Parameters in possessives:
the Franco-Provençal dialect of
Celle di San Vito (Apulia) as a case study[*]

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Abstract:

The aim of this article is to propose an account of morpho-syntactic and interpretive properties of possessives looked at from the point of view suggested by the interplay between contact systems with prenominal and postnominal possessives. Thus, we will begin with briefly presenting the minority Franco-Provençal language of Celle di San Vito in Apulia and its linguistic position. Subsequently, we will dwell on the nature of possessive relation and its treatment in the literature, also taking account of the suggestions coming from cross-linguistic considerations (Albanian). Next, the data of Celle and the possessive systems of Southern Italian and Franco-Provençal varieties will be provided and compared. The final section illustrates some proposals concerning different possessive structures, specifically with regard to the distribution of possessive elements and the interaction with the definite article.

Keywords: *Franco-Provençal, linguistic contact, morpho-syntax of possessives, Southern Italian dialects*

1. Franco-Provençal in Apulia

Celle and Faeto villages[1] in North Apulia preserve a Franco-Provençal dialect dating to 13th century. Although the Fran-

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[1] The Apulian villages in which Franco-Provençal is spoken are Celle San Vito and Faeto. In this work, we will analyze data collected with informants from Celle.

co-Provençal morpho-syntactic properties are overall preserved (Manzini and Savoia 2005), the contact with Apulian dialects has nevertheless led to some changes in morpho-syntactic organization, as in the case of possessives. Southern Italian and Franco-Provençal dialects show very different possessive systems. More precisely, in Southern Italian varieties possessives follow the noun preceded by the article, in predicative contexts are introduced by the definite article and with kinship terms select enclitic 1st/2nd/3rd singular possessor forms; in Franco-Provençal/Occitan-type varieties possessives precede the noun and generally exclude the article (for Occitan see Oliviéri and Sauzet 2016). Celle's Franco-Provençal possessives are characterized by the overlapping, so to say, of the two systems, showing the distribution of Southern Italian dialects, except with kinship terms, where the prenominal position is retained with singular person possessors.

From the historical point of view (cf. Telmon 1992), the ancient testimonies on the origin of these colonies are not univocal, insofar as the documented resettlements range from 13th to 14th century and the designation used is 'Provençals'. Favre (2010: 4) summarizes the reconstruction of the origin of these populations and their dialects:

According to the most accredited hypothesis, the origin of these two colonies would be led back to the allocation of French troops on the part of the Angevins. In 1269, Charles I of Anjou sent a detachment of soldiers to guard the fortified town of Crepacore and granted them to settle in the near farmhouse of Crepacore and in the surrounding territory. [Translation of the authors]

The identification of these dialects as Franco-Provençal varieties was proposed by Morosi (1890) taking into account the palatalization of original stressed *a, based on the classification criteria fixed in Ascoli (1878). Indeed, in the varieties of Celle and Faeto palatalization of the original stressed *a has the same distribution as in Franco-Provençal/ Southern-French varieties, i.e. only if it is preceded by palatal consonants, like in [tʃiŋ] 'dog'. However, this outcome is not generalized, excluding participles and other verbal forms, as in the schema in (1), where ClS (Clitic Subject) designates the obligatory clitic subject pronouns occurring in these varieties.

(1) *2nd pl*   və cam'ma   və min'dʒijə
                          ClS call.2PL   ClS eat.2PL
                          'you call.'   'you eat.'
      infinitive   cam'ma   min'dʒijə
                          call.INF   eat.INF
                          'to call.'   'to eat.'
      past participle   dʒ   e   cam'ma   dʒ   e   man'dʒa
                          ClS   have   called   ClS   have   eaten
                          'I have called.'   'I have eaten.'   *Celle*

The attested distribution of stressed *a palatalization in South France induces Melillo (1959) to conclude that the original site of these varieties is placed in the Departements of Ain and Isère, east of Lion.

2. Some general points

The nature and specifically the common relational properties underlying genitive, dative and locative in many languages undergo various types of syncretism whereby the same exponent lexicalizes all or a subset of them (Franco *et al.* 2015, Manzini and Savoia 2018, Baldi and Savoia in press). By way of example, the oblique can encompass dative and genitive, as in some of Latin declensions, or in Albanian and in Romanian where the indirect case lexicalizes both the stative possession (genitive) and the resultative possession (dative). This type of syncretism is illustrated by the Italo-Albanian examples in (2) from San Costantino Albanese, where Lkr (Linker) designates the prenominal article occurring in genitive contexts. Genitive in (2a) and dative in (2b) are characterized by the same oblique inflection, here –*i-t*.

(2) a. ki libr-i ə ʃt i burr-i-t
         this book-MSG is Lkr.MSG man-OBL.MSG-DEF
         'this is of the man.'
     b. j-a ðɛ burr-i-t
         to.him-it I.gave man-OBL-DEF
         'I gave it to the man.'

San Costantino

Moreover, in many languages the same oblique morphology is selected for locative contexts. The key idea is that in all of these contexts the conceptual property of 'inclusion' is involved, in the sense initially discussed in Manzini and Savoia (2011b, 2014) whereby all types of possession, including inalienable and psych state possession, fall under the same basic relation. Their proposal as to the nature of this relation resumes that proposed by Belvin and den Dikken (1997: 170) according to whom "entities have various zones associated with them, such that an object or eventuality may be included in a zone associated with an entity without being physically contained in that entity… The type of zones which may be associated with an entity will vary with the entity".

A complementary question concerns the relation between cases and prepositions. Specifically Fillmore (1968) treats cases as the inflectional equivalent of prepositions, so that the elementary introducers such as Italian di/a or English of/to would be equivalent to the genitive and the dative respectively. According to Manzini *et al.* (2019, forthcoming), Savoia *et al.* in press, an oblique case, on a par with a preposition, is a predicate introducing a relation between the argument it selects and another argument. This means that we assign a relational content to cases, with the effect that the oblique case or prepositions are endowed with interpretable properties. This solution contrasts with the more traditional view that is prepositions like 'of' or 'to' are devoid of interpretive content, or, in minimalist terms, uninterpretable. Our conclusion is that oblique case and prepositions like 'of' or 'to' may be thought as elementary part/whole relators; in other words, a single property, namely inclusion/superset-of, formalized as [⊆], is associated with the conceptual cluster underlying oblique and/or of/to-like prepositions. Let us consider the Italian examples in (3a,b).

(3) a. il libro di Gianni
         the book of Gianni
     b. Ho dato il libro a Gianni
         I.have given the book to Gianni

The preposition di in (3a) is taken to introduce the possession relation between 'Gianni' and 'the book'. So, if we adopt the insight of Belvin and den Dikken (1997), the possession relation in (3a) can be understood as the lexicalization of an inclusion relation, in (4a). The idea is that the dative in (3b) is the possessor of the argument 'libro', essentially like in the genitive, although in this case the predictive relation between possessor and possessum is introduced by an agentive v, as in (4b).

(4)   a.   … [$_{DP}$ il libro [$_{PP}$ di/⊆ [$_{DP}$ Gianni]]]   'the book of Gianni.'
        b.   [CAUSE [⊆P [$_{DP}$ il libro [$_{PP}$ di/⊆ [$_{DP}$ Gianni]]] '(I have given) the book to Gianni.'

Manzini *et al.* (2019, forthcoming) assimilate dative to a possession relation introduced by an agentive predicate, where, again, the argument surfacing ad the object of give is the external argument of the inclusion relation lexicalized by the dative preposition a. The semantic proximity between the Romance prepositions di and a is manifested by the possessive uses of a (for French cf. Kayne 1977, Cardinaletti 1998), for instance in some Southern Italian dialects, where a can introduce the possessor, as in (5), for the north-Apulian variety of Castelluccio Vallemaggiore (Foggia):

(5)   ε   ffiɟɟə   a   mme/ essə
        (s)he.is   son   to   me   / her
        '(s)he is my/ her son.'

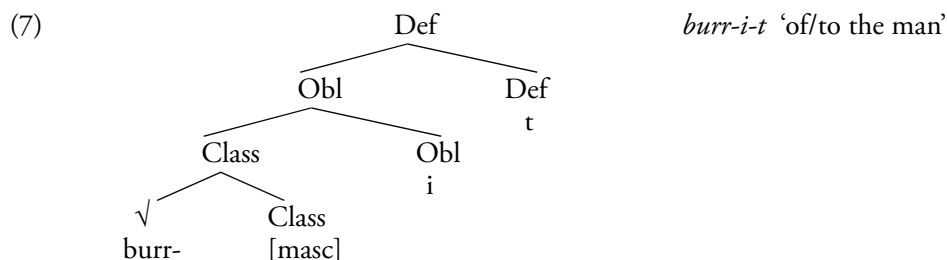   Castelluccio

It is interesting to compare this characterization of genitive/ partitive with the one provided for *di* 'of' in Zamparelli (2008: 319), where the predicative *di* is identified with an operator called 'residue' selecting two arguments. The specifier [a copy of NP inside DP] and the complement [a full DP], that 'returns the denotation of its specifier minus the denotation of its complement'. In a word, *di/of* identifies the specifier as the residue from the whole specifier+complement. If we are on the right track, the similarity between partitive and genitive interpretation is reflected by the syncretism on *di/of.* Hence, we are induced to conclude that *of/* oblique case are the externalization of the elementary predicate connecting two arguments (possessor and possessum) in a part/whole relation, ad in (6):

(6)   *of/oblique*: [*possessum*] [$_{P/Oblique}$ ⊆ [*possessor*]]

The lexical content in (6) allows us to account for the usual syncretism between partitive and genitive interpretation, whereby the same preposition or case expresses different types of part-whole relation. We can bring back to this framework the analysis of the possessive pronouns, that, it is of note, in many languages are expressed by means of genitival forms, as, for instance, English *his/ her(s)*. In other words we may assume that possessives in turn implement the inclusion relation between the possessum, the head noun, and the possessor introduced by the possessive element. The conceptualization of the possession relation as being a relation introduced by an operator/predicate with two arguments is formalized in Cornilescu and Nicolae's (2011) by assuming a prepositional small clause of which the possessum and possessor are the arguments. The small clause is headed by the abstract predicate [BELONG], lexicalized by an overt preposition or the morphology of case.

