

On the border between hypotaxis and parataxis: Assessing the status of pseudo-coordination in Apulian varieties

Abstract: This article provides an overview of the geographical distribution and morphosyntactic properties of two Apulian aspectual periphrases, formed by auxiliaries *STAND/GO* (V_1) and the lexical verb (V_2). In particular, the focus lies on the morphosyntactic expression of the Apulo-Barese ‘hybrid’ periphrastic paradigms, in which the infinitival V_2 alternates with an inflected V_2 only in certain grammatical persons of the present indicative and imperative *STAND/GO*-periphrases. Previous work has mostly concentrated on the Salentino-speaking area on account of the peculiar periphrastic structure involving exclusively (pseudo-)coordination/parataxis: while *STAND/GO* remains largely invariable, only the lexical V_2 carries person-agreement features and TAM-specifications. At the border with the Apulo-Barese speaking area, however, there is evidence of a transitional area where paratactic and hypotactic structures meet and overlap, giving rise to such ‘hybrid’ periphrastic conjugations. To shed light on the nature and status of such ‘hybrid’ patterns, the distribution of infinitival- V_2 vs inflected- V_2 forms is tackled from a micro-diachronic and comparative perspective. More specifically, the ‘hybrid’ periphrastic pattern with the least inflected V_2 paradigmatic cells (2SG-3SG of the present indicative), attested in central Apulo-Barese, appears more resistant to change than the pattern with the inflected V_2 in the 1SG-2SG-3SG-3PL persons, found in part of southern Apulo-Barese varieties. This resistance could be ascribed to syncretism and analogical processes among the forms of the present indicative, infinitive, and imperative.

Key-words: aspectual periphrases, pseudo-coordination, hybrid periphrastic pattern, Apulian varieties

Titolo: Al confine fra ipotassi e paratassi: perifrasi aspettuali e pseudo-coordinazione nelle varietà linguistiche della Puglia

Riassunto: Questo contributo fornisce una panoramica della distribuzione geografica e delle proprietà morfosintattiche di due perifrasi aspettuali pugliesi, formate dagli ausiliari *stare/andare* (V_1) e il verbo lessicale (V_2). Nello specifico, ci si sofferma sull’espressione morfosintattica di coniugazioni perifrastiche “ibride” dell’area apulo-barese, nelle quali il V_2 all’infinito alterna con un V_2 flesso soltanto in determinate persone grammaticali del presente indicativo e dell’imperativo. Precedenti lavori sull’argomento si sono concentrati in particolare sull’area linguistica salentina per via della sola presenza di strutture perifrastiche di tipo (pseudo-)coordinativo/paratattico, in cui V_2 rimane l’unico veicolo di espressione dei tratti di accordo di persona e delle specificazioni tempo-aspettuali e modali, mentre la forma di *stare/andare* presenta evidenti segni di erosione morfofonologica. Al confine con l’area apulo-barese si rileva una zona di transizione nella quale confluiscono e si sovrappongono le espressioni perifrastiche di tipo (pseudo-)paratattico e ipotattico, con complemento infinitivale, dando luogo alle suddette coniugazioni “ibride”. La distribuzione di forme flesse e infinitivali del V_2 in Puglia viene discussa in prospettiva micro-diacronica e comparativa. In particolare, la coniugazione perifrastica “ibrida” con il minor numero di forme flesse del V_2 (2SG-3SG del presente indicativo)

* Universität Hamburg; email: luigi.andriani@uni-hamburg.de

dell'area apulo-barese centrale rivela maggiore resistenza al cambio rispetto alla coniugazione “ibrida” che presenta il V_2 alle persone 1SG-2SG-3SG-3PL, attestata in parte dell'area apulo-barese meridionale. Tale resistenza potrebbe essere dovuta a una concatenazione di sincretismi e analogie tra le forme del presente indicativo, infinito e imperativo.

Parole chiave: perifrasi aspettuali, pseudo-coordinazione, coniugazione perifrastica mista, varietà pugliesi.

1. Introduction

The expression of complex predicates involving reflexes of Latin STARE/(*J)IRE/VENIRE ‘STAND/GO/COME’ in the varieties of Puglia/Apulia has been discussed since Ascoli's (1896, 1901) work on the origin and distribution of the pan-Italo-Romance GO-imperatives of the type *vattel-a-ppesca* ‘go figure’. This configuration (1d), allowed only in certain conjugations across Italo-Romance varieties, can alternate with three other strategies: the canonical hypotactic structure with an infinitival complement (1a), asyndetic coordination (1b), and ET-coordination (1c):

1)	a.	<i>va</i>	<i>a</i> (D)	<i>[kk]iamare</i>	hypotaxis
	b.	<i>va</i>	<i>–, –</i>	<i>[k]iama</i>	parataxis
	c.	<i>va</i>	<i>e</i> (T)	<i>[kk]iama</i>	
	d.	<i>va</i>	<i>a</i> (C)	<i>[kk]iama</i>	

Ascoli proposes that the strategy in (1d) can be traced back to Latin imperatives with motion verbs, where the unexpected element *a* derives from the coordinator AC (< ATQUE; see Nocentini 2010 for a series of critiques to this proposal). In his discussion, Ascoli also includes data from extreme-southern Italo-Romance varieties where this syntactic type is much more widespread than elsewhere in the peninsula, as it occurs in non-imperative contexts and is generalised to all cells of the periphrastic paradigm of GO and other ‘position’/motion verbs, i.e. STAND/COME, as well as other types of verbs selecting lexical predicates depending on the variety. Since then, several studies¹ have focused on the origin, distribution, and properties of this peculiar southern Italo-Romance areal phenomenon.

¹ See Rohlfs 1969; Fanciullo 1976; Sornicola 1976; Cox 1982; Loporcaro 1988, § 237, 2021; Ledgeway 1997, 2000, 2016b, 2020; Giusti, Cardinaletti 2001, 2003, 2020; Amenta, Strudsholm 2002; Manzini, Savoia 2005 (M&S henceforth); Modena 2010; Sorrisi 2010; Urgese 2011; Cruschina 2013, 2022a-b; Di Caro, Giusti 2015, 2019; Andriani 2017, ch. 5; Manzini *et al.* 2017; Di Caro 2019; Lorusso 2019; Cardullo 2023.

