
DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING IN APULIA: A DESCRIPTIVE OVERVIEW

MARCATGE DIFERENCIAL D'OBJECTE A LA PULLA: UNA PANORÀMICA DESCRIPTIVA

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Abstract: This article describes the distribution of Differential Object Marking in Puglia/Apulia (Southeast Italy), where both Upper-Southern (Pugliese/Apulian) and Extreme-Southern (Salentino) Italo-Romance varieties are spoken. This first survey on DOM in Apulia presents evidence from both the existing literature and an online questionnaire with native speakers. The latter tests a selection of referents sitting at different levels of the Definiteness Hierarchy, from personal pronouns to indefinite nouns, in order to ascertain whether specificity can(not) be considered the ultimate DOM-trigger in these varieties. In this respect, only animate direct object conveying new information are tested, whereas highly specific clitic-doubled topical structures are left for future research. In this first attempt at mapping the fine-grained microvariation of DOM throughout the Apulian peninsula, it appears that its distribution is very limited in Salentino, being restricted to personal pronouns, while Apulian varieties display more extended DOM systems; these may be sensitive to minimally different (lexico-)semantic factors for triggering DOM at the lower levels of the Definiteness Hierarchy.

Key words: differential object marking; Apulian varieties; Salentino varieties; microvariation; specificity; definiteness hierarchy.

Resum: Resum: Aquest article descriu la distribució del marcatge diferencial d'objecte (MDO) a la regió de la Pulla (sud-est d'Itàlia), on es parlen les varietats italo-romàniques meridionals superiors (*pullés*) i meridionals extremes (*salentí*). Aquest primer estudi sobre MDO a la Pulla presenta evidències basades tant en la bibliografia existent com en un qüestionari en línia amb parlants nadius. Aquest darrer se centra en una selecció de referents situats a diferents nivells de la jerarquia de definitud, des dels pronoms personals fins als SN indefinits, per tal d'esbrinar si l'especificitat pot ser considerada (o no) el desencadenant final de l'MDO en aquestes varietats. En aquest sentit, només s'inclouen en el qüestionari els objectes directes animats que són informació nova, mentre que les estructures topicals amb duplicació de clític altament específiques es deixen per a futures investigacions. En aquest primer intent de cartografiar la microvariació detallada de l'MDO a tota la península de la Pulla, sembla que la distribució del fenomen és molt limitada en salentí, restringida als pronoms personals, mentre que les varietats de pullés mostren sistemes d'MDO més estesos, que poden ser sensibles a factors (lexico)semàntics mínimament diferents a l'hora de desencadenar el fenomen en els nivells inferiors de la jerarquia de definitud.

Paraules clau: marcatge diferencial d'objecte; varietats de pullés; varietats del salentí; microvariació; especificitat; jerarquia de definitud.



1. INTRODUCTION

The distribution of Differential Object Marking (Bossong 1985, 1991; DOM henceforth), the marking of a subset of direct objects by means of a functional item (Latin preposition *AD* > *a*, in our case), has never been the object of a comprehensive micro-comparative study of the varieties spoken in the administrative region of Puglia/Apulia, southeastern Italy. Apulia includes within its borders two main Italo-Romance groups, namely upper-southern and extreme-southern varieties (USIDs and ESIDs, respectively), which can in turn be split into several other subgroups. This descriptive contribution attempts to provide an overview of DOM in a large selection of Apulian varieties, with the aim of enhancing our knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon, its distribution, and its microvariation. It will do so by introducing novel evidence from the written production of local authors and in particular, from a questionnaire administered to native speakers from Apulia, to enable a comparison with the exiguous material available in the specialistic literature on Apulian DOM (Manzini & Savoia 2005: § 4.9 (M&S henceforth); Andriani 2015, forthc.; Ledgeway forthc.). Our main interest lies in the differing degrees to which DOM may be found,

or *not* found, in the varieties of Apulia. Indeed, while the northern-central part of the region shows DOM in a variety of contexts, the southern part, Salento, shows a very limited distribution of the *a*-marking.

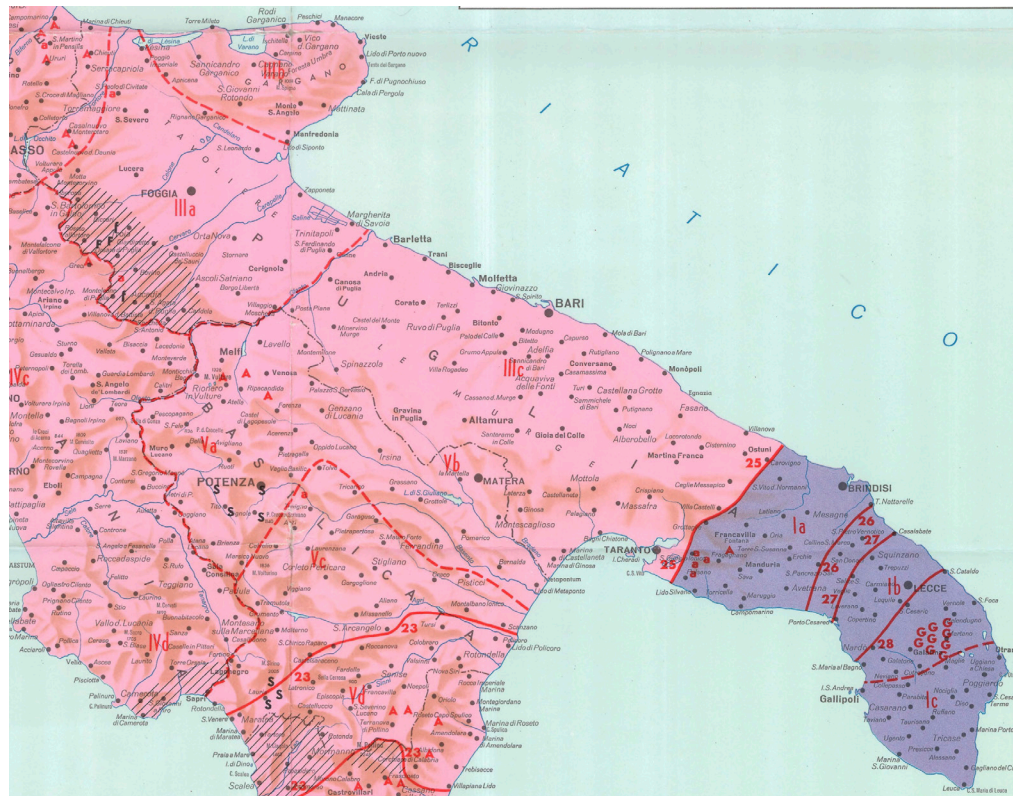
We will first introduce the linguistic varieties considered (§ 1.1) and provide some relevant background on the triggers of DOM (§ 1.2). In Section § 2, we present and comment on a number of potential DOM environments — mostly testing the specificity of referents across different levels of the Definiteness Scale — in a large selection of varieties from Apulia. Section § 3 concludes by summarising the general tendencies of this first survey on the distribution of DOM in Apulian varieties.

1.1 THE LINGUISTIC VARIETIES OF APULIA

With all the caution needed when dealing with the classification of non-standard language families, for our purposes we can subdivide Apulia into three major linguistic areas (for further internal subdivisions, see Valente 1975; Mancarella 1975; Loporcaro 1997, 2021):

- i. *northern Apulian*: USIDs spoken in the province of Foggia (FG);
- ii. *central Apulian*: USIDs in the provinces of Barletta-Andria-Trani (BT) and Bari (BA), as well as the northern part of the province Taranto (TA₁);
- iii. *Salentino*: ESIDs spoken in the province of Brindisi (BR)¹ and Lecce (LE), as well as the southern part of the province of Taranto (TA₂).

1. As it is usually the case with linguistic vs administrative borders, province acronyms (BR, TA) do not match language groups in the transitional area between USIDs and ESIDs. For our purposes, the «Taranto-Martina Franca-Ceglie Messapica-Ostuni isogloss» separates Apulian from Salentino varieties — the latter spoken immediately south of this line (see Map 1).



Map 1. The linguistic varieties of Apulia (adapted from Pellegrini 1977)

Groups (i) and (ii) constitute a linguistic continuum of fairly homogeneous linguistic varieties, i.e. USIDs, while the varieties in group (iii) belong to a separate Italo-Romance linguistic family, i.e. ESIDs. We must therefore limit ourselves to a few locations in these areas, so the data will have to be considered through a coarse-grained filter. Nonetheless, we shall attempt to identify the main trends and draw some broad generalisations on the distribution of DOM throughout the region.

1.2 DOM TRIGGERS

It is well established in the literature that DOM is sensitive to a wide array of factors (cf. Ledgeway, *forthc.*) related to the semantico-syntactic nature of the nominal expression (e.g. whether it is pronominal, (in)definite, animate, or specific), the degree

of transitivity of the verb and the relative affectedness of the direct object (Torrego 1998; Næss 2004), and other information-structure-related triggers (e.g. whether the object is fronted and/or clitic-resumed; Iemmolo 2010). Our survey will be primarily informed by the animacy (Silverstein 1976) and definiteness/specificity (Croft 1988; Aissen 2003: 437; a.o.) scales, as discussed in the typological literature:

Animacy: human > animate > inanimate

Definiteness: personal pro > proper N > definite NP > indefinite specific NP > non-specific NP

For our purposes, definiteness (cf. Lyons 1999) is mainly understood in syntactic terms, i.e. whether a referent shows an overt (definite or indefinite) determiner, or is determiner-less. The latter includes personal and demonstrative pronouns, as well as other types of pronouns (e.g. indefinite, numeral, and relative/*wh*-pronouns), proper names, and kinship terms with clitic possessives. These are usually marked by DOM in many (Italo-)Romance varieties (Rohlf's 1969: § 632; 1971), as they identify highly definite and specific referents. In contrast, a high degree of optionality is found with referents modified by (in)definite articles, demonstratives, numerals, and quantifiers. This is generally attributed to the semantics of these referents, which are at lower levels on the definiteness scale, i.e. (syntactically) definite vs indefinite nominal expressions, which may in turn identify specific vs non-specific referents. Specificity (cf. Enç 1991) can be understood as the identifiability of a referent which has been previously mentioned (anaphorically or logophorically), or has been introduced and will play a role in the new information provided (Guardiano 2010: 85-86). Indeed, specificity is one of the main discriminating factors triggering DOM in many Romance varieties, as is the case in Spanish (Torrego 1998; Leonetti 2004, 2008; *i.a.*), Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2000, 2009), and Sicilian (Guardiano 2010). For these reasons, our test focuses on specific vs non-specific definites (§ 2.3) and indefinites (§ 2.4) nouns.

As well as specificity, the affectedness of the direct object based on the action/event described by the transitive predicate has also been considered in the present study. In relation to transitivity, affectedness is broadly understood as «the degree to which an action is transferred to a patient» by Hopper & Thompson (1980: 252-253).² The object of a verb such as 'to kill' will therefore show a higher degree of affectedness

2. The literature on affectedness is vast and approaches it from different angles; see, a.o., Næss (2004); Beavers (2011).

than that of the verb ‘to see’, and hence the *a*-marking will be favoured on the object of the former predicate. In other words, it is the transitive predicate that determines the affectedness of the object (but also typical of indirect recipient/goal objects; cf. Cuervo 2003; Pineda 2016, 2020; Manzini & Franco 2016; among others).³

One last major DOM-trigger is related to information structure, i.e. the discourse-related function and syntactic position of the referent in question. For instance, standard Italian allows a very limited appearance of DOM with fronted personal pronouns, usually resumed by a clitic in the sentence core and selected by certain predicate types, i.e. object-experiencer psych-verbs and causative constructions (cf. Berretta 1991). Indeed, topicalised constituents have been claimed to favour the *a*-marking in several Romance varieties (Leonetti 2008; Iemmolo 2010), as topics prototypically involve a resumptive clitic pronoun, signalling the specificity of the DP/NP in question. For this reason, we purposefully only tested contexts where the direct object conveys pragmatically new information, i.e. Informational Focus (Belletti 2004; a.o.). However, new information may still occur in the sentential periphery and without resumptive clitic in the varieties considered here (Cruschina 2012; Andriani 2017: ch.2 for Barese). This allows us to see whether non-clitic-resumed nominal expressions admit the *a*-marking as much as topical contexts do, as reported in the literature. We leave topical information for future research, as this requires testing in the field in order to provide sufficient background information for the speakers to correctly frame the context.

2. DOM IN APULIAN VARIETIES

In this section we present and compare evidence of DOM in the varieties spoken in Apulia, drawn from different sources: the specialist literature, some non-specialist material from specific dialects, and an online questionnaire (to which respondents could either write or record their answers). The latter was completed by 62 native speakers from all over Apulia (21 females and 41 males aged between 27 and 75; mean age: 64.5) and included a 23-sentence translation task from Italian to their respective

3. As also noted in Andriani (forthc., fn.8), there is an ongoing debate on the nature of DOM and its relation to certain types of (di)transitive predicates (Pineda 2016, 2020) and indirect objects (cf. Manzini & Franco 2016, *et seq.*). Indeed, some of the verbs considered here, e.g. ‘call/hit/help/greet’, allow ACC vs DAT alternations in some languages, including late Latin and old Italo-Romance varieties (Sornicola 1997; cf. also §2.3). However, our synchronic data show that in all modern Apulian varieties, these predicates behave as regular transitives selecting ACCUSATIVE objects (irrespective of whether these are *a*-marked or unmarked).

varieties. The 23 sentences featured 29 target direct objects presented in a randomised order, all referring to human entities, such as:

- (a) n. 3 personal pronouns (§ 2.1), as well as n. 4 indefinite ones (§ 2.2);
- (b) n. 2 singular kinship terms modified by clitic possessives, but without definite articles (§ 2.1);
- (c) n. 3 proper names (§ 2.1);
- (d) n. 6 singular and n. 6 plural definite (§ 2.3) and n. 5 singular indefinite (§ 2.4) nominal expressions, all including [\pm specific] referents.