What precedes implies a model of the internal structure and, more generally, of the inflectional properties of noun. The categories we address are gender, number and inflectional class. In the literature (Picallo 2008; Déchaine *et al.* 2014 on Bantu; Fassi Fehri 2015 on Arabic, Kramer 2015) at least two functional projections are required – roughly gender and number. Following Manzini and Savoia (2014, 2018), Savoia *et al.* (2019), the internal organization of noun includes a category-less lexical root √ (Marantz 1997), that, in keeping with Higginbotham (1985), is understood as a predicate. The root merges with the inflectional elements endowed with interpretive content (gender, number, etc.), that restrict the properties associated to the argument x open at the predicate. Thus, inflectional structure is based on the same computational mechanisms underlying syntax (Chomsky 2005; Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2011b, to appear). Inflected nouns are analysed as the result of a Merge operation that combines a lexical root with Class (gender feminine/masculine) and other classificatory properties, including number and case, that contribute to specifying the argument introduced by the lexical root. This model is illustrated in (7) for Albanian *burr-i-t* 'of / to the man' in (2a), where number and case specifications, i.e. *-i-t*, add to Class. The case paradigm of Albanian shows some types of syncretism discussed in Manzini and Savoia (2011b). Following these authors we adopt a morphological segmentation in which the morpheme i, occurring as masculine singular oblique and nominative, is tentatively characterized as a definiteness exponent lexicalizing the relation [⊆] between a singleton and a set including it, in the sense of the analysis of determiners in Chierchia (1997). In (7) the label Obl is used.

(7)   Def   *burr-i-t* 'of/to the man'
                      ┌───────────┴───────────┐
                    Obl   Def
              ┌──────┴──────┐   t
           Class   Obl
        ┌────┴────┐   i
        √   Class
      burr-   [masc]

The idea we pursue implies a privative treatment of the morphological properties in lexical elements excluding manipulation or insertion of new material, as usually in DM framework, by assuming that morphological terminals have interpretive lexical content. In other words, we adopt a lexicalist model in which, as opposed to the canonical generative approach, all phi-feature sets are interpretable and valued. This means that the rule of Agree is not triggered by the need for a probe to interpret/value its features (cf. Chomsky *et al.* 2019). Rather it creates an identity relation between two or more referential feature sets lexicalizing the same argument, (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011a,b, 2018; Savoia *et al.* 2019) and all lexical material is interpreted at the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interface.

In cartographic literature possessives originate in a low position inside the NP from where they may move to higher positions. Consistently with the idea that prenominal and postnominal (or thematic) position of possessives can be 'transformationally related, as initially proposed in Kayne (1977), Cardinaletti (1998: 18) assumes that the same basic structure underlies pre- and postnominal possessives, as reported in (8).

(8)   [_{DP} *la* [_{XP} … [_{YP} *casa*_k [_{NP} sua [t_k …   'his/her house'
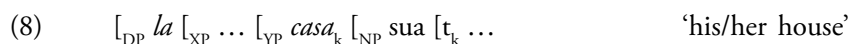
If the base position of possessives is inside NP, as in (8), the postnominal order is derived by the movement of N to a functional head 'between N and D' (Cinque 1994). The prenominal order is obtained by moving in turn the possessive element to the inflectional domain of the DP, as in (8').

(8') $[_{DP}$ la $[_{XP}$ sua$_i$ ... $[_{YP}$ casa$_k$ $[_{NP}$ t$_i$ $[t_k$ ...

The idea of Cardinaletti (1998) is that these two positions do not involve the same lexical element, but imply two different alternants, to the effect that postnominal position would host a focalized element endowed with complete referential features, differently from prenominal possessives, lacking such interpretive properties. This difference is traced back to the deficient/strong opposition (Cardinaletti and Starke 1994), separating strong and deficient pronouns, where deficient elements are devoid of the XP functional layer, specifically including case features, for instance being lexicalized by the preposition in Romance DPs. As a result, deficient elements must be licensed by a functional head, that in the case of pronominal clitics is the inflectional head of the sentence. Extending this analysis to possessives, Cardinaletti (1998: 20) proposes that prenominal possessives are devoid of the functional layer so that they need to be licensed in a functional domain, namely the domain of the Agreement head (AGRS), of the DP.

This proposal would seem to fit in with the morphological differences between prenominal and postnominal elements. Indeed, there are languages in which prenominal possessives have a reduced morphology, devoid of agreement inflection, while postnominal elements present it, like in Spanish *mi libro* 'my book' vs *el libro mio* 'the book (of) mine'. In Spanish prenominal possessive is a clitic, a reduced weak form, that can adjoin to D, excluding the determiner. In a language like Italian, where there is no morphological difference between pre- and postnominal possessives, Cardinaletti concludes that the syntactic behavior of prenominal forms and the fact that they combine with definite articles suggest that they are deficient/weak forms. French prenominal possessives are in turn deficient clitic elements, showing the same type of nominal inflection of clitic pronouns. Italian postnominal and predicative possessives would be strong, differently from French, devoid of strong possessives, i.e. simple possessives in copular contexts. As to pronominal forms preceded by the article the idea of the author is that they, in Italian as well as in French, are elliptical forms including a weak possessive and an empty noun. Not substantially different is the proposal in Kayne (2018, § 3) whereby possessives include a silent personal pronoun, whereby, by way of an example, *ho letto il suo libro* 'I have read his/ her book' corresponds to the representation in (9).

(9)   ho letto il DP(POSS) suo libro

Assuming possessives to be a D element with a phi-incomplete NP restriction is the crucial point of Cornilescu and Nicolae's (2011) proposal (cf. Cornilescu 1995). In other words, possessives are a sort of genitive structure but defective for the features referring to the possessor, except the person. Following the authors, the phi-incompleteness forces the possessive element to search a licenser, valuing its uninterpretable features, specifically its case. Through Agreement with the possessee N, case bearing, the possessive is in turn case licensed. In genitive structures, it is the element *a+l*, including the preposition a followed by the definiteness element *l*, that licenses the following noun in genitive case. As to possessives, in Romanian they are 'immediately preceded either by the definite article [on the noun] or by the genitival particle *al*' (Dobrovie-Sorin and Giurgea 2013: 347). Hence, in predicative contexts the pos-

sessive element requires the genitive particle a+l as its licensor. Interestingly, Cornilescu and Nicolae separate person and definiteness properties concluding that person does not necessarily imply definiteness. This can explain some differences in the distribution of possessives, that in some languages combine with the article (Romanian, Italian, Albanian) and in others exclude it (French, Spanish, English). The authors conclude that in languages like French, possessives are able to raise up to DP projection where they lexicalize the definiteness properties of D. Hence, the analysis suggests the same underlying representation for genitives and possessives, the latter being defective for the phi-features of possessor. In this approach, the contrast between postnominal or prenominal position in different languages does not result in different basic structures, however including a sort of concealed genitive.

The preceding analyses agree on assuming a low structural position for possessives and connecting their surface position with the movement induced by licensing mechanism. A common point also concerns the defective nature of possessives inside the DP. However, it is evident that an analysis based on hypothetical categories, as an empty noun, or on the translation of C-I interpretive level into the structural organization is very costly. The same is true for separating homophonous forms by assigning them different structural representations, as in the case of the pre- vs postnominal occurrences of Italian possessives. Generally speaking, we may wonder on the basis of what parametric view we should expect that languages hide, as in the case of syncretism, what they intend to mean.

Descriptively, we see the following syntactic alternatives, i.e. presence/absence of article, pre-/ postnominal occurrence and a morphological difference between complete/reduce inflection. Our idea is that the distribution of possessives can be explained as being due to their inherent interpretive properties. Indeed, many of the differences[2] noticed by Cardinaletti (1998) as regards the referential properties of possessives and their deictic force, may be related to the referential properties of different nominal classes and different scope domains. On the other hand, in many languages there is no difference between different positions of possessives, as in the case of Albanian, irrespective of the fact that possessives externalize the usual interpretive properties depending on the position in the sentence, as, for example, the focalized interpretation.

2.1 The internal structure of possessives

In order to provide a more thorough examination of the nature and properties of possessive elements we will take account of Albanian possessive system, as attested by Arbëresh varieties. They, indeed, may help us to highlight the internal structure of possessives.[3] The data come from the Italo-Albanian variety of San Costantino Albanese (Potenza). In Albanian, possessives follow the noun (except in the case of kinship terms) and are preceded by a D element, the same one introducing also adjectives and genitives (cf. (2a)), that Manzini *et al.* (2014) identify as a Linker. Possessives agree in gender/ number with the possessum (subject/head noun), and the Linker (where it occurs), that may alternate according to the case of the possessum. (10a) illustrates predicative contexts, (10b) DP internal contexts, (10b') kinship terms. Possessives

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[2] Indeed, as an Italian native speaker it seems to me that a part of evidence concerning the difference between pre- and post-nominal Italian possessives are very questionable, and possibly connectable to differences in the interpretive role of the possessive element, independently of structural aspects. As to 'loro' see Manzini (2014).

[3] The morphemic segmentation of Albanian possessive forms is not very transparent and in many cases only conjectural, as noted in Mann (1977) and Demiraj (1986). In this sense, the proposed analysis is substantially tentative.

has the same syntax as adjectives, insofar as both are preceded by the D element, as in (10c) for adjectives. For the sake of exposition, the morphemic segmentation in (10) characterizes *i* as Def(inite) or Obl(ique) according its proposed interpretation, *a* as f/pl, -t as pl/Def (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2011b).

(10)   a.   ki   libər   əʃt   i   i-t-i
              this.ms   book   is   Lkr.msg   Obl-2ps-Def
              'this book is yours.'
              kjɔ   kəmiʃ   əʃt   ɛ   i-m-i-a   / ɛ   i-ɔ-t-i-a
              this.fsg shirt   is   Lkr. fsg Obl-1ps-Def-f/pl   / Lkr.fsg Obl-f-2ps-Def-f/pl
              'this shirt is yours.'
              kt-ɔ   kmiʃ   jan   tə   m- i- a-t   / tə   tu-a-t
              these-f shirt   are   Lkr.pl 1ps-Obl-f/pl-pl   / Lkr.pl 2ps-f/pl-pl
              'these books/ shirts are yours.'
        b.   libr-i   i-   m   /   i-   t
              book-Def   Obl-1ps   /   Obl-2ps
              'my book.'
              kmiʃ-a   i-m- ɛ   /   i-   ɔ-t- ɛ   / ɛ   s   a-i
              shirt-f/pl   Obl-1ps-fsg   /   Obl-f-2ps- fsg   / Lkr   fsg.Obl-f/pl-Def
              'my/ your/ her shirt.'
              libr- a-t   ɛ   tu:
              book- f/pl-def   Lkr.fsg   2ps
              'your books.'
              kmiʃ-t   ɛ   tu-a   /   ɛ   m- i-   a
              shirt-def   Lkr.fsg   2ps-f/pl /   Lkr.fsg   2ps- Obl-f/pl
              'your/ my shirts.'
        b'.   i-m   vla   / i-m-ɛ   mɔtər
              Obl-1psg brother   / Obl-1ps- fsg   sister
              'my brother/ my sister.'
              əʃt   i / ɛ   bukur
              is   Lkr.msg/fsg   tall
              '(s)he is beautiful.'