In this contribution we consider a wide array of understudied upper-southern and extreme-southern Italo-Romance varieties (USIDs and ESIDs, respectively) of Apulia and focus on cases of coexistence and alternation of inflected and infinitival complements with these functional verbs. In particular, the morpho-phonological shape and syntactic properties of the two aspectual periphrases in (2a)-(2b), the elements of which are introduced individually in (2c), display different degrees of morphosyntactic “syntheticity” across the different varieties:

- 2)
- | | | | |
|------------------|-------|------|-----------------|
| | V_1 | LKR | V_2 |
| a. “progressive” | STAND | (to) | $V_{[-FINITE]}$ |
| | STAND | (&) | $V_{[+FINITE]}$ |
| b. “andative” | GO | to | $V_{[-FINITE]}$ |
| | GO | (&) | $V_{[+FINITE]}$ |
- c. V_1 : first functional conjunct, STAND/GO(/COME), subject to differing degrees of morpho-phonetic erosion/re-syllabification with the LKR;
LKR: “linker”, either from the non-finite subordinator AD ‘to’ (1a), or coordinations ET/AC ‘and’ (1c)-(1d), no longer visible in southern-most varieties but through *raddoppiamento fonosintattico* (RF) of the following consonant, and absent in asyndetic imperatives (1b);
 V_2 : second lexical conjunct, in either inflected or infinitival form (henceforth, FIN- V_2 vs INF- V_2 , respectively) depending on context of occurrence and variety.

The aspectual labels in (2a)-(2b) are in inverted commas because these periphrases express a much broader range of functional values, which have also grammaticalized over time (except if new structures were “recruited” to specialise for certain values). The “progressive” label actually includes a broad range of imperfective readings, i.e. progressive, durative, habitual, as well as a futural value (Bertinetto, Squartini 2016 and references therein). Indeed, this periphrasis has been taking over the aspectual values expressed by the present tense (Fanciullo 1976). The “andative” label refers to the fact that there is movement prior to the unfolding of the action (Dixon 1977, p. 219). The (semi-)lexical meaning is indeed the most basic one, but this periphrasis can also express inchoative and prospective values, i.e. movement on the time axis; however, Apulian varieties show little to no evidence of the Ibero-Romance intentional future reading, which is instead expressed by the “progressive” or the deontic periphrasis (HAVE-TO).

While this study mainly focuses on the Apulo-Barese speaking area (§ 2.2-2.5), we will also include novel data from other areas of Apulia to better understand the general picture and identify the relative isoglosses present across the administrative region of Apulia. We first discuss the full paradigms of FIN- V_2 in Salento (§ 2.1) and then gradually proceed northwards, where N-Apulian varieties show coexistence of finite and infinitival strategies to different extents, and the former appears in a more limited fashion. Sections § 2.3-2.4 present an overview of these "hybrid" paradigms in which FIN- V_2 forms only survive in a handful of grammatical persons of the periphrastic present (and imperative), while INF- V_2 surfaces in the rest of the paradigmatic cells. Here, the border between subordination and pseudo-coordination becomes even more blurred by syncretism and analogical levelling across verb forms. By scrutinizing these data, we achieve a fairly accurate overview of the distribution of strategies across different varieties, and identify and discuss the micro-diachronic changes (or lack thereof) that may be due to the co-existence of multiple strategies.

2. *Patterns of variation*

2.1. *Salentino*

The STAND/GO-periphrases in Salentino have been discussed in relation to the characteristic Balkan-style "unpopularity", i.e. historical loss, of infinitival complements (Rohlf's 1980, pp. 54-56; *i.a.*; however, infinitives are employed in a limited fashion; see Ledgeway 2016b). Indeed, northern (N), central (C), and southern (S) Salentino all show full periphrastic paradigms of FIN- V_2 forms in STAND/GO periphrases². V_2 is the only periphrastic element carrying agreement information, whereas the STAND/GO forms and LKR underwent drastic morpho-phonological erosion and became invariable free aspectual morphemes (M&S 2005, I.691-692; Ledgeway 2016a, p. 1028, 2016b):

² These structures occur with a wider range of predicates in Sicily, while in Apulian varieties this list is limited to STAND/GO periphrases, and more rarely COME and WANT – the latter only in an area within the provinces of Brindisi and Taranto; see Fanciullo 1976; M&S 2005; Urgese 2011.

Table 1 - STAND-present/past.

Present	Nardò: 'do'
1s	sta 'ffat̪su
2s	sta 'ffat̪i
3s	sta 'ffat̪e
1p	sta ffa't̪imu
2p	sta ffa't̪iti
3p	sta 'ffannu
Past	
1s	sta ffa't̪ia
2s	sta ffa't̪ii
3s	sta ffa't̪ia
1p	sta ffa't̪iamu
2p	sta ffa't̪ii
3p	sta ffa't̪ianu

Table 2 - GO-present/past.

Present	Nardò: 'do'
1s	va 'ffat̪su
2s	va 'ffat̪i
3s	va 'ffat̪e
1p	fa ffa't̪imu
2p	fa ffa't̪iti
3p	va 'ffannu
Past	
1s	fa ffa't̪ia
2s	fa ffa't̪ii
3s	fa ffa't̪ia
1p	fa ffa't̪iamu
2p	fa ffa't̪ii
3p	fa ffa't̪ianu

Additionally, Salentino can exploit dedicated invariable aspectual markers in compound tenses by juxtaposing a reduced participial GO-form **fu/fi** (C-S- vs N-Salentino) to the participle of the lexical V_2 , e.g. ['add̪ʒu **fu** kkar'tatu lu 'mjeru] 'I have gone buy (lit. bought) wine' (Loporcaro 2021, p. 146).

Aside from these well-known patterns, little attention has been devoted to the peculiar invariable progressive marker in S-Salentino of the Capo di Leuca: the free aspectual morpheme *aci* [atʃi] ‘STAND’, exemplified in (3)-(4) for the variety of Tiggiano (LE) from Margiotta’s “il dialetto tiggianese” (www.comune.tiggiano.le.it):

- 3) a. 'kwanti fa'mattsi **atʃi** 'fattsu
 ‘I’m yawning so much’
 b. **atʃi** 'fatʃi skoma'redʒu
 ‘you’re making foam’
 c. **atʃi** 'fatʃe akkwa'nive
 ‘it’s raining sleet’
 d. e 'rape **atʃi** 'fervene ɲtʃa far'sura
 ‘broccoli rabe are cooking in the pan’

The VDS retraces its origin from invariable *staci* ‘STAND’³, and both forms do not trigger RF. In line with other S-Salentino varieties, clitic(-cluster)s can intervene between *aci* and V_2 :

- 4) 'atʃi s=u= 'mantʃa 'l asima
 STAND self=it= eats the asthma
 ‘asthma is hitting him hard’

This represents another relevant syntactic isogloss distinguishing these varieties from those further north, where there is obligatory clitic climbing to the proclitic position of the V_1 , rather than interpolation as in (4).