The main aim of the questionnaire was to understand the extent to which specificity might play a role in triggering DOM at the lower levels of the definiteness scale, where most alternation is attested. Moreover, we tested a number of predicates involving different degrees of affectedness of their objects, ranging from low, e.g. ‘to see/know’, to high, e.g. ‘to kill/beat up’ (cf. Beavers 2011). While testing these variables, our secondary aim was also to identify whether any other environments or features could potentially act as triggers for DOM.

Before considering the data, some disclaimers are in order. Since our intent is to provide a *first* overview of the distribution of DOM in Apulian varieties, the results of this preliminary inquiry should be considered with caution, as they may not represent the exhaustive picture. Aside from the nature and aims of our test, there is extensive microdiatopic, as well as interspeaker and intraspeaker, variation when it comes to the *optional realisation* of DOM with referents sitting lower on the Definiteness Scale, or predicates favouring DOM or not. As a result, we should not always consider the presence/absence of DOM in absolute terms, but just as an indicator of its general behaviour.

Moreover, these speakers are all bilinguals in Italian and their own local variety. Although this paper is not concerned with contact-induced changes between dominant and minority languages, the sociolinguistic pressure of the (nearly) DOM-less Italian syntax on the local Italo-Romance varieties may also be a source of *optionality* between *a*-marked vs unmarked referents lower on the Definiteness Scale (for some initial micro-diachronic considerations on the retraction of Barese DOM, see Andriani, *forthc.*).⁴

4. This same retraction —but not the complete disappearance— of DOM has also been observed in a number of heritage/minority languages in contact with DOM-less dominant languages (Montrul & Bowles 2009 for Spanish-English; Montrul & Bateman 2020 for Romanian-English; Andriani *et alii* 2022 for Italo-Romance-English; a.o.).

This allows speakers to produce both DOM and DOM-less options (in some contexts only) without major interpretative differences. As a result, the increasing adoption of the unmarked strategy of Italian in the local varieties may turn the *a*-marking into a semantically irrelevant and thus obsolete element. Such a contact scenario should be systematically taken into account when considering those referents showing alternation in our data sample, as contact-induced changes (in this case, in the direction of the dominant-language syntax) cannot be ruled out in a bilingual environment. Indeed, the often-overlooked contact factor should urge us to consider the documentation of DOM in Apulian and other local varieties as a time-sensitive issue — if not a priority.

Nonetheless, the following subsections aim to provide some preliminary material to build a dataset of the occurrence of DOM, or lack thereof, in Apulian varieties — presented and discussed from North to South, and from East to West, in order to uncover any potential geographic continuum in the distribution of DOM in Apulia. This first overview will lay the foundation for future research and further expansion of the dataset, so to obtain a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon.

2.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS, PROPER NAMES, AND KINSHIP TERMS

As observed in §1.3, personal pronouns rank the highest on the Definiteness Scale and are the most susceptible to bearing DOM crosslinguistically (Comrie 1979, 1989), followed by proper nouns. To these, we add highly definite and specific kinship terms (cf. Silverstein 1976) without an overt determiner, but modified by possessive clitic pronouns. These three types of referents in all Apulian varieties are the focus of this section.

Below, all direct objects appear boldfaced, and are underlined whenever the referent bears the *a*-marking (here and throughout). For reasons of space, only the examples taken from the literature are translated, whereas the translation of the elicited sentences is provided here:

- a.* ‘Gianni is waiting for **you** and **me** (= us), not **her**’ or ‘G. is only waiting for **me**, not **you**’;
- b.* ‘dad met **mum** in church’;
- c.* ‘Maria bumped into **Giovanni** and **Teresa** at the market, but didn’t say hi to **Giovanni**’, or ‘Teresa met **Giovanni** in the townsquare’.⁵

5. Since we are dealing with spoken varieties without a standard orthography, the N-C Apulian respondents used an impressionistic orthography based on that of Italian, and either represented the typical unstressed

Foggia, FG

- (1) Mattinata, FG (Granatiero 1987: 75)
- a. Siende **a mme!**
'listen to me!'
 - b. Chiéme **a mmàmmete!**
'call your mum!'
 - c. He viste **a Mmarije?**
'have you seen Maria?'
- (2) Carpino, FG
- a. Giuvannə st'aspəttann' **a me** e **a te**, nə st'aspəttann' **a essə**
 - b. Patəmə a ccanəsciut' **a mammə** nd'a la chiesə
 - c. Taresə a ngundrat' **a Giuvannə** mmezz'alla chiazzə
- (3) San Marco in Lamis, FG (Angelapia Massaro, p.c.)
- a. Giuannə **a mme** e **a tte** aspetta, no **a gghiessa**
 - b. Patəmə a canəsciut' **a mammà** int'la chiesə
 - c. Mariə a ncuntrat' **a Giuann'** e **Taresə** allu mərcatə, ma **a Giuane** non l'a salutə
- (4) Torremaggiore, FG (Tosto 2007: 20)
- a. ha vist' **a tté**
's/he saw you'
 - b. ha vist' **a ppàtəmə**
's/he saw my dad'
 - c. ha vist' **a Mməchélə**
's/he saw Michele'
- (5) San Severo, FG
- a. i. **a jəssə** a vedə (M&S 2005: II, 506)
'as for her, I see her'
 - ii. cə:mə **a jissə** (ibid.)
'call him!'
 - b. cə:mə **a ffiuəmə** (ibid.)
'call my son!'
 - c. Mariə è truèt' **a Giuànnə** e **a Teresə** o mərchètə, ma **a Giuannə** nənn'u è salutə

[ə] as <e>, or omitted it altogether; in its stead, the author has introduced the grapheme <ə> throughout. For the other numerous types of centralised vowels, a dieresis has been used, e.g. <ä>. Note that, for reasons beyond the scope of this study, the etymological <h-> of auxiliary 'have' has been omitted in the transcription of the elicited material.

- (6) Lucera, FG
- Giuannə stà spəttannə skittə **a mmè**, e nnò **a ttè**
 - patəmə à canəssiútə **a mammə** nd'á chjisa grannə
 - Marì à truat' **a Giuannə** e **a Terésə** ammizz'á chiazə, e nn'á salutat' **a Giuannə**
- (7) Faeto, FG (Francoprovençal)⁶
- i. i rəmirə a l enfannə ki rəmirə **a _____ ijə** (Nagy 2000: 113)
 he looks DOM the child that looks DOM him
 'he looks at the child who looks at him'
 - ii. viáw **a _____ isə** (ibid.: 96)
 see.2SG.IMP DOM them
 'see them!'
 - i. i alávə a truwà **a _____ sa non** (ibid.: 125)
 she went to find DOM her grandma
 'she went to visit her grandma'
 - ii. la fi létə i statə pa sənti **a _____ sa mar** (ibid.: 125)
 the daughter she stood not hear DOM her mum
 'the daughter didn't listen to her mum'
 - iii. đ awutáv **a _____ mun báj** a fa lu bo (ibid.: 87)
 I helped DOM my dad to do the wood
 'I was helping my father cut wood'
 - po i fand **a _____ san profp** (ibid.: 134)
 then they do.3PL DOM Saint Prospero
 'then they do San Prospero (festival)'
- (8) Celle di San Vito, FG (Francoprovençal)
- Giuannə gli éstə avardənn' **a mi** e **a ti**, e nun **a igliə**
 - mun pàjə i quanascitt' **a mammə** nchié la ghìsə
 - Marìə i-a ncuntrà **a Giuannə** e **Terésə** a lu mərəcətə, ma i-a pa salutat' **a Giuannə**
- (9) Foggia
- Giuannə ste spəttannə **a nujə**, nen **a gheddə**
 - patəmə canuscì **a mmammə** nd'á chìsə
 - i. Marì a ngudrət' **a Giuannə** e Terésə o mərəcətə, ma nenn a ssalutat' **a Giuannə**
 - ii. agghi' affes' **a Dio** (Salvioni 1913: 24)
 'I've offended God'

6. Although Nagy treats the *a*-marked complements in (7) as 'indirect objects' (Nagy 2000: 109-110), we consider these and all other examples as instances of transitive predicates (e.g. 'to look/find/listen/help') selecting DOM complements. Note also that some of the original glosses have been readapted here.

(10) Cerignola, FG

- a. Giuannə ste aspəttann' **a mmò** e **ttò**, non **a gheddə**
- b. Attanəmə canuscè **a mammə** ind' a la chisə
- c. Marì ngundré **a Giuvann'** e **Ttə̀ròsə** ou mərəcòtə, ma non saluté **a Giuvannə**

Bari, BA/Barletta-Andria-Trani, BT

(11) Trinitapoli, BT

- a. Giuənnə stè aspəttè **a mmàie** e **a ttàie**, nàumə **a jèdde**
- b. Attanəmə canusscett' **a mamme** jind' alla chiəsə
- c. Marej'ò ngundròt' **a Giuannə** e **Taròsə** o mərəcòtə, ma nan o salutòt' **a Giuannə**

(12) Barletta, BT

- a. Giuénə stəspəttà **a mmaj'** e **a ttà**, non **a jèddə**
- b. atténəmə canuscitt' **a mmammìnə** nd' a chisə
- c. Marej'è ttruat' **a Giuénə** e **Nenittə** o mərəcətə, ma nn'è salutət' **a Giuénə**

(13) Canosa, BT

- a. vɛ:tənə a jiddə (M&S 2005: II, 507)
'they see him'
- b. vɛ:tənə a ffrattə (ibid.)
'they see your brother'

(14) Minervino, BT

- a. jaʃʃə camæ: tə **a ttajə/jiddə** (M&S 2005: II, 507)
- b. attənəmə canuscèi' **a màmə** iind' a la chiísə
- c. Marej'ò ngundrət' **a Giuənnə** e **Terəsə** o mərəcətə, ma **a Giuənnə** na l'ò salutətə

(15) Giovinazzo, BA

- a. sə ccame:tə **a jiddə** (M&S 2005: II, 507)
- b. sə ccame:tə **a ssər-mə** (ibid.)
- c. Marì av'acchiét' **a Giuənnə** e **Taresə** o mərəchétə, ma non a salutét' **a Giuənnə**

(16) Capurso, BA

- a. Giuannə sta spett' **a mme** e **a tte**, noun' **a jèddə**
- b. tou **i** sì viste d' assì d' o camesànde **a megghierme** e alla sóre? (Pastore 2002: 30)
'did you see my wife and her sister coming out of the cemetery?'
- c. i. acchiòtte **a Masìne** o spunde (ibid.: 19)
's/he found Tommaso on the corner'
- ii. u patroune chiamòtte **a Fièlùccie** (ibid.: 29)
'the master called Raffaele'

- (17) Mola, BA
- Giunnə ste spett' **a mma** e **a tta**, noun' **a jeddə**
 - iattənəmə canəsscégghi' **a mmammə** jènd' à chiisə
 - Sisinə ha' cchiat' **a Giunnə** nd' à chiazze
- (18) Conversano, BA
- Giunnə ste spett' **a mme** e **a tte**, mic' **a jiddə**
 - dattanəmə canəssciö **a mammə** nd' a la chisə
 - Marì av' acchiète nd' o mərchètə **a Giunnə** ca stéivə chə Teréisə; a salutèt' **a Tèrésə**, ma a Giunnə nòn l' a pənzètə pröpriə
- (19) Polignano, BA
- me vu **a mme?** (Bentley *et alii* 2014: 33)
'do you want me?'
 - tu, gasse **a mmàmete** i vvìne pi mmèje (CRSEC 2001: 6)
'you, leave your mum and come with me'
 - Marì av' acchièt' **a Giunnə** i **Sisinə** o mərchètə, ma **a Giunnə** nann u a salutètə
- (20) Putignano, BA
- Giunnə ste spett' **a mmì** e **a ttìə**, non' **a jeddə**
 - attanəmə canuscèj' **a mammə** nd' à chisə
 - Marèj' o' cchiat' **a Giunnə** i **a Teresə** o mərcatə, ma nann o ssalutat' **a Giunnə**
- (21) Gravina, BA
- Giunnə ste spett' **a mic'** e **a tichə**, noun' **a jeddə**
 - attanəmə canuscì **a mammə** ind' alla chisə
 - Marì è' cchiät' **a Giunnə** e **a Teresə** o mərchètə, ma nann è ssalutät' **a Giunnə**
- (22) Altamura, BA
- sə v:ɪst/k:jɛt/č:ɪs **a t:ai** (Loporcaro 1988: 269)
'I've seen/found/killed you'
 - attanəme canuscì **a mammə** jind' a la chisə
 - sə v:ɪst/k:jɛt/č:ɪs (**a**) **p:ep:iin** (Loporcaro 1988: 269)
'I've seen/found/killed Peppino'
- Taranto**₁
- (23) Mottola, TA₁
- Giunnə ste spett' **a mme** e **a tte**, noun' **a jeddə**
 - attanəmə canuscì **a mammə** jind' a la chisə
 - Marì av' acchièt' **a Giunnə** e **a Tèrésə** allu mərchètə, ma nan gi' à salutèt' **a Giunnə**

- (24) Montemesola, TA₁ (Ciccotti 2013: 59-60; Claudio Ciccotti, p.c.)
- a. **a me**, non **m**'ha chiamat nisciun!
'no-one called me!'
 - b. i. aiut **a mam't**
'help your mum!'
 - ii. salut'm **a nonn't**
'say hi to your grandma!'
 - c. Mari a vvist' **a Giuannə** e **Teresə** a u mərcatə, ma non gi'à ssalutat' **a Giuannə**
- (25) Taranto
- a. aʃʃə camə:tə **a iddə** (M&S 2005: II, 507)
'I've called him'
 - b. aʃʃə camə:tə **a fʃʃjətə** (ibid.)
'I've called your son'
 - c. Mari a'cchiat' **a Giuann** e **Teresə** au mərcatə, ma non gi'a salutät' **a Giuannə**

The first 25 northern and central Apulian varieties (N/C Apulian) from the areas of Foggia (1)-(10), Bari (11)-(22), and northern Taranto (23)-(25) show that DOM (nearly)⁷ always occurs with (a) personal pronouns, (b) kinship terms with an enclitic possessive —except for the proclitic instances (Nagy 2000: § 5.1.5) in the two Franco-provençal varieties of Faeto (7) and Celle (8), and (c) proper names.