   San Costantino

According to Manzini and Savoia (2014, 2015, 2018), Franco *et al.* (2015), the linker contributes to saturating the argument of the adjectival predicate, or, in the case of genitives and possessives, the argument of the binary relation that connects possessor and possessum in genitive phrases. Taking into account the preceding discussion and the structure in (7), Albanian genitive/dative inflection can be analyzed as the exponent externalizing the basic relation of part-whole inclusion [⊆], equivalent to the relation lexicalized by the preposition *di* in (6). What Albanian possessives highlight is that, at least in some of their forms, the inclusion relation is expressed by a specialized case morpheme in the interior of the word, a sort of the internal inflection.

In (11a), corresponding to (10a), the Linker *ɛ* agrees with the subject *kjɔ kəmiʃ* 'that shirt', namely the possessum. The oblique specifications *i* of *i-m-i-* lexicalizes the inclusion/ possessive relation (Manzini and Savoia 2017); *-a* is treated as the definite feminine inflection externalizing the Class specification that we descriptively characterize as [feminine, Definite].

The definiteness properties contribute to identifying the same argument *x*, associated by the subscript with the agreeing elements, in turn agreeing with the subject of the copular structure. In (11b) (cf. (10b)) the structure of the possessive DP structure is provided, where the D element ε agrees with the plural inflection of the possessed noun, the head of the phrase, and the plural inflection of the possessive element.

(11)   a.

b.
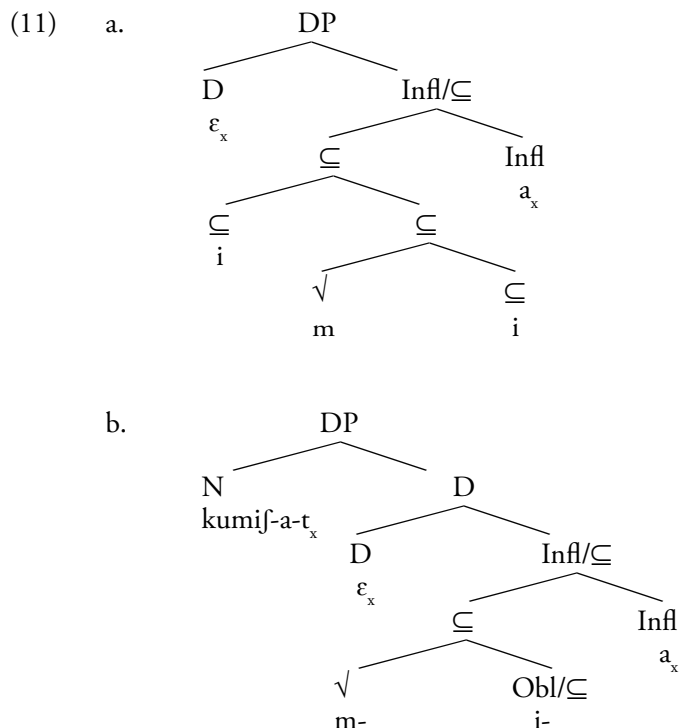
It can be interesting to compare the structure in (11b) with the structure proposed by Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011: 133) for the Romanian possessive adjective, reproduced in (11').

(11')
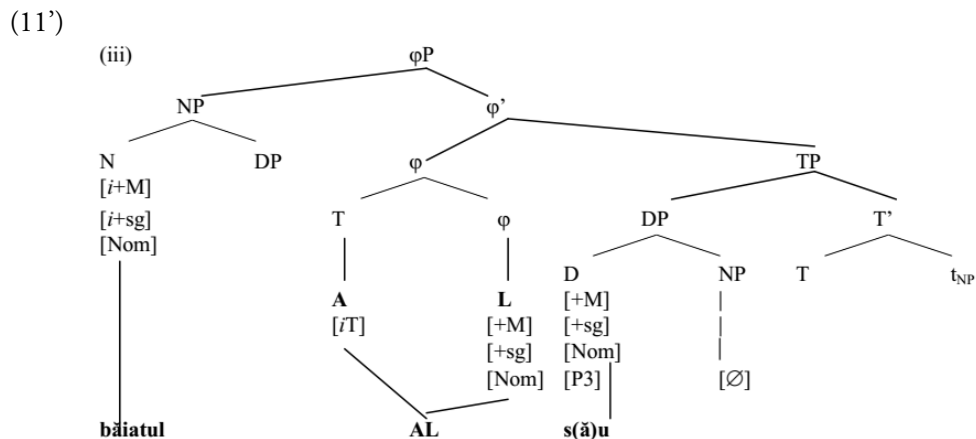
As seen in section 2, i (11') the phi-defectiveness forces the possessive pronoun to search of a licenser, valuing its uninterpretable features, specifically its case. Agreement with the possessee N, case bearing, is a means of case licensing the possessive. In genitive structures, the element a+l licenses, i.e. values the following noun in genitive case. As we can expect, (11b) and (11b') include a substantially similar type of information, at least insofar as they provide a genitive category associated with the preposition or incorporated in the possessive element.

Coming back to (10a,b) for Albanian, it is of note that in the context inside the DP the possessive element is less complex, lacking both the initial morpheme *i-* and the definiteness element *-t*, otherwise occurring in predicative contexts such as (11a). This distribution reflect the contrast between the occurrence inside the DP, where the noun contribute to specifying the possessum referred to, and the predicative context, where it is the possessive alone that has to introduce the reference to possessum. In this case, it presents a richer referential morphology. A further insight comes from the pronominal occurrences of Albanian possessives, illustrated in (12a), where, as in nominalized adjectives in (12b), we find the preadjectival article and the internal inflection of the possessive:

(12)   a.   ɛ   i- m- i- a   əʃt   ɛ   bukur
              Lkr   Obl-1ps-Def-fsg   is   Lkr.fsg fine
              'mine is fine.'
              i   i- m- i   əʃt   i   bukur
              Lkr   Obl-1ps-Def   is   Lkr.msg fine
              'mine is fine.'
        b.   ɛrð   i   mað-i
              (s)he.came   Lkr   big-msg
              'the big one came.'

                                                                    San Costantino

As evidenced by comparison with internal DP forms, we see that pronominal/ predicative possessives show the complete agreement inflection concerning the possessum preceded by the definite determiner. In other words, the possessive element is able to lexicalize the two arguments of the possession relation.

We are now in a position to address the main topic of this article, i.e. possessives, that we will investigate focusing on some South Italian and Franco-Provençal type dialects and, as the main test bench, the Franco-Provençal contact system of Celle di San Vito in Apulia.

3. *Possessives in Southern Italian dialects*

In Southern Italian dialects possessives are postnominal and require the article, both inside DPs and in predicative or pronominal occurrences (Rohlfs 1968 [1949], Ledgeway 2009). Further, a part of Southern Italian dialects introduces obligatorily or optionally the preposition *də / di* 'of' (a sort of linker) before the article both in predicative contexts and within DPs where it is generally favoured with indefinite DPs (Baldi and Savoia in press). Here, Apulian varieties are exemplified for Gravina in (13) and Castelluccio Vallemaggiore in (14), the municipality bordering the territory of Celle. Hence, it provides the contact linguistic context of the Franco-Provençal of Celle. These varieties show the postnominal position of possessives, in (13a)-(14a) and the occurrence of article before possessive in predicative and pronominal contexts, in (13c)-(14c). With kinship terms possessives occur as enclitics on the noun excluding the article, in (13b)-(14b); enclitic forms typically characterize singular referents. (14d) illustrates the structure with the introducer *di* preceding the postnominal possessive in indefinite forms.

(13)　a.　　l-a　　　　kammis-a　　　　ma(jə)
　　　　　　the-FSG　　shirt-FSG　　　　1PSG(F)
　　　　　　'my shirt.'
　　　　　　u　　　　　　　　kənə　　　mi
　　　　　　the.MSG　　　　　dog　　　1PSG.MSG
　　　　　　'my dog.'
　　　b.　　sɔrə-mə
　　　　　　sister-my
　　　　　　'my sister.'
　　　　　　lə　　　fɟɟ-ə　　　　　ma(jə)
　　　　　　the.PL　daughter　　　1PSG-(F)
　　　　　　'my daughters.'
　　　c.　　je　　　　l-a　　　　　ma(jə)
　　　　　　it.is　　the-FSG　　　1PSG-(F)
　　　　　　'it is mine.'
　　　　　　sɔ　　　　　　　l-ə　　　tawə
　　　　　　they.are　　　　the-PL　2PSG-(F)
　　　　　　'they are yours.'

<div align="right">Gravina</div>

(14)　a.　　l-a　　　　　　　kammis-a　　　　　/　l-u　　　libbrə mi-ə / tuj-ə
　　　　　　the-FSG　　　　shirt　　　　　　/　the-MSG　book 1PSG / 2PSG
　　　　　　'my/ your shirt/ book.'
　　　　　　l-i　　　　　　　kammisə　　　　mɛjə　　/　tɔjə
　　　　　　the-FPL　　　　shirts　　　　　1PSG.FPL　/　2PSG.FPL
　　　　　　'my/your shirts.'
　　　　　　l-i　　　　　　　libbrə　miəjə　　/　tuəjə
　　　　　　the-MPL　　　　book　　1PSG.MPL　/　2PSG.MPL
　　　　　　'my/ your books.'
　　　b.　　fɟɟə-mə　　　/　fratə-tə
　　　　　　son-1PSG　　　/　brother-2PSG
　　　　　　'my son / my brother.'
　　　c.　　ɛ　　　l-a　　　　mi-a　　　/　l-u　　　mi-ə
　　　　　　is　　the-FSG　　1PSG-FSG　/　the-MSG　1PSG.MSG
　　　　　　'it is mine.'
　　　　　　sɔ　　　l-i　　　sɔj-ə　　　/　suəj-ə
　　　　　　are　　the-PL　3PSG-FPL　/　3PSG.MPL
　　　　　　'they are hers/ his.'
　　　　　　aɟɟu vistə　　　l-u　　　mijə
　　　　　　I-have seen　　the-MSG　1PSG.MSG
　　　　　　'I have seen mine.'
　　　d.　　n-u　　　　　fɟɟə　　də　　l-u　　　miə
　　　　　　the-MSG　　son　　of　　the-MSG　1PSG.MSG
　　　　　　'a son of mine.'
　　　　　　n-a kammis-a　　　　də　　l-a　　　mijə
　　　　　　the-FSG shirt-FSG N　of　　the-FSG　1PSG.FSG
　　　　　　'a shirt of mine.'
　　　　　　l-u　　　　　kanə　　də　　l-u　　　　　tujə
　　　　　　the-MSG　　dog　　of　　the-MSG　　　2PSG.MSG
　　　　　　'my dog.'

