactic truncation; all unlicensed structure is then erased, including the level of complementizer phrase CP. As a functional head, the andative GO also loses the ability to select argument structure and to project its level vP. Thus, this bleached root and its extended projection become part of the extended functional projection of the lower verb:

(58)

- a. ... [_{AspP} Asp⁰ [_{vP} v⁰ [_{vP} GO[+and]]] [_{CP} C⁰ [_{TP} T⁰ [_{AspP} Asp⁰ [_{vP} v⁰ [_{vP} √Root] ...]]]]]]]
- b. ... [_{AspP} Asp⁰ [_{vP} v⁰ [_{vP} GO[+and]]] [_{CP} C⁰ [_{TP} T⁰ [_{AspP} Asp⁰ [_{vP} v⁰ [_{vP} √Root] ...]]]]]]]
- c. ... [_{AspP} Asp⁰ [_{vP} GO[+and]]] [_{vP} v⁰ [_{vP} √Root] ...]

Now, the andative functional head is in violation of (49). When after syntactic stripping, word-forming head movement applies and the v⁰ complex, including the lower root, is raised to this head position. (From now on, for graphic simplicity, I will omit mention of the nodes Mood⁰ and Voice⁰ that not only are always assigned ∅ in Campiota, and therefore pruned, but also do not play any role in the analysis.) This is illustrated in Figure 7.

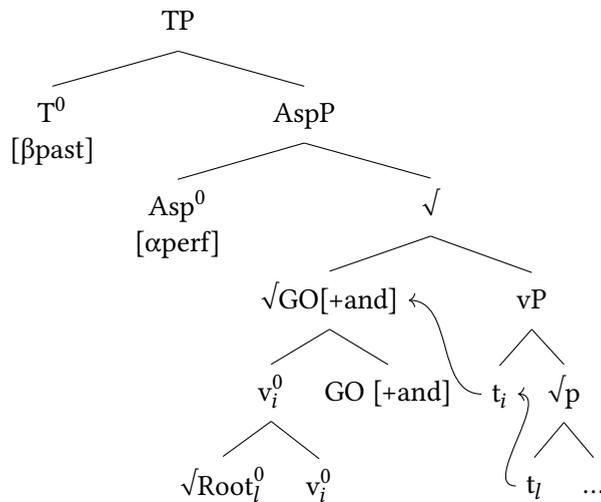


Figure 7: Derivation of the andative v⁰ complex

Further cyclic movement to the higher functional heads, subsequent pruning and insertion of AGR and TVs generate Figure 8, page 244 (with the resulting structures in Figure 9, page 245) shown here after VI insertion.²⁹ Note that the regular application of (54b) adjoins a TV to the andative head, as expected given its functional status.^{30,31}

Observe that the andative morpheme is a prefix in Figures 8–9. One can assume that the linear order of the Full-Fledged MVC is preserved in this case. This can be accounted for by hypothesizing that the And^0 exponent is marked as being antitropical, i.e. a prefix (cf. Bye & Svenonius 2012).³²

²⁹An additional VI is needed to account for the perfect form in Figure 8b. It is given below:

- (i) /-s-/ ↔ [+perf]/Roots ____

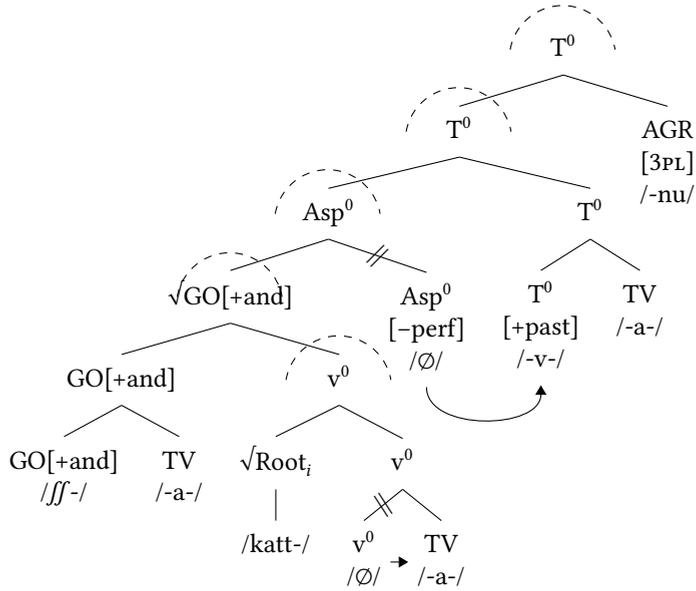
(i) is an instance of root-conditioned allomorphy. The aspectual exponent /-s-/ requires root information to be inserted. Although it is not really relevant in the context of this paper, an important issue arises at this point: that of morphological locality. Morphological locality is assumed to require adjacency: the issue is if it is structural (Bobaljik 2012, Calabrese 2019) or linear (Embick 2010). If it is structural, the andative node should act as an intervener in the interaction between the root and the aspectual node, contrary to the facts. It must be linear then, since in this case the andative node does not interfere with the allomorphic interaction between the root and the following aspect node. It follows that if it is linear, linearization must occur cyclically but crucially preserving structural information. Thus, when the [+perf] node is reached, one must know what the TV is, so that it can be deleted. Further discussion of this topic is not possible here and must be left to future research.

³⁰An anonymous reviewer wonders if two verbs can be coordinated under a single *ffa/bba* since according to the structure in Figure 9 this should be impossible. As a matter of fact, this is the case: So, the Italian sentence in (i) can only be translated with a full-fledged MVC in (ii), or with a coordination including two *ffa/bba* pieces as in (iii) but not with a coordination under a single one as in (iv):

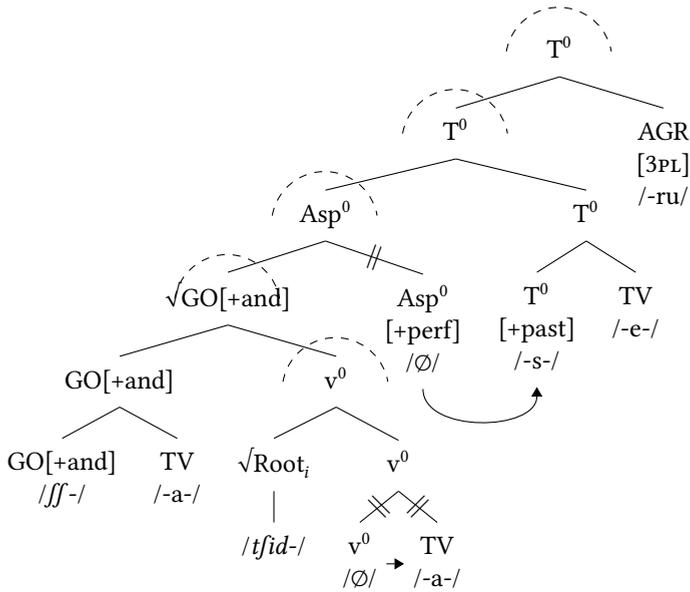
- (i) Ora lo andiamo a pulire e ricucire
 now it.CL Go-PRS.1PL a clean and re-sew
 ‘Now we go to clean it and re-sew it again.’
- (ii) moj famu ku llu pulittzamu e ku llu ripittsamu
 now GO-PRS.1PL ku it.CL clean-PRS.1PL and ku it.CLSEW-PRS-1PL again
- (iii) moj lu ffa pulittzamu e lu ffa ripittsamu
 now it CL GO- clean-PRS.1PL and it-CL sew-PRS-1PL again
- (iv) * moj lu ffa pulittzamu e ripittsamu

³¹The verb *ttfidere* ‘kill’ is athematic. The v^0 -TV is pruned and deleted in this case (see Calabrese 2015, 2019 for discussion and analysis). A phonological rule deletes /d/ before /s/.