It is perhaps not surprising that the common pattern discussed for Salentino varieties is found in the former (and current) Greek-speaking southern Italy and fades away the more to the north one moves, where infinitival complements become the norm (§ 2.3-2.5). In this respect, it is instructive to observe the behaviour of Griko varieties, which show a much wider range of hypotactic and paratactic strategies for the expression of progres-

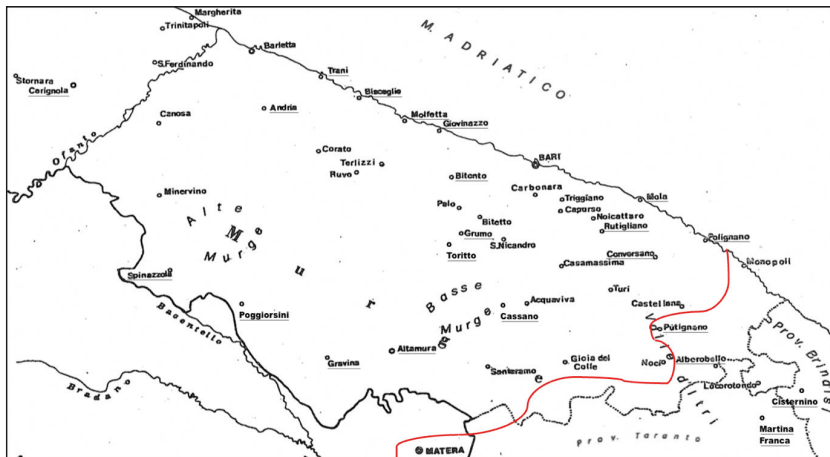
³ In the VDS, *staci* is attested along the line Castro (765) - Miggianno/Spongano (218) - Taurisano/Presicce (768) - Salve (218). The VDS deems *staci* to be analogically modelled on *face* (*sta(e)* + *face*), as attested in Calabrian, earlier Neapolitan (Rohlf 1968, p. 277), as well as Lucanian and Apulian varieties, e.g. Gravina [dʒʃə] ‘gives’. However, at least in Tiggiano, *-ci* only occurs in the periphrastic context under scrutiny, while the lexical counterpart presents the paragogic *-ne*, e.g. *sta-ne/va-ne* ‘stands/goes’. Although this is beyond our concern, an alternative proposal may be that (*st*)*a-ci* proceeds from invariable *sta* + Griko conjunction *ce* (5); a development from Romance relative *ci* ‘which/who(m)’ should be excluded, since *ci* is not a clausal complementiser and can only modify nominal elements.

sive/imperfective (Ledgeway *et al.* 2018, p. 184). Among the many that exist, some strategies involve pseudo-coordination:

- 5) STAND (&) FIN- V_2
 i. stɛ-**o**_[1s] tʃɛ
 ii. stɛ tʃɛ
 iii. stɛ

Not only do Griko varieties show the same pattern discussed for most Salentino STAND-periphrases (5.iii), but they also provide evidence for all stages of morpho-phonological erosion of STAND and concomitant loss of [tʃɛ] ‘and’. Despite retaining FIN- V_2 , Tarantino and S-Apulo-Barese varieties (§ 2.2) do not display such degrees of morphological impoverishment.

2.2. Transitional varieties



Map 1 - (Adapted from Valente 1975).

In the transitional area where administrative provinces (BA, BR, TA, MT), historical territories (*Terra di Bari* vs *d'Otranto*), and linguistic families (USIDs vs ESIDs) overlap, the properties of the STAND/GO-periphrases still resemble those of Salentino, since FIN- V_2 appears in all periphrastic contexts⁴:

⁴ Note that an invariable subjunctive ʃɛ(ssə) is also found in the area, e.g. Apulo-Barese from Fasano (BR): [ʃɛ *kujjessə* 'l alǵə də lu 'merə] 'go.SBJV picks-up.PST.SBJV the seaweed from the sea'.

Table 3 - STAND-present.

	Alberobello: 'go out'	Ostuni: 'play'	Cisternino: 'play'
1s	stɔ 'jjessə	ʃtɔ 'ssuɲnə(/'ssunə)	stɔ 'ssɔne
2s	stɛ 'jjessə	ʃtɛ 'sswenə(/'ssunə)	stɛ 'ssuənə
3s	stɛ 'jjessə	ʃtɛ 'ssona	stɛ 'ssɔnə
1p	stɛ as'seimə	ʃta/ʃtɛ ssə'namə	stɛ ssu'nemə
2p	stɛ as'seitə	ʃta/ʃtɛ ssə'natə	stɛ ssu'netə
3p	staun a 'jjessənə	ʃtɔn a 'ssunənə	stɔn a 'ssɔnənə

Table 4 - GO-present.

	Alberobello: 'fetch'	Ostuni: 'play'	Cisternino: 'play'
1s	vokə 'ppijjə	vɔ 'ssuɲnə(/'ssunə)	vɔ 'ssɔne
2s	vɛ 'ppijjə	vɛ 'ssuenə(/'ssunə)	vɛ 'ssuənə
3s	vɛ 'ppijjə	vɛ 'ssona	vɛ 'ssɔnə
1p	ʃi ppəʃ'jeimə	ʃa/ʃɛ ssə'namə	ʃi ssu'nemə
2p	ʃi ppəʃ'jeitə	ʃa/ʃɛ ssə'natə	ʃi ssu'netə
3p	vaun a 'ppijjənə	vɔn a 'ssunənə	vɔn a 'ssɔnənə

Table 5 - STAND-past.

	Putignano: 'do'	Ostuni: 'play'
1s	sta ffa'ʃevə	ʃta/ʃtɛ ssə'nava
2s	sta ffa'ʃivə	ʃta/ʃtɛ ssə'navə
3s	sta ffa'ʃevə	ʃta/ʃtɛ ssə'nava
1p	sta ffa'ʃemmə	ʃta/ʃtɛ ssə'nammə
2p	sta ffa'ʃivəvə	ʃta/ʃtɛ ssə'navvə
3p	sta ffa'ʃevənə	ʃta/ʃtɛ ssə'navənə

Table 6 - GO-past.

	Putignano: 'do'	Ostuni: 'play'
1s	ʃa ffa'ʃevə	ʃa ssə'nava
2s	ʃa ffa'ʃivə	ʃa ssə'navə
3s	ʃa ffa'ʃevə	ʃa ssə'nava
1p	ʃa ffa'ʃemmə	ʃa ssə'nammə
2p	ʃa ffa'ʃivəvə	ʃa ssə'navvə
3p	ʃa ffa'ʃevənə	ʃa ssə'navənə

The main difference with Salentino varieties lies in the shape of the STAND/GO element unambiguously distinguishing 1s vs 3p present forms, while 2s-3s and 1p-2p preserve one form for each pair. Aside from the bisyllabic 3p present form preserved across all varieties from Ostuni to Martina Franca (TA) (M&S 2005, I.690-691), the northern-most varieties of Putignano (M&S 2005, I.689-690), Alberobello, and Monopoli also show distinctive STAND/GO-morphology in the 1s and 3p, Mon. [stək a 'vəkə/'mberə] 'I'm going/learning'. Likewise, in Taranto (M&S 2005, I.691) and Matera, the STAND/GO-morphology is preserved, while the FIN-V₂ forms occur across all persons of the periphrastic present and past.