<div align="right">Castelluccio Vallemaggiore</div>

In North Calabrian dialects (here Morano) possessives follow the noun and are preceded by the prepositional introducer *di* followed by the definite article, both within DP and in predicative contexts, agreeing with the possessum (cf. Rohlfs 1968 [1949]). In indefinite DPs, in (15a), the introducer followed by the definite article is usually lexicalized. In definite DPs, in (15b), the introducer and the article are not lexicalized. (15c) illustrates the pronominal occurrence of possessive, where the introducer seems to be however marginally admitted.

(15)   a.   n-u   fiʄʄ-u   ʈ   u   mej-u
              a-MSG   son-MSG   of   MSG   1PSG-MSG
              'a son of mine.'
              rɔnə-mə   n-u   libbr-u   (ʈ   u)   mej-u
              give-me   a-MSG   thing-MSG   of   MSG   1PSG-MSG
              'give me a book of mine.'
        b.   a   sɛddʒ-a   mi-a
              FSG   chair-FSG   1PSG-FSG
              'my chair.'
        c.   aʄʄu   vist-u   (ʈ-)   u   mej-u
              I.have   seen-MSG   of   MSG   1PSG-MSG
              'I have seen the mine.'

                                                                          Morano

The combination *preposition di-article-possessive* regularly occurs in copular contexts, in (15'a), and in other predicative environment, in (15'b). It is of note that in copular/predicativecontexts Southern Italian dialects generally require a phrase including the definite determiner and the possessive (see also Ledgeway 2009 for Old Neapolitan). In all cases, article and possessive agree with the noun in subject position, as in (15').

(15')   a.   kwiss-u   jɛ ɖɖ u   mej-u/ toj-u
              this-MSG   is of MSG   1PSG-MSG / 2PSG-MSG
              'this is mine/ yours.'
              ss-a   kammis-a   jɛ   ɖɖ   a   mi-a/ tuj-a
              this-FSG shirt-FSG   is   of   FSG   1PSG-FSG/ 2PSG-FSG
              'this shirt is mine/ yours.'
        b.   mi   parunu   (ʈ-)   i   mej-ə
              to.me   they.seem   of   PL   1PSG-PL
              'they seem mine to me.'

                                                                          Morano

Ledgeway (2009) connects this construction in old Neapolitan with an original partitive construction. Nevertheless, the partitive reading is now excluded.

We conclude that in Southern Italian varieties the article is necessary for lexicalizing the interpretation of the possessum. Agreeing properties of the possessive element, although endowed with referential force, are doubled by the article in fixing the reference to the possessed argument of the possession relation. This is confirmed by the fact that definite article occurs also within indefinite DPs in the dialects where it is preceded by the preposition *di*; in other words, the definite article occurs also in DPs introduced by an indefinite quantifier and in predicative structure. Thus suggests that in these dialects possessive structures however require possessive

elements to combine with the independent lexicalization of nominal agreement features. In the case of articles, in DPs and predicative contexts, we obtain the usual linker structure. Moreover, in many dialects, the prepositional introducer completes the possessive structure, by lexicalizing the inclusion relation independently of the lexical content of the possessive. The result is that the structure *introducer-definite article-possessive* lexicalizes part-whole relation and definiteness both by means of independent morphological elements and of the possessive pronoun, substantially similarly to what we have seen for Albanian.

In short, data seen so far from Albanian in section 2.1 and from Southern Italian dialects show the following distributional properties: Summing up, the comparison with the distribution of possessives in the contact dialects highlights the changes emerging in the possessives syntax of the Celle dialect:

- Albanian varieties show postnominal possessives introduced by a D element (Linker) agreeing with the definite inflected possessed noun; possessives precede kinship terms.

- In Albanian possessives require Linker in any context, including predicative and pronominal ones.

- In Southern Italian varieties possessives follow the noun preceded by the definite article; kinship terms require clitic possessive forms.

- Possessive require the article in all contexts, predicative and pronominal.

- Many Southern Italian varieties also present a possessive structure where the possessive element is introduced by the preposition *də* 'of', both within DPs and in predicative contexts.

4. Possessives in Franco-Provençal varieties

Franco-Provençal varieties document the somehow opposite distribution, in which possessives occur in prenominal position and exclude the determiner both in DPs and in predicative contexts, apart from the pronominal use. This distribution is illustrated by the data of some Franco-Provençal varieties spoken in Aosta Valley, Sarre in (16), and in Western Piedmont, Coazze (Susa Valley) in (17). In the Franco-Provençal dialect of Cantoira (Val Grande di Lanzo) in (18), possessives are preceded by the article, except with kinship terms. A similar distribution characterizes also Occitan dialects, such as the one of Acceglio (Western Piedmont), in (19) (for Occitan, see Oliviéri and Sauzet 2016). The data regarding Southern French varieties (Forez) presented in (20) attest the generalized occurrence of the prenominal possessive and the absence of the article. As shown by the data, at least in some dialects the occurrence of the article inside DPs is not totally excluded, but it may variably occur as in Sarre, as illustrated in (16c). The examples in (a) refer to the combination *possessive-common noun*, while the data in (b) to kinship terms.

(16)   a.   m-a   / s-a   tsəmizø
                1PSG-FSG/ 3PSG-FSG   shirt
                'my shirt.'
                m-ø/ s-ø   tsəmizø
                1PSG-FPL/ 3PSG-FPL   shirt
                'my shirts.'
                m-oŋ   / t-oŋ   livr-o
                1PSG-MSG   / 2PSG-MSG   book
                'my book.'
                m-ø   livr-o   / l-ø   mə-ŋ   livr-o
                1PSG-PL   books   / the-PL   1PSG-M   books
                'my books.'

b. t-oŋ   fri
   2PSG-MSG   brother
   'your brother.'
   t-ø   fri
   2PSG-MPL   brothers
   'your brothers.'
   t-a   si'au
   2PSG-FSG   sorella
   'your sister.'

b". nutro/ vutro fri
   1/2PPL   brother
   'our/your brother.'

c. l-o   m-əŋ / t-əŋ livr-o
   THE-MSG 1PSG-MSG/ 2PSG-MSG book
   'my/ your book.'

                    Sarre

(17) a. m-a   tʃamiz-i
     1PSG-FSG   shirt
     'my shirt.'
     m-un / t-uŋ   tʃiŋ
     1PSG-MSG/ 2PSG-MSG dog
     'my/ your dog.'
     mø-i / tø-i   tʃamiz-e / tʃiŋ
     1PSG-PL/2PSG-PL shirts/ dogs
     'my/ your shirts/ dogs.'

   b. t-a   / nɔht-a sə□rø
     2PSG-FSG   / 1PL-FSG sister
     'your/ our sister.'
     t-uŋ   / nɔht-u frare
     2PSG-MSG   / 1PPL-MSG brother
     'your/ our brother.'
     t-ø-i   sə'rɛ / frare
     2PSG-PL   sisters / brothers
     'your sisters/ brothers.'

                    Coazze

(18) a. l-a   mi-ˈa   tʃymiz-i
     the-FSG   PSG-FSG shirt-FSG
     'my shirt.'
     l-u   m-iŋ   tʃiŋ
     the-MSG   1PSG-MSG dog
     'my/ your dog.'
     əl mi-a-s   tʃymiz-ə-s
     the.FPL 1PSG-FPL shirt-FPL
     'my shirts.'
     l-i   m-je   amis
     the-MPL   1PSG-MPL friend
     'my friends.'

b.   m-iŋ   fij
1PSG-MSG   son
'my son.'
mi-ˈa   fiʎ-i
1PSG-FSG   daughter-FSG
'my daughter.'

Cantoira

(19)   a.   mi-ɔ   mizuŋ
1PSG-FSG   house
'my house.'
b.   (l-u)   ti-u   frair-e
the-MSG   2PSG-MSG   brother-MSG
'your brother.'
i   tie-s   fraire-s
the-MPL   2PSG-MPL   brother-MPL
'your brothers.'

Acceglio

(20)   *ma*   *mèson*
my   house
mon   *avoncllo*
my   uncle

(Escoffier online, v. 6)

(16'a) for Sarre, (17'a) for Coazze and (18'a) for Cantoira illustrate the predicative occurrence of simple possessives. The dialect of Sarre utilizes the combination *də+personal pronoun*, whereas the ones of Coazze and Cantoira present the possessive form without the article, as in the Occitan variety of Acceglio in (19'). All of the varieties show the pronominal occurrence of the possessive preceded by the article, both in copular and in argumental slots as in (16'b,c)-(18i,ii'b,c); (20') shows pronominal forms of the varieties spoken in Forez (Escoffier online) where pronominal alternants are preceded by the article.

(16')   a.   l   e   də me/ də te   / də ly
ClS   is   of me / of you / of his
'it is mine/ yours/ his.'
b.   l   e   l-o   m-əŋ   / t-əŋ
ClS   is   the-MSG   1PSG-MSG / 2PSG-MSG
'it is mine/ yours.'
c.   baʎʎə-me   l-o   m-əŋ   /   l-a mi-a
give-me   the-MSG   1PSG-MSG /   the-FSG-FSG
'give me mine.'

Sarre

(17') a.   u   εst   mε-l   / tɔ-l
             ClS   is   1PSG-MSG   / 2PSG-MSG
             'he/it   is   mine/ yours.'
             i   εst   tje
             ClS   is   2PSG.F
             'she is yours.'
             i   sunt   tø-i   /   tje
             ClS   are   2PSG-PL   /   2PSG.F
             'they are yours.'
       b.   a l   ε   l-u   mε-l   / l-i   miø-i   / l-a   mje
             ClS   is   the-MSG 1PSG-MSG / the-MSG 1PSG-MPL / the-FSG 1PSG-FSG
             'it is mine.'
       c.   da-me   l-a   tje   /l-u   tɔ-l
             give-me   the-FSG   2PSG-FSG /the-MSG   2PSG-MSG
             'give me yours.'
                                                                              Coazze

(18') a.   sit-a   i   z   mi-ˈa
             this-FSG ClS   is   1PSG-FSG
             'it is mine (fsg).'
             s-u si   ε   m-iŋ
             this-msg is   1PSG-MSG
             'she is yours.'
       b.   sit-a   i   z   l-a   mi-ˈa
             this-fsg ClS   is   the-FSG 1PSG-FSG
             'it is mine.'
       c.   da-me   l-u   m-iŋ
             give-me   the-MSG   1PSG-MSG
             'give me yours.'
                                                                              Cantoira

(19')   l   e   ti-u
             SCl.SG   is   your-MSG
             'it is yours.'
                                                                              Acceglio

(20') c.   *lo mino*   (Escoffier online, v. 6)
             the mine

In predicative contexts of Coazze dialect in (18'b) the combination *D+possessive* is introduced by the 3PSG of 'be' and an expletive subject clitic *a l*, occurring in impersonal and post-verbal subject constructions (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005).[4]

---

[4] The examples in (18'b) show the verb in the 3rd singular and the ClS *al*, displaying the particular agreement that characterizes constructions with post-verbal subject correlate with partial agreement, like *a j øt amny li mei□na* 'The boys came, lit. ClS Loc has come the boys', a type of syntax largely documented in Northern Italian dialects (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005: § 2.8). According to Manzini and Savoia the expletive nature of the ClS corresponds to the fact that

4.1. *The dialect of Celle*

The data from Celle in (21a) illustrates the possessives in postnominal positions with common nouns, (21b) the kinship terms with singular possessors and (21b') plural possessors, with 1st, 2nd, 3rd person forms in postnominal position, except the 2nd person form of respect. (21c) illustrates the predicative contexts where the possessive is lexicalized as a pronominal element preceded by the article. 3PL possessives are lexicalized by the same element as the singular; alternatively we find the postnominal form *laurə* and the article. 1PL and 2PL possessives are postnominal *notə/ votə* in turn combining with the article. The 2P is lexicalized also by the specialized alternant *vutuŋ, vuta, vutɔ, vutə*, which precedes the noun and excludes the article, as in (21b"); it occurs as a respect form regarding a singular interlocutor[5]. Prenominal *suŋ* can combine with postnominal *notə / laurə*, as in (21c), in kinship terms contexts. (21d) exemplifies the contexts where the noun is introduced by an indefinite element with postnominal possessive. (21e) and (21e') illustrate the pronominal constructions *D+possessive*, in predicative and argumental contexts. Finally, in (21f) possessive constructions with partitive introducer of the type considered in (13)-(14) for Morano and (16d) for Castelluccio are presented.