³²It should be observed that the order of restructuring modal/aspectual vs. andative verbs is fixed, and appears to be independent of the morphosyntactic environment (i.e., independent

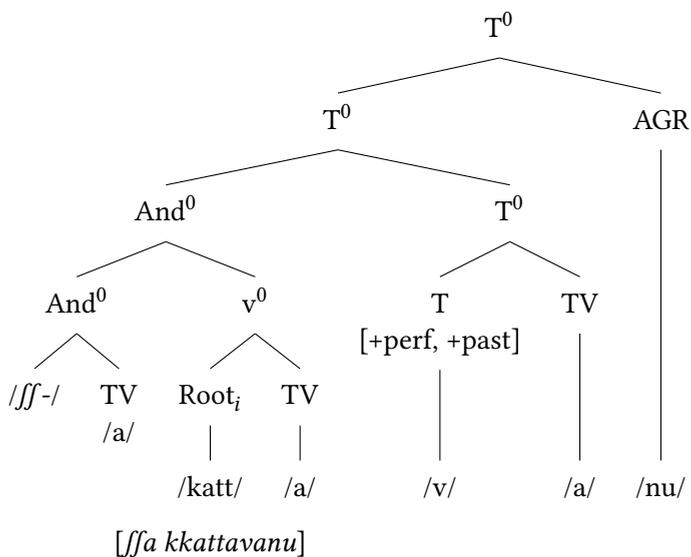


(a) Cyclic derivation of the andative form *ffa kattavanu*

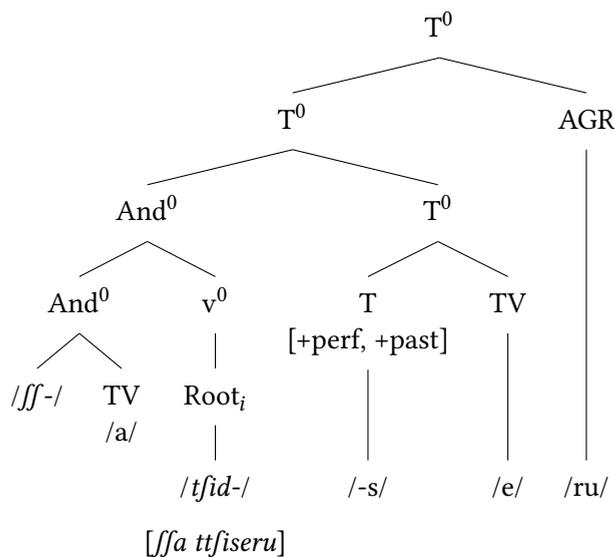


(b) Cyclic derivation of the andative form *ffa ttfiseru*

Figure 8: Cyclic derivations of Campiota andative forms



(a) Output structure of the andative form *ffa kattavanu*



(b) Output structure of the andative form *ffa ttiseru*

Figure 9: Output structures of Campiota andative forms

This can be interpreted as a general property of bleached roots in Salentino to be added to the VIs in (59) insofar as progressive *sta* also behaves in the same way.³³

(59) The exponents of bleached roots are antitropical.

3.3 The progressive

The same analysis can be proposed for the progressive. The root for STAY may be fully lexical or bleached. One can assume the basic full-fledged structure in (60) in the case of the lexical root. This structure is associated with the inceptive meaning.

(60) ...[_{AspP} Asp [_{vP} [STAY]_{Root} [_{CP} C [_{TP} ... [...V₂...]T⁰ ...]]]]

In the case of the bleached [+progressive] STAY root, the same stripping operations discussed above for the Reduced MVC generate the progressive construction in (61b):

(61) a. ...[_{AspP} Asp [_{vP} [STAY_[+prog]]_{Root} [_{CP} C [_{TP} ... [...V₂...]T⁰ ...]]]]
 b. ...[_{AspP} Asp [_{vP} [STAY_[+prog]]_{Root} [_{CP} \bar{C} [_{TP} ... [...V₂...]T⁰ ...]]]]

of whether or not the andative appear in a Full-fledged or Reduced MVC):

- (i) a. sta bbau ku ntʃiŋŋu ku llu fattsu
 STAY GO-PRS.1SG ku begin do-PRS.1SG ku it.CL do-PRS.1SG
 * ntʃiŋŋu ku bbau ku llu fattsu
 b. lu sta bba ntʃiŋŋu a ffare
 it.CL STAY GO-PRS.1SG begin-PRS.1SG a do-INF
 * lu ntʃiŋŋu a ʃfa ffare / *lu ntʃiŋŋu a bba ffare / *lu sta ntʃiŋŋu a ʃfa ffare / *lu
 ntʃiŋŋu a sta ʃfa ffare

³³As also observed by Ledgeway (2016) for the variety of Lecce, a Reduced MVC and a clausal one can co-occur in one and the same sentence (here adapted for the Campiota variety).

- (i) a. simu futi ku llu ʃfa kkattamu
 simu futi ku llu ʃfa bba kkattamu
 be.PRS.1PL go-PTCP.M.PL ku it.CL. GO buy-PRS.1PL
 'we went to buy it'
 b. sta bbau ku me ʃfa bba kkurku subbra lu tivanu
 STAY go-PRS.1SG ku self.cl GO-go.to.bed-PRS.1SG on the sofa.bed
 'I am going to go to bed on the sofa bed.'

One needs to explain why the piece *ffa/bba* behaves morphologically as an affix thus appearing attached to the participle and lower than the auxiliary in a structure.

In the preceding pages, I assumed that verbal synthetic forms are due to the cyclic application of head movement, which is able to convert the extended functional projection of a verb into a single complex X^0 (i.e., a single word involving a root plus affixes). If this is correct, one can also plausibly assume that, in contrast, periphrastic verbal forms – in which similar verbal extended functional projections are broken into different complex X^0 s (i.e., different words: auxiliaries and other verbal morphological pieces such as participles, gerunds and infinitives) – are due to the failure of the application of this operation to certain functional heads. In fact, this approach to periphrasis formation, which was at first formulated in Embick (2000), has been more recently fully developed by Bjorkman (2011), Pietraszko (2016), Fenger (2020), Calabrese (2019).³⁴ In Bjorkman and Pietraszko's works, the failure of functional heads to combine with the verb is due to the action of certain nodes (or better the feature complexes of those nodes) as interveners (Rizzi 1990) in syntactic processes – such as Agree³⁵ – that lead to head movement. For example, the v-complex may not raise to Tense because (marked) Aspect features intervene for the Tense feature to be agreed with and checked. In Calabrese's model, in contrast, the failure of head movement is formalized in terms of morphological filters disallowing combinations of functional head features: movement is blocked if such combination may be generated. Fenger proposes that head movement may be blocked by phasal boundaries such as that between the verbal thematic complex which includes Aspect and the higher T-C complex (see Bošković 2014, Wurmbrand 2017) – some form of phasal extension would be required to account for the cases where movement crosses these boundaries. A thorough discussion, comparison, and selection among these different theories is far beyond the goals of this paper. What matters here is that periphrasis is the result of blocking of head movement. A simple way of implementing this, without taking a stand with respect to the abovementioned theories, is to propose that head movement³⁶ from one head position in the extended

³⁴An obvious advantage of such approaches over purely lexical ones that assume that periphrastic formation is just due to paradigmatic gaps (see Kiparsky 2005 for example) is that the periphrastic structure, and the subsequent formation of auxiliaries, follows the hierarchical functional structure: it is expected that when there are higher and lower heads, the lower head will end up on the verb, whereas the higher head ends up on the auxiliary.

