





## 2. Background

As we have noted, southern Italian dialects usually present two forms of possessive adjectives – one tonic, the other clitic (Rohlf 1967, Sotiri 2007, Ledgeway 2009). The former behaves like other adjectives, namely by normally following the noun to which it refers.<sup>1</sup> The clitic form, which usually refers to inalienable possession, attaches instead to the noun (Manzini & Savoia 2005, Sotiri 2007, Ledgeway 2009, D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017). In most varieties, the inalienable possession is associated with kinship names (see Labrousse, in this volume, for more details on possessives with kinship terms in Romance languages). In other cases, such as in the Apulian dialect of Bari (Sotiri 2007) and in Old Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009), it is extended to some material objects, like *casa* ‘house’. The use of clitics with kinship names is not necessarily related to possessive post-nominal position; in fact, it is also attested in varieties presenting pre-nominal possessives (Manzini & Savoia 2005:661). Examples of tonic and clitic possessive adjectives expressing alienable and inalienable possession respectively are seen in (3a) and (3b) below, while (3c) exemplifies a clitic possessive referring to *casa*.

- |        |   |                   |                        |   |
|--------|---|-------------------|------------------------|---|
| (3) a. | A<br>ART.SG.F<br>‘my car’                           | 'makinə<br>car.SG | 'miə<br>POSS.ADJ.1SG.F | Airola (BN)                                 |
| b.     | 'sɔra-ma<br>sister.SG-POSS.ADJ.1SG.F<br>‘my sister’ |                   |                        | Neapolitan (adapted from Ledgeway 2009:268) |
| c.     | 'kas-te<br>house.SG-POSS.ADJ.3SG.F<br>‘your house’  |                   |                        | Bari (adapted from Sotiri 2007:3)           |

The use of clitic possessives to indicate a specific type of possession, such as the inalienable sort, is typologically common (Dryer 2013). It is important to mention, though, that Italian only presents tonic possessives which normally precede the noun; postnominal position is usually only used for emphatic purposes.

Kinship names constitute an intermediate class between proper nouns and common nouns. In particular, kinship nouns differ from proper nouns because they are relational in that they intrinsically refer to a relation, while the latter are referential (Longobardi 1999, Penello 2002).

The distribution of clitic possessives across the person paradigm varies among the different dialects and is usually defective (Ledgeway 2009, D’Alessandro & Migliori

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<sup>1</sup> In mid-southern Italian varieties, Sardinian and some Sicilian dialects, possessives have a post-nominal position (Manzini & Savoia 2005:557). Similarly, adjectives are also generally postnominal.

2017). It is quite common across Italo-Romance varieties to have a clitic form available only for the first and second person singular (Manzoni & Savoia 2005:661). This is the case, for example, in Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009:252), Apulian dialects (Sotiri 2007) and north-eastern Campanian dialects (Maturi 2002). By contrast, Salentino dialects also present a form for the third person singular (Sotiri 2007).

Clitic possessives normally attach to singular nouns only and cannot attach to plural hosts (Ledgeway 2009:252). However, Maturi (2002:181) observes that, with the exception of Neapolitan and the dialect of Monte di Procida, most Campanian dialects will occasionally allow clitic possessives to attach to plural hosts. This claim is confirmed by the new data presented here from the dialect of Airola and its scope can now be extended to include the dialect of Boiano, which is spoken in Molise, the bordering region. The same is attested in some central-southern varieties (see Manzini & Savoia 2005:663-71), such as Arielli (Chieti) (D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017).

Another aspect of clitic distribution is that they usually cannot co-occur with articles, determiners or quantifiers (Ledgeway 2009, Idone 2015). Therefore, something like *\*a sorama*, literally ‘the my sister’, would appear to be ill-formed. It is important to note, however, that such a construction would be possible with a full possessive form like *a sora mia*. However, D’Alessandro and Migliori (2017) mention that it is possible in some dialects to present a clitic possessive together with a definite article. They specify that this type of co-occurrence is more frequent with plural forms of the clitics. D’Alessandro and Migliori’s (2017) observation is further confirmed by the data given in here, as we will see below, in section two.

It has been claimed that clitic possessives are subjected to metrical constraints (Idone 2015). In particular, the encliticization appears not to be possible with proparoxytonic words. This is due to the three-syllable window, common among Romance varieties, which does not allow word stress to be placed beyond the third-to-last syllable. Consequently, two strategies are available in order to prevent the ungrammaticality of a clitic attaching to a proparoxytonic host, namely the use of the tonic possessive form or the deletion of the central unstressed syllable preceding the clitic (Idone 2015). Examples of the two repair strategies are given in (4) and (5):

(4) Strategy I: use of the tonic possessive adjective

<i>*jènnaruma</i>	→	<i>lu</i>	<i>jènnaru</i>	<i>miu</i>
son-in-law.POSS.ADJ.1SG.M		ART.SG.M	son-in-law	POSS.ADJ.1SG.M
			‘my son-in-law’	

(adapted from Idone 2015)

(5) Strategy II: deletion of central unstressed syllable

<i>šènnuta</i>	(< <i>*šènnu(ru)-ta</i> )	‘your son-in-law’
son-in-law.POSS.ADJ.1SG		

Arnesano (LE) (adapted from Idone 2015)

In (4), ungrammaticality is avoided by using the possessive tonic form. (5) shows the deletion of the last unstressed syllable of the host, namely *-ru-*; the resulting form is proparoxytone and therefore respects the three-syllable window.

The most common strategy among southern Italian dialects is the selection of a different syntactic structure, hence, Strategy I. By contrast, Strategy II is mostly attested in Campanian and Salentino varieties (Idone 2015) but even there it seems to be quite rare. Nevertheless, this is the strategy used in both varieties under investigation, namely the dialect of Airola (BN) and Boiano (CB). A different strategy, namely stress shift, is available when the same metrical constraints, concerning the impossibility for stress to be placed beyond the third-to-last syllable, affect a verb + clitic form (Bafile 1994, Peperkamp 1997, Ledgeway 2009). This is illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. Strategy III: stress shift  
       *'pɔrta*  
       bring.IMP.2SG  
       ‘bring’
- b. *'pɔrtalə*  
       bring.IMP.2SG-it  
       ‘bring it’
- c. *ˌpɔrta 'tillə*  
       bring.IMP.2SG-you-it  
       ‘bring it with you’
- Neapolitan (adapted from Bafile 1994:16)

In (6), imperative forms in Neapolitan with and without clitics are compared. (6a) shows the bare form of an imperative whereas (6b) and (6c) show the verb with one and two clitics, respectively. As can be observed by comparing (6b) and (6c), while in the former the attachment of one clitic does not cause word stress to go beyond the third-to-last syllable stress position; in the latter, where two clitics are attached, word stress needs to be shifted in order to avoid a violation of the three-syllable window.

Idone (2015) observes that stress shift would not occur with enclitic possessives for semantic transparency reasons. In other words, stress shift would obscure the correlation between morphological structure and semantic interpretation, given that stress shift would create a prosodic structure which is not attested elsewhere in the word paradigm.<sup>2</sup> A particular case is seen in Lucanian dialects, where both a form with stress on the fourth-to-last syllable (in 7a) and one presenting stress shift (in 7b) seem to be possible (Lüdtke 1979).