(21) a. l-u   / lɔ   tʃiŋŋə mi-ŋŋə / ti-ŋə / si-ŋŋə / notə   / votə   / laurə
          the-MSG / the-MPL   dog   1PSG-M / 2PSG-M / 3PSG-M/ 1PPL-M / 2PPL-M/ 3PPL-M
          'my / your / his / her / our / your / their dog / dogs.'
          l-a   tʃəmmis-a mi-'a   / ti-'a   / si-'a   // notə   / votə   / laurə
          the-FSG shirt-FSG   1PSG-FSG / 2PSG-FSG / 3PSG-FSG / 1PPL-FSG / 2PPL-FSG / 3PPL-FSG
          'my / your / his / her / our / your / their shirt.'
          l-ə tʃəmmisə mij-ə   / tij-ə   /sij-ə   / notə   / votə   / laurə
          the-fpl shirts 1PSG-FPL / 2PSG-FPL / 3PSG-FPL / 1PPL-FPL / 2PPL-FPL / 3PPL-FPL
          'my / your / his / her / our / your / their shirts.'
      b. m-a   / t-a   / s-a   sərawə / fiʎʎ-ə
          1PSG- FSG   / 2PSG-FSG   / 3PSG-FSG   sister/ daughter
          'my / your / her / his sister / daughter.'
          m-ə   / t-ə   / s-ə   fiʎʎə
          1PSG- FPL   / 2PSG- FPL   / 3PSG- FPL   daughters
          'my/ your/ her/his daughters.'
          m-uŋ   / t-uŋ   / s-uŋ   frarə/ fiawə
          1PSG-MSG   / 2PSG-MSG / 3PSG-MSG   brother/ son
          'my/ your/ her/his brother/son.'
          m-ɔ   / t-ɔ   / s-ɔ   frarə / fiawə
          1PSG- MPL   / 2PSG-MPL   / 3PSG-MPL   brothers / sons
          'my/your/her/his brothers/sons.'

---

in these constructions 'there is a more complete specification of the denotational content of the argument', i.e. the post-verbal subject. This special syntax is systematically associated with the focalized reading of the post-verbal subject; in other words, the partial agreement makes the structure operator-variable underlying focalized clauses manifest, in which the 3rd singular ClS/ verbal agreement lexicalizes a partial specification, in turn being completed for number by the correlate. As known, 1st and 2nd subjects, inherently deictic, do not allow this syntactic organization. Coming back to the examples of Coazze, we conclude that possessive pronouns in predicative contexts are treated as post-verbal subjects.

[5] In Franco-Provençal dialects 1PPL/2PP present a morphology which is analogical on the singular (Hasselrot 1938). Escoffier (online) gives the example *Noutron pâre* 'our father' for the Forez variety.

b'. l-ɔ   nnijə   no:tə / vo:tə / laurə
    the-MPL   grandchildren   1PPL/ 2PPL/ 3PPL
    'our/your/their grandchildren.'
    l-a   sərawa   nnotə/   votə / laurə
    the-FSG   sister   1PPL / 2PPL/ 3PPL
    'our/your/their sister.'

b". vut-uŋ   nijə   / frarə
    2PPL-MSG   grandchild / brother
    'your grandchild/brother.'
    vut-a   səraw-ə
    2PPL-FSG   sister
    'your sister.'

c. s-uŋ   pajə/fiawə   notə/laurə
    3PSG-MSG   father/son   1PPL/3PPL
    'our/ their   father/son.'

d. dʒ e   viawə   uŋ   fiawə   ti-ŋŋə   / n-a fiʎʎ-a ti-'a
    ClS have   seen   a   son   2PSG-MSG   / a daughter 2PSG-FSG
    'I have seen a son of yours/ a daughter of mine.'

e. s-a   tʃəmmis-a   i   ettə   l-a   mi'a   / l-a   votə
    this-FSG   shirt-FSG   ClS   is   the-FSG 1PSG-FSG / the-FSG 2PPL
    'this shirt is mine/ours.'
    s-i   livrə   i   ettə   l-u   ti-ŋŋə   / l-u notə
    this-MSG   book   ClS   is   the-MSG 2PSG-M / the-FSG 1PPL
    'this book is yours/ours.'

e'. denə-mə l-u   ti-ŋŋə   / l-ɔ   ti-ŋŋə / l-a   ti-'a   / l-ə   ti-jə
     give-me the-MSG 2PSG-M / the-MPL 2PSG-M / the-FSG 2PS-FSG / the-FPL 2PPL-FPL
    'give me yours.'

f. denə-mə uŋ livrə də l-u   ti-ŋŋə
    give-me a book of the-MSG 2PSG-M
    'give me a book of yours.'

Celle

As shown by the data we have reviewed in (21) contact with Apulian dialects has affect-ed the possessive system of the Franco-Provençal of Celle. In the Southern Italian systems, including the neighbouring North Apulian dialects, possessives follow the noun, in turn preceded by the definite article, which precedes the possessive element also in predicative/ pronominal occurrences. Enclitic 1PSG/ 2PSG / 3PSG forms characterize kinship terms. By contrast, Franco-Provençal and Occitan place possessives before the noun excluding definite article. In Apulian Franco-Provençal possessives have the same distribution of Southern Italian dialects both inside the DP sand in predicative contexts. However, kinship terms preserve the prenominal possessive. In the same way as the French-type varieties, prenominal possessives, for instance in the case of the first person forms present a specialized morphology, illustrated in (22a), which is different from the one associated with postnominal or predicative/ pro-nominal possessives, in (22b).

(22)			singular		plural	
a.	prenominal	m-uŋ	1PMSG	m-ɔ	1PMPL
		m-a	1PFSG	m-ə(s)	1PFPL
b.	postnominal/pronominal	mi-ŋŋə	1PMSG	mi-ŋŋə	1PMP
		mi-'a	1PFSG	mi-jə	1PFPL

Summing up, the comparison with the distribution of possessives in the contact dialects highlights the changes emerging in the possessives syntax of the Celle dialect:
- Contact has changed the distribution of possessives, favouring the postnominal position and the occurrence of the definite introducer in predicative contexts
- Kinship terms retain prenominal occurrence of singular possessors, selecting specialized forms, while plural possessors are expressed by postnominal forms, substantially like in Southern Italian dialects.
- The structure introduced by the preposition *də* 'of' appears in indefinite DPs, in (21f) and (13)/(16d), which is unknown to Gallo-Romance languages.

4.2. External mechanisms: A note

According to Favre (2010), the ability to use Franco-Provençal in Apulian colonies seems to concern two-thirds of the population notwithstanding the intense pressure of the contact varieties and the diffusion of Standard Italian.[6] It should be noted that the experimental teaching of Franco-Provençal in the primary school of Celle and Faeto lasted until 2007; successively the primary school classes were transferred to a neighbouring center, stopping, therefore, an important instrument for the heritage Franco-Provençal to be appreciated and estimated in the collective imaginary of this small community. Naturally, the preservation of an alloglot use for several centuries in a situation of contact with different morpho-syntactic, phonological and lexical systems involves code-switching and mixing processes and the production of mixed sentences and borrowings (Myers-Scotton 1992, Bakker and Muysken 1994). Indeed, Melillo (1959) notes that these varieties show a wide range of lexical bases of Apulian origin together with cases of syntactic hybridization or reorganization. In this framework, Apulian Franco-Provençal is characterized by an extended relexification in bilingualism conditions with local dialects and by processes of code-switching both with local dialects and regional Italian.

In the literature the acquisition of loans into a language is connected with functional generalizations, implicationally ordered like the one in (23), from Romaine (1995: 64).

(23) | **Hierarchy of borrowing** | **Ease of borrowing** |
|---|---|
| Lexical items | High |
| Derivational morphology | |
| Inflectional morphology | |
| Syntax | Low |

---

[6] A detailed analysis of phonological contact and lexical borrowing in Faeto variety is provided in Nagy (1996).

The tendency to prefer nouns is related by authors to the wider autonomy that nouns have in the discourse (Romaine 1995). On the contrary, verbs need to be integrated in the morpho-syntactic system of the host language. Another generalization concerns the fact that loan processes and interference would tend to spare the nuclear lexicon – nouns denoting body parts, numbers, personal pronouns, conjunctions, etc. (Romaine 1995, Muysken 2000), i.e. the lexicon precociously acquired, in turn revealing the crucial role played by genetically determined conceptual primitives. By contrast, artefacts involve properties like imageability and frequency of use of the relevant lexical elements, entailing external socio-cultural and pragmatic factors. Hence, cognitive fundamental categories of linguistic structure are relevant in driving the acquisition of borrowings.
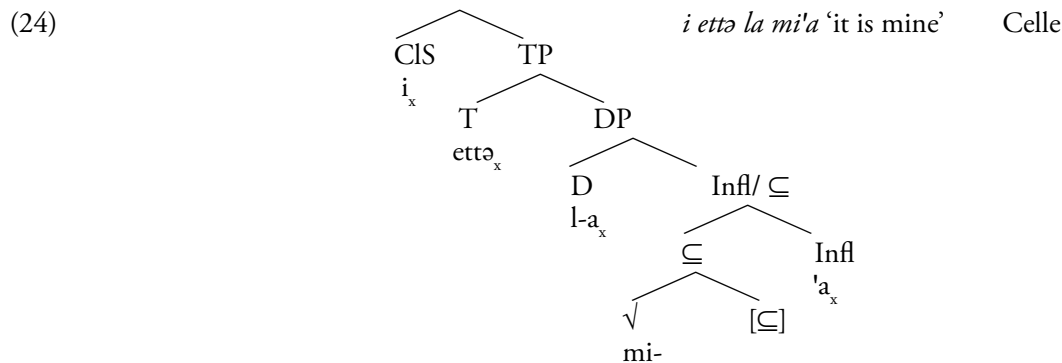
On the other hand, lexical borrowing is traditionally seen as the effect of external factors, pragmatic and cultural mechanisms, that do not directly involve the grammatical system. Nevertheless, empirical data shows that borrowed or re-interpreted items are able to trigger a new syntactic organization reflecting their semantic and syntactic properties. The point is that, as in other kinds of code-switching and bilingual contexts (Baldi and Savoia 2019), lexical borrowing and contact exclude non-natural results but operate in compliance with the constraints inherent to language as a specialized system of knowledge and its interface systems.