A very different picture arises in the Salentino varieties, from the areas of Brindisi and Taranto (26)-(30), and Lecce (31)-(37):

Brindisi, BR/Taranto, TA₂

- (26) Mesagne, BR
- a. Gianni sta spetta **a mei** e **a tei**, noni **a edda**
 - b. sirma canuscü **mama** ntra la chiesa
 - c. Maria è ccuntratu **Giuanni e Teresa** allu marcatu, ma **Giuanni** no l'è salutatu
- (27) Oria, BR
- a. Gianni sta spetta **a mei** e **a tei**, noni **a edda**
 - b. sierma canuscü **mama** ntr'alla chiesa
 - c. Maria è ccuntratu **Giuanni e Teresa** allu mercatu, ma non c'è salutatu **Giuanni**
- (28) Latiano, BR
- a. Gianni scta scpetta **a mei** e **a tei**, noni **a edda**

7. For Altamura (22), Loporcaro (1988: 269) attests to the optionality of DOM with all referents but 1SG and 2SG personal pronouns; however, this appears to be an isolated case compared to the other varieties in (1)-(25).

- b. sierma canobbi **mama** ntra nna chiesa
- c. Maria é ncuntratu **Gianni** e **Tiresa** allu mircatu, ma non c'è ssalutatu **Gianni**

(29) Cellino S.Marco, BR (De Angelis 2019: 64; Loporcaro 2021: 189)

- c. i. addʒu ntisu **la maría** ka parlava kullu ddʒovanni
'I heard Maria speaking with Giovanni'
- ii. aggiu chiamatu **lu Gianni**
'I called Giovanni'
- iii. sta ccercu **lu Carlu**
'I'm looking for Carlo'

(30) Lizzano, TA₂

- a. i. **a mei** picca **mi** sta nghizza
'I have little desire to do that (lit. it feeds me little)'
- ii. **a te**, figghiu, la mamma **t'**e spittatu na vita intera
'my son, your mum has been waiting for you an entire life'
- b. i. Ttanima canusciu **mama** ntra na chiesa
- ii. puru **a mama** agghiu'ccuntintata
'I made even mum happy'
- iii. aggiu vistu **nonnima**
'I've seen my grandma'
- c. Teresa è cchiatu **Gianni** sobbra la chiazza

Lecce, LE

(31) Carmiano, LE (Loporcaro 2021: 187)

- c. addʒu ʃu tʃʃata **la maría**
'I went to visit Maria'

(32) Lecce

- a. i. a iftu **a mmie**/**mie (Loporcaro 2021: 188)
'you saw me'
- ii. **a mie** nu **me** cunvinci filu (Greco 2018: 529)
'you won't convince me at all'
- iii. propiu **a tie** ieu sta spettàa (Greco 2018: 521)
'it is precisely you I was waiting for'
- b. i. sta uardu **sirma** (Greco 2018: 209)
'I'm looking at my dad'
- ii. sirma canubbe **màtrima** alla chesia
- c. La Maria à ncuntratu **lu Sçiuanni** e **la Teresa** allu marcatu, ma nun à ssalutatu **lu Sçiuanni**

- (33) Calimera, LE (Ledgeway *et alii* 2019: 13)
 a. lu Pietru ntise **la Maria**
 ‘Pietro heard Maria’
- (34) Serrano, LE
 a. lu Gianni sta spetta **a mmie e a ttie**, none **a quidda**⁸
 b. sirama canusciu **matrima** intru alla chesia
 c. la Teresa a ncuntratu **lu Giovanni** alla chiazza
- (35) Otranto, LE
 a. u Gianni **a nui** sta ne spetta, none **a idda**
 b. sirima canusciu **mamma** alla chiesa
 c. la Teresa aje cchiatu **u Giovanni** alla chiazza
- (36) Maglie, LE
 a. u Gianni sta ne spetta **a mie e a tie**, no **a idda**
 b. jeri a Maria s’a ntisa fiacca e a chiamatu **maritusa**
 c. a Teresa a cchiatu **u Giovanni** alla chiazza
- (37) Scorrano, LE (Presicce 2011)
 a. **a mmie m**’ave vattisciatu la nunna Vata
 ‘godmother Ada baptised me’
 b. **Fijuma**, quiddu spusatu, **lu** mantegnu ncora jeu
 ‘my son, the married one, I still provide for him’

Among the three referents considered here, the only *a*-marked ones in Salentino are (a) personal pronouns (see also Ledgeway, *forthc.*, for further details on some potential person-based distinctions), but not (b) kinship terms — one apparent exception is found in Lizzano, TA (3ob.ii), where the fronted ‘my mum’ is the only case of *a*-marked determinerless kinship term — and (c) proper names. Indeed, proper names never appear *a*-marked in Salentino, irrespective of the frequent clitic resumption of the nominal expression. Moreover, Salentino varieties do not show any sensitivity to the absence (in northern Salento) or presence (in central-southern Salento) of the definite article with proper names; i.e. neither of the two options favours the *a*-marking. Within the broader contexts of ESIDs, Salentino varieties behave unlike

8. In contrast with the evidence from Serrano in (34a), Bentley *et alii* (2015: 170) report the example from the neighbouring village, Martano, *ave quiddhu/quiddha cu te iuta* (lit. ‘it has thatM/F (person) that helps you’), where the demonstrative pronoun *quiddhu/-a* does not appear *a*-marked, while personal pronouns do. We believe that this limitation is due to the existential function of *aviri*.

the varieties in Calabria (De Angelis 2019; Ledgeway *et alii* 2019), where the absence of the definite article with masculine proper nouns favours DOM. Indeed, Salentino DOM is highly limited and somewhat similar to that of some Abruzzese varieties, e.g. Ariellese, where only 1SG-2SG personal pronouns are marked (D'Alessandro 2017), as well as other Italo-Romance varieties (M&S 2005: II, §4.9), including Italian, where the *a*-marking only surfaces with fronted personal pronouns (cf. Benincà 1988: 156; Berretta 1991; Singh 2019). These varieties display conservative stages of DOM (cf. Ledgeway, *forthc.*, for early (Italo-)Romance), which only surfaces with highly referential and specific personal pronominal objects, as these show no DOM with indefinite pronominal quantifiers (§2.2). In contrast, N-C Apulian varieties have a more extended DOM system, in which all determinerless referents are *a*-marked, in a similar manner to Neapolitan (Ledgeway 2000, 2009) or Sicilian (Guardiano 2010).

2.2 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

In this section we discuss DOM in relation to indefinite pronouns, such as the existential and negative quantifiers ‘someone/anyone’ and ‘no-one’, the indefinite *wh*-pronoun ‘whom’, and numeral pronoun ‘one (person)’, which are less referential than those discussed in §2.1.

As for the pronominal quantifiers, the literature reports that in N-C Apulia ‘no-one’ will always be *a*-marked (38a-e), unlike ‘someone/anyone’ (38f-g):

(38) indefinite Q-pronouns: ‘someone/no-one’

- a. Də lu pajesə mijə, no canosc’**a nisciune** chə cə chiamə accuscì Carpino, FG
 ‘In my town, I know no-one who is called like that’
- b. n’imə ccisə mzi’**a nnisciuna** Torremaggiore, FG (Tondo 2008: 16)
 ‘we never killed anyone’
- c. nan tsə ccamətə **a niffəuna** Canosa, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
- d. nann əjjə cammæ:tə **a nəffəuna** Minervino, BT (*ibid.*)
- e. n əjjə camətə **a niffu: nə** Taranto, TA (*ibid.*)
 ‘I called no-one’
- f. Canusce **quacchéduna** ca rracama? San Nicandro, FG (Ledgeway, *forthc.*)
 ‘do you know anyone who does embroidery?’
- g. dʒə kwanáj **kakunna** ki parlə fajtar Faeto, FG (Nagy 2000: 100)
 I know someone that speaks Faetar
 ‘I know someone who speaks Faetar’

Likewise, the animate object *wh*-pronoun ‘who(m)’ (39) appear to be *a*-marked across most varieties. Surprisingly, this same pronoun can even be *a*-marked in subject function (39g):

- (39) **WH-pronoun: ‘who’**
- a. **a cchenéije** che vé truwènne? Mattinata, FG (Granatiero 1987: 75)
 ‘who are you looking for?’
 - b. **a cchi(ja)** va’ truvanne? San Nicandro, FG (Ledgeway, forthc.)
 ‘who are you looking for?’
 - c. **a k’ki** ‘cè: mə? San Severo, FG (M&S 2005: II, 506)
 ‘who are you calling?’
 - d. ndovīn’**a cchi** trovə? Foggia, FG
 ‘guess who I found?’
 - e. **(a t)tʃə** a cammætə? Minervino, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
 ‘who did you call?’
 - f. Cristu cu **llu** scunocchja **a cci** nna vene qqua Ostuni, BR
 ‘May Christ break to pieces who doesn’t come here’
 - g. **a ci** tenə artə, tenə partə Taranto, TA₁ (Rohlf 1969: 9)
 ‘who has skills, makes a living’
 - h. maliticu **a ci** ti violenta o **a ci** ti maltratta Lizzano, TA₂
 ‘I curse who(ever) harms or mistreats you’
 - i. **A cci** uèi? Lecce, LE (Ledgeway, forthc.)
 ‘who do you want?’

By contrast, the numeral object-pronoun ‘one (person)’ (40) appears to allow DOM especially in Apulo-Barese (40e-h), but does not seem to surface in other varieties:

- (40) **Numeral pronoun: ‘one (person)’**
- a. Luwigge à spusate **una** d’u pajése sója San Nicandro, FG (Ledgeway forthc.)
 ‘Luigi has married someone from his village’
 - b. chiamave **vune** d’i tanda crijatùre Lucera, FG
 ‘s/he called one of the many children’
 - c. ci chiama **uno de li criati** Foggia, FG (Salvioni 1913: 28)
 ‘he called one of his servants’
 - d. e chiamò **un di li garzuún** Trinitapoli, BT (Salvioni 1913: 30)
 ‘he called one of his servants’
 - e. vè:tənə **a jeuna** də kirə Canosa, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
 ‘they see one of those (people)’
 - f. na volde accedèrne pòure **a jòune** Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 21)
 ‘once they even killed one (person)’

- g. vedétte **a joùne** Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 37)
 ‘s/he saw one (person)’
- h. chiaméghie **a ièune** d’i sirve Mola, BA
 ‘he called one of his servants’
- i. chiamì **une** d’i servetûre Alberobello, BA (Melillo 1970: 105-106)
 ‘he called one of his servants’
- j. chiamò **jjune** de li síerve Mottola, TA
 ‘he called one of his servants’
- k. annu ccisu **unu** fiaccu propiu Maglie, LE
 ‘they killed a really bad one (criminal)’

In our survey of N-C Apulian and Salentino varieties, we tested both existential and negative pronominal quantifiers with different predicates, such as ‘to kill’ (41), ‘to see’ (42), and ‘to know’ (43). The rather unambiguous results are shown below:

(41) **existential Q-pronoun: ‘to kill someone’**

- a. s’i vucənantə fannə angorə casinə, oj’aj’ e’ccid’ **a qualchedunə** Carpino, FG
 b. s’i vəcinə cundinuən’a ffé casinə, joscə accic’ **a chédùnə** Mattinata, FG
 c. sə quissə vucənantə condinuan’a fa casinə, joj’ accid’ **a cacchedunə** S.Marco, FG
 d. si quillə accus’ a mme cundinuən’a fa burdellə, oggə accid’ **a chəcchevunə** Lucera, FG
 e. sə quiss’affianghə accundinu’a fa a cummèdiə, oggə agghi’a accid’ **a quacchedönə** Foggia, FG
 f. sə chidd’o coustə cuntenuon’a fè caseinə, gosçə acceit’ **a quacchegounə** Cerignola, FG
 g. cə i vəcənanə fannə angourə casenə, jouscə accett’ **a qualchejounə** Trinitapoli, BT
 h. cə u vəcənə n’a fenəcənə, joscə j’ a’ccit’ **a quacchejòunə** Barletta, BT
 i. cə u vəcənəndə cundénu’a ffé jòsə, jòscə accéit’ **a ngòcchédèunə** Mola, BA
 j. cə u vəcənèrə cundinuən’a fè la iòusə, jòscə égg’hi’ accéid’ **a qualchédóunə** Conversano, BA
 k. c’i vəcənə cundenuən’a fajə casenə, juəscə j’ a’ccer’ **a quachijonə** Putignano, BA
 l. cə le vəcèinə condinuon’a fè la jousə, joscə l’ accidəc’ **a qualchedunə** Gravina, BA
 m. cə chirə da vəcínə cundinuən’a fè frajassə, joscə accitəc’ **a nquachèdunə** Mottola, TA
 n. ci quiddi di costi continuano a ffa josa, osci ccidi **quarcheduno** S.Vito, BR
 o. ci li vicini cuntinuunu a fa casinu, osci ccìu **ncunùnu** Mesagne, BR
 p. ci quisti di costi fannu ncora rimori, osci scannu **ncunnu** Latiano, BR
 q. ci li vicini continuunu cu fannu casinu, osci ccìu **ncununu** Oria, BR
 r. sçi li vicini contínuanu ffannu burdiellu, osçe ccìu **quarchetunu** Lecce, LE
 s. se li vicini fannu ncora tuttu stu rusciu, osci ccìu **qualchetunu** Serrano, LE