- (7) An exception: Lucanian dialects
- a. *'iennəɾə-mə*  
       son-in-law.SG-my ‘my son-in-law’
- b. *ˌiennə 'ru-mə*  
       (adapted from Lüdtke 1979:31)

<sup>2</sup> By contrast, in verb forms stress shift creates prosodic structures which are already attested in the verb paradigm (Idone 2015).

Cross-linguistically, the distinction between inalienable and alienable possession is widely attested, with the former generally related to kinship names and body parts. The difference between inalienable and alienable possession is that the former is necessarily defined in relation to another object, namely, the possessor. In particular, inalienable nouns have a semantic dependency on their possessor which they express by selecting it as a semantic argument (Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 1992:596). In some languages (e.g. French), inalienable possession can be expressed in terms of internal and external possessor constructions. In the former, the possessor is realized in the nominal phrase of the inalienable noun; in the latter, instead, the possessor is in an argument which is external to the inalienable noun nominal phrase (Vergnaud & Zubizarreta 1992:597). As for clitics, Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2007) postulate a model in which the clitic is generated in the position where it surfaces and the noun can be inserted in different positions. In other words, they argue for the presence of specific clitic syntactic positions (Manzini & Savoia 2007).

Regarding the syntactic structure of clitic possessives, D’Alessandro and Migliori (2017) propose that it consists of the same structure as other constructions indicating inalienable possession, namely a-prepositional genitive case (8) and copular constructions (9). The a-prepositional genitive, in some varieties, can be formed by placing the possessor after the possessed element without using the genitive particle. Copular constructions can have two forms: in some varieties, the possessor is in dative case while in others it is in genitive ‘locative’ case (D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017).

(8) A-prepositional genitive

<i>a</i>	<i>'kasa</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>'swinnəkə</i>	Verbicaro (Cosenza)
ART.SG.F	house.SG.F	ART.SG.M	mayor	
‘the mayor’s house’				(Silvestri 2011, adapted from D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017:57)

(9) Copular constructions

<i>La</i>	<i>'kasa'</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>(də)</i>	<i>lu</i>	<i>'me</i>
ART.SG.F	house.SG.F	to.be-3SG	of	ART.SG.M	1SG.OBL
‘the house is mine’					

Arielli (CH)  
(adapted from D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017:59)

When a dialect has clitic possessives, it usually also presents the other two constructions indicating inalienable possession, namely a-prepositional genitive case and copular constructions. Starting from the idea that structures of inalienable possession are different from those indicating alienable possession (Cheng & Ritter 1988 et al., Alexiadou 2003), D’Alessandro and Migliori (2017) propose that, in

southern Italian dialects, the former have the predicative structure of reduced phrases, as in (10):

- (10) [REDUCED PHRASE POSSESSED element    possessor]  
 (adapted from D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017:63)

Consequently, the structure in (11a) corresponds to that in (11b):

- (11)
- |    |  |    |   |
|----|--|----|---|
| a. | 'mammə-mə<br>mamma(F)-1SG.POSS<br>‘my mother’<br>[REDUCED PHRASE <i>mammə-mə</i> ]<br>[REDUCED PHRASE <i>mother-my</i> ] | b. | 'mammə.            a 'me<br>mamma(F) COP    a 1SG.OBL<br>‘my mother’<br>[mamma è [REDUCED PHRASE <i>mamma a me</i> ]]<br>[mother <i>is</i> [REDUCED PHRASE <i>mother to me</i> ]] |
|----|--|----|---|
- (adapted from D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017:63)

According to this hypothesis, the reduced phrase consists of a sub-grouping of the construction expressing the relation between subject and predicate, which can be either an adjective, a noun, an uninflected verb or a preposition. The result is an analysis of the clitic possessive as having a structure in which the possessor is in a predicative relation with the possessed element. The same syntactic structure is assumed to characterize a-prepositional genitive case and copular constructions (D’Alessandro & Migliori 2017).

### 3. Summary of the data<sup>3</sup>

The data analysed here were gathered in Airola (BN) by means of personal interviews with four speakers. One speaker from Boiano (CB) was also interviewed.<sup>4</sup> The town of Airola is located in the north-eastern part of Campania, in the province of Benevento, while the town of Boiano is in Molise, the region bordering the eastern part of Campania. The two towns are about 80 kilometers apart and separated by a mountain range.

During the interviews, the informants were asked to complete a translation task composed of two parts. Both parts were oral, with prompt sentences or phrases read

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<sup>3</sup> This study is based on synchronic data. Nevertheless, a further investigation also considering old vernaculars and Old Italian, which presented possessive clitics, could contribute to a more detailed picture and to a better understanding of the phenomenon.

<sup>4</sup> We are aware of the fact that the dataset is not balanced, having four speakers from Airola and one for Boiano. However, the pattern attested in Boiano aligns with the pattern in Airola for what concerns the phenomenon we are analyzing. As for the rest of the data of Boiano, it does not present any unexpected nor surprising peculiarity, also given that one of the authors is a native speaker of Airola and the two towns are relatively close to each other.

aloud by the interviewer and informants responding. In the first part, they were asked to translate a number of sentences containing kinship names from Italian into the Romance variety they spoke. The topic of these sentences was everyday life and they were formulated in regional Italian, in order to make the translation task more spontaneous. (12) shows an example of the first task.

(12) First part

Italian text: (27) *Non mi avevi detto che tua sorella si sposa!*

Translation Airola: *Nun m avivə rittə kə 'sɔrə-tə sə ʃposə!*

Translation Boiano: *Nun m 'ivə dittə kə 'sɔrə-tə sə ʃpɔsə!*

‘You didn’t tell me that your sister is getting married!’

In (12), the underlining (added here for clarity) indicates the kinship name-possessive construction in the three Romance varieties.

The second part consisted of an exhaustive list of kinship names with possessives in Italian, which the participants were asked to translate. This led to a full paradigm of all possible forms. The example in (13) shows the paradigm of the word for ‘mother’.

(13) Second part

Italian	translation
<i>mamma</i>	<i>'mammə</i>
<i>mia madre</i>	<i>'mammə-mə</i>
<i>tua madre</i>	<i>'mammə-tə</i>

Every participant automatically converted the (only possible) tonic possessives of the Italian input<sup>5</sup> into clitics, since that is the unmarked form with kinship names in those varieties. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed.<sup>6</sup> All data are available in the Appendix A and B.

The dialect of Airola (BN) presents both tonic and clitic forms of possessive adjectives. As in other southern Italian varieties, clitic possessives indicate the inalienable possession of family relationships. The paradigmatic distribution of the clitics is defective, namely only the forms for first- and second-person singular (i.e. *-mə* ‘my’ and *-tə* ‘your’) are available, which can attach to singular and plural nouns. The attestation of plural nouns + clitic is in line with what is claimed by Maturi (2002:181) about many Campanian dialects. This possibility distinguishes the dialect of Airola from Neapolitan, which appears not to allow clitics attaching to plural nouns (see Ledgeway 2009:252). A sample of the forms available in the dialect of Airola is given in (14) (for more data see the Appendix B).