5. *The syntax of possessives*

In what follows we discuss some of the morpho-syntactic properties of possessives. The specialized alternants occurring with kinship terms and the contrast between singular and plural possessors involve the possessives ability to satisfy definiteness requirements in the DP. The ability of possessives to contribute to fixing denotation of the possessum by means of the referential content of possessor is, naturally, highlighted in the literature: thus possessive DPs can be interpreted as 'a function from individuals to individuals' of which the output is the individual denoted by the 'overall possessive DP' (Dobrovie-Sorin 2013: 327).
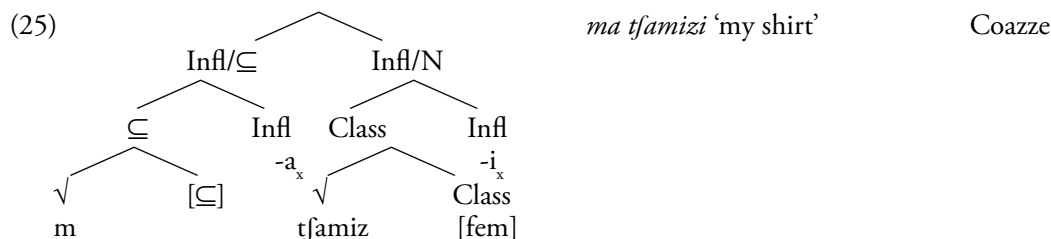
With this in mind, let us first consider possessives in the Southern varieties surrounding Celle and Faeto. The fact that possessives require the definite article possibly introduced by *di*, as in (21f), is noted by Rohlfs (1968 [1949]), Sornicola (1997), Ledgeway (2009). Ledgeway explains constructions with *di* in Old Neapolitan as deriving from an original partitive. However, currently these constructions do not induce the partitive reading. A crucial property that separates these constructions from partitives is the fact that the article and the inflection of possessive agree with the possessum, subject or the head noun in DP, differently from the partitives contexts proper. In copular contexts, Southern dialects prepose the definite article to possessive (cf. Ledgeway 2009 for Old Neapolitan). As a consequence, what shows up is that in all of these dialects possessives need to be combined with the determiner or the noun, i.e. a lexical content contributing to fixing the reference to possessor (Baldi and Savoia in press). Hence, the possessive element requires that agreeing properties are doubled also by the article, as confirmed by the fact that definite article occurs also within indefinite DPs in the dialects where it is preceded by the preposition *di*. As we saw, the structure introduced by *di* is borrowed by the variety of Celle limited to the indefinite contexts exemplified in (21f).

In copular contexts the dialect of Celle presents the postnominal forms illustrated in (22b) preceded by the article, analogously to the Franco-Provençal varieties in (17') and (18'), as in (24).

(24)

i ettə la mi'a 'it is mine'   Celle

```
            ClS         TP
            i_x
                   T         DP
                   ettə_x
                          D         Infl/ ⊆
                          l-a_x
                                 ⊆        Infl
                                          'a_x
                            √       [⊆]
                            mi-
```

We may suppose that the phrase *D-possessive-agreement inflection* externalizes the argumental structure of inclusion relation, whereby inflection, clitic subject and determiner identify the possessum, as in (24), i.e. the external argument of the predicative relation with the possessor. The Agreement inflection –*a* of the determiner *l-a* and possessive double the external argument of the possessive relation, the subject of the copular. More precisely, in these dialects article is required for definite interpretation of the possessive element to be lexicalized in all contexts, inside the DP and in pronominal/ predicative occurrences (cf. Baldi and Savoia in press). As to agreement, the analysis we adopt assumes agreement to establish an identity relation between argumental slots, i.e. between two (or more) clusters of referential features identifying the same referent. In our case, D and the possessive's inflection are involved. As seen in section 2, our approach assigns an interpretable content to the lexical material, including inflectional formatives (Manzini and Savoia 2015, 2018, Baldi and Savoia 2018).

In languages that insert possessives in prenominal position to the exclusion of the article, the referential content of the possessive element is sufficient to satisfy the definiteness properties generally associated with the article. According to the idea formulated in Savoia *et al.* (2019), generally, Romance languages included, D lexicalizes deictic/referential interpretations, frequently requiring specialized inflections or lexical elements. Thus, in many varieties possessives are able to lexicalize these special properties by inserting in prenominal position, in place of the element D, as in (25), or combining with the latter.

(25)

ma tʃamizi 'my shirt'   Coazze

```
        Infl/⊆              Infl/N
      ⊆      Infl      Class      Infl
             -a_x                 -i_x
     √    [⊆]      √         Class
     m          tʃamiz       [fem]
```

In fact, possessives introduce the deictic link to the participants in the speech act (1st/2nd person) or the usual definiteness specifications anaphoric to discourse in the 3rd person, so that in many languages this interpretive content is able to subsume D. Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011) argue for separating definiteness and person. In their treatment, the adjectival possessive deletes its uninterpretable [u+def] feature in the Spec, DP configuration. Ultimately, nevertheless, it is the task of the possessive to lexicalize definiteness once its feature is made interpretable. In other languages, the article is nevertheless necessary, such as in Italian and North Italian dialects, independently of possessives being in prenominal position.

In the Apulian Franco-Provençal prenominal possessives are retained only in conjunction with kinship nouns. As well known in the literature kinship nouns give rise to specialized constructions in many languages. An example is provided by Southern Italian dialects, that, along with Romanian, select enclitic possessives on kinship terms excluding definite article. In other varieties, such as Standard Italian, kinship terms exclude article when combining with possessives, as in Standard Italian at least for a sub-set of these terms. Syntactic solutions proposed in the generative literature connect the lack of article to the high position inside DP, substatially in D (cf. Longobardi 1995, 1996). This specifically applies to contexts where the kinship noun rules out or precedes the possessive, as in the case of the terms for *mother/ father* in some varieties, or, more generally, in the case of enclisis. According to Longobardi (1996) at least the cases like *casa mia* 'my house, lit. house my' or *mamma mia* 'my mother, lit. mum my', entails that the noun moves to D excluding article. Cardinaletti (1998), rather, associates the possessive with D, whereas the movement of the kinship term to D is assumed in correspondence of enclisis.

In all these proposals, such nouns favour a different distribution within the DP, which in Italian is visible at least if the kinship noun precedes the possessive element and excludes the article. Independently of the formal machinery, the crucial idea is that in these languages 'the lexical content of a kinship noun is sufficient to specify the reference to an individual, hence subsuming Definiteness properties, which with the other classes of nouns are lexicalized by the article' (Manzini and Savoia 2005: 721). We may think of the kinship terms as being relational in nature (Croft 1991, Dobrovie-Sorin 2013, Giusti 2016) and implying an inherent internal argument (a sort of possessor). These conclusions account for the enclisis on kinship terms in Southern Italian dialects, as in (26) (cf. (13b)), where the undersigned y and x indicate the two arguments of the relation introduced by the kinship term. In (26) its inherent referential properties allow the noun *sɔrə* 'sister' to lexicalize the definiteness properties of the DP. This explains why usually enclisis is restricted to singular nouns, as far as plural forms are not able to satisfy the required definiteness and specificity properties.
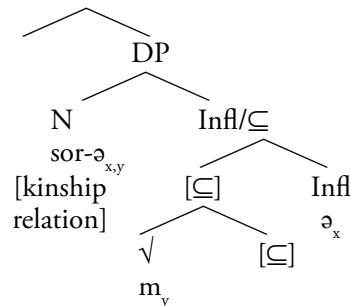
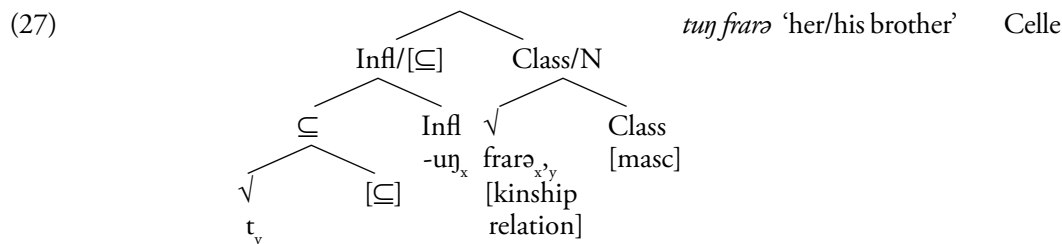(26)   Gravina
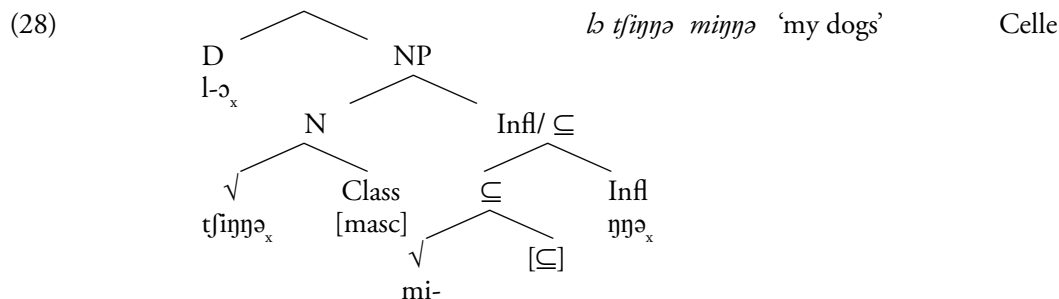

The left domain of noun in Romance varieties is occupied by different types of determiners, deictic elements and quantifiers contributing to identifying the individuals the DP refers to. Possessives may in turn occur in this position as far as the possessor they introduce is able to circumscribe the referent in relation to the participant in the discourse. This capability is exploited in languages where the possessive element is sufficient to externalize the definiteness properties of the DP alone. In the Franco-Provençal of Celle and Faeto this reading is limited to the kinship nouns. This restriction, as we saw, depends on the special meaning of these terms, inherently able to constrain the set of possible referents. It is of note that in the prenominal context the possessive form is different from the one occurring in postnominal position as well as from pronominal form. Four distinct agreement inflections emerge: *-uŋ* MSG, *-ɔ* MPL, *-a*

FSG, -ə FPL, corresponding to the endings of the definite article. This means that the referential properties introduced by the possessive are richer and more differentiated than the postnominal possessive forms, as in (27).