- t. se i vicini secutane cu fannu burdellu, osci cciu **quarchedunu** Otranto, LE
 u. se quisti de coste nu la spicciane cu crìdane, oçi cciu **quarchedunu** Maglie, LE
 ‘If the neighbours keep being so loud, today I’ll kill someone (intended: among them)’
- (42) **negative Q-pronoun: ‘to see no-one (among Teresa’s sons)’**
- a. allu matrəmonìə nn’èi vist’**a nəsciunə d’i figghia də Taresə** Carpino, FG
 b. au spusalizzìə nn’èi vist’**a nnəsciunə d’i figghia də Térésə** Mattinata, FG
 c. allu spusalizzìə nn’èi vist’**a nisciunə delli figghia di Taresə** S.Marco, FG
 d. o spusalizzìə n’agghìə vist’**a nisciunə d’i figghia də Taresə** Lucera, FG
 e. au matrəməniə nənn’agghie vist’**a nisciunə d’i figghia de Térésə** Foggia, FG
 f. au matrəmonìə non e vest’**a nisciunə d’i figghia də Terəsə** Cerignola, FG
 g. o spusalizzìə nan è vist’**a nəssciunə d’i figghia də Tarəsə** Trinitapoli, BT
 h. ou spusalizzìə nann’èi vist’**a nəsciunə d’i figghia də Nenittə** Barletta, BT
 i. au sponzalézzìə na ssò vèst’**a nəsscünə d’i feilə də Tarəsə** Mola, BA
 j. alla zètə non so vèst’**a nissciunə d’i feilə də Térésə** Conversano, BA
 k. â zeitə nann è vest’**a niscionə d’i feilə də Taresə** Putignano, BA
 l. alla zeitə nan so vist’**a nəsciunə də lə figghia də Taresə** Gravina, BA
 m. alla zitə nan gə agghìə vist’**a nisciunə də li filə də Teresina** Mottola, TA
- n. allu spusaliziu no agghiu vistu **nisciunu dli fili di Sisina** S.Vito, BR
 o. allu matrimognu non agghiu vištu **nisciunu ti li fili ti Teresa** Mesagne, BR
 p. allu sposalizzio non ogghiu vištu **nisciunu ti li fili ti Teresa** Latiano, BR
 q. allu spusalizziu n’ogghiu vistu **nisciunu ti li fili di Teresa** Oria, BR
 r. allu matrimoniū nun aggiu istu **nisciunu te li figghi te la Teresa** Lecce, LE
 s. allu sposaliziu nu aggiu vistu **nuḍḍu te li fiji te la Teresa** Serrano, LE
 t. allu matrimoniū nun aggiu vistu **nuḍḍu di fiji da Teresa** Otranto, LE
 u. allu matrimoniū nun aggiu vistu **nuḍḍu di fiji dā Teresia** Maglie, LE
 ‘I didn’t see any of Teresa’s sons at the wedding’
- (43) **existential > negative Q-pronoun: ‘did you know anyone? I knew no-one’**
- a. canusciv’**a chəchédùn**’alla riunionə? No, n’ganuscèv’**a nnəsciunə** Carpino, FG
 b. canusciv’**a quacchedun**’alla riunionə? No n’ganuscèv’**a nisciunə** Mattinata, FG
 c. canusciv’**a cacchedun**’alla riunionə? No, non ganuscèv’**a nisciunə** S.Marco, FG
 d. canusciv’**a chəcchevun**’â reunionə? No, nən ganuscèv’**a nisciunə** Lucera, FG
 e. canusciv’**a quacchedun**’alla riunionə? No, non ganuscèv’**a nisciunə** Foggia, FG
 f. canusciv’**a quacchegoun**’alla riunionə? Nónə, non ganusciov’**a nisciunə** Cerignola, FG
 g. canussciəv’**a qualchejoun**’alla riunionə? Naumə, nan ganussciəiv’**a nəssciunə** Trinitapoli, BT
 h. canusciv’**a quacchejoun**’â riunionə? No, nan ganuscèiv’**a nəsciunə** Barletta, BT
 i. canəsciv’**a ngocchédëun**’alla reuniàunə? No, na ccanessciəiv’**a nəsscünə** Mola, BA

- j. canəsciv' **a quacchedóunə** nd'a la riunióunə? Innóune, nan ganəsciéiv' **a niscióunə** Conversano, BA
- k. canəsciv' **a quachion**'à riunionə? No, nan ganuscəv' **a niscionə** Putignano, BA
- l. canəsciv' **a qualchedun**' alla riunionə? No, nan ganuscìai **a nəsciunə** Gravina, BA
- m. canəsciv' **a nqualchədun**' alla riunionə? No, nan gə canuscəv' **a nisciunə** Mottola, TA₁
- n. canəscivi **qualchidunu** alla riunionə? No, no canuscəva **nisciunu** S.Vito, BR
- o. canəscivi **ncununu** alla riunioni? No, no canuscìa **nisciunu** Mesagne, BR
- p. canəscivi **ncunnunu** alla riunioni? No, no canuscìa **nisciunu** Latiano, BR
- q. canəscivi **quarchitunu** ti la riunioni? Noni, no canuscìa **nisciunu** Oria, BR
- r. canəscivi **ncununu** alla riunioni? No, no canuscìa **nisciunu** Lizzano, TA₂
- s. canəscii **quarchetunu** alla riunionə? None, nnu ccanuscìa **ceđđi** Lecce, LE
- t. canəscivi **quarchetunu** allu ncontru? None, nu canuscìa **sciueđđi** Serrano, LE
- u. canəscivi **quarchedunu** alla riunionə? No, nu canuscìa **nisciunu** Otranto, LE
- v. canəscivi **quarchedunu** alla riunionə? No, nu canuscìa **ciuevđđi** Maglie, LE
- 'Did you know anyone at the meeting? No, I knew no-one'

Examples (41) to (43) highlight another sharp distinction between N-C Apulian vs Salentino varieties. While the former never fail to *a*-mark all instances of the two indefinite quantifiers, there is no trace of DOM in Salentino. From this, we can gather that the pronominal nature of the indefinite element is not a sufficient DOM-trigger in Salentino, but it is N-C Apulian varieties, where it is probably lexicalised given its occurrence with all predicates. Interestingly, the speaker from Gravina doubles the Q-pronoun 'no-one/anyone' in (41l) with a clitic, suggesting that the pronoun indeed refers to a specific entity, i.e. someone among the neighbours.

Let us now consider nouns with overt determiners, both definite (§ 2.3) and indefinite (§ 2.4) ones.

2.3 NOUNS WITH DEFINITE DETERMINERS

It is with definite nominal expressions that the *a*-marking starts to weaken its occurrence in varieties where DOM is more extended. At these levels of the definiteness scale, [+specific] DPs, i.e. highly identifiable referents, would normally display DOM, while [-specific] ones would not (Torrego 1998; Ledgeway 2000; Leonetti 2008; López 2016; a.o.). In particular, the degree of specificity/identifiability of a referent is usually higher with singular DPs and lower with plural ones. Moreover, DOM may be favoured whenever a deictic element is present in the nominal expression. Indeed, a DP containing a demonstrative adjective should in theory be more specific than that

a DP with a definite article, as the referent is more easily identifiable thanks to the deictic element.

2.3.1 Singular definite nouns

Bearing these premises in mind, we tested these three variables with different predicates in all varieties. We start by presenting [+singular] DPs, with the first example involving the V-O sequence ‘to call the husband’:

- (44) **‘to call the husband’: DP** _[+singular/+specific]
- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| a. aìərə Marijə c’è səndutə mmalaməndə e òu chiamét’ u maritə | Mattinata, FG |
| b. ierə Maria jè sənduta malə e a cchiamat’ allu maritə | S.Marco, FG |
| c. aìrə Marije nn’è statə bbonə e a cchiamat’ u maritə | Lucera, FG |
| d. aìrə Marie s’è səndite malaməndə e a cchiamät’ u marite | Foggia, FG |
| e. aìrə Mari s’o səndoutə malaməndə e o cchiamòt’ u marètə | Cerignola, FG |
| f. ajìərə Mariə sə səndéttə malaménde e chiamétt’ o marétə | Trinitapoli, BT |
| g. ajìərə Maré nan s’è sənditə bbonə e chiamitt’ u marètə | Barletta, BT |
| h. ajìərə Mariə na ss’à səndéutə bbonə e à cchiamét’ u maréitə | Mola, BA |
| i. Mari ajirə s’a səndóutə brottə e a cchiamèt’ u maretà | Conversano, BA |
| j. ajerə Marejə s’i ndeisə brottə i o cchiamat’ u maretà | Putignano, BA |
| k. ajirə Mari s’è səndoutə bruttə e jè cchiamät’ o mareitə | Gravina, BA |
| l. ajìərə Mariə na ss’è səndutə e à cchiamètə lu maritə | Mottola, TA |
| m. ieri Maria è avutu nu mancamentu e è cchiamatu lu maritu | S.Vito, BR |
| n. ieri Maria s’è sintùta brutta ed è cchiamatu lu maritu | Mesagne, BR |
| o. ieri Maria s’è ssintuta fiacca ed è cchiamatu maritusa | Latiano, BR |
| p. Maria ieri no s’è sintuta bona e è cchiamatu maritusa | Oria, BR |
| q. ieri Maria s’ae ntisa fiacca e a ccchiamatu maritusa | Lecce, LE |
| r. ieri la Maria se ntise fiacca e chiamau maritusa | Serrano, LE |
| s. ieri a Maria s’a ntisa fiacca e a ttuccatu chiama maritusa | Otranto, LE |
| t. jeri a Maria s’a ntisa fiacca e a cchiamatu maritusa | Maglie, LE |
- ‘Yesterday Maria felt sickly and called her (lit. the) husband’

The first highly [+specific] referent considered is ‘the husband’, a kinship term with an intended possessive interpretation, i.e. ‘Maria’s/her husband’. Indeed, most Salentino varieties (44o-t) allow the 3SG enclitic possessive with ‘husband’ (*maritu-sa/marita-sa*), while N-C Apulian and some N Salentino varieties do not present this option and instead use the definite article to convey the same third-person possessive interpretation. However, irrespective of the expression of the DP, DOM was only produced by speakers from S.Marco (44b), Trinitapoli (44f), and Gravina (44k).

These same three varieties select DOM with a [-specific] singular kinship DP, ‘one’s (lit. the) son’⁹ with a ‘kind’-referring interpretation (cf. Brugé & Brugger 1994: 8):

- (45) ‘to hit the son’: DP_[+singular/-specific]
- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| a. (na vòlètə la mammə dèvə mazzə au figghiə p’addrəzzàrələ) | Mattinata, FG |
| b. prima na mamma menava allu figghiə p’ farlu mparà | S.Marco, FG |
| c. na vòtə na mammə frəcavə də taccaratə u figghiə pə mbararlə a’ducazziònə | Lucera, FG |
| d. na votə na mammə menävə də taccaratə u figghiə pə mbararlə ¹⁰ | Foggia, FG |
| e. prèimə na mammə manòv’ u fegghiə chə nzəgnarlə | Cerignola, FG |
| f. prémə na mammə manàiv’ o figghiə chə ddallə l’aducazziàumə | Trinitapoli, BT |
| g. na mémmə cresəmv’ u figghiə chə farl’assi bərəfèttə | Barletta, BT |
| h. acquannə jaivə tannə na mammə mazziav’ u fegghiə p’addrəzzauə | Mola, BA |
| i. (è timbə də prémə na mammə ngə déivə mazzèt’è fèlə pə mbarangə l’aducazzióunə) | Conversano, BA |
| j. preimə na mammə mazziav’ u fegghiə pə dangə l’aducazzionə | Putignano, BA |
| k. (preimə na mammə sunai a nu figghiə p’aducallə) | Gravina, BA |
| l. (primə ma mammə ngə devə mazzètə allu figghiə chə lu fè mməzzè) | Mottola, TA |
| m. na vota na mamma mazziava lu figghiu cu lu ndrizzava | S.Vito, BR |
| n. nna vota la mamma talia lu figghiu cu lu educava | Mesagne, BR |
| o. tiempu angretu nna mamma talia lu figghiu cu nci mmizza l’educazioni | Latiano, BR |
| p. prima na mamma strigghiava, vattia lu figghiu cu lu mpara | Oria, BR |
| q. (prima le mamme attianu li figghi cu lli mpàranu cristiani. | Lecce, LE |
| r. (alli tempi passati na mamma vattia nu fiju cu nu lu fazza ddivintare scustumatu) | Serrano, LE |
| s. (na fiata e mamme li vattiane li fiji cu li mparàvane. | Otranto, LE |
| t. a ttiempi la mamma vattia u fiju cu lu ndrizza | Maglie, LE |
- ‘In the past, a mum would hit her (lit. the) son to educate him’

Although many speakers rendered ‘to hit’ with the ditransitive expression *dà mazzatə a*, ‘to take a swing at (lit. to give blows to)’ requiring a dative complement (cf. Pineda 2016, 2020), we notice no major differences with the preceding context in (44), even though the object in (45) is highly affected. This suggests that specificity

9. However, the sentence from Gravina (45k) was translated with an indefinite noun ‘a son’, on a par with the sentence from Serrano (45r), alongside the generic plural ‘the sons’. This indeed shows the interpretative contrast with the preceding example in (44).