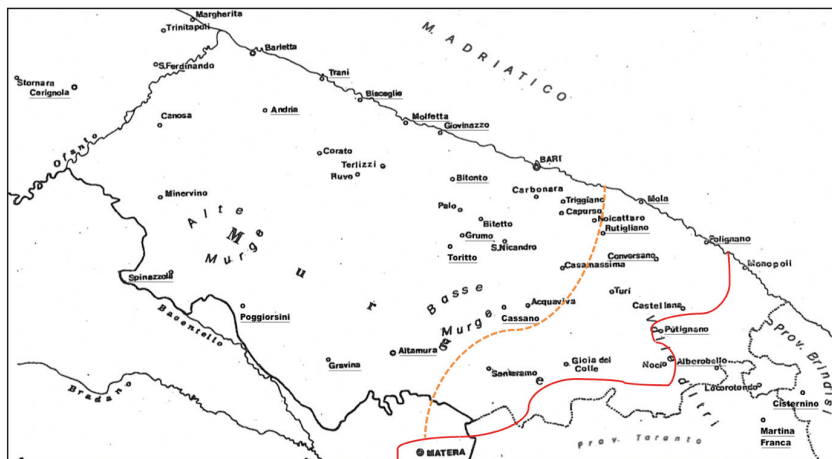
However, in the Apulo-Barese varieties spoken north of this line, the STAND/GO morphology tends to be preserved, but the number of FIN-V₂ forms diminishes drastically, being replaced by INF-V₂ in all non-present contexts. It is especially in these contexts that also the transitional varieties discussed here exploit INF-V₂, e.g. Monopoli [stən a 'ssənnə] 'they're dreaming'; Putignano [u 'ʃev a 'ffa] 'I went to do it', Ostuni [ʃev a ssə'na] 'I went to play'. These facts could be taken as evidence that the presence of FIN-V₂ is not directly correlated to the erosion/loss of inflection of STAND/GO or the absence of infinitive in this area.

2.3. *S-Apulo-Barese and Gargano varieties*

In this section we discuss another well-known, yet peculiar, pseudo-coordination pattern in which the distribution of FIN-V₂ obeys tense- and person-restrictions. Lexical FIN-V₂ can only appear in specific paradigmatic cells (boldfaced in (6)) of the present indicative (and 2s imperative) of these periphrases, while the remaining contexts will require INF-V₂:

6) Present	1s	2s	3s	1p	2p	3p
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Following Cruschina (2013), we refer to this as the “N-pattern” for the shape of paradigmatic cells in “morphomic N-patterns” (Maiden 2016 and references therein).



Map 2.

In a strip of land stretching from the lower Murge Plateau and the Adriatic Coast, right above Itria Valley, the varieties of Santeramo, Sammichele, Noci (M.V. D'Onghia, p.c.), Castellana, Turi, Rutigliano, Conversano (Lorusso 2019), Mola (Cox 1982, pp. 127-128) and Polignano display this N-pattern of FIN-V_2 . As hypotaxis becomes the most exploited strategy with most TAM-related auxiliaries in these varieties, FIN-V_2 forms are limited to 1s-2s-3s-3p of the present indicative, while the remaining 1p-2p and all other non-present contexts require INF-V_2 (e.g. Mol. ['staivə a kkan'dəjə] 'I was singing'; Cox 1982, p. 128).

Table 7 - STAND-present.

	Mola: 'lift'	Polignano: 'play'
1s	stauk a 'lləvə	stəuk i 'ssəvə
2s	sta 'llive	stɛ 'ssunə
3s	sta 'lləvə	stɛ 'ssəvə
1p	stəm a lə'wəjə	stɛm a ssə'nɛ
2p	stət a llə'wəjə	stɛt a ssə'nɛ
3p	staun a 'lləvənə	stəun i 'ssəvənə

Table 8 - GO-present.

	Mola: 'lift'	Polignano: 'play'
1s	vauk a 'lləvə	vɔuk i 'ssɔnə
2s	va 'llive	vɛ 'ssunə
3s	va 'lləvə	vɛ 'ssɔnə
1p	ʃəm a lə'wəjə	ʃɛm a ssə'nɛ
2p	ʃət a llə'wəjə	ʃɛt a ssə'nɛ
3p	va(u)n a 'lləvənə	vɔun i 'ssɔnənə

The novel data from Polignano show that the linker element these periphrases exploit in 1s-3p is the conjunction *i* (< Lat. ET) 'and', rather than the expected *a* found across most varieties. This same form of the conjunction also surfaces in those varieties discussed in § 2.2 whenever the GO-periphrasis appears in a genuine coordination structure, e.g. Putignano ['vonə i u 'faʃənə] '(they) go and do it' (M&S 2005, I.690). Nonetheless, both *i* and *a* trigger RF, and so does infinitival *a*. This isolated evidence may suggest that forms of STAND/GO-pseudo-coordination were indeed present in this area, but they were not necessarily (only) exploiting AC – or perhaps they never did, *a* + FIN- V_2 being a historical compromise between *e* + FIN- V_2 and *a* + INF- V_2 , since AC was reported by Latin grammarians (TTL, II, 1050) to actually belong to higher registers (Nocentini 2010).

Crucially, in most of these varieties, e.g. Mola (Cox 1982, p. 127), Conversano (Lorusso 2019), and confirmed by my informants from Polignano and Monopoli, INF- V_2 can (less frequently) replace FIN- V_2 in all grammatical persons. However, a forced alternation may also obtain whenever other elements intervene, e.g. adverbs: [stok a 'mmandʒə] 'I'm eating' > [stokə 'semb a mman'dʒɛ] 'I eat all the time'; Mon. [stɛ 'semb a lləkkə'lɛ] 's/he keeps on shouting', thus shifting the aspectual reading of the periphrasis from progressive to continuous or habitual (cf. also Lorusso 2019). Indeed, as we shall observe in § 2.4, this finite vs non-finite alternation in certain cells of the present, notably 3p and 1s, might explain the additional s- vs p-person split pattern in Table 9 attested for Rutigliano (G. Torcolacci, p.c., in Andriani 2017, p. 220), which coexists alongside the N-pattern (Lorusso 2019, p. 180, fn. 2):

Table 9 - STAND/GO-present.

	Rutigliano: 'play'	
1s	stɔŋg a 'ʃʃɔ:uk	vɔŋg a 'ʃʃɔ:uk
2s	ste 'ʃʃu:k	ve 'ʃʃu:k
3s	ste 'ʃʃɔ:uk	ve 'ʃʃɔ:uk
1P	stəm a ʃə'kwe	ʃəm a ʃə'kwe
2P	stət a ʃə'kwe	ʃət a ʃə'kwe
3P	stɔnn a ʃə'kwe	vɔnn a ʃə'kwe

Likewise, we will observe in § 2.4 that this same optionality between these two strategies – possibly pushed by other analogical forces – might have led to similar shifts in patterns in two other varieties from the Murgia, e.g. Altamura and Cassano (which, unsurprisingly, form a straight line with Rutigliano by direct route).