(27)

Infl/[⊑]   Class/N

⊑   Infl   √   Class
-uŋ$_x$ frarə$_{x,y}$ [masc]

√   [⊑]   [kinship
relation]

t$_y$

tuŋ frarə 'her/his brother'   Celle

A second distributional constraint is that plural possessor forms exclude the prenominal alternant, except for 2nd plural person, distinguishing both the postnominal and prenominal alternant. Actually, the latter has the same inflectional paradigm as the singular possessor forms, confirming that it lexicalizes the respect 2nd singular possessor form. In any case, in the Franco-Provençal dialects 1st/2nd person possessives with a morphology coinciding with the one of singular persons is attested (Hasselrot 1938). The dialect of Celle seems to preserve this morphology only in order to refer to a single recipient/possessor. The prenominal occurrence satisfies definiteness requirements only if it implies singular referents, included, therefore, the 2PPL of respect; on the contrary, the referential properties of plural possessors are not sufficient to subsume definiteness properties of the noun, so that we find the postnominal possessives in conjunction with the prenominal article.

In the other contexts possessives follow the noun preceded by the determiner, as in (28).

(28)

D   NP
l-ɔ$_x$
N   Infl/ ⊑

√   Class   ⊑   Infl
tʃiŋŋə$_x$ [masc]   ŋŋə$_x$

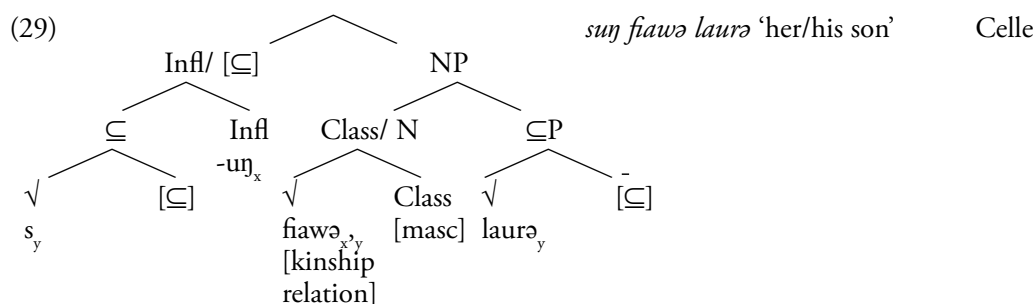√   [⊑]

mi-

lɔ tʃiŋŋə miŋŋə 'my dogs'   Celle

The comparison between (26) and (27) highlights allows us to better understand the reordering mechanism underlying the contrast between pre- and postnominal position of possessives. Let us come back to (6), repeated here, schematizing the possession relation:

(6)   [*possessum*] [$_{P/Oblique}$ ⊑ [*possessor*]][7]

---

[7] Chomsky *et al.* (2019: 243) point out that surface order is the result of mapping syntactic objects constructed in narrow syntax to phonetic interface, the externalization. Although 'linear order plausibly plays no role in the syntactic and semantic processes […] EXT is necessarily much more complex than the mapping to SEM, in that hierarchical objects must be translated into an altogether distinct, sequential format'. We can expect regularities in the correspondence between syntactic and interpretative properties and surface order in different languages, as generally highlighted in typological studies. In the case of predicative structures we know that in many Romance languages the right position is associated with the internal argument, the new information.

Substantially, what appears is that the postnominal occurrence of possessives externalize the argumental structure of inclusion by aligning the possessee as the external argument outside of the possessor phrase, as in (26). The reverse order, i.e. prenominal order, where the possessor precedes the possessum can be connected with the referential scope of possessor. Indeed, possessives are able to behave like determiners. According to Chierchia (1997), determiners like the definite article denotes a sub-set including only one individual in the circumstances of emission of the sentence, whereby determinative article denotes 'the relation *be a sub-set of*, but restricted to singletons for the first relatum [possessum]' (Chierchia 1997: 78). We could extend this interpretation to the possessive as far as it contributes to identifying the referent. In this perspective, the referential force of possessives accounts for both the alternation with determiners and their distribution in the DP. Interestingly, this analysis seems to be confirmed by the fact that with kinship terms the possessive of 3rd singular *suŋ/sa* can occur in place of the definite determiner doubling the postnominal plural persons possessives, as illustrated by structures like *suŋ fiawǝ notǝ/ laurǝ* 'our/ their son' in (29).

(29)   *suŋ fiawǝ laurǝ* 'her/his son'   Celle

Infl/ [⊆]   NP

⊆   Infl   Class/ N   ⊆P
         -uŋ$_x$

√   [⊆]   √   Class   √ $^-$[⊆]
s$_y$ fiawǝ$_{x',y}$ [masc]   laurǝ$_y$
                       [kinship
   relation]

As the result, the prenominal possessive externalizes the scope of determiner while the postnominal one introduces the person of the possessor.

All of varieties require determiner to be realized if the possessed noun is absent, giving rise to pronominal-type occurrences. Our analysis of the combination *D+possessive*, as *(da-me) lu tɔl* 'give me yours' Coazze (cf. (18'c)) or, naturally, *(denǝ-mǝ) lu tiŋŋǝ* 'give me yours' for Celle in (21e'), replicates the representation in (24), as in (30). Our idea is that no silent or empty noun is present, but agreement features are able to introduce the reference to the possessed argument, as, after all, they do also inside DP with lexicalized Ns, where determiner, alone or together with the gender/number inflection of the noun, fixes the reference (in this case, to the possessum).

(30)   Coazze/ Celle

D   Infl/ [⊆]
l-u$_x$

          ⊆   Infl
                     l$_x$ / ŋŋǝ$_x$

√   [⊆]
tɔ- / ti-
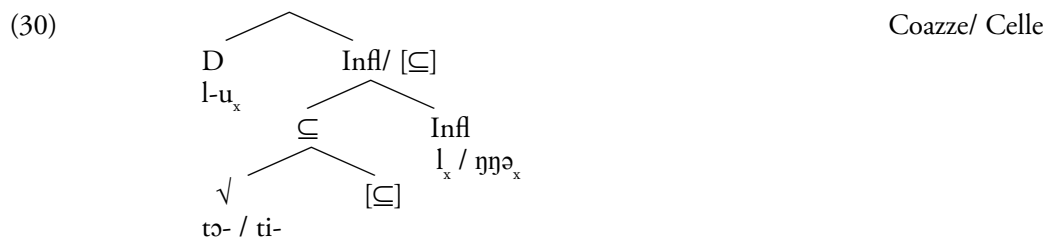
In other words, possessives may dispense with the article only if the possessum is independently lexicalized, included the verbal inflection of the copula. Let us briefly dwell on the latter context, where in many Romance varieties, possessive can occur without the article, as in (31) for Coazze.

(31)   *u ɛst tɔ*-l 'it is yours'   Coazze

ClS   TP
u$_x$

T   Infl/⊆
ɛst$_x$

⊆   Infl
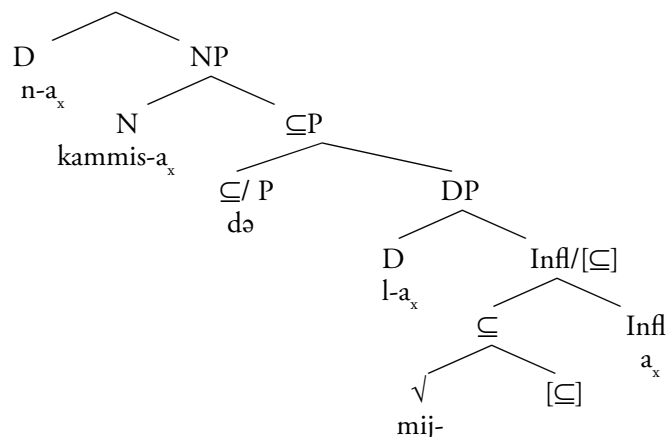l$_x$

√   [⊆]

tɔ-
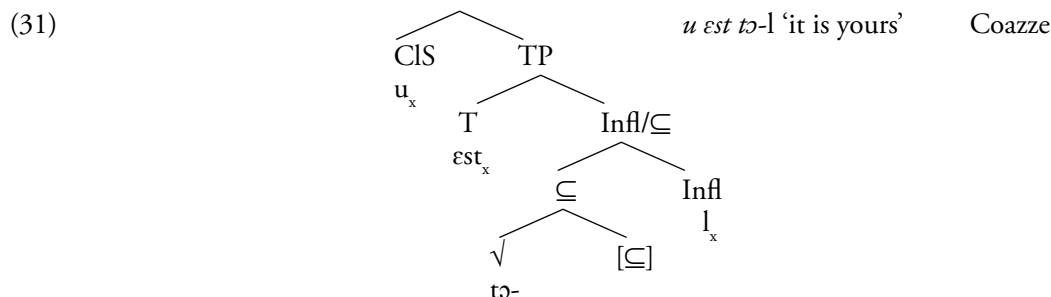
Hence, Italian and in general Northern Italian dialects admit structures as (31), where the possessum is lexicalized as the subject of the copular clause. Southern Italian dialects, including Apulian Franco-Provençal, exclude this type of structures where the possessum is not independently lexicalized, at least by the determiner. Similarly, we saw that also Albanian possessive generally require a definite introducer. There are languages, such as French and other Franco-Provençal dialects, which select the prepositional phrase *of+person pronoun* in copular contexts, as *l e də me* 'it is mine' in (17'a) for Sarre. This matter is worth briefly discussing. In the terms of Cardinaletti (1998) a possessive occurring alone in copular contexts realizes a strong form, namely a form endowed with the entire functional structure. As made clear, we find inadequate the treatment of syncretism, whereby one form, i.e. the possessive, is associated with separate lexical entries according to their distribution. On the contrary, the fact that possessives can occur in predicative contexts without being introduced by the determiner simply confirms that inflectional properties of possessives are sufficient in many languages for the possessum to be fully identified and the possession relation correctly lexicalized. This does not exclude that the same form can co-occur with the determiner, so inducing the doubling of the possessum inflection. Some languages, like Southern Italian dialects obligatorily require the latter solution; others admit both, like Italian, but with slightly different interpretations between *questo è mio* and *questo è il mio* 'this is mine'.