10. Note that one recorded informant from Foggia doubles the direct object *u figghiə* with a clitic *u*, i.e. *primə na mammə u palliävə u figghiə*, yet this does not trigger DOM.

does not necessarily play a role in any of these varieties, whether they did or did not produce DOM. Indeed, the speaker from Gravina is the only one who employs DOM with the same [-specific] DP ‘the son’ in the generic sentence (not included here) ‘a mum would like to hear from her (lit. the) son everyday’ *sə sãpə ca na mammə volə send’o figghià tutt’i dì*. We could argue that in Gravina, DOM may actually be sensitive to a feature [+kin] of the DP. The same could be hypothesised for Trinitapoli and S.Marco, except that ‘to hear from the son’ does not trigger DOM, while ‘to beat the son’ does, suggesting that some predicates (‘to beat/call’), but not others (‘to hear from’), may be responsible for the presence of DOM.

Moving on to singular referents other than kinship terms, we consider two other [+specific] common nouns with different predicates, namely ‘to get to know the son of a famous singer’ (46) and ‘to call the local doctor’ (not included):

- (46) **‘to get to know the son of a famous singer’: DP** ^[+singular/+specific]
- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| a. aìərə Marì òu canəsciut’ u figghià də nu candandə famòusə | Mattinata, FG |
| b. jerə Maria a canəsciutə lu figghià də nu candandə famosə | S.Marco, FG |
| c. aìre Marì a canusciut’ o figghià də nu candandə chə vacə pə nnumənatə | Lucera, FG |
| d. airə Maria a canəsciòt’ u figghià də nu candandə famösə | Foggia, FG |
| e. aìre Marì o canousciout’ u fegghià də nu candandə famòusə | Cerignola, FG |
| f. ajìərə Marì o canessciout’ o figghià də nu candandə famòusə | Trinitapoli, BT |
| g. ajìre Marèj’è canusciout’ u figghià də nu candandə famòusə | Barletta, BT |
| h. ajìre Marì à ccanəsscèut’ u fegghià də nu candandə famëusə | Mola, BA |
| i. ajìre Marì a canəsciout’ u fegghià də nu candandə famòusə | Conversano, BA |
| j. ajerə Marej’o canisciot’ u fegghià də nu candandə mbortandə | Putignano, BA |
| k. ajìre Marì è canəsciout’ u figghià də nu candandə famosə | Gravina, BA |
| l. ajìre Marì à canisciotə lu figghià də nu candandə famòsə | Mottola, TA |
| | |
| m. ieri Maria è canusciutu lu figghiu di nu cantante famoso | S.Vito, BR |
| n. ieri Maria è canusciutu lu figghiu ti nnu cantanti famosu | Mesagne, BR |
| o. ieri Maria è ccanusciutu lu figghiu ti nnu cantanti famosu | Latiano, BR |
| p. ieri Maria è canusciutu lu figghiu ti nu cantanti famosu | Oria, BR |
| q. ieri la Maria à’ ccanusciutu lu figghiu te nu cantante famosu | Lecce, LE |
| r. ieri la Maria ave canusciutu lu fiju te nu cantante famosu | Serrano, LE |
| s. ieri a Maria aje canusciutu u fiju de nu cantante famosu | Otranto, LE |
| t. ieri a Maria a canusciutu u fiju de nu cantante famosu | Maglie, LE |
- ‘Yesterday Maria met the son of a famous singer’

Despite the specificity of the referents in question, most speakers from N-C Apulia and Salento did not select DOM in these contexts.¹¹ DOM is instead produced in the varieties from Lucera (46c), the only variety marking the DP in the sentence *Giunnə a vist'a nu criaturə pə nderrə e a chiamat'ò dottórə d'u pajiesə* 'Gianni saw a child on the ground and called the local doctor', and from Trinitapoli, but only in the context shown in (46f). While for Trinitapoli the [kin] feature may be invoked again, for Lucera the optionality of the *a*-marking becomes evident, as 'to hit the son' and 'to call the husband' did not trigger DOM, while 'to get to know the son of a singer' and 'to call the doctor' did.

Although we could expect DOM with the [+specific] DPs discussed above, its absence in most varieties may be due to the predicates 'to get to know'¹² and 'to call', which somehow better resist the *a*-marking compared to other predicates such as 'to greet/help/kill', as we shall see below.

2.3.2 Plural definite nouns

Moving onto [+plural] definite DPs, we begin with a highly specific referent '(to wash) the sons', again, with a possessive interpretation, i.e. 'her sons':

- (47) 'to wash the sons': DP_[+plural/+specific]
- | | | |
|----|--|-----------------|
| a. | aìərə Marì òu sciacquét' i figghìə pəll'acquə də merə | Mattinata, FG |
| b. | ierə Maria a llavatə li figghìə cull'acqua lu marə | S.Marco, FG |
| c. | aìrə Marì a llavat' i figghìə pəll'acquə d'u marə | Lucera, FG |
| d. | aìrə Mariè a llavat' i figghìe chəll'acquə də marə | Foggia, FG |
| e. | aìrə Marì o llavòt' i figghìə chəll'acquə d'u morə | Cerignola, FG |
| f. | ajìərə Marìə lavét't' i figghìə chəll'acquə d'u morə | Trinitapoli, BT |
| g. | ajìrə Marèjə lavét't' i figghìə chəll'ècqua salätə | Barletta, BT |
| h. | ajìrə Marì à llavèt't' i féggìə chəll'acquə də mèrə | Mola, BA |
| i. | ajìrə Marì a llavètə tòtt'i fèlə chəll'acquə d'u mèrə | Conversano, BA |

11. This includes Faetar, where a similar example shows the unmarked referent 'the doctor': [dʒə ve: jə a kiammá **lu mmjédəkə**] 'I'm going to call the doctor' (Nagy 2000: 40). We can rule out DOM being blocked by the predicate 'to call', as we find the same predicate with an *a*-marked (at least in Nagy's transcription) quantified plural referent: [i átə kiamá **a do síndə soldá**] 'he called two hundred soldiers' (Nagy 2000: 70). The only distinctive feature between these sentences may be related to the TAM values of the same predicate 'I go to call' vs 'they have called'.

12. The predicate (*ac*)*canòsscə* can be interpreted with different meanings on the basis of its aspectual specification (cf. Vendler's (1967) aspectual classes): the stative 'to know' and activity 'to get to know' (as well as 'to recognise (someone)'), where the latter would favour DOM (cf. Torrego 1998: 31-33 for Spanish). However, even though the latter meaning was tested, most of these varieties did not show such sensitivity.

j. ajirə Marej' o llavat' i feilə cull'acqua d' u marə	Putignano, BA
k. ajirə Marì è llavät' allə figghia pəll'acqua d' u märə	Gravina, BA
l. ajire Marì à llavètə li filə chəll'acqua də mèrə	Mottola, TA
m. ieri Maria è llavatu li fili cull'acqua di mari	S.Vito, BR
n. ieri Maria è llavàtu li fili cull'acqua ti mari	Mesagne, BR
o. ieri Maria llavau li fili cull'acqua ti mari	Latiano, BR
p. ieri Maria è llavatu li fili cull'acqua ti mari	Oria, BR
q. ieri la Maria à llaatu li figghi cull'acqua te mare	Lecce, LE
r. ieri la Maria llavau li fiji cull'acqua te lu mare	Serrano, LE
s. ieri a Maria aje llavati i fiji cull'acqua de mare	Otranto, LE
t. jeri a Maria cull'acqua de mare l' a llavati i fiji	Maglie, LE
'Yesterday Maria washed her (lit. the) sons with seawater'	

While nearly all speakers produce the unmarked DP 'the sons', the only case with DOM is again Gravina (47k). As hypothesised above, this may signal that this variety tends to *a*-mark phrasal kinship terms, e.g. 'one's husband/son(s)', but not other types of definite common nouns, or at least not with predicates such as 'to call' and 'to get to know' (46k).

However, the following example, testing the same predicate-complement pair 'to wash the sons', this time in a generic context, suggest that something else is at play in some varieties:

- (48) 'to wash the sons': DP_[+plural/-specific]
- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| a. na vòlètə li mmammə sciacquèvən' i figghie ammìəzzə la chiazzə dlu paèisə | Mattinata, FG |
| b. ində lu passatə li mammə lavavan' alli figghia ammezzə la chiazza lu paiesə | S.Marco, FG |
| c. na vótə i mammə lavaven' i figghia ammizz' u larəchə | Lucera, FG |
| d. na votə lə mammə lavaven' i figghia nd' à chiazze d' u paése | Foggia, FG |
| e. prèimə i mammə lavavən' i figghia a la chiazzə du paiesə | Cerignola, FG |
| f. prémə i mämmərə lavàven' i figghia mmézz' alla chiazzə d' u pajésə | Trinitapoli, BT |
| g. na vòlètə i mmémmə lavavən' i figghia nd' à piézzə | Barletta, BT |
| h. nəfallànnə i mämmərə lavàvən' i fègghia jènd' à chiazzə d' u paieisə | Mola, BA |
| i. è timbə də prēmə, i mämmərə lavéivən' i felə mminz' alla chiazzə d' u paiesə | Conversano, BA |
| j. appremə i mämmərə lavavən' i feilə nd' à chiazzə d' u paesə | Putignano, BA |
| k. primə lə mammə lavàinə lə figghia mennz' a la chiazzə d' u paiesə | Gravina, BA |
| l. primə li mämmərə lavavənə li file mmìnz' a la chiazzə də lu paiesə | Mottola, TA |
| m. na vota li mammi lavavunu li fili mmienza alla chiazza dlu pajsì | S.Vito, BR |
| n. nna vota li mammi llavàunu li fili alla chiazza ti lu paiesì | Mesagne, BR |

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| o. tiempu angretu li mammi llavaunu li fili ntra lla chiazza ti lu paisi | Latiano, BR |
| p. prima li mammi llavaunu li fili ammienzu alla chiazza | Oria, BR |
| q. prima le matri llàanu li figghi alla chiazza te lu paisè | Lecce, LE |
| r. alli tiempi passati le mamme llavavane li fiji ammienzu alla chiazza te lu paese | Serrano, LE |
| s. prima le mamme i fiji li llavavane alla chiazza | Otranto, LE |
| t. na fiata e mamme alla chiazza dù paisè li lavàvane i fiji | Maglie, LE |
- 'In the past, mums would wash their (lit. the) sons in the town square'

In (48), the variety of S. Marco (48b) is the only one *a*-marking the direct object in this context, while the other varieties which showed DOM quite consistently, such as Gravina and Trinitapoli, do not do so. For Trinitapoli, it seems that the [+plural] feature of the DP may block DOM; witness also the next tested referent in (49). For Gravina and S.Marco, while we cannot discard idiolectal variation, we could speculate on some sort of sensitivity to the imperfective aspect of the predicate 'to wash' (rather than the (a)telicity of the predicate, as proposed in the literature). While in Gravina [+plural] referents lose the *a*-marking because of the imperfectivity (and genericity) of 'to wash' vs (47k) above, the variety of S.Marco responds in the opposite way to the imperfectivity of the generic event by *a*-marking the DP, at least with this specific predicate (but see also the generic event in (45b) 'a mum would hit **her son** to educate him', where the affected [+singular] kinship term is *a*-marked).

More [+specific/+plural] common nouns were tested, i.e. '(one's/)/the friends' (49), this time as a complement of the verb 'to greet':

- (49) 'to greet the friends': DP_[+plural/+specific]
- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| a. primə də partə, Giuann'ou salutétə l'amico | Mattinata, FG |
| b. prima də jircənə, Giuann'a salutat' alli cumbagnə | S.Marco, FG |
| c. primə də partə, Giuann'a salutat' i cumbagnə | Lucera, FG |
| d. primə də partə, Giuann'a salutat' i cumbagnə | Foggia, FG |
| e. premə də partə, Giuann'o salutòt' i cumbagnə | Cerignola, FG |
| f. prēmə de partə, Giuann'o salutòtə l'amécə | Trinitapoli, BT |
| g. prēmə də scərasinnə, Giuennə salutitt' a tutt'i cumbégnə | Barletta, BT |
| h. preimə də scərasennə, Giuannə salutegghi' all'améiscə | Mola, BA |
| i. (prēmə də partə, Giuannə s'o salutètə chə tòtt'i cumbagnə) | Conversano, BA |
| j. preimə də partə, Giuann'o salutat' all'ameiscə | Putignano, BA |
| k. preimə də partə, Giuann'è salutät' allə cumbagnə | Gravina, BA |
| l. primə də partə, Giuann'à salutètə l'amécə | Mottola, TA |
| m. prima di partiri, Giuanni è salutatu l'amici | S.Vito, BR |
| n. prima cu parti, Giuanni è salutatu l'amici | Mesagne, BR |
| o. prima cu parti, Giuanni è ssalutatu l'amici | Latiano, BR |

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| p. prima cu parti, Giuanni è salutatu li cumpagni | Oria, BR |
| q. prima cu pparte, lu Sçiuanni à ssalutatu li amici | Lecce, LE |
| r. prima cu pparta, lu Giuvanni ave salutatu l'amici | Serrano, LE |
| s. prima cu parte, u Giuvanni aje salutati l'amici | Otranto, LE |
| t. prima cu parte, u Giuanni a salutatu tutti l'amici | Maglie, LE |
- 'Before leaving, Giovanni said goodbye to his (lit. the) friends'

While DOM is once again absent in Salentino (49m-t), we see that five N-C Apulian varieties present the *a*-marking, namely S.Marco (49b), Barletta (49g),¹³ Mola (49h), Putignano (49j), and Gravina (49k). These exact same varieties (except for the one from Barletta) selected DOM in the generic, imperfective sentence 'before going to war, the husbands would say goodbye to their wives', in which the same predicate 'to greet' selects the [+plural] DP the(ir) wives'. Leaving aside the hypotheses put forth above concerning certain features at play in the individual dialects, it is likely that these varieties show DOM in these two contexts because of the predicate 'to greet/say goodbye', prototypically requiring a human object, which is *a*-marked by virtue of the selectional requirements of the verb. Indeed, Andriani (forthc.) reports a Barese example with this same verb in which even the proper name of a local TV broadcaster is *a*-marked, e.g. *salut'a Telenòrbə!* 'say hi to Telenorba!', somewhat unexpectedly given the inanimate referent.