³⁵In Bjorkman's system this is done via a version of Agree (Chomsky 2000, 2001), namely Upward Agree (see Merchant 2011, a.o.); in Pietraszko's system this happens through a type of selection, similar to cyclic agree (Béjar & Rezac 2009).

³⁶Here we are dealing only with head raising. The same blocking could also occur with head lowering, which is not considered here.

functional verb projection to the one directly higher up may be parametrized with a parameter allowing or not allowing movement between these positions. If movement to the higher up position is blocked, the complex X^0 head that was cyclically constructed up to that point remains stuck in the lower position. This leads to a periphrastic formation in which the extended functional projection is split in at least two X^0 complexes (i.e., in two words): a lower one, i.e. blocked X^0 complex, and a higher one including the higher functional heads of the projection. The head movement parameters may have their deeper grounding in the theories mentioned above, but choosing what they are will not be an issue here.

Consider the derivation of the Campiota periphrastic present perfect construction in (64):

- (64) *siti futi a kkasa*
 be-PRS-2PL go-PTCP-MPL to home
 ‘We went home.’

As proposed in the works quoted above, it is derived by blocking head movement of the lower complex with Asp^0 to the higher T^0 node.³⁷ It follows that the higher T^0 is in violation of (50). A dummy root – the AUX root – is therefore inserted as a “holder” for T^0 (Bjorkman 2011). Given the analysis just proposed, the participle is essentially a tenseless, moodless verbal Asp^0 constituent (see Calabrese 2020 on the derivation of perfect participle forms in Italo-Romance and Latin). In order to understand the morphological properties of the constituents of periphrastic constructions, we also need to look into their agreement patterns. As proposed in Calabrese (2019), an important feature of all verbal complexes X^0 is that they are assigned an AGR node which is adjectival in participle forms – analyzed as complex Asp^0 heads in Calabrese (2019), following Embick (2000, 2004) – but is otherwise verbal, where verbal AGR_V requires person and number features, and adjectival AGR_{Adj} requires gender and number features (and case features in languages with overt morphological case). The rule for AGR insertion proposed in that work is the following:³⁸

³⁷Lowering of the higher T^0 onto the lower Asp^0 complex must be prevented. A detailed discussion of how periphrastic verbal constructions are derived in Italian is unfortunately not possible here due to space restrictions; the reader is referred to Calabrese (2019) for this.

³⁸An important issue I cannot address fully here is that of the root-adjacent TV in auxiliaries. Given that v^0 should not be present in the AUX constituent, the relevant TV should not be there. Many Italian dialects indeed do not have it: consider the lexical verb/AUX counterpart in the case of HAVE in Sicilian: *av-i-ti/a-ti*, and in Neapolitan: *av-i-te/a-te* have-PRS-2PL where we have the structures $[[[av^-]_{Root} [-e]_{TV}]_{v^0} -te]_{[IPL-AGR+T^0]}$ vs. $[[[av^-]_{Root}]_{v^0} -te]_{[IPL-AGR+T^0]}$. However, in standard Italian such a distinction is absent: a thematic vowel is present when *avere* occurs

- (65) Adjoin AGR to the highest X^0 of a complex X^0 included in the extended projection of V^0 where AGR is:
- a. adjectival if the highest X^0 is Asp^0 , and
 - b. verbal otherwise.

We can now derive the surface forms. Blocking and AUX insertion are shown in Figure 11a on page 251. The outcome with further operations of AGR insertion, pruning, etc., is shown in Figure 11b. Note that the lower Asp^0 complex is assigned adjectival AGR_{Adj} and therefore displays participial morphology (see Calabrese (2020) for further discussion of participial morphology in Italian and Latin, and Calabrese (2019) for discussion of the structure of the auxiliary form).³⁹

Let us turn to the sentence in (63) *l'iti ffa kkattatu*, which includes the bleached andative GO. The blocking of upward head movement of the complex X^0 including this element is shown in Figure 12 (page 252).

The operations of AUX insertion in the higher T^0 , AGR insertion in the lower and higher verbal X-complexes and the relevant TV insertion, subsequent VI insertion followed by the other relevant operations, all applying cyclically, generate Figure 13 (page 253).

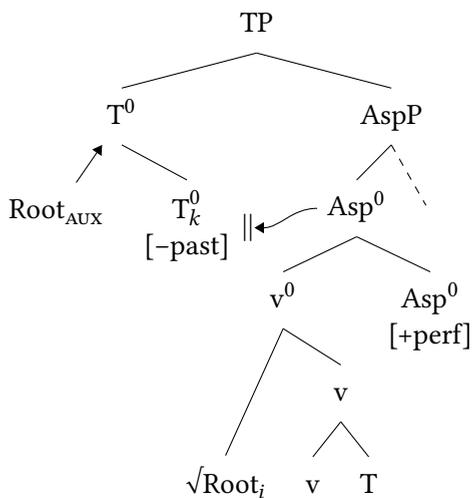
The structure in Figure 13 accounts for the properties of this construction. Firstly, the andative head belongs to the lower Asp^0 complex which is converted

as a main verb but also when *aver* is an auxiliary forms in (i.b)

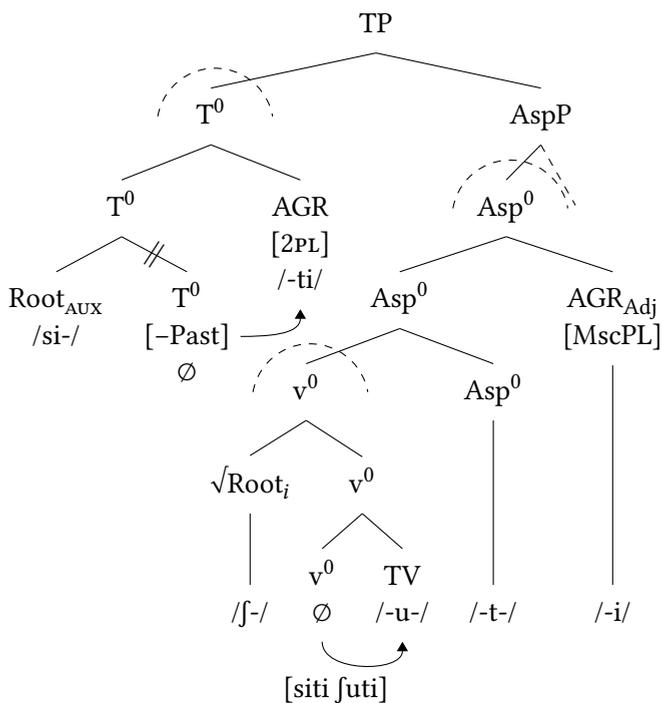
- (i)
 - a. *avete una bella casa (av-e-te)*
'You have a beautiful home.'
 - b. *avete mangiato (av-e-te)*
'You have eaten.'

To account for what happens in this case, Calabrese (2019, 2020) proposes that this is an instance of a morphological condition. Under this analysis, morphological conditions may introduce ornamental nodes such as Thematic Vowels but also what appear to be syntactically void functional heads. They are the ways in which the outcomes of analogical, or purely morphological, changes are integrated in the PF derivation, and the means by which abstract syntactic structures are converted into surface morphophonological forms where one finds pieces that do not have a true syntactic motivation. In the case of the auxiliaries, a morphological structure condition formally generalizes verb structure to AUX – a purely morphological change – by inserting a syntactically void TV. However, it is unclear if a TV is present in the auxiliaries *avire* and *essere* in Campiota. Here I will assume that there no TV in these auxiliaries in this variety. Note that an Italian restructuring auxiliary such as *andare* 'GO' discussed below displays it as expected and that Campiota restructuring auxiliaries such as *putire*, *spittare*, etc., also display it, as in Italian (cf. Figure 16).