<sup>5</sup> Italian does not present possessive enclitics.

<sup>6</sup> One of the authors is a native speaker of the variety spoken in Airola.



- |      |    |  |    |                              |                                    |
|------|----|--|----|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (14) | a. | 'fijjə-mə<br>son.SG-POSS.ADJ.1SG.M<br>'my son'   | b. | i<br>ART.PL.M<br>'my sons'   | 'fijjə-mə<br>son.PL-POSS.ADJ.1SG.M |
|      | c. | 'fijjə-tə<br>son.SG-POSS.ADJ.2SG.M<br>'your son' | d. | i<br>ART.PL.M<br>'your sons' | 'fijjə-tə<br>son.PL-POSS.ADJ.2SG.M |

As can be observed in (14), the main difference between singular and plural forms is the presence of the definite article. In fact, an article, just as claimed by Ledgeway (2009) for Neapolitan, cannot precede a singular kinship noun with a clitic attached to it. On the other hand, the plural form in Airola does need to be preceded by the definite article in order to be well-formed and preserve the plurality of the noun. To explain, the lack of a definite article preceding a plural noun + clitic would make forms with plural nouns indistinguishable from those with singular nouns. The co-occurrence of definite article and clitic is a well-formedness requirement for plural forms of nouns with clitic possessives. Some of the informants were aware of this requirement. In this respect, it is worth mentioning what is claimed by Penello (2002) regarding the use of definite article and possessives with kinship names. She observes that when this special noun class, which usually does not need a definite article, acquires extra marking (such as plural), it gets closer to the common noun class and thus it allows the presence of the article (Penello 2003:345).

The dialect of Boiano (CB) also seems to present both clitic and tonic possessives. Despite some lexical differences among kinship names, the distribution and functioning of the clitic possessives coincide with what is described for the dialect of Airola. Therefore, first and second person clitics attach to singular and plural kinship names. In (13), the paradigm of the word for ‘aunt’ in Airola and Boiano is given. This example highlights the lexical differences and, at the same time, the similarities regarding the functioning and distribution of clitics in the two varieties.

- |                |    |                                      |    |                                      |    |                          |
|----------------|----|--------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| (15) A. Airola | a. | 'tsiə                                | b. | 'tsiə-mə                             | c. | 'tsiə-tə                 |
| B. Boiano      | a. | tsi'anə                              | b. | tsi'anə-mə                           | c. | tsi'anə-tə               |
|                |    | aunt<br>'aunt'                       |    | aunt-my<br>'my aunt'                 |    | aunt-your<br>'your aunt' |
| (15) A. Airola | d. | e 'ttsiə-mə                          | e. | e 'ttsiə-tə                          |    |                          |
| B. Boiano      | d. | le tsi'anəmə                         | e. | le tsi'anətə                         |    |                          |
|                |    | the.FEM.PL aunt-<br>my<br>'my aunts' |    | the.FEM.PL aunt-your<br>'your aunts' |    |                          |

The forms in (15) A. are those attested in the dialect of Airola, while the forms in (15) B. are from the dialect of Boiano. In (15a), the bare forms in the two varieties can be

compared. Lexically speaking, the two forms differ in that the form used in Airola dialect is monosyllabic, while the form used in Boiano dialect is disyllabic. (15b) and (15c) show the host plus the first and the second person clitic, respectively; while in (15d) and (15e) the clitic is attached to the plural form of the host. As can be observed, no difference is attested regarding the attachment of the clitics and the presence of the requirement of the definite article in order to form plurals.

Note that in the dialect of Airola a particular phenomenon occurs with regard to the kinship names for ‘father’ and ‘brother’ and the second person clitic (singular and, when possible, plural): with the second person clitic, the dental plosive of the noun is weakened due to the presence of the following initial plosive of the clitic. This is illustrated in (16).

- |         |   |    |  |
|---------|---|----|--|
| (16) a. | 'patə-mə<br>father.SG.-POSS.ADJ.1SG.M<br>'my father'    | b. | 'pajə-tə / 'paj-tə<br>father.SG.-POSS.ADJ.2SG.M<br>'your father'     |
| c.      | 'fratə-mə<br>brother.SG.-POSS.ADJ.1SG.M<br>'my brother' | d. | 'frajə-tə / 'fraj-tə<br>brother.SG.-POSS.ADJ.2SG.M<br>'your brother' |

In (16a) and (16c), the two kinship names 'patə and 'fratə with first person clitics can be observed, which show the normal form of the host with the clitic attached to it. The nouns without the clitic would also be 'patə and 'fratə. However, when a second person clitic is attached, the nouns take the form 'pajə and 'frajə, or 'paj and 'fraj instead, as can be observed in (16b) and (16d). We assume that two allomorphs for these kinship names are available in the dialect of Airola, 'patə and 'paj(ə), and 'fratə and 'fraj(ə), the variant without the schwa being only present in the speech of younger generations. We further assume that the allomorphs 'patə and 'fratə take priority over 'paj(ə) and 'fraj(ə). This is why 'patə and 'fratə are the allomorphs chosen when no encliticization occurs. When a second person clitic is attached, however, choosing the preferred allomorphs would yield forms like \*'patətə and \*'fratətə. These forms, although accepted in other southern Italian varieties like Boiano and Neapolitan, are unattested in Airola. We claim that \*'patətə and \*'fratətə are avoided in Airola due to an OCP (Obligatory Contour Principle) constraint violation triggered by a sequence of two voiceless dental plosives only separated by a schwa. Choosing the allomorphs 'paj(ə) and 'fraj(ə) avoids the OCP violation (e.g. 'paj(ə)tə, 'fraj(ə)tə). Therefore, the alternation between 'patə and 'paj(ə), and 'fratə and 'fraj(ə), can be easily accounted for as a case of phonologically conditioned allomorph selection. We conclude this excursus on allomorphy by providing a possible diachronic explanation for the phonological shape of these allomorphs. The dental plosive could have originated a process of lenition (i.e.  $t > j$ ) and a subsequent loss of schwa in word-final position;



- (19) a. a 'sɔtʃərə e 'Marjə b. 'sɔtʃə-ma (\*'sɔtʃərə-ma)  
 ART.SG.F mother-in-law o Mario mother-in-law-POSS.ADJ.1SG.F  
 ‘Mario’s mother-in-law’ ‘my mother-in-law’

As can be seen in (19a), the bare form of the kinship name presents three syllables and antepenultimate stress. The evidence for the stability of the word-internal syllable in the bare form is given by the presence of an affricate<sup>7</sup> instead of a velar stop. In the form with the possessive, in (19b), the internal unstressed syllable is deleted as expected. This instance constitutes extra evidence for the deletion strategy and shows its validity across southern Italian dialects.

#### 4. Prosodic analysis

In this section we propose a prosodic analysis of possessive enclitics in Airola and Boiano within Optimality Theory and using internally layered ternary feet. The basic tenets of Prosodic Phonology (Selkirk 1984, Nespors & Vogel 1986) are that (i) phonological constituent structure is organized according to the so-called Prosodic Hierarchy, which includes a finite number of well-defined universal prosodic categories (i.e. the syllable < the foot < the phonological word < the phonological phrase < the intonational phrase < the utterance), and that (ii) phonological constituent structure relates to, but is not always isomorphic with, syntactic constituent structure.