A similar hypothesis can be put forth for the object of the predicate 'to help', tested in the generic sentence 'one has to help friends in need', where DOM surfaces in those few (Apulo-Barese) speakers who did not paraphrase their translations with a passive or ditransitive construction:

- (50) 'help the friends': DP[+plural/-specific]
- | | |
|---|----------------|
| a. i. bəsoɲ'ajutall' all'ameiscə ca stonnə ndəffəcoldè | Mola, BA |
| ii. all'ameiscə ca tenənə dabbəsugnə, l'am'ajutəjə | Mola, BA |
| b. bəsoɲ'ajutà ai aməscə ca stonnə ndəffəcoldè | Conversano, BA |
| c. aiot' all'ameiscə ca jəvənə dabbəsugnə | Putignano, BA |
| d. Bəsoɲ'aiutè allə cumbagnə ndəffəcoldè | Gravina, BA |
- 'One has to help friends in need'

Importantly, 'to help' is among the verbs appearing in Sornicola's (1997: 72) list of dative-selecting verbs in Latin and early Romance (cf. also Ledgeway 2009: 831-832), together with 'to call'. Note also that some of the informants render a few of

13. However, the speaker from Barletta included the quantifier 'all', a potential DOM-trigger at least in Barese (Andriani, forthc.), but not in Salentino, cf. (49t).

the sentences with a doubled object clitic, which signals topicality and specificity; in the cases from Mola, clitic doubling of the dislocated (50a.ii) or *in-situ* (50a.i) object triggers the presence of DOM (but this is never the case in Salentino). While it could be argued that DOM is favoured with definite DPs precisely when it involves clitic-resumed topical information, we leave this issue open for future research.

2.3.3 Definite human and animate nouns

The data discussed so far largely confirm what has been reported in the literature, namely that this section of the definiteness scale shows extensive alternations between *a*-marked and unmarked direct objects. We observed that this alternation is not necessarily due to the specificity of the referent, but to the predicates which select the DP, or, possibly, their perfective vs imperfective aspect. Below we show some examples in which both singular and plural DPs occur in similar contexts to the ones we tested and show consistency with our findings:

(51) ‘to call’

- a. ha chiamət **e/(i) figghia** Torremaggiore, FG (Tosto 2007: 20)
‘s/he called the sons’
- b. hanne chiamate **allu jettabbande** San Severo, FG
‘they called the town crier’
- c. Lu patre [...] chiamàje **tutta la gente de servizie** Foggia, FG (Salvioni 1913: 25)
‘the dad called all the servants’
- d. ‘cəmə **(a) li ywanneunə** Canosa, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
‘call the boys’
- e. alla fine, chiêmêi’ **u mëràite** Molfetta, BA (Zaza 1996: 15)
‘at the end, she called her husband’
- f. Pó chiamòtte **u figghie** Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 59)
‘later s/he called her/his son’
- g. Di gràzzie ché nè sò chiamàte **i uardiàne** Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 39)
‘Be thankful that I didn’t call the custodians’

(52) ‘to see’

- a. A mamme vedéve **u figghie** suie redutte tutte pelle e ssanghe
Foggia, FG (Valente 1975: 66)
‘the mum would see her son all skinny and covered in blood’
- b. tou **i** si viste d’assì [...] a megghierme e **àlla sóre?**
Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 30)
‘did you see my wife and her sister going out?’

- c. vedétte **u proprietàrie** du llùoche ch'arrevéve Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 39)
 'he saw the owner of the place coming'
 d. o camesànde s'avònna vedè **i femene** allanoùte? Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 28)
 'at the cemetery one has to see naked women?'
 e. nu ppozzi vitire **li fiji mei** Scorrano, LE (Presicce 2011)
 'I can't see my sons'

(53) **other predicates**

- a. U chènè mòccèchè **a u straccètè** San Severo, FG
 'a dog bites the beggar'
 b. U cœnè muzzichèjè **u strazzoètè** Foggia, FG (Fidanza 1992)
 'a dog bites the beggar'
 c. i dritte s'ajùtene da pe llóre, **è manghjaréile** i ajute Criste Grumo, BA (Colantuono 2005: 144)
 'the smart ones help themselves, Christ helps the dumb ones'
 d. Pe scì acchié **j àlde parjiende** Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 27)
 'to go visit the other relatives'
 e. S'essi pigghiatu **lu giovini** ca a tittu tuni Lizzano, TA₂
 'If only I had taken the guy you said'
 f. lu previti è ddittu ca, **li scinnuti, li** sposa la matina prestu Lizzano, TA₂
 'the priest said he marries eloped couples in the early morning'

From the varied range of examples above, we can see how some N Apulian varieties, such as that of San Severo, consistently show DOM in all contexts, i.e. [+specific] (51b) and [-specific] (53a) DPs, whereas C Apulian (53c) is more prone to DOM when the DPs are clitic-resumed (but not Salentino (53f)). This might again suggest that doubling structures favour DOM with definite referents, but they are not always a prerequisite for the *a*-marking to occur.

A particular case of extended DOM with definite DPs, selected by different predicates, is found in Faetar:

- (54) a. đ̣ e viáw **a la fíla** ki tu kwanáj (Nagy 2002: 114)
 I have seen DOM the girl that you know
 'I saw the girl you know'
 b. alórrə sa marə i manáttə **a l ɔnfán** (ibid.: 123)
 then her mum she sent DOM the child
 'so her mum sent her (lit. the) child'

- c. non dʒə tə purtá **a** lu tʃəstíəl də la pits (ibid.: 130)
 grandma I you brought DOM the basket with the pizza
 ‘Grandma, I brought you the basket with pizza’
- d. lu patrún cmáttə **a** lo sèrve (Kattenbusch 1982: 297)
 the lord called DOM the servants
 ‘the lord called the servants’
- e. dʒi viáw **tuttə lə fiʎ/ tutto lo kwattrá** (Nagy 2002: 82)
 I see all the girls all the boys
 ‘I see all the girls/the boys’

Not only are the human common nouns ‘the girl’ (54a) and ‘the child’ (54b), both involving the same features [+singular/+specific], *a*-marked, but so are inanimate referents, such as the [+singular /+specific] DP ‘the basket with pizza’ (54c). While this instance of DOM is unexpected (albeit not impossible, e.g. Apulo-Barese migrants from Casamassima, BA, in New Jersey, USA; Andriani, Perlin & Kaufman, forthc.: §4.4), we would not expect either the quantified [+plural] DPs ‘all the girls/boys’ (54e) to be unmarked, while the referent ‘the servants’ (54d) is. However, since interspeaker variation cannot be ruled out, further research is needed to ascertain these fine-grained distinctions.

Before moving on to demonstratives, we report what is found in the literature for [-human/+animate] DPs, such as animals:

- (55) **DP**_[-human/+animate]
- a. ha chiamʒt̪ **ɛ/(i) cavallə** Torremaggiore, FG (Tosto 2007: 20)
 ‘s/he called the horses’
- b. cɛ: mə **a u kɛ: nə** San Severo, FG (M&S 2005: II, 506)
 ‘call the dog!’
- c. I vit **a** lu law Faeto, FG (Nagy 2002: 127)
 he saw DOM the wolf
 ‘he (i.e. the hunter) saw the wolf’
- d. u loupe s’ó mangiöte **la pucherédde** Trinitapoli, BT
 ‘the wolf ate the sheep’
- e. sɔ ccame: tə **u kɛ: nə** Giovinazzo, BA (M&S 2005: II, 507)
 ‘I’ve called the dog’
- f. aquanne accíteche **u pùorche** Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 63)
 ‘when I kill the pig’
- g. La lupe s’a mangiate **lu pecherille** Polignano, BA (CRSEC 2001: 52)
 ‘the wolf ate the sheep’

- h. *ajjə camə: tə* **u kə: nə** Taranto, TA₁ (M&CS 2005: II, 507)
 ‘I called the dog’
- i. *allora vidde* **lu lupu** Squinzano, LE (Bentley & al. 2014: 38)
 ‘then he (the hunter) saw the wolf’

While C Apulian and Salentino varieties (55d)-(55i) tend not to mark these referents (however, for some counterexamples in Barese see Andriani 2015, forthc.), the marking tends to appear more often in N Apulian (55a-b), including Faetar (55c).

2.3.4 Definite nouns introduced by Demonstratives

The last definite context we consider involves singular (56) and plural (57) DPs modified by a distal demonstrative encoding deictic force (and hence an increased degree of specificity/identification), which is absent in DPs with definite articles:

- (56) ‘to meet that handsome guy’: Dem+NP_[+singular/+specific]
- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| a. Mari òu canəsciutə cuddu bbèllə ggiòvənə alla fèstə dlu paèisə | Mattinata, FG |
| b. Maria a canəsciutə ddu bellə uagliolə alla festa lu pajesə | S.Marco, FG |
| c. (Mari à canəsciutə nu bbèllə uagliònə è fèstə d’ àustə) | Lucera, FG |
| d. Mari a ccanəsciutə quillu bbèllə uagliònə à fèstə u paèsə | Foggia, FG |
| e. Mari o canəsciutə quiddə bellə uagliònə a la fèstə d’ u paèisə | Cerignola, FG |
| f. Mari o canəsciutə a ccüddə bbèllə uagnəumə alla fèstə d’ u pajesə | Trinitapoli, BT |
| g. Maré canuscitt’ a cuddə bbèllə uagnónə à fista patronalə | Barletta, BT |
| h. Mari à ccanəsscüt’ a ccodə bbèllə uagnaunə alla fésta grannə | Mola, BA |
| i. Mari a canəsciút’ a còddə bèllə uagnounə alla fésta patronalə | Conversano, BA |
| j. Marej’ o canisciot’ a curə bellə uagnonə à fèstə d’ u paesə | Putignano, BA |
| k. Mari è canəsciut’ a cuddu bellə uagnounə alla fèstə d’ u paèisə | Gravina, BA |
| l. Mari à canisciotə curə bellə uagnònə alla fésta grannə | Mottola, TA |
| n. Maria è canuscitu cuddu beddu vagnoni alla festa | S.Vito, BR |
| o. Maria è canuscitu curu bbeddu vuagnone alla festa di paisi | Mesagne, BR |
| p. Maria è ccanuscitu cuddu bbeddu vagnoni alla fésta ti lu paisi | Latiano, BR |
| q. Maria è canuscitu cuddu beddu vagnoni alla festa ti lu paisi | Oria, BR |
| r. la Maria à ccanuscitu ddu beddu strü alla fera | Lecce, LE |
| s. la Maria canuscü ddu beddu carusu alla festa te lu paese | Serrano, LE |
| t. a Maria a canuscitu ddu beddu vagnone alla festa du paese | Otranto, LE |
| u. a Maria ddu beddu fiju alla festa l’ a canuscitu | Maglie, LE |
- ‘Maria met that handsome guy at the village fair/festival’

- (57) ‘to meet those few people’: Dem+NP^[+plural/+specific]
- a. u sinəc’òu affrundətə **quédđā picchə dā crəstienə** c’u vuləvənə canòscə Mattinata, FG
 - b. lu sinnəc’a ncundratə **ddi pochə crəstianə** chə lu vulevənə canoscə S.Marco, FG
 - c. u sinəc’ə ngrundatə **quilli quattə crəstianə** c’u vuləvənə canossə Lucera, FG
 - d. u sinneç’a ngudrätə **quilli quattə crəstianə** ca u vulevənə canossə Foggia, FG
 - e. u sennəc’o ngundrótə **chiddə quattə crəstionə** ca u vulevənə canoscə Cerignola, FG
 - f. u sinəc’o ngundröt’ **a chiddə picchə crəstionə** ca u vuləvənə canòsscə Trinitapoli, BT
 - g. u sinneç’a ngudrat’ **a chiddə picchə crəstianə** ca vulevənə səndinzə Barletta, BT
 - h. u sənəc’ə ngundrət’ **a chədə quattə crəstienə** ca u veləvənə canóəsscə Mola, BA
 - i. u sənəc’əv’acchiät’ **a chiddə e quattə crəstienə** ca u veləvənə canòsscə Conversano, BA
 - j. u senəc’o’cchiät’ **a cherə pecchə crəstianə** ca u vulevənə canoscə Putignano, BA
 - k. (U sinnəchə s’əv’acchiätə pə kiddə pikkə crəstianə ca u vuləvənə canoscə) Gravina, BA
 - l. (Lu sinəchə s’əv’acchiətə chə chirə picchə crəstienə ca lu vuləvənə canoscə) Mottola, TA
 - m. lu sinnacu è scí’ncunratu **quiddi picca cristiani** ca lu vuli’canuscəvunu S.Vito, BR
 - n. lu sinducu è ccunratu **quiddi picchi crīstiani** ca lu vuliunu canòscunu Mesagne, BR
 - o. lu sinnucu è cunratu **quiddi picca cristiani** ca lu vuliunu canoscunu Latiano, BR
 - p. lu sinnucu è ccunratu **quiddi picca cristiani** ca lu vuliunu canuscunu Oria, BR
 - q. lu sindecu ae ncunratu **ḍḍi picca nunni** ca ulianu llū canuscenu Lecce, LE
 - r. lu sinnacu ncuntrau **ḍḍi picca cristiani** ca uline cu lu canuscane Serrano, LE
 - s. u sinnicu a ncunratu **ḍḍi picca cristiani** ca uliane lu canuscune Otranto, LE
 - t. (u sindicu s’a truvatu cu ḍḍi picchi cristiani ca uliane lu canuscene. Maglie, LE
‘The mayor met those few people who wanted to know him’

Note that only Apulo-Barese varieties (57f-j) allow DOM with DPs headed by a demonstrative, while the remaining varieties, i.e. N Apulian¹⁴ (57a-e) and Salentino (57m-t), do not. These results are in line with the specialist literature, i.e. that DOM is present (and obligatory in many varieties, e.g. Barese; Andriani, *forthc.*) whenever the DP is introduced by a demonstrative adjective:

- (58) **Demonstrative+NP**
- a. u pátrə mɔ çáññévə **a stu figgə** ke sə nə iérə iútə Foggia, FG (Melillo 1970)
‘The dad was crying for this son who had left’
 - b. jəḍḍə çamæ: tə **a kkwera fəmənə** Minervino, BT (M&S 2005: 11, 507)
‘I called that woman’
 - c. sə vvisətə **a kkur əmə** Canosa, BT (*ibid.*)

14. It is worth noting that, for the variety of Foggia, one (recorded) informant produced sentence (63), § 2.4, as *Giuanə ha vvistə stu criaturə pə nderrə* ‘Gianni saw **this** boy on the ground’, where ‘child’ is introduced by a proximal demonstrative clitic ‘this’ without DOM. However, the same informant also produced *aggħiə canəsciut’ a quilla* ‘I met **that** (person)’, where the demonstrative pronoun is *a*-marked, on a par with personal (and indefinite) pronouns.