A seemingly isolated case of preservation of such N-pattern in (at least) one variety of the Gargano promontory is found in San Marco in Lamis (A.P. Massaro, p.c.). While this variety employs the pan-Romance STAND + gerund progressive periphrasis (on a par with most varieties of the province of Foggia), the N-pattern of FIN- V_2 surfaces in the present of GO-periphrasis, while INF- V_2 surfaces the remaining contexts, e.g. Samm. ['jev/'jiv a mmaɲ'ɲa] 'I was/you were going to eat'. This finite/non-finite alternation does not seem to be present in the Apulo-Foggiano dialects, as in Foggia and Cerignola (FG) only INF- V_2 is allowed:

Table 10: GO-present.

	San Marco: 'go to eat'	Cerignola: 'go to sit (oneself)'		
1s	vaj a 'mmaɲɲə	mə	vok	a ssət'te
2s	va 'mmaɲɲə	tə	ve	a ssət'te
3s	va 'mmaɲɲa	sə	ve	a ssət'te
1P	jam a mmaɲ'ɲa	tʃə	ʃəm	a ssət'te
2P	jat a mmaɲ'ɲa	və	ʃət	a ssət'te
3P	vann a 'mmaɲɲənə	sə	vann	a ssət'te

In Mattinata, alongside the forms [mə 'vek/tʃə 'ʃem a **kkuk'kwe**] 'I go/ we go to sleep', one finds [mə 'vek/tʃə 'ʃem a **'kkələkə**], with a V_2 -form that resembles an inflected (3s) form, but is actually an invariable rhizotonic

INF- V_2 . The same can be observed in Manfredonia: [tʃə 'jɛvən a 'kkələkə] 'they went to sleep' (VDG 112; 286; cf. also § 3).

One common feature across all varieties of the province of Foggia is the presence of the FIN- V_2 in the 2s imperative; however, most Gargano dialects (VDG, 111-112) seem to exploit the structure [GO-Cl] + [a + V + FIN], e.g. Sammarchese [vatʃɛl a 'ddittʃə] 'go tell it to him/her' vs [tə va 'sittə] 'you go to sit' (A.P. Massaro, p.c.), whereas Foggiano varieties adopt asyndetic imperative (without RF), e.g. Cerignola [ve t as'sittə] '(go) sit down!', on a par with the bordering N-Apulo-Barese varieties (§ 2.4) and Neapolitan.

2.4. C-Apulo-Barese

In C-Apulo-Barese varieties, south of the line running from Poggiorsini (on the Murgia Plateau) to Bari (on the Adriatic Sea), FIN- V_2 only appears in the 2s-3s the STAND/GO-periphrases, while all other contexts require INF- V_2 , e.g. Barese:

7) STAND-present

- i. 'stəgg a mmə'ri(/*'mmərəkə /?'mmorə) də 'famə
stand.1s to die.INF(/1s /INF) of hunger
'I am starving'
- ii. sta 'pparlə(/*'par'la) o sta 'mmuvə(/*'mmovə) lə 'reccə
STAND speak.2s(/.INF) or STAND move.2s(/INF) the ears
'are you trying to say something or it's just your ears moving?'
- iii. u vəcčə'riddə sta 'jjacc (/*'ac'ca) u 'sennə
the old-man.DIM STAND finds find.INF the sleep
'the old man is falling asleep'
- iv. A: 'stam a vvə'ni(/*-mə)
stand.1PL to come.INF(/1PL)
'we're coming'
B: e ffa'tʃitə 'subbətə k a 'vvu 'stam a spət'ta(/*-mə)
and do.IMP.2P quick that DOM you.PL stand.1P to wait.INF(/1P)
'make it quick, because it's you we're waiting for!'
- v. la 'stat a vvə'dɛ(/*'vve'ditə) la par'titə
her stand.2P to watch.INF(/2P) the match
'are you watching(/going to watch) the match?'
- vi. mə 'stɔn(n) a ssa'li(/*'ssalənə) lə kalda'tʃinə
me stand.3P to go-up.INF(/3P) the hot-flushes
'I'm getting hot flushes'

8) **GO-present**

- i. 'vɔgg a rɾə'va(/*ar'rivəkə) o 'spundə | 'mɔ 'vɛŋg ar'retə
go.1s to arrive.INF(/1s) at_the corner now come.1s again
'I'm going around the corner. I'll be right back'
- ii. ʃə va 'ddurmə(/*ddər'mi) 'subbətə | a da 'dɔrmə(/ʔdər'mi) də'ccu
if GO sleep.2s(/INF) early have-to.2s sleep.INF(/INF) more
'if you go to bed early, you'll sleep longer'
- iii. u 'fɛssə ka 'grattə na 'spillə [...] va 'mmorə(/*mməri) ŋga'lerə
the fool that scratches a pin GO dies(/die.INF) in-jail
'the fool that steals a pin, dies in jail'
- iv. 'ddo a le 'piʃʃə ndʒə nə 'ʃam a fɛər'nɛʃʃə(/*fər'nimə)
here at the fishes us=LOC=go.1p to finish.INF(/1p)
'we're going to end up badly (lit. at the fishes) like this'
- v. ad'do la 'sitə 'ʃut a 'mɛttə la 'magənə?
where her are.2p gone to put.INF the car
'how far did you go park the car?'
- vi. 'vɔn(n) a 'ffa(/*ffaʃənə) lə 'rittə oŋne 'ddi
go.3p to do.INF(/3p) the sea-urchins every day
'they go fish sea urchins everyday'

In (7-8), The predominant V_2 -form is the infinitive, found obligatorily in 1s (i), all plural persons (iv)-(v)-(vi), and in all non-present contexts (v). Note that certain forms, such as ['mɛttə] (v) and [fər'nɛʃʃə] (iv), would not change but in the metaphonetic 2s across the entire present paradigm (§ 3).



Map 3.

This same pattern is attested in the varieties south(west) of Bari, from Capurso (Pastore 2002) down to Casamassima (Andriani, Perlin, Kaufman, forthcoming), and westwards up the Murgia Plateau, from Grumo (Colasuonno 1976) to Poggiorsini (DLP). This is exemplified for the varieties of Gravina, Altamura (innovative), and Cassano:

Table 11 - STAND-present: ‘play’.

	Gravina	Altamura	Cassano
1s	stok a ssu'ne(jə)	stɔk a ssu'ne ⁱ	stok a ssə'na(jə)
2s	stɛ 'ssuənə	stɛ 'ssenə	sta 'ssuenə
3s	stɛ 'ssounə	stɛ 'ssonə	sta 'ssonə
1p	stəm a ssu'ne(jə)	stem a ssu'ne ⁱ	stam a ssə'na(jə)
2p	stət a ssu'ne(jə)	stet a ssu'ne ⁱ	stat a ssə'na(jə)
3p	stɔn a ssu'ne(jə)	stɔn a ssu'ne ⁱ	stɔnn a ssə'na(jə)

Table 12 - GO-present: ‘play’.