³⁹The exponent of [+perf] Asp^0 , when it is the topmost functional node in a X^0 -complex – i.e., in a past participle – is /-t-/. The v^0 -TV, in this case, is /-u-/.



(a) Blocking of head movement and AUX insertion



(b) Further operations

Figure 11: The derivation of Campiota periphrastic present perfect forms

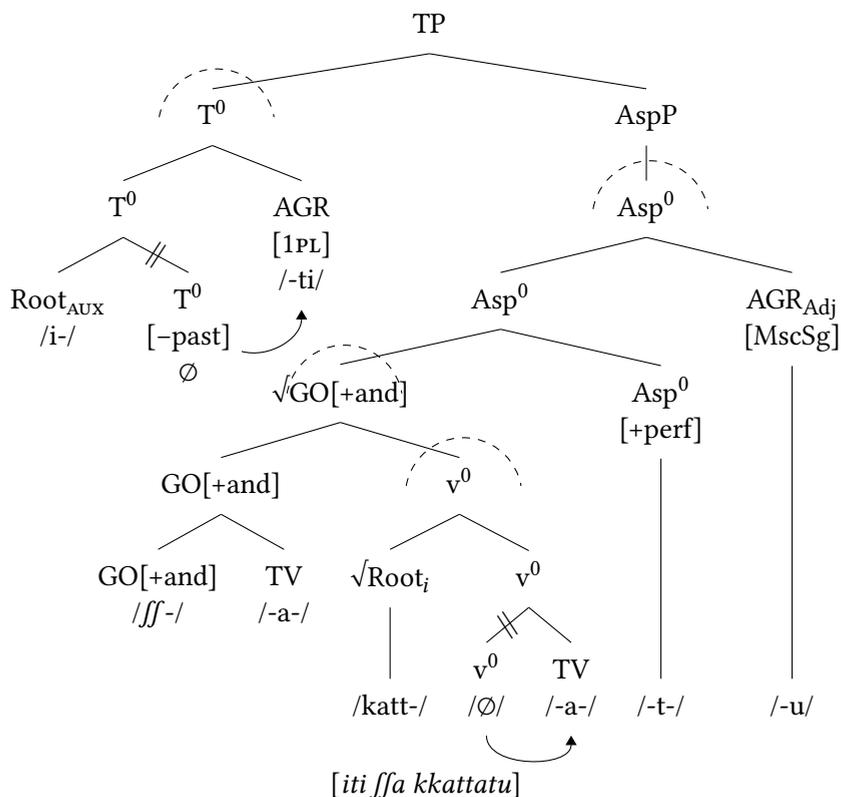
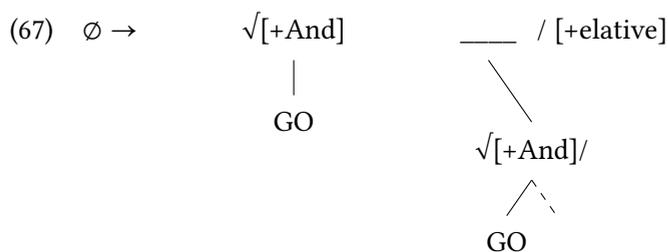


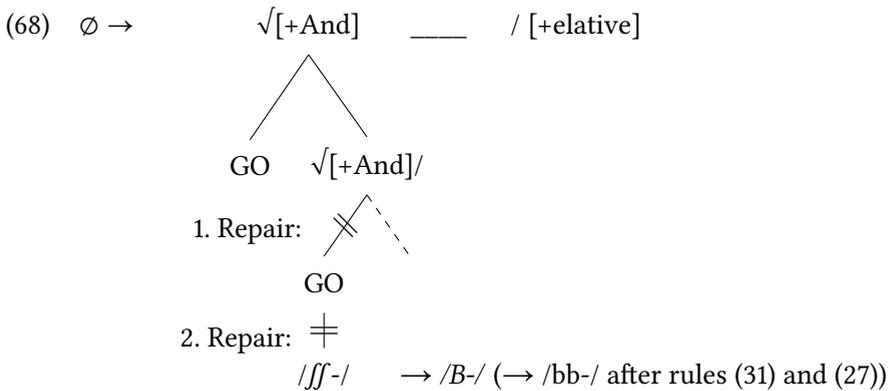
Figure 13: Cyclic derivation of periphrastic present perfect andative construction in Campiota

The most adequate way of accounting for this type of reduplication is by means of a fission-like operation (Calabrese 1988b, Noyer 1992, Arregi & Nevins 2012, Calabrese & Pescarini 2014):



The surface outcomes of the reduplication are governed by an OCP-like constraint that blocks the sequence of identical exponents *ff-a ff-a (see Pescarini

2010 on the role of a similar constraint in clitic clusters). I assume that the higher position can be assigned only the default exponent /ʃʃ-/. If the base contains /bb-/, there is no problem and /ʃʃ-/ is inserted. If the base contains /ff-/, instead, there is a violation of the relevant OCP constraint. Two repairs are possible, as shown in (67), before TV insertion: 1) the entire inserted GO node can be deleted, which simply results in the absence of reduplication (i.e., a case of obliteration, cf. Arregi & Nevins 2012); 2) only the terminal element of the inserted node is deleted, which results in the insertion of the alternative GO exponent /B-/ (cf. Pescarini (2010) for this type of repair) ([bb-] after application of the rules (31) and (27)):



3.6 Full-Fledged MVC and Infinitival MVC in Italo-Romance

In most Western Romance varieties, when verbs such as GO (and COME) feature in MVCs, they are typically followed by an infinitive. We will refer to this construction as the *Infinitival MVC*. Here is an example from the Apulian dialect spoken in Bari (69). But the same structures are found in standard Italian (70):

- (69) Mə vògg' a 'ccattà u cappiddə névə. (Bari, Apulia)
 me go.PRS.1SG to buy.INF the hat new
 'I go buy a new hat.' (Andriani 2017: 231)
- (70) Andava a mangiarlo (Italian)
 go.IMP.F.3SG to eat.INF=it
 'I went to eat it.'

An analysis of the Full-Fledged MVC requires an analysis of these Infinitival MVCs. Let us thus turn to the Infinitival MVC in Italian, like that shown in (71), which has no restructuring. The sentence in (71) has the basic syntactic structure

in (72) in the model developed here. If there is no restructuring (e.g., no clitic climbing), the verb GO selects a full CP, an instance of a purpose clause. No clitic climbing can occur in this case and the verb GO is a full lexical verb that can select argumental structure (cf. 71).

- (71) Andava a casa a mangiarlo (Italian)
 go.PRF.3SG to house to eat.INF=it.CL
 'I went home to eat it.'

- (72) ...[_{AspP} Asp [_{vP} [GO]_{Root} [_{CP} C [_{TP} ... [...V2...]_{T⁰}...

The sentence in (71), however, can be restructured as shown by the clitic climbing and removal of argumental structure:

- (73) Lo andava (*a casa) a mangiare (Italian)
 it.CL go.IMPF.3SG to house to eat-INF=it.CL
 'He was going (*home) to eat it.'

Along the lines of the analysis proposed earlier for Salentino, I assume that restructuring involves stripping the temporal and aspectual structure of the lower proposition, with subsequent integration of the restructuring root in the extended verbal projection of the lower verb, as in (61b). However, there is a fundamental difference between Salentino and the other Romance varieties in the case of andative MVCs. Whereas in Salentino, head movement merges the lower v^0 complex with the andative GO element – whereby this becomes an affix – this does not occur in restructuring infinitival MV constructions as shown in Figure 14. I assume that head movement is parametrically blocked here as in the periphrastic constructions discussed in §3.4 (cf. Figure 11; therefore, head movement to andative GO is not allowed).