An important body of work combining the representational tools of Prosodic Phonology and Optimality Theory has been done on the prosodification of function words since the pioneering work of Selkirk (1996). Building up on this work, Peperkamp (1997) established a typology of the prosodification of post-verbal pronouns in Italo-Romance (see also Anderson 2011 for an overview). Later on, Itô and Mester (2009) elaborated on the notion of recursive prosodic words in their analysis of structures made of function words preceding lexical word in German and English. In Itô and Mester (2009), four different sites are defined for function words in prosodic tree structures (as in Selkirk 1996 and Peperkamp 1997). These structures are illustrated in (20). In (20a), the function word projects its own prosodic word and is therefore a prosodically independent form with respect to its host, the lexical word. Both prosodic words are further parsed into a single phonological phrase. In (20b), the function word amalgamates with the prosodic word that contains the lexical host (i.e. an *internal clitic* in Selkirk’s terminology). In (20c), the function word is adjoined to a recursive prosodic word that dominates the inner prosodic word containing the host (i.e. an *affixal clitic*, in Selkirk 1996). Finally, in (20d) the function word is directly

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<sup>7</sup> In some cases, the affricate can be weakened into a fricative; however, its acoustic difference from a velar stop is in any case preserved and easily perceivable.

attached to the phonological phrase (i.e. what Selkik defines as a *free clitic*). In what follows, omega stands for prosodic word and phi for phonological phrase.

(20) Prosodification of function words (based on Itô & Mester 2009:150)

a. full-prosodic word ( $\omega$ ) fnc

$((lex)_\omega (fnc)_\omega)\phi$

b. amalgamated fnc

$((lex fnc)_\omega)\phi$

c. prosodic word-adjoined fnc

$((lex)_\omega fnc)_\omega)\phi$

d. phonological phrase ( $\phi$ )-attached fnc

$((lex)_\omega fnc)\phi$

The specific parsing of lexical-function structures depends on a language particular ranking of the set of universal constraints defined in (21). These constraints belong to several constraint families: parsing constraints, size constraints, tree form constraints, and phonology-syntax interface constraints. In Itô and Mester (2009), prosodic parsing is triggered by the satisfaction of a set of PARSE-INTO-X constraints, where X is a variable that stands for all prosodic categories in the prosodic hierarchy. For the purpose at hand, the constraint in (21a), PARSE-INTO- $\omega$ , is enough. This constraint is violated by function words that directly attach to a phonological phrase (20d) because the function word is not parsed into any prosodic word. Phonology-syntax interface constraints are responsible for matching one edge (i.e. left or right) of lexical words with one edge of a specific prosodic category; function words are invisible for phonology-syntax interface constraints, according to constraint-based theories of the relation between syntax and phonology. When dealing with encliticization, the interface constraint LEX-TO- $\omega$ (R) suffices. This constraint prohibits the structure in (20b), in which the function word amalgamates with its host at the right edge, intervening between the right edge of the lexical category and the right edge of the prosodic word. The constraint FOOTBINARITY, a size constraint, excludes those function words that are parsed into their own prosodic word if the head of this prosodic word is a degenerate foot, that is, a foot that does not meet the binary requirement at either the syllabic or the moraic level of analysis. Finally, the constraint NO-RECURSION militates against additional parsings of the same elements into a given prosodic category.

(21)

a. PARSE-INTO- $\omega$  (Itô & Mester 2009:139)

Every element of the terminal string is parsed at the  $\omega$ -level.

b. LEX-TO- $\omega$ (R) (Itô & Mester 2009:142)

Every lexical word is right aligned with a prosodic word.

c. FOOTBINARITY (based on McCarthy & Prince 1993:58)

Every foot must be bimoraic or disyllabic.

d. NO-RECURSION (Itô & Mester 2009:145)

An element is parsed only once into a given category. Assign one violation mark for each additional parse of an element into the same category.

We claim that possessive enclitics in Airola and Boiano cannot constitute an independent prosodic word themselves because they are never stressed. They cannot attach directly to the phonological phrase or adjoin to a recursive prosodic word because such a representation would not explain deletion of the last syllable of the host noun induced by encliticization. If deletion is caused by avoidance of pre-antepenultimate stress, clitics need to be parsed into the same prosodic word that contains the lexical category. Therefore, we assume that possessive enclitics in Airola and Boiano amalgamate with the same prosodic word that contains the host noun (they are internal clitics according to the terminology of Selkirk 1996).

The constraint ranking for amalgamated possessive enclitics in Airola and Boiano is as shown in (22), in which the constraint LEX-TO- $\omega$ (R) is dominated by the other three constraints. A tableau is shown in Table 1. Satisfying PARSE-INTO- $\omega$  excludes directly attaching the possessive to the phonological phrase. The possibility of prosodifying the enclitic as an independent prosodic word would violate FOOTBINARITY, because these enclitics are monosyllabic and prosodic words would therefore head a degenerate, non-binary foot. Finally, NO-RECURSION excludes recursive structures. Re-ranking of these four constraints derives the full typology of prosodic sites for function words presented in (20).

(22) Constraint ranking for amalgamated possessive enclitics

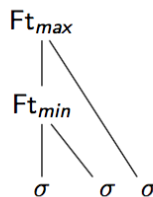
PARSE-INTO- $\omega$ , FOOTBINARITY, NO-RECURSION >>> LEX-TO- $\omega$ (R)

Table 1. Tableau for internal possessives

<i>lex fnc</i>	PARSE-INTO- $\omega$	FOOTBINARITY	NO-RECURSION	LEX-TO- $\omega$ (R)
a. $((lex\ fnc)_\omega)_\phi$				*
b. $((lex)_\omega fnc)_\phi$			*!	
c. $(lex)_\omega (fnc)_\omega)_\phi$		*!		
d. $(lex)_\omega fnc)_\phi$	*!			

As shown in the previous section, encliticization of possessives causes deletion of the last syllable of the kinship noun in Airola and Boiano when the noun is stressed on its third-to-last syllable. That is, proparoxytonic encliticized forms are possible (e.g. *'fratəmə*), but pre-proparoxytones are not (e.g. \**'sɔtʃərəma*). Encliticization of a possessive to a host with antepenultimate stress would incur a violation of the three-syllable window, a condition that applies to prosodic words in most Romance varieties, and that restricts stress falling on one of the last three syllables within the prosodic word. We now need to provide an answer to the question as to why antepenultimate stress is not repaired, as opposed to pre-antepenultimate stress. We assume that both antepenultimate stress and the three-syllable-window follow straightforwardly if we accept the existence of internally layered ternary (ILT) feet (Martínez-Paricio 2013, Martínez-Paricio & Kager 2015, Krämer 2018). ILT feet are minimal binary feet to which an unstressed syllable adjoins to create a trisyllabic maximal foot via recursion, as illustrated in (23).