	Gravina	Altamura	Cassano
1s	vok a ssu'ne(jə)	wɔk a ssu'ne ⁱ	vɔk a ssə'na(jə)
2s	vɛ 'ssuənə	vɛ 'ssenə	va 'ssuenə
3s	vɛ 'ssounə	vɛ 'ssonə	va 'ssonə
1p	fəm a ssu'ne(jə)	fem a ssu'ne ⁱ	fam a ssə'na(jə)
2p	fət a ssu'ne(jə)	fet a ssu'ne ⁱ	fat a ssə'na(jə)
3p	vɔn a ssu'ne(jə)	wɔn a ssu'ne ⁱ	vɔnn a ssə'na(jə)

While we dedicate § 3 to the discussion on the “Barese” 2s-3s pattern and its implications, here we focus on the micro-distribution of the phenomenon to better understand the data concerning the Rutigliano-Cassano-Altamura line mentioned in § 2.3. These varieties show different stages of retraction of FIN- V_2 in certain slots of the present. As argued for the conservative vs innovative patterns from Rutigliano, the coexistence of two strategies must have led to the reduction of FIN- V_2 in modern Altamurano. Loporcaro (1988, p. 301) attests the “N-pattern” (found in the neighbouring Santeramo) for only one of his oldest informants (9a)⁵; otherwise, the innovative

⁵ Loporcaro (1988, p. 312, fn. 54) notes that older Altamurano speakers also retain FIN- V_2 in the 3s of the simple-past GO-periphrasis only; this is also attested for Polignano, e.g. [ʃu tɾəmən'du] ‘(she) went (and) saw’ (Bentley *et al.* 2014, p. 36). These facts deserve further investigation, considering the similarity with the simple-past “W-pattern” identified by Di Caro (2019) in Sicilian varieties.

pattern with infinitival 1P and 3P was produced by the rest of the informants (9b), as well as my own (Tables 11-12):

- 9) a. **stok a 'ffatts** (Loporcaro 1988, p. 301)
 stand.1s a do.1s
 'I'm doing'
- b. **stok a 'ffε li rəccə'teddə [...]** (Loporcaro 1988, p. 261)
 stand.1s to do.INF the *orecchiette*
 'I'm making orecchiette'

We attest the same change in the innovative variety of Monopoli, where younger speakers seem to have generalised the innovative pattern with FIN- V_2 in 2S-3S, while older speakers use FIN- V_2 across all contexts (§ 2.2), alternating it with INF- V_2 . Despite the lack of earlier sources, the generalisation of a single strategy could be argued to have taken place in Cassano too. Although all generations of my informants confirmed the 2S-3S pattern (Tables 11-12), we come across some attestations of (seemingly) FIN- V_2 , e.g. [**stok a 'mmərjə də 'fomə**] (DLP: 269) 'I'm starving'. However, without Cassanese evidence for inflected 3P, nothing prevents us from considering ['mərjə] as a form of rhizotonic infinitive (§ 3 for Barese).

Further evidence for the use of rhizotonic infinitives in these constructions comes from heritage Casamassimese spoken in New Jersey (Andriani *et al.*, forthcoming). The whole family (i.e. first-generation couple from Casamassima, BA, and their two +50-y.o. US-born sons) displays the expected "Barese" pattern of FIN- V_2 in 2S-3S (10a) and INF- V_2 in the remaining contexts (10b-c):

- 10) a. 'tu **sta 'pparlə** d u 'ŋglesə
 'you're talking about English'
- b. '**stam a ppar'la** kə 'kkiddə
 'we're talking with them'
- c. '**stev a ppar'la** də 'laldə 'fəstə
 'he was talking about the other festivals'

In one case, however, the youngest son uses both infinitival forms of the same lexical verb 'to look' interchangeably:

- 11) '**stev a ttrə'mendə/ttrəmən'da**
 'she was looking'

Such evidence from a linguistically isolated heritage context highlights the high productivity and vitality of rhizotonic infinitives in this and other periphrases.

2.5. *N-Apulo-Barese*

Before zooming into Barese, we can identify the Bari-Poggiorsini line as the northern border of the FIN-V₂ isogloss, given that the varieties we label N-Apulo-Barese, immediately north of this line, show no traces of FIN-V₂ in any of the periphrastic cells (except in imperatives), only INF-V₂:

- 12) *Bitonto* (Valente 1975, p. 71)

la **vɛ a tɔj'je o a vənə'meuə**
 'you go cut or harvest it (i.e. grapes)'

- 13) *Giovinazzo*

- a. **ste a ssən'de** tʃai tə 'stɔgg a 'ddefə?
 STAND to hear.INF what you stand.1s to say.INF
 'are you/is (s)he listening to what I'm saying?'
 b. tʃə **vɛ a tʃɔr'ke** lə 'cɛ jɛ 'mmɛʃʃə
 if GO to look-for.INF the keys is better
 'it's better if you go/(s)he goes look for the keys'

- 14) *Molfetta* (DLP, p. 65)

stok a mmə'ri
 'I'm dying'

- 15) *Corato*

- a. sə **st a 'ffa** na 'risə
 '(s)he's having a laugh'
 b. tə **'stan a ccamən'dəj**
 'they are watching you!'

- 16) *Bisceglie* (DLP, p. 46)

stɔk a 'mbre
 'I'm dying'

- 17) *Trani* (DLP, p. 30)

stam a ffəstəd'dʒe
 'we're celebrating'

- 18) *Barletta* (a) & *Trinitapoli* (b) (Andriani 2023, p. 223)
- a. ɕʒu'wennə **stɛ spət'tɛ** a 'mmaj e a 'tta | non a 'jeddə
 - b. ɕʒu'wannə **sta spət'tɛ** a 'mmaj e a 'ttajə | naum a 'jeddə
'John is waiting for me and you, not her'

These north(west)ern Apulo-Barese dialects can resort only to the [STAND/GO + *a* + INF- V_2] construction to express both progressive and an-dative aspects. This is not the case in the varieties of Andria, Spinazzola, and Minervino (G. Manzari, p.c.), which seem to follow the distribution of forms of the neighbouring Apulo-Foggiano varieties we discussed in § 2.3. They employ the STAND-gerund, e.g. Andria ['stakə mə'rɛnnə] 'I'm dying' (DLP: 53); Minervino [tʃə kə 'stæ fa'tʃɛnnə] 'what are you doing?', found in all varieties north of this line, and the INF- V_2 in GO-periphrasis [va a vvə'da-jə] '(you) go to see', while asyndetic coordination is the only option in the imperative [vɛ 'vɛjɔdə/'vɛjʃə] 'go see'.