The further derivational steps that eventually lead to the surface forms are discussed below. Being a functional head, the motion verb is in violation of (49). However, being also a root makes a difference. Thus I propose that, in this case, it is licensed as is, and thus does not get adjoined to another root as stipulated by (49) – it thus becomes an auxiliary in itself – and can therefore be the host of the higher functional heads, as shown in Figure 15.

Now, insofar as the entire complex is a single extended functional projection, and therefore a single clausal structure, clitic climbing to a higher clitic landing site is allowed, as in (73).

There is still an issue that needs to be addressed here, though, in order to account for how (72) is converted to the surface MVC in (71): specifically, we need

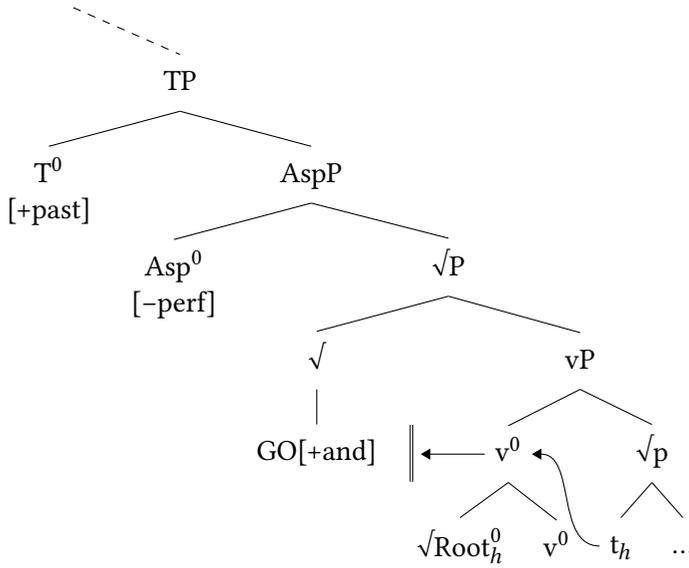


Figure 14: Blocking of head movement in restructuring Infinitival MVC

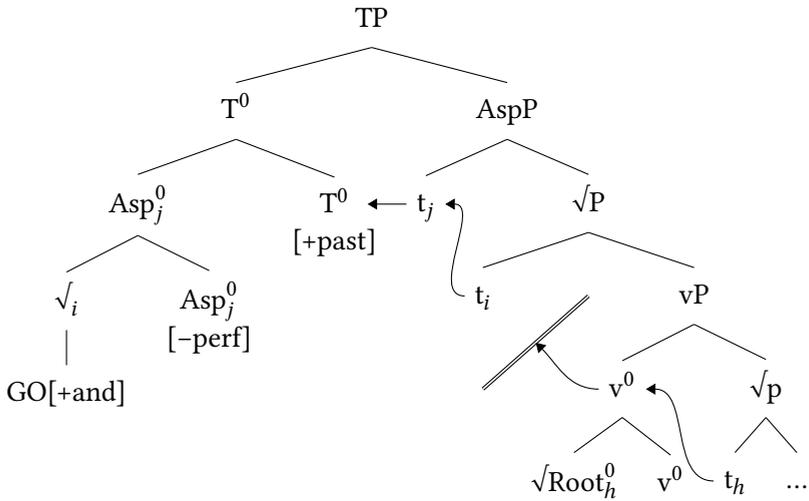


Figure 15: Further head movements in restructuring Infinitival MVC

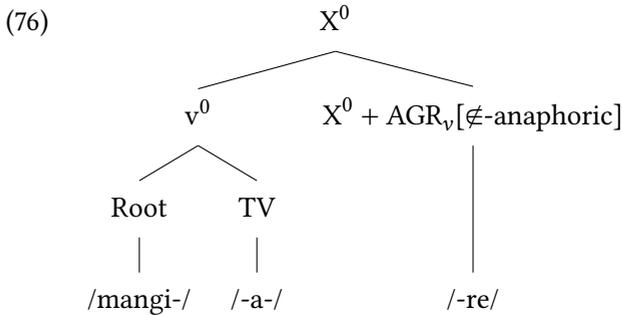
to understand why the lower verbal X^0 -complex in Figure 15 is characterized by infinitival morphology. The issue is the morphological nature of the infinitive. Now, the infinitive, with the gerund, is, by definition, the “uninflected” verbal form and occurs in a wide variety of embedded constructions, as observed by Wurmbrand (2014). Thus, an infinitive can appear in an embedded full clause as [CP [TP/FutP [AspP [vP [VP]]]], but also in a restructured embedded constituent one as [vP [VP]]. In addition, Wurmbrand observes that an infinitive occurs in embedded future clauses [TP/FutP [AspP [vP [VP]]]]. Importantly, for all these constructions, Wurmbrand (2014) also showed that the different temporal properties of the infinitive do not correlate with a difference between control and ECM/raising. It follows that there is no syntactic functional verbal element, or other syntactic property, that can account for the surface distribution of the infinitive. Here I propose that this distribution can be readily determined in the morphological component. Note, in particular, that in all of the infinitival constituents mentioned above, we are dealing with independent morphological words, specifically verbal complex X^0 s. Unless the highest X^0 is Asp^0 , they receive AGR_V by (65b). In Calabrese (1993), it is proposed that the infinitive is the morphological realization of the AGR_V and that it is, therefore, sensitive to AGR_V features. On the one hand, the AGR_V properties of inflected verbal forms are associated with the feature [-anaphoric], which triggers explicit morphological marking of phi-features. Otherwise, the AGR_V lacks explicit marking of phi-features, and can co-occur with anaphorically bound PRO subjects, with overt NPs, and with subjectless structures. In this case we have the infinitive. This then means that the infinitive is the default elsewhere realization of AGR_V :

- (74) a. $\{\varphi_1, \varphi_2, \varphi_3, \text{etc.}\} \leftrightarrow [-\text{anaphoric } \text{AGR}_V, \phi\text{-features, etc.}]_{\text{AGR}_V}$ (where $\varphi_1, \varphi_2, \varphi_3, \text{etc.}$ are exponents of AGR in inflected V forms, such as /-u/, /-i/ etc.)
 b. /-re/ $\leftrightarrow []_{\text{AGR}_V}$
 (Infinitive)

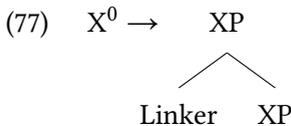
The distribution of infinitives can be captured if one assumes that the presence of [-anaphoric] AGR is associated with the presence of a deictic, i.e., [-anaphoric], tense, as stated in (75). So, the infinitive occurs as a default when Tense is non-deictic, i.e., anaphorically dependent on the Tense of the matrix verb and the subject anaphorically bound (i.e., [+anaphoric AGR], see the analysis of EQUI-clauses in Calabrese (1993)), or when Tense is simply missing, as in the future infinitives or in constructions with restructuring:

- (75) $[-\text{anaphoric}]_{T^0} \rightarrow [-\text{anaphoric}]_{\text{AGR}}$

Infinitives, therefore, have a morphosyntactic structure such as that in (76), where X^0 is the highest non- Asp^0 functional head. Assuming that this head is non-overt in this context, it will be pruned and therefore fused into a single node with the higher AGR as in (76).