As a last point, we consider the structures in (21f) for Celle, (15a) for Morano and (14d) for Castelluccio, where the preposition *di* 'of' introduces the string *D-possessive* with agreement with the possessum. By analogy with the analysis of other types of linker in different languages, such as Albanian and Indo-Arian ones (Manzini and Savoia 2014, 2015, 2018, Franco *et al.* 2015), we identify *di* with a type of linker that independently lexicalizes the possessive relation, doubling the interpretive content of the possessive element (Baldi and Savoia in press), as in (32).[8]

[8] In treating pseudopartitives introduced by the preposition di/de 'of' in Italian and French, Manzini (2019) suggests that in these contexts the preposition does not embed the DP, as in usual PPs, but is inserted inside the DP and the probe is the case feature K of DP. This analysis could be extended to di introducing possessives. Our idea is that syncretisms are preferably analysed by assuming the same category. If the question is agreement, we only note that no Phase boundary separates the noun and the PP introduced by *di*.

(32)   Castelluccio

```
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
              D                     NP
            n-a_x            ┌───────┴───────┐
                            N              ⊆P
                         kammis-a_x    ┌─────┴──────────┐
                                      ⊆/ P            DP
                                       də        ┌─────┴─────────┐
                                                 D           Infl/[⊆]
                                                l-a_x      ┌────┴─────┐
                                                           ⊆         Infl
                                                        ┌──┴──┐       a_x
                                                        √    [⊆]
                                                       mij-
```

The variety of Celle borrows this particular structure from contact dialects, limited to DP internal contexts with indefinite quantification (cf. Baldi and Savoia in press).

Summing up the points of our analysis, we note what follows:

- In many languages possessives require an independent lexicalization of the agreement properties of the possessum by means of a D element (Linker).

- More generally, possessives favour or trigger a definite or, at least, specific reading of the possessum, insofar as the possessor is able to fix the referential properties of the possessed argument, substantially circumscribing the set of individuals that can be referred to.

- Some languages (may) require a possessive preposition of the kind of 'of' that independently lexicalizes the possessive relation.

- By virtue of their interpretive properties, possessives can subsume the deictic/referential force of determiners, so that in many languages possessives and articles are incompatible when the possessed noun is present. If the possessum is a kinship term, this type of syntax is favoured.

5.1. *Possessives in vocatives*

Responding to the suggestion of an anonymous reviewer, we have briefly explored the combination of possessives and nouns in vocative contexts, i.e. in contexts where the nominal expression is not an argument of the verb in a sentence. Hill (2007) analyses vocatives as implying a predicative relation involving the two participants to Speech Act, Speaker and Hearer/Addressee. These are identified with the pragmatic-roles assigned by the Speech Act head. Specifically, the crucial property of vocatives is their deictic force, i.e., descriptively, the featural specifications that define the vocative phrase functional head (Espinal 2013, Hill 2013). Although with differences, in Espinal (2013) and in Hill (2013), 2nd person pronouns or nominal expressions identifying the addressee are licensed by the head, eventually combined with a vocative particle. It is of note that possessive expressions require anyway, both in Southern Italian type dialects and in Franco-Provençal ones, the postnominal occurrence of possessive, as exemplified in (33).

(33)   i.   fiawə   mi-ŋŋə / fiʎʎə mi-ˈa,   ando tə va?
               son   my   / daughter my,   where you go
               'My son/ my daughter where do you go?'

                                                         Celle

ii.   fɨɟɟə   mi,   vinə   ddo
   son   my,   come   here
   'My son, come here!'

iii.   aɟɟə   vistə   a   ffɨɟɟə-mə
   I.have   seen   at   son-my
   'I have seen my son.'

<div align="right">Gravina</div>

iv.   fij miŋ/ fiʎ-i mi-ˈa,   kɔza t fɛi ?
   son my/ daughter my, what you make?
   'my son/ my daughter, what do you make?'

<div align="right">Cantoira</div>

The reordering with respect to noun involves also Albanian possessives in combination with kinship terms. In (10b') for the Arbëresh of San Costantino, when serving as arguments in a sentence, kinship terms are preceded by the possessive element. On the contrary, in vocative contexts, the noun precedes the possessive and is endowed with the definite inflection, like in the case of common nouns, as illustrated in (34).

(34)   ku   vɛtɛ?   (ti)   vla-u   i-m   / mɔtr-a   i-m-ɛ!
   where   you.go   you   brother-MSG   OBL-1PS / daughter-FSG   OBL-1PS-FSG
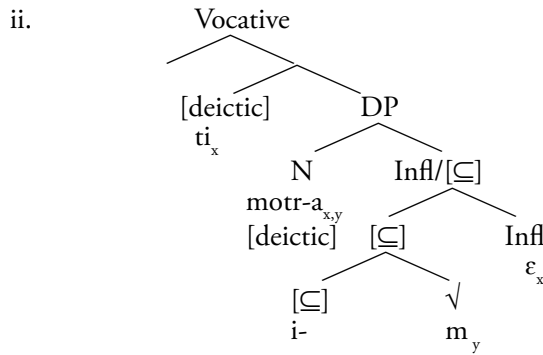   'my brother/ my daughter, where are you going?'

<div align="right">San Costantino</div>

Taking into account the proposals of Hill (2013) and Espinal (2013), in vocatives the deictic property of the head requires to be externalized by the lexical element pragmatically associated with addressee, as in (35i), possibly combining with the 2nd person pronoun, as in (35ii) (cf. Espinal 2013). Deictic interpretation characterizes the noun and, naturally, other addressee's markers. In the case of kinship terms as in (33)-(34), the relational between the speaker and the addressee, as in (35), is exploited by the pragmatic role assignment implemented by vocatives.

(35)   i.

<div align="right">Celle</div>

ii.

Vocative
├── [deictic]
│   ti$_x$
└── DP
     ├── N
     │   motr-a$_{x,y}$
     │   [deictic]
     └── Infl/[⊆]
          ├── [⊆]
          │   ├── [⊆]
          │   │   i-
          │   └── √
          │   m$_y$
          └── Infl
               ε$_x$

San Costantino

Possessives are located after the noun, irrespective of the fact that argumental DPs require prenominal or postnominal position. In Southern Italian dialects with enclisis on kinship terms, as in (34iii), in vocatives the non-clitic postnominal form occurs, as in the (34ii). Similarly, in varieties with prenominal possessives with kinship terms, in vocatives the possessive element follows the noun. Our proposal was that the postnominal order brings out the part-whole relation between possessee, as the external argument, and possessor (see discussion around (28)). In the varieties with postnominal occurrence, the noun is able to fix the reference, generally combining with the article. In vocatives, the noun subsumes the deictic force associated with the pragmatic interpretation induced by the vocative context insofar as it lexicalizes the addressee (Hill 2007, 2013). The result is that possessive is not preminent in fixing definiteness and specificity properties of the DP, as they are satisfied by the vocative noun. Not by chance, possessive is in the usual position in which it occurs if referential features are independently lexicalized by noun and/or determiner. All in all, the close connection between the mutual distribution of noun and possessive, on the one hand, and the lexicalization of referential content, on the other, appears to be confirmed. Generally, the scope position of possessive islinked to subsuming definiteness and specificity properties.

6. Concluding remarks

The ability of possessives to contribute to fixing denotation of the possessum by means of the referential content of possessor is, as we saw, highlighted in the literature (Dobrovie-Sorin 2013: 327). Possessives cross-linguistically are often in complementary distribution with Ds. In other words, they can subsume the definiteness properties of D. In keeping with Manzini *et al.* in press: 199 (cf. references contained here) we see that D as the referential category of the DP (and Phase head) is expected to externalize definiteness properties (gender and number) as generally in Romance languages, as in (36) (assuming DP to be a Phase).

(36)   If φ-feature (set) F is externalized at phase XP, it is externalized on phase head X.

Actually, the implementation of (36) may involve different externalizations of inflectional properties and different distributions inside the DP. Specifically, we are induced to conclude that possessives are a sort of instantiation of D. In this conceptual framework, we can relate the complementary distribution of D and possessive on the basis of an Externalization Parameter (cf. Manzini et al. in press: 193) depending on whether possessive is able to subsume (a sub-set of) the φ-features associated with D and specifying possessum, giving rise to the asymmetry between possessive vs. non-possessive DPs, as in (37):

(37)   Externalization parameter:
        φ-features externalized   (i) uniformly (on D and possessive)
                                   (ii) on possessive
                                   (iii) on D with uninflected possessive (typically in enclisis)

In the case of kinship terms, we must think that their referential properties favour or force a specialized externalization of D, whereby either possessive or possessive+N subsume the definiteness content. Southern Italian dialects (like Standard Italian) select (37i), while Franco-Provençal varieties (like French) select (37ii). Finally, some Romance varieties admit also (37iii) showing proclitic or enclitic possessive forms which do not agree for number and/or gender (Manzini and Savoia 2005). Interestingly, this possibility is not connected with the presence of article, but may characterize both systems with complementary distribution and systems which combine article and possessive. As to different orders between pre-nominal and post-nominal position, we concluded that they reflect different ways to linearize the argumental structure of inclusion, as discussed around (28).

We see that the change due to contact with Apulian varieties in Franco-Provençal of Celle is in tune with the idea that linguistic variation is not arbitrary bur obeys the general design of the language faculty. Specifically, we take a weak approach to parameterization, whereby parameters are nothing but 'categorial splits', for instance, as in the case of Celle, the externalization of nominal properties:

the proposal we are putting forward is that lexicons are merely ways of partitioning an abstract categorial space […] Let us assume that there is a universal inventory of concepts, and that the lexicon represents a way of realizing it. (Manzini and Savoia 2011: 7, 8)

We see that the conceptual forces shaping the new system of Celle are inspired by categorial properties regarding the nominal domain: (differential) lexicalization of the φ-features of DP, 1st/2nd/3rd singular vs plural, kinship terms vs other nouns, externalization order.

The crucial notion for the analysis of possessives we have proposed, is the inclusion relation between possessum and possessor, understood as the interpretive property underlying any possessive structure. This relation is lexicalized in more ways in the Romance linguistic domain; specifically, in the Franco-Provençal of Celle, the contact with Apulian surrounding dialects has favoured a system including both pre- and postnominal possessives distributed on the base of the referential properties of the possessed noun. Actually, the distribution of possessives in the Franco-Provençal of Celle not only reflects the Apulian systems but introduces a new rule, whereby the original prenominal possessive is preserved with kinship terms. This split is absent in the original system and, however, is implemented differently from the enclisis attested in Southern varieties. Our conclusion is that the transfer from contact dialects and the reorganization of the system of Celle reshape the morpho-syntax of possessives strictly reflecting conceptual properties and structural principles in the range of the basic properties of the language faculty.

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