3. Early Barese and some hypotheses on “hybrid” patterns

In the variety of Bari, the 2S-3S pattern in § 2.4 has been stable for at least 200 years, witness the earliest Barese attestations from 1700-1800 presented below for STAND (19)-(20) and GO (21)-(22) periphrases (whenever not indicated, the examples in italics come from a 1848-collection by F.S. Abbrescia, *Rime baresi*):

- 19) **STAND: Present 1S** (a-b), **3S** (c), **1P** (d), **2P** (e), **3P** (f-g)
- a. *stoche aspetta*
'I'm waiting'
 - b. *mmò 'mbroprie ca j stogghe ad abbrazzaue*
'right now that I'm hugging him'
 - c. *Venezie te st'aspette*
'Venice is waiting for you'
 - d. *e nnù cha stame ddò 'nnanz'a la Grotte / a benedisce chessa sanda notte*
'and we are here, in front of the Grotto, blessing this holy night'
 - e. *vu mò ci state a cantà la dittrina e li vanti*
(Nitto da Bari, 1790, in Loporcaro 2021, p. 95)
'now that you're praising doctrine and achievements'
 - f. *mo se stonne a dà nu vase / u chezzàle cu vastàse*
'now they are kissing (each other), the peasant with the bellboy'

- g. *stonn'a mette recchie tutt'allijrte*
'they're warning everyone'
- 20) **STAND: Past 1s** (a), **3s** (b) (Abbatescianni 1896, p. 12)
- a. *stev a mmangia*
'I was eating'
- b. *ce steve a meri drete au terrigne*
'who was dying behind the basement house'
- 21) **GO: Present 2s** (a-b), **3p** (c)
- a. *addo va jacchie n'alde arrecuerde*
'where you go find another memory'
- b. *megghie ce v'a file vamascegne*
'it's best if you go spin cotton wool'
- c. *u vonn'acchia pastur'e pesterijdde / le vonn'a regalà le prim'agnijdde*
'all shepherds go visit him, they go gift him the first lambs'
- 22) **GO: Past 3s** (a), **Subjunctive 3s** (b), **embedded** (c)
- a. *che cudde chiande / u sceve ad adacquà Gesu Bammine*
'with those tears she would go feed baby Jesus'
- b. *scess'a cogghie / nu scigghie e nu giacinde*
'may he go pick a lily and a hyacinth'
- c. *non v'aviesse de crenzà / ca se pote scì a rebbà*
'you should not think that one can go steal'

All forms used in earlier Barese texts are perfectly grammatical in modern Barese (§ 2.4), including the marginal INF-V₂ with an enclitic pronoun *stogg'ad abbrazzà-ue* in (19b) – enclitic which would be ungrammatical on FIN-V₂. In contrast to this situation, the present COME-periphrasis systematically selected INF-V₂, and does so still in modern Barese:

- 23) a. *te vengh'a descetà*
'I come wake you up'
- b. *non vene a chiamendà*
's/he doesn't come see'
- c. *non vene a mette dazie*
'he doesn't come to impose anything'

Having established that the Barese paradigm has been the same for over two centuries, we may consider some potential macro- and micro-diachronic scenarios concerning the evidence discussed so far. It seems reason-

able to assume that, at some point in history, the collision, coexistence, and eventual overlap of hypotactic and paratactic types in these periphrastic contexts must have created the different “hybrid” patterns we find in Apulo-Barese and Gargano dialects. We also have to assume centuries-long contact between these syntactic isoglosses characterising the USID vs ESID divide led first to the formation of the “transitional” N-patterns (§ 2.3), possibly for phono-syntactic reasons, as inflection survives in all those periphrastic cells where V_2 -forms are rhizotonic, i.e. not in the arhizotonic present 1P-2P. However, the move towards a 2S-3S pattern (§ 2.4) of C-Apulo-Barese clearly points at some types of interaction between the inflected and infinitival complements only in particular cells of the present periphrases, leading to the gradual retraction of FIN- V_2 . The generalisation of the 2S-3S pattern is a fairly recent phenomenon, as observed on the Altamura-Rutigliano line. Nonetheless, the change seems unidirectional and yields simplification, as this 2S-3S-pattern seems to be the most successful in “surviving”, with varieties moving in this direction. In contrast, the N-pattern must be an earlier formation (perhaps concomitant with that of morphomic N-patterns in paradigmatic verbal cells, cf. Maiden 2016), which no longer seems to be “productive”, as we have no evidence of its synchronic formation in fully inflected FIN- V_2 varieties (§ 2.2), nor expansion, e.g. from 2S-3S-pattern to N-pattern. We also have no evidence of any C-Apulo-Barese dialects moving from a 2S-3S-pattern to a fully infinitival pattern, nor vice-versa. Nonetheless, INF- V_2 still appears to be the “back-up” pattern for all periphrastic contexts throughout the Apulo-Barese-speaking area, including in “transitional” varieties (§ 2.2) – especially, but not only, in younger generations. Finally, we do not commit to saying that paradigms of FIN- V_2 (§ 2.4) retracted in the entire N-Apulo-Barese-speaking area, as this might actually be an archaic fully hypotactic pattern characterising Italo-Romance varieties prior to the grammaticalisation of STAND-gerund from 1500 onwards in Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2009, § 15.3.1, § 15.4.3), Sicilian (Núñez Román 2011, pp. 8-11), and Florentine (Brianti 2000, pp. 100-101).

Why is this change gradual, rather than abrupt, and why has the 2S-3S pattern resisted without being replaced by the infinitive throughout? The tentative answer is because of syncretism among verb forms, which might simultaneously have helped lose FIN- V_2 in some N-pattern cells thanks to the alternation with INF- V_2 , and retain it at least in these two persons of the indicative.

The first element in our discussion is rhizotonic infinitives, which are syncretic with inflected forms and may appear in unexpected paradigmatic cells, as we observed throughout § 2.3-2.5. In this and other Italo-Romance areas, infinitives are characterised by the historical apocope of -RE, leaving all conjugations with oxytonic stress on the thematic vowel, e.g. [man'dʒa/və'de/as'si] 'to eat/see/go out', except for verbs proceeding from Latin 3rd conjugation, e.g. [mɛttə] 'put' or [spannə] 'hang laundry', displaying "naturally" rhizotonic forms. Hence, this INF-V₂ will appear as the complement of all persons of the STAND/GO-periphrases, e.g. Barese [stɔgg a 'mmɛttə] 'I'm putting', yielding the "natural" syncretism between the infinitive and 3s form 'to put/puts'. Likewise, a number of -i-verbs, e.g. [sən'di] 'to hear/feel', inherited also rhizotonic infinitives from Latin, e.g. [sɛndə] 'to hear/feel≈hears/feels; likewise, [fə(r)ni] is not found in Barese, but only its variant with the root-augment -sc-, which is again syncretic with the 3s [fər'nɛʃʃə] 'to finish≈finishes' (Andriani 2017, ch. 5). Therefore, [mɛttə/sɛndə/fər'nɛʃʃə], whenever used in complex predicates, are ambiguous between INF-V₂ and FIN-V₂ forms.