(23) ILT foot



We claim that stress is restricted to fall within the last three syllables of a prosodic word because maximal feet need to be right-aligned with a prosodic word. We further claim that deletion of the last syllable of the host noun is triggered to avoid a violation of an alignment constraint that promotes both parsing of syllables into feet and foot directionality (in this case right alignment of feet), as defined in (24a). Stress shift, an available strategy to avoid both a violation of alignment and deletion, is ruled out because the stress in the noun in encliticized forms must be located in the same syllable

as in the noun with no enclitic possessives. (We assume that the output of encliticized forms stands in a correspondence relation with a base with no enclitics, in some sort of base-derivative correspondence relation.) The constraint set that we propose to analyze enclitic-triggered deletion appears in (24):

(24) Constraints to derive enclitic-induced deletion

a. ALIGN-L( $[\sigma]_{\omega}$ , Ft,  $\omega$ ) (Martínez-Paricio & Kager 2015:470)

For every unfooted syllable  $[\sigma]_{\omega}$ , assign a violation mark if some foot intervenes between  $[\sigma]_{\omega}$  and the left edge of its containing  $\omega$ .

b. MAX

Assign one violation mark for every segment in the input that has no correspondent in the output.

c. MAX(stress)-BD

The stressed syllable in the base form is in correspondence with a stressed syllable in the derivative form.

d. DEP(stress)-BD

The stressed syllable in the derivative form is in correspondence with a stressed syllable in the base form.

The results for Airola and Boiano are modeled by ranking ALIGN-L( $[\sigma]_{\omega}$ , Ft,  $\omega$ ) and both MAX(stress)-BD and DEP(stress)-BD above MAX, as exemplified in Table 2. Candidate (2d) fatally violates MAX(stress)-BD because there is a mismatch in the position of the stressed syllable between the base and the derivative form. Candidate (2c) is also ruled out because it violates the higher-ranked alignment constraint ALIGN-L( $[\sigma]_{\omega}$ , Ft,  $\omega$ ). This constraint is violated once by the unparsed possessive enclitic because there is a foot intervening between it and the left edge of the prosodic word. Candidate (2b) shows preservation of the stress of the base as a secondary stress and an additional primary stress in penultimate position. This candidate is ruled out because it violates DEP(stress)-BD. Finally, the winning candidate, (2a), satisfies the three high-ranked constraints by means of deletion, which correlates with two violations of the anti-deletion faithfulness constraint MAX. Why it is the last syllable of the kinship noun that deletes could be modeled by a CONTIGUITY constraint requiring segments in the output to form a contiguous string with respect to the input, that is, a constraint that prohibits non-peripheral deletion.



Table 2. Tableau for enclitic-triggered deletion.

[[ 'jennəʀə ] <sub>NP</sub> mə ] <sub>DP</sub> Base = (( 'jennə ) <sub>Ft</sub> rə ) <sub>Ft</sub>	MAX(stress)-BD	ALIGN-L([σ] <sub>ω</sub> ,Ft,ω)	DEP(stress)-BD	MAX
☞ a. [(( 'jennə ) <sub>Ft</sub> -mə ) <sub>Ft</sub> ] <sub>ω</sub>				**
b. [( 'jennə ) <sub>Ft</sub> ( 'ru-mə ) <sub>Ft</sub> ] <sub>ω</sub>			*!	
c. [(( 'jennə ) <sub>Ft</sub> rə ) <sub>Ft</sub> -mə ] <sub>ω</sub>		*!		
d. [jen(( 'nəʀə ) <sub>Ft</sub> -mə ) <sub>Ft</sub> ] <sub>ω</sub>	*!		*	

A different permutation of this constraint set, in which MAX dominates DEP(stress)-BD, gives rise to a form like [iennəʀumə], which is the attested form in Lucanian. This form is faithful to the location of stress in the base by assigning secondary stress to the initial syllable of the encliticized form but assigns primary stress to the penultimate syllable to comply with the alignment constraint, as illustrated in the tableau in Table 3. The form with primary stress in the penultimate syllable incurs a violation of the constraint DEP(stress)-BD, requiring the stressed syllable in the derivative form to be in correspondence with a stressed syllable in the base form, the mirror-image constraint of MAX(stress)-BD.

Table 3. Tableau for enclitic-triggered stress shift.

[[ 'iennəʀə ] <sub>NP</sub> mə ] <sub>DP</sub> Base = (( 'iennə ) <sub>Ft</sub> rə ) <sub>Ft</sub>	MAX(stress)-BD	ALIGN-L([σ] <sub>ω</sub> ,Ft,ω)	MAX	DEP(stress)-BD
☞ a. [( 'iennə ) <sub>Ft</sub> ( 'ru-mə ) <sub>Ft</sub> ] <sub>ω</sub>				*
b. [(( 'iennə ) <sub>Ft</sub> -mə ) <sub>Ft</sub> ] <sub>ω</sub>			*!*	
c. [(( 'iennə ) <sub>Ft</sub> rə ) <sub>Ft</sub> -mə ] <sub>ω</sub>		*!		
d. [ien(( 'nəʀə ) <sub>Ft</sub> -mə ) <sub>Ft</sub> ] <sub>ω</sub>	*!			*

## 5. Conclusions

In this article we have presented new data collected from the southern Italian dialects spoken in Airola and Boiano. As opposed to the well-known strategy of enclitic-triggered stress shift in Romance (i.e. in verbs followed by pronominals), in these dialects a different strategy is observed: syllable deletion of the last syllable of the kinship noun when followed by possessive enclitics. We have proposed that possessive enclitics in Airola and Boiano are internal clitics (amalgamated with the prosodic word that contains the host noun). We have further proposed that proparoxytonic stress and the three-syllable-window derive from internally layered ternary feet. These feet need to be aligned with the right edge of their containing prosodic word. If a possessive

enclitic is adjoined, stress shift is not permitted, and the most optimal strategy to comply with this alignment requirement is to delete the last syllable of the host noun.

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## Appendix A

### Summary of data results from sentence translation task

Excerpts from interview transcripts showing variants of possessives applied to kinship names. The English translation refers to the sentences formulated by the informants. In a few cases, the regional Italian input and the informant translation do not coincide perfectly. The sentences marked with (A) are those from the dialect of Airola (BN), while (B) indicates the data from Boiano (CB). Kinship names are in italics here in the interest of clarity.