We can therefore have the derivation in Figure 16 (page 259) for the surface form *andava a mangiare* in (73)⁴⁰ where, as proposed in Cruschina & Calabrese (2021), the connecting preposition (the linker) is inserted by the rule in (77) as an instance of ornamental morphology and is therefore devoid of any syntactic and semantic content.



We can turn back to Salentino at this point. Whereas the Salentino counterpart of the Romance restructured Infinitival MVC is a Reduced MVC, the Salentino counterpart of a non-restructured bi-clausal one is a Full-Fledged MVC involving a *ku*-clause. As proposed in Calabrese (1993), this is due to the fact that $[+anaphoric]_{T^0}$ is not possible in this language (see Calabrese 1993 for an account). Thus, in the presence of T^0 , given (75), AGR will always be $[-anaphoric]$ thus disallowing the infinitival clause.

(78) ... $[_{AspP} Asp^0 [_{vP} [GO]_{Root} [CP C [TP \dots [AGR_{[-anaphoric]} \dots V_2 \dots]_{T^0} \dots]]$

(79) *jivi ku llu kkattu* (cf. *andai a mangiarlo*)
 go-PRF.1SG ku it.CL buy-PRS.1SG
 'I went to buy it.'

⁴⁰The TV adjacent to the andative root is inserted as discussed in footnote 38.

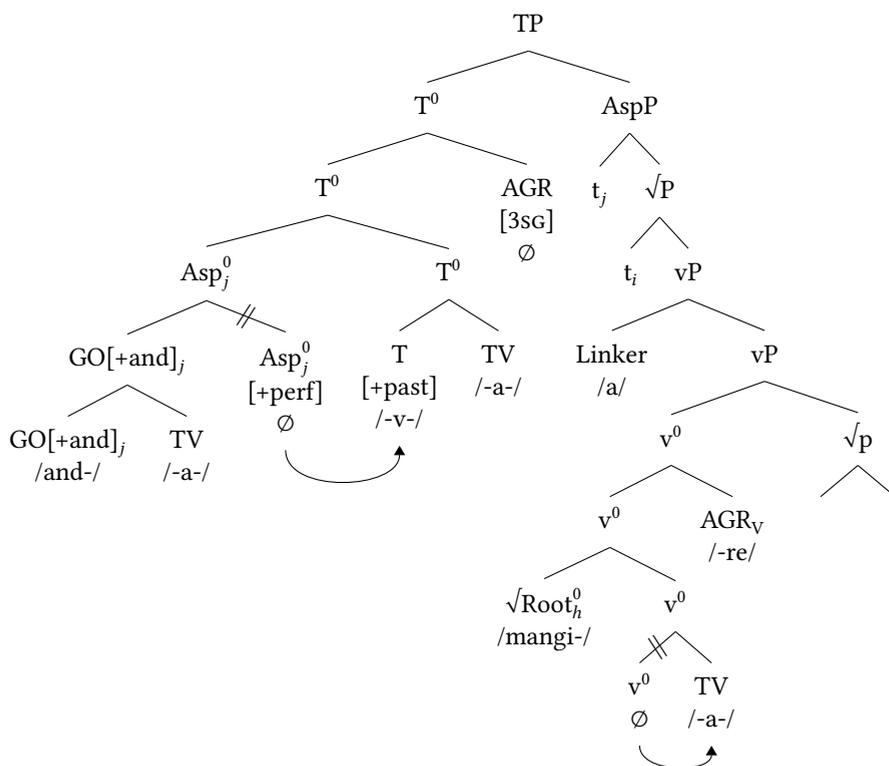


Figure 16: Full final derivation (with insertion of infinitival AGR) of restructuring Infinitival MVC

3.7 Infinitival forms in Campiota

Before turning to the Doubly Inflected MVCs of other southern Italian dialects, I need to discuss restructuring verbs that take infinitival complements in Campiota. In fact, as observed in §2.2, infinitives are indeed possible in the complements of restructuring verbs such as modal or aspectual ones: *must*, *be able*, *begin*, *finish*, *continue*, *stay*, *try*, etc. cf. (80). Given that stripping of tense and aspectual structure occurs in these cases according to the analysis developed above, the same basic structure of restructured infinitival clauses proposed above for the MVC in Romance is found here, i.e., the structure derived in Figure 16. Insofar as this is the same structure as the Reduced MVC, we must account for why infinitive-taking restructuring verbs do not behave like GO and STAY. My proposal here is to extend to these cases the analysis just proposed for the Infinitival MVC in Romance: only GO and STAY can undergo merging by head movement with

the lower v^0 . Instead, all other restructuring verb roots are parametrically prevented from undergoing that operation, and, therefore, cannot be merged with the lower v^0 complex via head movement. This results in structures similar to that of the andative GO in Italian in Figure 16. Crucially, in the this structure, T^0 is not present in the lower piece; (75) will therefore not apply and an unspecified AGR_V will be inserted. Given (74b), this results in the insertion of infinitive exponence.

- (80) a. lu pottsu kkattare
 it.CL can-PRS.1SG buy-INF
 ‘I can buy it.’
 b. m’ addzu kurkare
 self.CL must-PRS.1SG go.to.bed-INF
 ‘I must go to bed.’
 c. lu ntʃijna a ffare
 it.CL begin-PRS.3SG a do-INF
 ‘I begin to do it.’

3.8 Doubly Inflected Construction

In addition to the Salentino Reduced and Full-Fledged MVC and common Romance Infinitival MVC, another option for motion verb constructions is found in southern Italian varieties. Following Cruschina (2013), I use the name *Doubly Inflected Construction* (DIC) for this other kind of MVCs, where the two verbs, usually connected by the linker *a*,⁴¹ act as a single predicate and share the very same inflectional features. Example of DICs are provided below, where both the higher motion verb and the lower one are in the 1st person singular (81), and in the 3rd person singular (82), of the present indicative:⁴²

- (81) Vaju a pigghiu u pani. (Marsala, Sicily)
 go.PRS.1SG to take.PRS.1SG the bread
 ‘I go to fetch the bread.’ (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001: 373)

⁴¹See Cruschina & Calabrese (2021) for further discussion of this linker.

⁴²The motion verbs that most typically appear in DIC are the local equivalents of *go*, *come*, *come by/pass* and *send*. Other verbs may enter the construction as V1 in some dialects. See Di Caro (2018, 2019) for a review of the additional motion verbs that can occur in DIC in different Sicilian varieties. On the special properties of *send* as V1, which involves both a motion and a causative semantics, see Todaro & Prete (2018) and Prete & Todaro (2020).

- (82) U veni a piglia dopu. (Mussomeli, Sicily)
 him come.PRS.3SG to collect.PRS.3SG later
 ‘He is coming to pick him up later.’ (Cruschina 2013: 266)

Varieties displaying DICs always also have their infinitival counterparts:

- (83) Vaju a piggjari u pani. (Marsala, Sicily)
 go.PRS.1SG to take.INF the bread
- (84) U veni a piλλari dopu. (Mussomeli, Sicily)
 him come.PRS.3SG to collect.INF later

In their analysis, Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001) compare DICs with Infinitival MVCs and, on the basis of a number of syntactic and semantic tests (see Section 2.1), convincingly show that DICs (the inflected construction, in their terminology) are mono-clausal. It follows that DICs correspond to Reduced MVCs, and Infinitival MVCs to Campiota Full-Fledged ones.

DICs are in fact restructuring configurations in which the higher motion verb behaves as a functional head. This can account for the different properties of DICs with respect to the Infinitival MVC first examined in Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001), including obligatory clitic climbing, single event interpretation, indivisibility, and incompatibility with the arguments and adjuncts typically associated with motion verbs (see Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001, 2003, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Cruschina 2013, Di Caro 2019).