- ‘I saw that man’
 d. sò ccame: tə **a kkuddə tsəttsiə** Giovinazzo, BA (ibid.)
 ‘I called that chap’
 f. nan zi ngannénne **a stu figghie** Trinitapoli, BT
 ‘do not trick this son’
 g. la luna **a cchessa pizzica** redinne stè tremende Ostuni, BR
 ‘the laughing moon is looking at this pizzica’
 h. **sta mughieri**, addo cazzu l’agghiu sci ccugghiuta Lizzano, TA₂
 ‘this wife, where the hell did I fetch her?’
 i. ma addò cazzu l’agghiu ncuntrata **sta signora** Lizzano, TA₂
 ‘where the hell did I meet this lady?’

While C Apulian varieties (58b-g) *a*-mark DPs with demonstratives, including the humanised traditional dance ‘pizzica’ (58g), Salentino does not even allow DOM with clitic-resumed fronted DPs (58h). However, we also see that the dialect of Foggia (58a) *a*-marks a referent with a proximal demonstrative clitic ‘this son’, which did not surface with distal-demonstrative forms in our sample (see also footnote 12). This can either be due to the distal vs proximal semantic of the demonstrative, or simply to the recent loss of *a*-marking in this context. Instead, Francoprovençal Faetar and Cigliàje seem to behave more similarly to Apulo-Barese and unlike their surrounding N Apulian varieties, as singular (59)-(60) and plural (61) DPs with demonstratives are *a*-marked:

- (59) maría i atə viáw **a sa fiáə** kə piəro l atə dəná lu livr
 Maria she has seen DOM this girl that Piero her has given the book
 ‘Maria saw the girl that Peter gave the book to’ Faeto, FG (Nagy 2002: 114)
- (60) dəsturbə pa **a ssa đənn!** Celle, FG
 disturb.2SG.IMP not DOM this people
 ‘do not disturb these people!’
- (61) đə offrí d ajutá **a si kristián** Faeto, FG (Nagy 2002: 88)
 I offer of help DOM these people
 ‘I offer to help these people’

Let us now move onto the last referents considered, i.e. indefinite NPs, the lowest on the definiteness/specificity scale (Diesing 1992; Torrego 1998; Leonetti 2004, 2008; a.o.).

2.4 NOUNS WITH INDEFINITE DETERMINERS

When we turn to indefinites, the literature reports a high optionality of DOM-marking:

- (62) **Indefinite NP** ^[+singular]
- a. nu paisane mie ha viste **a nu criature** che ce chiamave Franchine Carpino, FG
'a fellow-villager saw a child called Franchino'
 - b. ʒ e viáw **na finnə** do un kwatrá Faeto, FG (Nagy 2002: 85)
I have seen a woman with a boy
'I saw a woman with a boy'
 - c. e sse mettétte a ssérve **a nu segnaure** de kudde paése Barletta, BT (Melillo 1970: 79)
'he started serving a lord from that village'
 - d. jəʃə camə: tə **na fɛmənə** Minervino, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
I called a woman'
 - e. sɔ vvistə **(a n)n ɔmə** Canosa BT (ibid.)
'I saw a man'
 - f. sɔ ccame: tə **(a n)nu mənɪnnə** Giovinazzo BA (ibid.)
'I called a child'
 - g. acchiòtte da nànze **nu uardiéne** nottùrne ca canesciéve Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 61)
'he found in front of him a nightwatch whom he knew'
 - h. jóune[...] s'ha pegghjéte **a nnu sargènde** Polignano, BA (CRSEC 2001: 8)
'a person took a sergeant (as a fiancé)'
 - i. əʃə camə: tə **a nnu kristiənnə** Taranto, TA₁ (M&S 2005: II, 507)
'I called a person'
 - j. stamatina stè spittava **nu cristianu** Lizzano, TA₂
'this morning I was waiting for a person'
 - k. aggiu visctu **na fimmina** Squinzano, LE¹⁵
'I saw a woman'
 - l. nunn aggiu mai vista **na cristiana** àcita comu a ttie Scorrano, LE (Presicce 2011)
'I've never seen a person as bitter as you are'

The distribution of DOM with indefinites can be patchy: while optionality is attested in Apulo-Barese, e.g. Canosa (62e) and Giovinazzo (62f), possibly due to specificity (cf. also Andriani 2015, forthc.), the remaining varieties either never have DOM, i.e. Salentino (62i-j), or tend to generalise it to all indefinites, e.g. Carpino (62a), perhaps with certain predicates in particular.

15. Recording available at [<https://www2.hu-berlin.de/vivaldi/>].

Our survey of indefinites begins with the sentence ‘Gianni saw a child on the ground and called the local doctor’, discussed in §2.3 for the definite DP ‘the local doctor’ and now partly shown below in (63). Note the absence of DOM with the indefinite NP ‘a child/boy’ in most Apulian and Salentino varieties; the only three cases surface in N-C Apulian, namely in Mattinata (63a), Lucera (63c), and Trinitapoli (63f):

- (63) ‘to see a child/boy’: NP_[+specific]
- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| a. Giuann’òu uist’ a nnu uagnònə pə ndèrrə | Mattinata, FG |
| b. Giuann’a vistə nu məninnə pə nderra | S.Marco, FG |
| c. Giuann’a vist’ a nu criaturə pə nderrə | Lucera, FG |
| d. Giuann’a vvistə nu criaturə pə nderrə | Foggia, FG |
| e. Giuann’o vestə nu criaturə nderrə | Cerignola, FG |
| f. Giuann’o vist’ a nnu criaturə nderrə | Trinitapoli, BT |
| g. Giuènn’è vvistə nu criaturə nderrə | Barletta, BT |
| h. Giuann’à vvèstə nu peccənènnə scəttètə ndéerrə | Mola, BA |
| i. Giuann’a vèstə nu uègnəngiddə nderrə | Conversano, BA |
| j. Giuann’o vestə nu piccennə stənnoutə nderrə | Putignano, BA |
| k. Giuann è vistə nu criaturə nderrə | Gravina, BA |
| l. (Giuann’à vistə lu piccinnə nderrə) | Mottola, TA |
| m. Giuvanni è vistu nu piccinnu nterra | S.Vito, BR |
| n. Gianni è vištu nnu piccinnu nterra | Mesagne, BR |
| o. Scianni è vvištu nnu piccinnu nterra | Latiano, BR |
| p. Gianni è vistu nu piccinnu anterra | Oria, BR |
| q. lu Gianni à bbistu nu piccinnu anterra | Lecce, LE |
| r. lu Gianni cchiau nu vagnunedđu anterra | Serrano, LE |
| s. u Gianni aje vistu nu piccinnu nterra | Otranto, LE |
| t. u Gianni a vistu nu vagnunedđu nterra | Maglie, LE |
- ‘Gianni saw a (specific) child lying on the ground [...]

Likewise, we retested exactly the same V-O pair in another contexts, where we tried to enhance the level of identification/specificity of the indefinite NP ‘a child/boy’ by means of the relative clause ‘who wanted to enter the house’, but the results did not change:

- (64) ‘to see a child/boy’: NP_[+specific]
- | | |
|--|-----------|
| a) mammà c’è scandatə quann’a vist’ a nu criaturə chə vələ trasci à casə | Carpino |
| b. mammə c’è spəvəndétə quann’òu uist’ a nnu uagnòunə chə vulèvə trasi jindrə | Mattinata |
| c. mammà a avutə paiura quann’a vistə nu meninnə chə cə vuleva fəccà intə la casa | S.Marco |

- d. mamm'a pəgghiatə u malə quann'a vist' **a nu criaturə** chə vulevə trasi dind'ā casə
Lucera
- e. mammà s'è scantätə quann'a vistə **nu criaturə** ca vulevə trasi nd'ā cäsə
Foggia
- f. (mamm'o sckandotə quann'o vest'u criaturə ca vulòvə trasè nd'a la còsə)
Cerignola
- g. mamm'o sckandötə quann'o vist' **a nnu criaturə** ca vulàivə trasi nd'a ccösə
Trinitapoli
- h. mammin'è sckandätə quann'è vvistə **nu criaturə** ca ulévə trasi a ccäsə
Barletta
- i. mammə s'a sckandët'acquann'a vvèstə **nu pəccənnə** ca vəlàivə trasəgghijə jènd'a
cchèsə
Mola
- j. mammə s'a aldarèt'acquann'a vèstə **nu uagnəngiddə** ca vələive trasi jènd'alla chèsə
Conversano
- k. mammə s'i assurmat'acquann'o vestə **nu piccennə** ca vulevə trasejə nd'ā casə
Putignano
- l. mamm'è spandätə quann'è vistə **nu zaraffə** ca vulài trasi nd'a ccäsə
Gravina
- m. (mammə s'av'assurmètə quann'a vistə lu piccinnə ca vulevə trasi nd'ā chèsə)
Mottola
- n. mamma s'è mpaurita quannu è vistu **nu piccinnu** ca vuli' traseva nta casa
S.Vito
- o. mamma s'è spantàta quandu è vīstu **nnu vagnoni** ca vulia trasi ntra casa
Mesagne
- p. mama sbravintau quannu veddi **nnu piccinnu** ca vulia ttrasi ntra casa
Latiano
- q. mama s'è pigghiata paura quannu è vistu **nu vagnioni** ca vulia trasia tru casa
Oria
- r. mama s'è pigghiata paura quannu è vistu **nu piccinnu** ca vuli trasia ntra casa
Lizzano
- s. mama s'ae mpaurata quandu à bbistu **nu piccinu** ca ulia ttrasa ntru ccasa
Lecce
- t. mamma se mpaurau quandu vitte **nu vagnone** ca ulia cu trasa intru a casa
Serrano
- u. mamma s'a mparuata quandu a vistu **nu vagnone** ca ulia trase ccasa
Otranto
- v. (mamma, quannu a vistu ca nc'era nu vagnunceddu ca ulia trase ntru casa, s'a sciun-
tata.
Maglie
'Mum got scared when she saw **a (specific) child/boy** who wanted to enter the house')

Once again, the only varieties marking DOM on the indefinite yet [+specific] referent 'a child/boy' are in the northern-most part of Apulia, i.e. Carpino (64a), Mattinata (64b), and Lucera (64d) (S.Marco (64c) excluded), and C Apulian from Trinitapoli (64g). These varieties also *a*-mark the same indefinite, kind-referring NP 'a child/boy' when [-specific] and in a generic context, while all remaining varieties accept the bare variant:

(65) 'to see a child/boy': NP[-specific]

- a. la nannə cə la sèndə quannə vèit' **a nnu uagnòunə** də chiagnə
Mattinata, FG
- b. tatuccia cə nə preja quannə vedə **nu meninnə** chə chiagnə
S.Marco, FG
- c. a mammanonnə i ven'u currivə quannə ved' **a nu criaturə** chə chiagnə
Lucera, FG

d. nanonnə sə ndənərisçə quannə vedə nu criaturə ca chiagnə	Foggia, FG
e. la nonnə sə chəmmovə quannə vodə nu criaturə ca chiagnə	Cerignola, FG
f. nonðnnə sə chəmmðuvə quannə vait' a nnu criaturə ca chiàngə	Trinitapoli, BT
g. a nónnə sə mètt'a cchièngə quannə vatə nu criaturə ca chièngə	Barletta, BT
h. nononnə s'acchəlombə aqquannə vaitə nu pəccənnənnə ca chiagnə	Mola, BA
i. la nonnə sə dəspièsçə acquannə véidə nu menənnə a chiagnə	Conversano, BA
j. a nonnə s'emozionescə quannə verə nu piccennə ca chiagnə	Putignano, BA
k. la nonnə sə mett'a chiagnə quannə vädə nu criaturə ca chiagnə	Gravina, BA
l. Nonnə sə dəspièsçə quannə vètə nu piccinnə ca ste chiagnə	Mottola, TA
m. la nonna si cummuvescia quannu veti nu piccinnu ca chianci	S.Vito, BR
n. la nonna si commòvi quandu veti nnu piccinnu ca chiangi	Mesagne, BR
o. alla nonna li veni sempri lu chiantillu quannu veti nnu piccinnu ca chiangi	Latiano, BR
p. la nonna li scappunu li lacrimi quannu veti nnu piccinnu ca chiangi	Oria, BR
q. la mamma rande se cummoe quandu ite nu piccinnu ca chiange	Lecce, LE
r. la nonna chiange sempre quandu vite nu vagnuneddu ca chiange	Serrano, LE
s. a nonna se nnutica quandu vide na criatura ca change	Otranto, LE
t. a nonna s'emuziona quannu vide nu piccinnu ca chiange	Maglie, LE
'Grandma is always moved when she sees a(ny) child crying'	

From the examples above, showing the same specific (63)-(64) and non-specific (65) indefinite NP selected by the verb 'to see', it is evident that specificity does not seem to be playing a central role in any varieties. Indeed, these either mark the NP in all cases examined, or they do not, irrespective of specificity.