- 1) Quando ero piccola vivevo in una casa con *mia madre, mio padre, mio fratello, mia sorella e i miei nonni*.  
(A) Kwand erə pəttəsərellə kampavə nda na kasə ko 'mamməmə e 'patəmə, 'fratəmə, 'sɔrəmə e i 'nɔnni/i 'nɔnnəmə.  
(B) Kwand erə pəttferella vivevə dent a na kasa kə 'mamməmə e 'patəmə, 'fratəmə, 'sɔrəmə e li 'nɔnni.  
'When I was little, I used to live in a house with *my mother, my father, my brother, my sister* and *my grandparents*.'
- 2) Non ho capito, quelli che hai salutato al bar erano il genero di Pasquale e il suocero di Nicola?  
(A) N'addʒu kapitə, killə k'a salutat o bbar erənə o 'jennərə e Paʃkalə e o 'swokrə e Nikɔlə?  
(B) Non so kapitə, killə ka si salutat a lu bbar erənə lu 'jennərə de Paskwalə e lu 'swotfərə de Nikɔlə?  
'I didn't understand: were the people you greeted Pasquale's *son-in-law* and Nicola's *father-in-law*?'  
3) Non ci posso fare niente, non sopporto proprio né *mio genero* e né *mia nuora*.  
(A) Nun tʃə pəttəsə fa njendə, nun suppərtə prəprjə né a 'jennəmə e né a 'nɔrəmə.  
(B) Nun tʃə pəssə fa njendə, nun suppərtə prəprjə né 'jennəmə, né 'nɔrəmə.  
'I can't do anything about it, but I can stand neither *my son-in-law* nor *my daughter-in-law*.'
- 4) *Tua cugina e tua nipote* sono andate a comprare il pane.  
(A) 'Sorətə ku 'ʃinə e ni 'potətə annu jutə a akkattà o ppanə.  
(B) Ku 'ddʒinatə e ni 'potətə so jutə a akkattà lə panə.  
'Your *cousin* and *your niece* went to buy bread.'
- 5) *Mio figlio* è sposato e ha due bambine, mentre *mia figlia* va ancora a scuola.  
(A) 'Fijjəmə è sposatə e ttenə ddojə krjaturə, məntrə 'fijjəmə vafə ankərə a skɔlə.  
(B) 'Fijjəmə è spusatə e ttenə du wajundʒəllə, məntrə 'fijjəmə va ankərə a la skɔlə.

- ‘My son is married and has two children, while my daughter is still going to school.’
- 6) Come si chiama *tuo fratello*?  
 (A) Kommə sə kjamə 'frəjətə / 'frəjtə?  
 (B) Komə fə kjamə 'fratətə?  
 ‘What’s your brother’s name?’
- 7) Quanti anni avevi quando è nato *tuo figlio*?  
 (A) Kwand'annə tənivə kwann è nnatə 'fijjətə?  
 ‘How hold were you when your son was born?’
- 8) Domenica scorsa io e *mio marito* siamo andati a trovare *i miei suoceri* e c'erano anche *mio cognato* e *i miei nipoti*.  
 (A) Rommenəkə passatə ijə e *maritəmə* ammi jutə a ttrovà i 'swokrəmə e tʃə stəvənə kaj 'natəmə e i nə 'putəmə.  
 (B) Domenika passata ijə e *maritəmə* simmə jutə a ttrovà li 'swotʃərə e tʃə stəvənə purə kaj 'natəmə e li mijej nə 'putə.  
 ‘Last Sunday my husband and I went to visit my parents-in-law. There we also met my brother-in-law and my nephews.’
- 9) Dove sono andati *i tuoi fratelli*?  
 (A) Add annə jutə i 'frəjətə/i 'frəjtə?  
 (B) Addo so jutə li 'fratətə?  
 ‘Where did your brothers go?’
- 10) Ho visto *i tuoi generi* e *tua nuora* in macelleria.  
 (A) Addzu vistə i 'jennətə e 'nɔrətə nda maʃelleriə.  
 (B) So vistə 'jennətə e 'nɔrətə a la maʃelleriə.  
 ‘I saw your sons-in-law and your daughter-in-law at the butcher’s.’
- 11) Che regalo ti hanno fatto *le tue nuore*?  
 (A) Kə rəgalə t'annə fattə e 'nnɔrətə?  
 (B) Kə rəgalə t'annə fattə lə 'nɔrətə?  
 ‘What did your daughters-in-law give you as a gift?’
- 12) *Mia nonna* mi portava sempre a fare la spesa con lei.  
 (A) A 'nɔnnə/'Nɔnnəmə mə portavə sɛmpə a fa a ʃpəsə ko essə.  
 (B) 'Nɔnnəmə mə purtava sɛmpə a fa a ʃpəsə ke essə.  
 ‘My grandmother used to always take me with her when she went to buy groceries.’
- 13) Dove vivono *i tuoi figli*?  
 (A) Addu kampənə i 'fijjətə?  
 (B) Addo vivənə li 'fijjətə?  
 ‘Where do your sons live?’
- 14) Al matrimonio di *mio cugino* c'erano tutti *i tuoi zii* e *i tuoi cugini*.

- (A) O sposariddzjə e 'fratəmə ku 'finə fə stəvənə tutt i 'tsiətə e i 'frajtə ku 'finə.  
 (B) Al matrimonjə də ku 'ddzinəmə tʃə stəvənə tuttə li tsi 'anətə e tuttə li ku 'ddzinətə.  
 'All your uncles and cousins were at my cousin's wedding.'
- 15) Mia moglie sa fare la pizza di scarole, tua moglie non la sa fare.  
 (A) Mu 'jjerəmə/mo 'jjerəmə sapə ffa a pittsə e ʃkarole, mu 'jjerətə nn'a sapə fa.  
 (B) Mo 'jjəmə a sa fa la pittsə də skarole, mo 'jjətə non la sa fa.  
 'My wife knows how make an andive pie, your wife doesn't.'
- 16) L'altro giorno mentre cucinavo mi ha chiamata mio cugino per dirmi che mia cugina si sposa.  
 (A) Kill atu juornə mentrə kuʃinavə m a kkjamatə 'fratəmə ku 'finə pə mmə riʃə kə 'sorəmə ku 'finə sə sposə.  
 (B) L'atə juornə mentrə ka kuʃinavə m a kjamatə ku 'ddzinəmə pə mmə diʃə kə ku 'ddzinəmə sə sposə.  
 'The other day, while I was cooking, my cousin(-MASC) called me to tell me that my cousin(-FEM) is getting married.'
- 17) Ricordo che alla festa di Rita tuo genero non c'era.  
 (A) Rikordə ke a fest e Rita 'jennətə nun tʃə stəvə.  
 (B) M'arrəkordə kə a la feʃtə də Rita 'jennətə nən tʃə steva.  
 'I remember that, at Rita's party, your son-in-law wasn't there.'
- 18) Ho Saputo che mia suocera e tua suocera sono molto amiche.  
 (A) Addzu saputə kə 'səkrəmə e 'səkrətə song assaj amikə.  
 (B) So ssaputə kə 'səʃəmə e sətʃətə so tantə amikə.  
 'I found out that my mother-in-law and your mother-in-law are very close friends.'
- 19) Parlo al telefono con i miei figli tutti i giorni.  
 (A) Parl o telefənə k i 'fijjəmə tutt i juornə.  
 (B) Parl a lu telefənə kə li 'fijjəmə tuttə li juornə.  
 'I talk on the phone with my sons every day.'
- 20) Smettila di parlarmi dei tuoi problemi con tua cognata!  
 (A) Finiʃʃilə e me parlà ri problemi twoj ko kaj 'natətə.  
 (B) Finiʃʃila də parlarmə də li problemi ti kə kaj 'natətə.  
 'Stop complaining to me about your problems with your daughter-in-law!'
- 21) Io sono la più grande, le mie sorelle sono più piccole.  
 (A) Ijə song a kkju grəssə, e 'ssərəmə so kkju pəttʃərellə.  
 (B) Ijə so la kkju grəssa, le 'sərəmə so kkju pəttʃərellə.  
 'I am the eldest; my sisters are younger than me.'
- 22) Ti ho mai raccontato di come tua madre e tuo padre si sono conosciuti?  
 (A) T addzu maj kuntatə e kommə 'mammətə e 'pajətə/'pajtə sann konofutə?