As proposed in Cruschina & Calabrese (2021), double inflection arises independently of restructuring. What is special about this set of constructions is the presence of agreement within the extended vP. In other words, DICs involve the assignment of explicit pronominal agreement features to the lower verbal X⁰-complex. I have already postulated the presence of an AGR_V element in this constituent: it is introduced by the rule in (65). As postulated earlier, this AGR_V is usually assigned the feature [+anaphoric], or left unspecified, and is hence realized as an infinitive, since this constituent lacks a deictic (non-anaphoric) Tense (or lacks this node entirely) (see 75). If we assume this, then the main feature that characterizes DIC is the fact that the lower AGR_V is actually assigned the feature [-anaphoric]. DICs thus display special morphological behavior – a [-anaphoric] AGR_V in the lower X⁰-complex of the structure in Figure 16, that is, the rule in (85) which is characteristic of these dialects. I assume that the rule in (85) applies cyclically when the lower complex has been constructed but the GO_[+and] has not moved upwards yet:

- (85) $\emptyset \rightarrow [-\text{anaphoric}] / \text{GO}_{[+\text{and}]} [[\text{ ______ }]_{\text{AGR}_V}]_{V^0}$

4 Conclusions

In this paper, I attempted to capture the syntactic and morphological properties and processes that account for the Full-Fledged and the Reduced MVC in Campiota, the Salentino variety of Campi Salentina. I showed that Reduced MVCs are mono-clausal and that Full-Fledged ones necessarily bi-clausal. It follows that the same motion verb root displays a lexical use and an affixal one: in its lexical use, it may select argument structure and a full clause; when used as an affix, it is part of the full extended projection of the lower verb and has special morphological behavior: it can be reduplicated and is attached to the participle in participial compound tenses. I argued that the relation between the lexical verb GO and its bleached counterpart in Campiota MVCs is better understood if semantic bleaching may trigger Syntactic Truncation in terms of Wurmbrand (2014, 2015, 2017), in which the higher motion verb selects a vP constituent and therefore all of the projections of the lower verb are prevented from being projected.

I also investigated the characteristic properties of MVCs in other Italo-Romance varieties: restructured and non-restructured Infinitival MVC and DICs, which are MVCs showing double inflection, and showed how they correlate to the Full-Fledged and Reduced MVC in Campiota. Restructured MVCs and DICs can be simply analyzed in terms of Wurmbrand's Syntactic Truncation, while non-restructured Infinitival MVCs correspond to Salentino Full-Fledged MVCs. I proposed that the infinitive is the default morphological realization of AGR (which occurs when AGR is [+anaphoric], or T⁰ missing). This accounts for Infinitival MVC. DIC arises from an identical structure in which AGR is assigned the feature [-anaphoric], thus agreeing with V1 in person and number.

Abbreviations

CL	Clitic	IPF	Imperfect	PTCP	Participle
IMPER	Imperative	PRF	Perfect	TV	Thematic Vowel

Acknowledgements

I thank Giampaolo Calabrese, Serena Palazzo, Giulia Calabrese, and especially Maria Luisa and Maria Teresa Rapanà for their help with Campiota judgments and forms. The article is also based on a detailed investigation of the constructions with the motion verb GO as used in Todaro (1989), a collection of texts

in the Campiota vernacular. I am also grateful to Guglielmo Cinque, Silvio Cruschina, and two anonymous reviewers for insightful comments and suggestions that enormously improved the first draft of this paper. I dedicate this article to Susi Wurmbbrand whose fundamental work on restructuring verbs has inspired my research on these matters.

References

- Andriani, Luigi. 2017. *The syntax of the dialect of Bari*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Arregi, Karlos & Andrew Nevins. 2012. *Morphotactics: Basque auxiliaries and the structure of spellout*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Arregi, Karlos & Asia Pietraszko. 2018. Generalized head movement. In Patrick Farrell (ed.), *Proceedings of the Linguistic Society of America*, vol. 3, 1–15. Washington, DC: Linguistic Society of America.
- Béjar, Susana & Milan Rezac. 2009. Cyclic Agree. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40(1). 35–73.
- Bjorkman, Bronwyn M. 2011. *BE-ing default: The morphosyntax of auxiliaries*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Bobaljik, Jonathan D. 2000. The ins and outs of contextual allomorphy. In Kleantes Grohmann & Caro Struijke (eds.), *Proceedings of the Maryland Mayfest on Morphology*, 35–71. College Park: University of Maryland, Department of Linguistics.
- Bobaljik, Jonathan D. 2012. *Universals in comparative morphology: Suppletion, superlatives, and the structure of words*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Bošković, Željko. 2014. Now I'm a phase, now I'm not a phase: On the variability of phases with extraction and ellipsis. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45(1). 27–89.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: Tense, aspect and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bye, Patrik & Peter Svenonius. 2012. Non-concatenative morphology as epiphenomenon. In Jochen Trommer (ed.), *The morphology and phonology of exponence* (Oxford studies in theoretical linguistics 41), 427–495. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Calabrese, Andrea. 1988a. Consonantal alternations in Northern Salentino. In Pier Marco Bertinetto & Michele Loporcaro (eds.), *Certamen phonologicum*, 253–299. Torino: Rosenberg & Selliers.
- Calabrese, Andrea. 1988b. *Towards a theory of phonological alphabets*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Doctoral dissertation).

- Calabrese, Andrea. 1993. Sentential complementation in a language without infinitival clauses: The case of Salentino. In Adriana Belletti (ed.), *Syntactic theory and the dialects of Italy*, 28–98. Torino: Rosenberg & Selliers.
- Calabrese, Andrea. 2012. Allomorphy in the Italian passato remoto: A Distributed Morphology analysis. *Language and Information Society* 18. 1–75.
- Calabrese, Andrea. 2015. Irregular morphology and athematic verbs in Italo-Romance. *Isogloss* 2(1). 61–93.
- Calabrese, Andrea. 2019. *Morphophonological investigations: A theory of PF. From syntax to phonology in Italian and Sanskrit verb forms*. Ms., University of Connecticut.
- Calabrese, Andrea. 2020. Remarks on the role of the perfect participle in Italian morphology and on its history. *Probus* 32(2). DOI: 10.1515/probus-2020-0006.
- Calabrese, Andrea. Forthcoming. Latin verbal morphology and the diachronic development of its thematic and athematic constructions. *Probus*.
- Calabrese, Andrea & Diego Pescarini. 2014. Clitic metathesis in the Friulian dialect of Forni di Sotto. *Probus* 26(2). 275–308.
- Cardinaletti, Anna & Giuliana Giusti. 2001. Semi-lexical motion verbs in Romance and Germanic. In Norbert Corver & Henk van Riemsdijk (eds.), *Semi-lexical categories: On the function of content words and the content of function words*, 371–414. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cardinaletti, Anna & Giuliana Giusti. 2003. Motion verbs as functional heads. In Cristina Tortora (ed.), *The syntax of Italian dialects*, 31–49. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cardinaletti, Anna & Giuliana Giusti. 2019. Multiple agreement in southern Italian dialects. In Ludovico Franco & Paolo Lorusso (eds.), *Linguistic variations: Structure and interpretation. Studies in honor of M. Rita Manzini*, 125–147. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Chierchia, Gennaro. 1986. Length, syllabification and the phonological cycle in Italian. *Journal of Italian Linguistics* 8. 5–34.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2000. Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In Roger Martin, David Michaels & Juan Uriagereka (eds.), *Step by step: Essays on Minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik*, 89–155. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by phase. In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language*, 1–52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Christopoulos, Christos. 2018. Re-restricting the locality of contextual allomorphy. Ms., University of Connecticut.
- Christopoulos, Christos & Roberto Petrosino. 2017. Greek root-allomorphy without spans. In Wm. G. Bennett, Lindsay Hrac & Dennis Ryan Storoshenko