This formal ambiguity might have been capitalized on and extended to -a-verbs, e.g. [man'dʒa] 'eat', starting from these periphrastic contexts. In particular, the 2s-3s STAND/GO forms are also syncretic, i.e. invariable, creating ambiguity in all periphrastic cells where no metaphony signals 2s, [sta 'mmandʒə], and in some cases with the infinitive, such as [sta 'ffaʃə] 'you're/she's doing'. This formal identity, possibly under the undeniable pressure of contact with the Italian hypotaxis, may have pushed the change in the direction of simplification, yet without the total loss of FIN-V₂ in C-Apulo-Barese. In the 3s, this retention might have been helped by the series of syncretisms with the infinitive.

As for the retention of inflection in the 2s indicative, it might have been possible thanks to the GO-2s imperative – one of the few contexts where hypotaxis is not the default option across Italo-Romance. Indeed, it may be this context that allows the 2s indicative of both STAND/GO-periphrases to resist. Consider early Barese 2s GO-imperative, exploiting the Italo-Romance type [GO-Cl] + [a-V₂], rather than the asyndetic Foggiano/Neapolitan type [GO] + [Cl-V₂]; this is the only imperative context showing FIN-V₂ forms:

24) **GO: imperative 2s**

- a. *vatt'assite*
'go sit'
- b. *vatt'a'ccatte nu bastone*
'go buy a walking stick'

- c. *vatt'a pigghie la chenocchie*
'go get yourself the spindle'
- d. *vatt'a vite mbacce au specchie*
'go see yourself in the mirror'
- e. *vatt'ascunne*
'go hide yourself'
- f. *vattill'a mmange*
'go eat it'

In contrast, the infinitive predictably surfaces with 2P GO (25a) or 2S COME (25b) imperatives, except for one ambiguous case (25c), where the oxytonic infinitive [pəʃʝa] is expected, on a par with (25b):

- 25) a. *sciaddel'assì na mane de vestute*
'you go get out for him some clothes'
- b. *Vare buone, Vare bedde / vien'a ffà na tarandedde*
'good and nice Bari, come dance tarantella'
- c. *vijnd'a pigghie le capidde*
'come take capidda (sweets)'

Without disregarding the influence of metrics, (25c) may not be evidence of an earlier use of FIN- V_2 in 2S COME-imperatives⁶. (25c) and the case of 3P COME present periphrasis in (26) for the modern dialect of Bari Vecchia show the mechanism whereby an ambiguous form can permeate hypotaxis and be used as a rhizotonic infinitive:

- 26) ʃə nɔ̃ mmə 'vənən a 'ppɪʝə | lə 'gammə nɔ̃ʝ ga'minənə
if not me come.3P to take.INF the legs not walk.3PL
'if nobody can come pick me up... my legs can't walk'

Rhizotonic infinitives are pervasive in such auxiliary constructions, and the syncretism between INF- V_2 and 3S (and 2S with *-a-* verbs, such as (26)) may help preserve inflection.

If this is how the resilience of the Barese pattern can be explained, we can resort to these analogical forces to understand the (incipient) decline of the N-pattern observed on the Altamura-Rutigliano line. The spread of the infinitive across the paradigm, together with the syncretism discussed above, might have first affected (more visibly, due to the ending) the 3P FIN- V_2 . In

⁶ A reviewer rightfully points out that 2S-COME imperatives do show inflected V_2 -forms in other Apulo-Barese varieties, e.g. Altam. ['vin a 'vviʝt/a 'mmandʒ] '(you) come see/eat'.

this periphrastic person, the inflection is usually retained on *sto-n/vo-n*, which makes the agreement on the V_2 formally redundant. This is how the innovative s vs p pattern from Rutigliano might have come about. The same mechanism may be invoked for 1s, where *sto-k/vo-k* are the only elements carrying person information, rather than V_2 (except when root allomorphy univocally marks 1s, e.g. [stok a 'fattsə] 'I'm doing'). This scenario could be extended to other N-Apulian varieties, which might have lost the N-pattern in GO-periphrases described for Sammarinese (§ 2.2) and replaced FIN- V_2 with (rhizotonic) INF- V_2 .

4. Conclusions

This article discussed the distribution of patterns of inflected and infinitival V_2 -forms in progressive and andative periphrases from a large selection of Apulian varieties (§ 2). The description of the Apulian microvariation allowed us to identify a neat continuum of different morphosyntactic isoglosses of the occurrence of FIN- V_2 in these two periphrases. We discussed the simultaneous presence and gradual overlap of the two strategies, the FIN- V_2 and INF- V_2 (the latter by no means “unpopular” in N-Apulia), which must have yielded the development of “hybrid” paradigms in N-Apulian STAND/GO-periphrases, where FIN- V_2 can only appear in specific person of the present indicative (and imperative). These peculiar “hybrid” patterns show a gradual decrease in FIN- V_2 forms: from the N-pattern, i.e. 1s-2s-3s-3p (§ 2.3), to the 2s-3s pattern (§ 2.4), to the fully hypotactic INF- V_2 patterns (but for the asyndetic imperative; § 2.5).

The micro-diachronic and micro-diatopic evidence seems to suggest that the FIN- V_2 patterns have not been particularly stable in the recent past, leading some N-pattern varieties to resort to the basic “Barese” 2s-3s pattern, which has proven stable for over two centuries (§ 3). The “resistance” of this pattern has been tentatively explained by resorting to the presence of FIN- V_2 in 2s GO-imperatives for 2s indicative, whereas formal identities in the verbal domain of Apulo-Barese varieties – mainly that between rhizotonic INF and 3s – were assumed for the preservation of 3s indicative inflection.

In conclusion, the geographic distribution of this phenomenon seems to clearly point at its origin in the areas where centuries-long contact between

⁷ A redundant 1s-ending (-kə) on V_2 was produced by a 96-y.o. first-generation Molese informant in Brooklyn: [stok a 'fattsəkə 'veccə] 'I am getting old'.

the Balkan-style complementation system and the Italo-Romance hypotactic complements took place, resulting in the peculiar “hybrid” N-Apulian patterns. Going back to Ascoli’s *vexata quaestio* on *vattelappesca* presented in § 1, our evidence seems to align with Nocentini’s (2010, § 8) hypothesis that those Italo-Romance GO-imperatives may have a «parallel and independent origin» compared to the southern inflected constructions discussed in this paper. Hopefully, the pressure of the Italo-Romance INF-V₂ strategy – the norm in the local Italian – will not eventually iron out the linguistic diversity and microvariation attested in this area.

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