- (B) Tə so maj rakkuntatə kommə 'mammətə e 'patətə sə so kanofutə?  
 'Did I ever tell you the story of how *your mother* and *your father* met?'
- 23) Nessuno sa fare la pasta e patate come la fa *mia zia*.  
 (A) Niffjunə sapə fa a pasta e ppatanə komm a fa 'tsiəme.  
 (B) Niffjunə sa fa a paʃta e ppatanə komə la fa tsi 'anəme.  
 'No one can make pasta with potatoes like *my aunt* does.'
- 24) Mi dispiace che *tuo cugino* non abbia conosciuto *i miei cugini*.  
 (A) Mi dispiəʃə kə 'frəjtə ku 'ʃinə nunn a kunufutə i 'fratəmə ku 'ʃinə.  
 (B) Mi dəspiaʃə kə ku 'ddʒinətə nunn a kanufutə a li ku 'ddʒinəmə.  
 'I am sorry that *your cousin* didn't meet *my cousins*.'
- 25) Ma *tuo cognato* non se la fa mai la barba?  
 (A) Ma kaj 'natətə n'sa faʃə maj a barba?  
 (B) Ma kaj 'natətə ndʒə fa maj la barba?  
 'Doesn't *your brother-in-law* ever shave?'
- 26) Domani mattina vado dalla parrucchiera con le *mie cugine*.  
 (A) Rimanə a mmatinə vakə adda parrukkjerə k e 'ssərəmə ku 'ʃinə.  
 (B) Addəmanə matinə vaj da la parrukkjerə kə le ku 'ddʒinəmə.  
 'I (A)/You (B) will go to the hairdresser with *my cousins* tomorrow morning.'
- 27) Non mi avevi detto che *tua sorella* si sposa!  
 (A) Nun m avivə rittə kə 'sərətə sə ʃposə!  
 (B) Nun m 'ivə dittə kə 'sərətə sə ʃposə!  
 'You didn't tell me that *your sister* is getting married!'
- 28) È vero che *tuo nonno* e *mio nonno* hanno fatto la guerra insieme?  
 (A) ε overə kə 'nɔnnəmə e 'nɔnnətə annə fattə a werrə assjemə?  
 (B) ε verə kə 'nɔnnəmə e 'nɔnnətə annə fattə la werrə assjemə?  
 'Is it true that *my grandfather* and *your grandfather* fought together in the war?'
- 29) Sono trent'anni che *mio zio* vive a Milano.  
 (A) Song trent annə kə 'tsiəmə stəʃə a Milanə.  
 (B) So trent annə kə tsi 'anəmə vivə a Milanə.  
 'My *uncle* has been living in Milan for 30 years.'
- 30) È questa la casa dei *tuo suoceri*?  
 (A) ε kkestə a kasə ri 'swokrətə?  
 (B) ε kkeʃtə la kasa de li 'swotʃətə?  
 'Is this *your parents-in-law's* house?'
- 31) La settimana prossima è il compleanno di *mio suocero*.  
 (A) A səmmanə kə vvenə è o kompleannə e 'swokrəmə.  
 (B) A settimana prossima è lu kompleannə de 'swotʃəmə.  
 'Next week is *my father-in-law's* birthday.'



- 32) Vai spesso a trovare *tua zia*?  
 (A) Vaj spissə a ttrovà a 'tsiətə?  
 (B) tʃə vaj spissə a ttrovà a tsi 'anata?  
 ‘Do you visit *your aunt* often?’
- 33) Ma quindi *tuo suocero* è morto prima che tu e *tuo marito* vi fidanzaste?  
 (A) Ma kwindi 'swokrətə è mmwortə primə ke tu e ma 'ritətə və mettevəvə a fa ammorə?  
 (B) Ma kwindi 'swotʃətə è mmwortə primə ke tu e ma 'ritətə və fidantsaftə?  
 ‘But so, did *your father-in-law* die before you and *your husband* got engaged?’
- 34) Sono andata dal dottore con *mio nipote*.  
 (A) Addʒu jutə add o mjerəkə ko nə 'potəmə.  
 (B) So jutə da lu dottorə kə nə 'potəmə.  
 ‘I went to the doctor with *my nephew*.’
- 35) *Tua figlia* e *le mie figlie* sono andate a scuola insieme.  
 (A) 'Fijjətə e e ffijjə mijə/e 'ffijjəmə anni jutə a ʃkəl assjemə.  
 (B) 'Fijjətə e lə 'ffijjəmə so jutə a la skəl assjemə.  
 ‘*Your daughter* and *my daughters* went to school together.’
- 36) *I miei fratelli* si chiamano Giacomo e Lino.  
 (A) I 'fratəmə si kjamənə Giacomo e Lino.  
 (B) Li 'fratəmə ʃə kjamənə Giacomo e Lino.  
 ‘*My brothers* are called Giacomo and Lino.’
- 37) *Le mie sorelle* sono tutte e due bionde, mentre io ho i capelli castani.  
 (A) E ssərəmə so tutt e ddoje bbjonde, mentre ijə tengə i kapillə kastanə.  
 (B) Lə sərəmə so tutt e ddu bbjonde, ma ijə tengə li kapillə kaʃtanə.  
 ‘*My sisters* are both blond, whereas I am brunette.’
- 38) Ho dimenticato quanti anni hanno *le tue figlie*.  
 (A) M'addʒu ʃkurdatə kwant annə tjenənə e 'ffijjə tojə/e 'ffijjətə.  
 (B) Mə so skurdatə kwant annə tjenənə le 'fijjətə.  
 ‘I forgot how old *your daughters* are.’
- 39) Sono stata molto fortunata con *i miei generi*, sono entrambi due bravi ragazzi.  
 (A) Song assajə fortunatə k i 'jennəmə/i 'jennərə mjei, songə tutt i ddujə bbravə wajjunə.  
 (B) So ʃtata veramente fortunata ki li 'jennəmə, so ttutt e ddu bravə wajjunə.  
 ‘I am really lucky with *my sons-in-law*: they are both good guys.’
- 40) *I miei zii* sono andati in vacanza a Londra.  
 (A) I 'ttsiəmə anni jutə a vakantsə a Londra.  
 (B) Li tsi 'anəmə so jutə in vakantsə a Londra.  
 ‘*My uncles* went on holiday to London.’
- 41) *Le mie zie* vanno in giro sempre piene di gioielli.