- (eds.), *Proceedings of the 35th West Coast Conference in Formal Linguistics*, 151–160. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2004. “Restructuring” and functional structure. In Adriana Belletti (ed.), *Structures and beyond* (The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 3), 132–191. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 2006. *Restructuring and functional heads* (The Cartography of Syntactic Structures 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cruschina, Silvio. 2013. Beyond the stem and inflectional morphology: An irregular pattern at the level of periphrasis. In Silvio Cruschina, Martin Maiden & John C. Smith (eds.), *The boundaries of pure morphology: Diachronic and synchronic perspectives*, 262–283. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cruschina, Silvio & Andrea Calabrese. 2021. Fifty shades of morphosyntactic microvariation. In Marc-Olivier Hinzelin, Natascha Pomino & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds.), *Formal approaches to Romance morphosyntax* (Linguistische Arbeiten 576), 145–198. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2015. *Syntactic constructions with motion verbs in some Sicilian dialects: A comparative analysis*. Venice: Ca’ Foscari University of Venice. (MA thesis).
- Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2019. *Multiple agreement constructions in Southern Italo-Romance: The syntax of Sicilian pseudo-coordination*. Venice: Ca’ Foscari University of Venice. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò. 2018. The inflected construction in the dialects of Sicily: Parameters of microvariation. In Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds.), *Italian dialectology at the interfaces*, 63–78. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Di Caro, Vincenzo Nicolò & Giuliana Giusti. 2015. A protocol for the inflected construction in Sicilian dialects. *Annali di Ca’ Foscari. Serie occidentale* 49. 393–421.
- Embick, David. 2000. Features, syntax and categories in the Latin perfect. *Linguistic Inquiry* 31(2). 185–230.
- Embick, David. 2004. On the structure of resultive participles in English. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35(3). 355–392.
- Embick, David. 2010. *Localism versus globalism in morphology and phonology*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fenger, Paula. 2020. *Words within words: The internal syntax of words*. Storrs: University of Connecticut. (Doctoral dissertation).

- Halle, Morris & Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In Ken Hale & Samuel Jay Keyser (eds.), *The view from Building 20: Essays in linguistics in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, 111–176. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Harizanov, Boris & Vera Gribanova. 2019. Whither head movement? *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37(2). 461–522. DOI: 10.1007/s11049-018-9420-5.
- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2018. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kiparsky, Paul. 2005. Blocking and periphrasis in inflectional paradigms. *Yearbook of Morphology*. 113–135.
- Ledgeway, Adam. 2015. Reconstructing complementizer-drop in the dialects of Salento: A syntactic or phonological phenomenon? In Theresa Biberauer & George Walkden (eds.), *Syntax over time*, 146–162. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ledgeway, Adam. 2016. From coordination to subordination: The grammaticalisation of progressive and adative aspect in the dialects of Salento. In Fernanda Pratas, Sandra Pereira & Clara Pinto (eds.), *Coordination and subordination: Form and meaning. Selected papers from CSI Lisbon 2014*, 157–184. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Loporcaro, Michele. 1997. *L'origine del raddoppiamento fonosintattico: Saggio di fonologia diacronica romanza*. Basel: Francke Verlag.
- Manzini, M. Rita, Paolo Lorusso & Leonardo M. Savoia. 2017. *a/bare* finite complements in Southern Italian varieties: Mono-clausal or bi-clausal syntax? *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali* 3. 11–59.
- Manzini, M. Rita & Leonardo M. Savoia. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci: Morfosintassi generativa*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Merchant, Jason. 2011. Aleut case matters. In Etsuyo Yuasa, Tista Bagchi & Katharine Beals (eds.), *Pragmatics and autolexical grammar: In honor of Jerry Sadock* (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 176), 193–210. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Noyer, Rolf. 1992. *Features, positions and affixes in autonomous morphological structure*. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Oltra-Massuet, Isabel & Karlos Arregi. 2005. Stress-by-structure in Spanish. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36. 43–84.
- Pescarini, Diego. 2010. Elsewhere in Romance: Evidence from clitic clusters. *Linguistic Inquiry* 41(3). 427–444.
- Pietraszko, Asia. 2016. The syntax of simple and compound tenses in Ndebele. *Proceedings of the Linguistics Society of America* 1(18). 1–15.

- Pietraszko, Asia. 2017. *Inflectional dependencies: A study of complex verbal expressions in Ndebele*. Chicago: University of Chicago. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Prete, Fabio Del & Giuseppina Todaro. 2020. Building complex events: The case of Sicilian Doubly Inflected Construction. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 38. 1–41.
- Rivero, María Luisa. 1994. Clause structure and V-movement in the languages of the Balkans. *Natural Languages and Linguistic Theory* 12. 63–120.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1976. Ristrutturazione. *Rivista di grammatica generativa* 1. 1–54.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1978. A restructuring rule in Italian syntax. In Samuel Jay Keyser (ed.), *Recent transformational studies in European languages*, 113–158. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1990. *Relativized minimality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. In Liliane Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of grammar: Handbook in generative syntax*, 281–337. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Roberts, Ian. 2010. Grammaticalization, the clausal hierarchy and semantic bleaching. In Elizabeth C. Traugott & Graeme Trousdale (eds.), *Gradience, gradualness and grammaticalization*, 45–73. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Roberts, Ian & Anna Roussou. 2003. *Syntactic change: A minimalist approach to grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Squartini, Mario. 1998. *Verbal periphrases in Romance*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Terzi, Arhonto. 1992. *PRO in finite clauses: A study of the inflectional heads of the Balkan languages*. CUNY. (Doctoral dissertation).
- Terzi, Arhonto. 1994. Clitic climbing from finite clauses and long head movement. *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics* 3(2). 97–122.
- Terzi, Arhonto. 1996. Clitic climbing from finite clauses and tense raising. *Probus* 8. 273–295.
- Todaro, Giuseppina & Fabio Del Prete. 2018. The morphosyntax-semantics interface and the Sicilian Doubly Inflected Construction. In Silvio Cruschina, Adam Ledgeway & Eva-Maria Remberger (eds.), *Italian dialectology at the interfaces*, 131–154. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Todaro, Tatiana. 1989. *Cunti e storie: La tradizione orale a Campi Salentina*. Regione Puglia.
- Urgese, Tommaso. 2003. *Grammatica del dialetto del Salento settentrionale: Viaggio nella lingua e cultura delle diocesi di Oria e Brindisi*. Latiano, Puglia: Assessorato alla pubblica Istruzione.
- Wurmbrand, Susanne. 2001. *Infinitives: Restructuring and clause structure* (Studies in Generative Grammar 55). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. DOI: 10.1515/9783110908329.

- Wurmbrand, Susanne. 2004. Two types of restructuring: Lexical vs. functional. *Lingua* 114(8). 991–1014.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2014. Tense and aspect in English infinitives. *Linguistic Inquiry* 45(3). 403–447.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2015. Restructuring cross-linguistically. In Thuy Bui & Deniz Özyıldız (eds.), *Proceedings of the 45th meeting of the North East Linguistic Society*, 227–240. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, GLSA.
- Wurmbrand, Susi. 2017. Verb clusters, verb raising, and restructuring. In Martin Everaert & Henk C. van Riemsdijk (eds.), *The Wiley Blackwell companion to syntax*, 2nd edn. John Wiley & Sons. DOI: 10.1002/9781118358733.wbsyncom103.