This scenario is confirmed by the indefinite referent 'a criminal' selected by the verb 'to kill', which would imply a higher level of affectedness of the object:

- (66) 'to kill a dangerous criminal': NP^[+specific]
- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| a. quédđə uàrdi'ðu dittə c'ajərə ànn'accis' a nnu crəmənələ pərchəlusə | Mattinata, FG |
| b. dđə wuàrdi'a ditte chə jerə ànn'accisə nu crəmənələ pəricoləsə | S.Marco, FG |
| c. quillu uàrdi'à dittə c'ajirə à ccisə nu sortə də dəlinguèndə | Lucera, FG |
| d. u guàrdi'a dittə c'ajirə ànn'accis' a nu crəmənələ pəricolösə | Foggia, FG |
| e. Quédđə guardi'o dettə c'ajirə ànn'acceisə nu crəmənòlə pəruculòsə | Cerignola, FG |
| f. Cüddə vigel'o dittə c'ajirə onn'accés' a nnu dəlinguèndə pəruculòsə | Trinitapoli, BT |
| g. U poləzziótt'è ddittə c'ajirə ànn'accisə nu malamində | Barletta, BT |
| h. Chédđə uàrdi'a ddèttə c'ajirə ànn'acceisə nu crəmənələ pərchəlëusə | Mola, BA |
| i. Chédđə uàrdi'a dèttə c'ajirə ànn'acceisə nu malvuvéndə pəricolòusə | Conversano, BA |
| j. Chera guardi'o dettə c'ajirə on'accésə nu malacarnə pərchəlusə | Putignano, BA |
| k. Chedđə uàrdi'è dittə c'ajirə ànn'accis' a nu malavətousə pəricolòusə | Gravina, BA |
| l. Chera uàrdi'à dittə c'ajirə ànn'accisə nu malacarnə pərchəlusə | Mottola, TA |

- m. Quera uardia è dittu ca jeri annu ccisu **nu delinquenti piriculosu** S.Vito, BR
 n. Quedda uardia è dittu ca ieri annu ccisu **nnu criminali piriculòsu** Mesagne, BR
 o. Quedda uardia è ddittu ca ieri onnu ccisu **nnu filandrinu tangilusu** Latiano, BR
 p. Quedda uardia è dittu ca ieri onnu ccisu **nnu bruttu criminali** Oria, BR
 q. dda uardia à ddittu ca ieri annu ccisu **nu criminale periculosu** Lecce, LE
 r. dda guardia ave dittu ca ieri ane ccisu **nu latru fiaccu fiaccu** Serrano, LE
 s. dda guardia a dittu ca ieri annu ccisu **nu criminale pericolosu** Otranto, LE
 t. (dda guardia a ittu ca jeri annu ccisu unu fiaccu propiu. Maglie, LE
 ‘That policeman said that **a dangerous criminal** was killed yesterday (lit. they killed **a criminal**)’

Compared to the sentences with ‘to see a child/boy’, ‘to kill a [+specific] criminal’ allows DOM in more Apulian varieties (but never Salentino ones), namely those of Foggia (66d) and Gravina (66k), besides those of Mattinata (66a) and Trinitapoli (66f), which *a*-marked all indefinites hitherto considered. Crucially, the same verb-object pair ‘to kill a criminal’ with [-specific] interpretation sees an increase in the occurrence of DOM from five to seven N-C Apulian varieties, i.e. Mattinata, Foggia, Cerignola, Trinitapoli, Barletta, Mola, and Gravina:

(67) ‘to kill a criminal’: NP

- a. nn’è ggiustə ca la puləzzi’ accit’ **a nnu dalinguendə** senza fé u processə Mattinata, FG
 b. non è justə ca la polizzia accidə **nu dalinguendə** senza processə S.Marco, FG
 c. nn’è justə si a puluzzei’ accidə **nu dalinguendə** senza prucissə Lucera, FG
 d. nn’è michə giustə s’ a pulizi’ accid’ **a nu mariulə** senza fa u prucissə Foggia, FG
 e. nənn’è giustə ca la puləzzei’ accid’ **a nu crəmənòlə** senza nu processə Cerignola, FG
 f. nann’è ggiüstə cə la pulezzéi’ accé’ **a nnu dalinguendə** senza pruciəssə Trinitapoli, BT
 g. nann’jè ggiəstə cə la polizzi’ accit’ **a nnu malamində** sinza prucissə Barletta, BT
 h. na jè ggiöstə ca i gendarmə accéitən’ **a nnu malandreinə** sénz’ u prəcissə Mola, BA
 i. nann’i giostə ca i guardi’ accédənə **nu malvuvəndə** senza mang’ u processə Conversano, BA
 j. nann’jè giostə c’ a puluzzei’ accerə **nu malacarnə** senza processə Putignano, BA
 k. nann’è giustə cə la puləzzi’ accit’ **a nu malavətousə** senza fè u processə Gravina, BA
 l. na jé giustə cə la pulizi’ accitə **nu malacarnə** senza fè lu prucissə Mottola, TA
 m. no è na cosa giusta ci la polizia ccidi **nu delinquente** senza pruciessu S.Vito, BR
 n. non è ggiuštu ci la polizia cciti **nnu criminali** senza pruciessu Mesagne, BR
 o. no é gghiuštu ci li uardi cciunu **nnu filandrinu** senza prucessu Latiano, BR
 p. la polizia nno po’ccitiri **nnu criminali** senza processu, nno eti giustu Oria, BR
 q. nu bbè ggiustu sçi la polizzia ccide **nu criminale** senza prucessu Lecce, LE
 r. nun ete ggiustu se le guardie ccitune **nu latru** senza nu processu Serrano, LE
 s. a polizia nu pote ccidire **nu criminale** senza lli face u processu Otranto, LE
 t. nun è giustu a polizia cu ccide **nu dilinquente** senza cu li face u prucessu Maglie, LE
 ‘It’s unfair if the police kills **a(ny) criminal** without a trial’

From the perspective whereby [+specific] indefinites are more prone to be *a*-marked, the steep increase in the marking of a [-specific] NP is unexpected. Allegedly, for those varieties which did not *a*-mark the specific referent ‘a dangerous criminal’, i.e. Cerignola (67e), Barletta (67g), and Mola (67h), such behaviour might only be ascribed to the imperfectivity of the generic event in (67) vs the perfectivity of the punctual event in (66). This type of trigger was already proposed in § 2.3 for definite DPs with certain predicates and indeed, this aspectual sensitivity seems to only be relevant with the predicate ‘to kill’ (67), but not ‘to see’ (65). Hence, we could argue that the type of predicate and in particular, its (im)perfective aspect, may actually be decisive for DOM to occur with referents lower on the definiteness scale, yet highly affected.

Our results are confirmed by those varieties present in the recordings of Aesop’s fable *la tramontana e il sole*¹⁶ ‘the North Wind and the Sun’ (68) and the *Parabola del figliuol prodigo* ‘the Parable of the Prodigal Son’ (69):

- (68) ‘to see a bypasser’: NP^[+specific]
- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| a. quand’ècche vedèren a nu crestiane | Mattinata, FG |
| b. decchire i viarund un pellerinne | Celle, FG |
| c. quanne vedèrene nu ppassande | Andria, BT |
| d. quanne vedèren a nu crestiène | Bisceglie, BT |
| e. Quanne vederen a nnu crestiàne | Martina Franca, TA |
| f. Quanne vider a nnu passande | Taranto, TA = Statte, TA |
| g. Quannu videru nna cristiana | Francavilla Fontana, BR |
| h. Quandu iddera nu cristianu | Lecce, LE |
| i. Quandu vittera nu cristianu | Galatina, LE |
| j. Quanno ànno vistu nu cristianu | Maglie, LE |
- ‘when they saw a bypasser/person (who was arriving)’
- (69) ‘to call a servant’: NP^[-specific]
- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| a. Chiamase nu serve | Castelluccio Valmaggiore, FG (Melillo 1970: 63-64) |
| b. Chiamò nu servitor | Molfetta, BA (Salvioni 1913: 32) |
| c. e cchiamò ne sèrve | Matera, MT (Caratù 1981: 85) |
| d. Chiamau nu sirvitori | Brindisi, BR (Salvioni 1913: 35) |
- ‘he called a servant’

In these two contexts, the two predicates ‘to see’ and ‘to call’ take the animate complements ‘a person/bypasser’ and ‘a servant’, respectively. However, note that

16. Recordings available at [https://www.lfsag.unito.it/ark/trm_map.html]. For some transcriptions of these recordings, see also [<https://fgranatiero.wordpress.com/>]. See also Romano (2019) for Salentino, from which some of the transcriptions in (67) are taken.

indefinite *nu crestiane* ‘a person’ is more likely to be *a*-marked on a par with its pronominal counterparts ‘one’ or ‘someone’ (cf. also Andriani 2015 for Barese). While with the verb ‘to call’ there is no trace of DOM (69), with ‘to see’, the *a*-marked indefinite objects appear in Mattinata (68a), consistent with our findings, and in the area of Taranto (68e-f), as reported by M&S (2005: II, 507). In Apulo-Barese, there is more alternation, as Bisceglie (68d) patterns with our results for Trinitapoli, both on the Adriatic coast, while Andria (68c) is more similar to what M&S report for the Minervino (62d) and Canosa (62e) varieties, with all three in the hinterland of the BT province. Instead, all Salentino speakers who recite the story do not show any instances of DOM with this specific referent.

3. CONCLUSION

This contribution provided a first mapping of the occurrence of DOM across the varieties of Apulia by considering a selection of nominal expressions at different levels of the definiteness scale, and paying particular attention to their specificity, as well as the selecting predicates. While Salentino shows a very limited distribution of DOM, N-C Apulian varieties present the *a*-marking in a larger number of contexts. In particular, the following broad tendencies can be gathered from this preliminary survey:

- (a) personal pronouns form a compact, lexicalised class with which DOM is essentially obligatory across all Apulian and Salentino varieties, as expected from the typological and diachronic literature on DOM.
- (b) specificity may be a crucial DOM-trigger for highly referential expressions, such as proper names and kinship terms, as they identify unique referents, but it does not seem to be relevant for the selection of DOM at the lower levels of the definiteness scale, as we observed with the many [-specific] *a*-marked referents.
- (c) The types of predicate involved seem to play a role in the selection of DOM: more instances were recorded for the verbs ‘to greet/help/kill’, whereas other transitive predicates, e.g. ‘to see/ask’, showed a much more limited distribution of DOM. The differences in the *a*-marking across varieties can be ascribed to the higher affectedness of the object (typical of verbs involving transfer), as well as the (im)perfectivity of the action/event; however, some (vestigial) factors of lexical/etymological nature, i.e. dative-selecting predicates, should not be ruled out (cf. footnote 3).

- (d) In those N-C Apulian varieties where DOM is present at the lower levels of the definiteness scale, the internal composition of the DP/NP does not seem to be crucial. Indeed, while determinerless referents tend to be *a*-marked more often than those with an overt determiner, within the latter group, we do not observe that definite DPs (bar kinship terms) are more marked than indefinite NPs, as would be anticipated from the definiteness scale. This suggests that the *a*-marking may indeed fulfil the semantico-syntactic role of the missing determiner in determinerless nominal expressions, on a par with what happens with indefinite NPs, where their D-layer is not lexicalised by any element. In definite expressions, we possibly see a lower occurrence of DOM (with certain predicates) because definite articles and demonstratives (in N Apulian especially) already match the semantic features expressed by the *a*, i.e. referentiality and definiteness, and they can therefore resist the *a*-marking (cf. Müller 1971 for a similar proposal on the development of DOM in early Romance). Crucially, we have also briefly observed that DOM is favoured with clitic-doubled, topical definite nouns, which might be the reason behind the low frequency of the *a*-marking with non-clitic-doubled DPs, while indefinites, which prototypically convey new information, do not require doubling to be *a*-marked.
- (e) As for determiners, we uncovered a divide between N and C Apulian varieties, in that DPs with demonstratives only seem to be *a*-marked in C Apulian varieties, and never in N Apulian varieties (except for Foggia); similarly, indefinite NPs appear more often *a*-marked in N Apulian, than in C Apulian varieties.

Further research is needed to shed light on other potential DOM-triggers, by testing more environments where DOM may occur, i.e. clitic-resumed topicalised constituents, embeddings, as well as a wider array of predicates (such as that in Pineda 2016, 2020) and other types of objects, such as different types of quantified DPs. Moreover, the role of language contact between these varieties and Italian should also be carefully assessed in relation to the optionality in the realisation of DOM at the lower levels of the definiteness hierarchy, where we find the highest degree of alternation between *a*-marked and unmarked direct objects.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and suggestions, and the tireless Onkar Singh for having shared his thoughts with me on the final version of this paper. In such a difficult period for research in the field, my heartfelt gratitude goes to all my informants, as well as the mediators who helped me to reach more Apulian native speakers: Luigi Conte, Gianni Pipoli, Nicola Ruggiero, and Giovanni Tortorella. This research was made possible by the European Research Council under the Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (grant agreement CoG 681959_MicroContact). All errors and imprecisions are the author's sole responsibility.

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