- (A) *E 'ttsiamə vannə kamminennə sempə kinə e ddzɔjellə.*  
(B) *Lə tsi 'anəmə vannə sempə in dziro kjenə di dɔjellə.*  
'My aunts always go around wearing a lot of jewelry.'
- 42) Entrambe *le tue zie* non bevono, vero?  
(A) Tutt e ddojə *e 'ttsietə* no bbevənə, ovɛ?  
(B) Tutt e ddu *lə tsi 'anətə* ne bbivənə, everə?  
'Both your aunts don't drink, do they?'
- 43) *Le mie nonne* non hanno potuto finire la scuola.  
(A) *E 'nnɔnnəmə* n annə potutə finì a ʃkələ.  
(B) *Le 'nɔnnəmə* n annə potutə finì la skələ.  
'My grandmothers could not finish school.'
- 44) Devo dire, però, che *le tue nonne* sono entrambe molto giovani.  
(A) T'addʒa riʃə però ke tutt e ddojə *e 'nnɔnnətə* song assajə ddzovani.  
(B) Təng a riʃərə però ke *le 'nɔnnətə* so vveramente ddzovanə.  
'I have to admit, though, that both your grandmothers are very young.'
- 45) *Tuo zio* mi ha detto che *tua nonna* è andata in America.  
(A) 'Tsiətə m a ddittə kə 'nɔnnətə è ggjutə a Amerəkə.  
(B) *Tsi 'anətə* m a dittə kə 'nɔnnətə è nnat all Amerəka.  
'Your uncle told me your grandmother went to (A)/was born in (B) the USA.'
- 46) *Mia cognata* inizierà presto a lavorare come maestra.  
(A) *Kaj 'natəmə* a akkumintʃatə ambressə a fatikə kommə maestrə.  
(B) *Kaj 'natəmə* akkumentʃa prjestə a fatikə kommə maestə.  
'My sister-in-law started/starts soon working as a teacher.'
- 47) *I tuoi nonni* sono sposati da 50 anni, vero?  
(A) *I 'nɔnnətə* so ʃposatə a tʃɪnkwant annə, overə?  
(B) *Li 'nɔnnətə* so spusatə da tʃɪnkwant anni, everə?  
'Your grandparents have been married for 50 years, haven't they?'
- 48) Quando ci sono *i tuoi nipoti* questa casa è sempre piena di vita.  
(A) Kwannə ʃə stannə *i nə 'putətə* keʃta kasə è sempə kjenə e vitə.  
(B) Kwannə ʃə so *li ni 'putətə* keʃta kasə è sempə kjenə də vitə.  
'When your nephews are here, this house is always full of life.'

## Appendix B

### Summary of data results from kinship name-possessive construction translation task

In the table, the paradigms of the kinship names with clitic possessives in the dialects of Airola (BN) and Boiano (CB) are given. When the two dialects differ, the form that occurs in the former is indicated with (A) and the form occurring in the latter with (B).

Kinship name	SG+1SG clitic	SG+2SG clitic	PL+1SG clitic	PL+2SG clitic
'mammə 'mother'	'mamməmə	'mammətə		
'patə 'father'	'patəmə	(A) 'pajətə/'pajtə (B) 'patətə		
'fratə 'brother'	'fratəmə	(A) 'frajətə/'frajtə (B) 'fratətə	(A) i 'fratəmə (B) li 'fratəmə	(A) i 'frajətə/'frajtə (B) li 'fratətə
'sərə 'sister'	'sərəmə	'sərətə	(A) e 'ssərəmə (B) lə 'sərəmə	(A) e 'ssərətə (B) lə 'sərətə
'fijjə 'son'	'fijjəmə	'fijjətə	(A) i 'fijjəmə (B) li 'fijjəmə	(A) i 'fijjətə (B) li 'fijjətə
'fijjə 'daughter'	'fijjəmə	'fijjətə	(A) e 'ffijjəmə (B) lə 'fijjəmə	(A) e 'ffijjətə (B) lə 'fijjətə
'jennərə 'son-in-law'	'jennəmə	'jennətə	(A) i 'jennəmə (B) li 'jennəmə	(A) i 'jennətə (B) li 'jennətə
'nərə 'daughter-in-law'	'nərəmə	'nərətə	(A) e 'nnərəmə (B) lə 'nərəmə	(A) e 'nnərətə (B) lə 'nərətə
'nənnə 'grandmother'	'nənnəmə	'nənnətə	(A) e 'nnənnəmə (B) lə 'nənnəmə	(A) e 'nnənnətə (B) lə 'nənnətə
'nənnə 'grandfather'	'nənnəmə	'nənnətə	(A) i 'nənnəmə (B) li 'nənnəmə	(A) i 'nənnətə (B) li 'nənnətə
(A) 'tsiə (B) tsi'anə 'uncle'	(A) 'tsiəmə (B) tsi'anəmə	(A) 'tsiətə (B) tsi'anətə	(A) i 'tsiəmə (B) li tsi'anəmə	(A) i 'tsiətə (B) li tsi'anətə
(A) 'tsiə (B) tsi'anə 'aunt'	(A) 'tsiəmə (B) tsi'anəmə	(A) 'tsiətə (B) tsi'anətə	(A) e 'ttsiəmə (B) lə tsi'anəmə	(A) e 'ttsiətə (B) lə tsi'anətə
nə'potə/nə'putə 'nephew'	nə'potəmə nə'putəmə	nə'potətə nə'putətə	(A) i nə'putəmə (B) li nə'putəmə	(A) i nə'putətə (B) li nə'putətə
nə'potə 'niece'	nə'potəmə	nə'potətə	(A) e nnə'potəmə (B) lə nə'potəmə	(A) e nnə'potətə (B) lə nə'potətə
ma'ritə 'husband'	ma'ritəmə	ma'ritətə		
(A) mo/u'jjerə 'wife'	(A) mu'jjerəmə (B) 'mojjəmə	(A) mu'jjerətə (B) 'mojjətə		
(A) 'səkrə (B) 'sətfərə 'mother-in-law'	(A) 'səkrəmə (B) 'sətfəmə	(A) 'səkrətə (B) 'sətfətə		
(A) 'swokrə (B) 'swotfərə 'father-in-law'	(A) 'swokrəmə (B) 'swotfəmə	(A) 'swokrətə (B) 'swotfətə	(A) i 'swokrəmə (B) li 'swotfəmə	(A) i 'swokrətə (B) li 'swotfətə
(A) 'fratə ku 'finə (B) ku 'ddzinə 'cousin' MASC	(A) 'fratəmə ku 'finə (B) ku 'ddzinəmə	(A) 'frajtə/'frajətə ku 'finə (B) ku 'ddzinətə	(A) i 'fratəmə ku 'finə (B) li ku 'ddzinəmə	(A) i 'frajtə /'frajətə ku 'finə (B) li ku 'ddzinətə

(A) 'sɔrə ku 'fɪnə (B) ku 'ddzɪnə 'cousin' FEM	(A) 'sɔrəmə ku 'fɪnə (B) ku 'ddzɪnəmə	(A) 'sɔrətə ku 'fɪnə (B) ku 'ddzɪnətə	(A) e 'ssɔrəmə ku 'fɪnə (B) lə ku 'ddzɪnəmə	(A) e 'ssɔrətə ku 'fɪnə (B) lə ku 'ddzɪnətə
kaj 'natə 'brother-in-law'	kaj 'natəmə	kaj 'natətə	(A) i kaj 'natəmə (B) li kaj 'natəmə	(A) i kaj 'natətə (B) li kaj 'natətə