

A person split analysis of the progressive forms in some southern Italian varieties

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The present continuous in some varieties of the Barese (a dialect spoken in the Apulia region) is formed by an inflected stative verbs *ste* (=to stay) a connecting element *a* (=to) and the present indicative of the lexical verb which agrees in person and number with the matrix verbs. Similar constructions are found with motion verbs in Barese and in other different southern Italian dialects (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2003). These progressive constructions (as all progressive) are linked to the location of the subject (Mateu, 2002) in the event denoted by the lexical verbs selected. The agreement with the subject is marked with both verbs: the functional and the lexical one. The morphology of the subject seems to play a central role in the derivation of progressive form (i.e. subject clitics see Loporcaro, 2012, Franco 2013).

- (1) 'Stek a 'fatsə (Present continuous)
 Stay-1s to do-1s
I am doing
- (2) 'Vek a 'pegjə u pɜn (Motion verb constructions)
 go-1s to fetch-1s sthe bread
I go to fetch the bread

The progressive constructions in (1) share many properties with the motion verb construction (2), however by the difference between the two constructions will lead us to propose a person split analysis to account for the distribution of the progressive inflected forms in Barese.

In both type of constructions, only the morpheme *a* can intervene between the two verbs. Adverbs like *semp* (=always), which encodes frequentative aspectual properties (Cinque 1999), can not be found between the functional and the lexical verb but they are only allowed after the complex predicate (in a low *ASPFREQ* position in Cinque's hierarchy).

- (3) 'Mari: 'stɜ (*'sembə) a (*'sembə) 'mandʒə 'sembə
 Maria stay-3S (*always) to (*always) eat-3S always
 Maria is always eating

The lexical verb that follow the stative predicates can also be non inflected (infinitive), but its use is restricted or to the case in which a frequency adverbial modifier is found between the matrix and the embedded verb (4) or when the matrix verb agrees with 1st/2nd Plural person (5). Interestingly the remaining person (1st /2nd plural) can never be found with inflected forms (6) (also in Cardinaletti & Giusti).

- (4) 'Mari: 'stɜ 'sembə a man'dʒɛ
 Maria stay-3S (*always) to (*always) eat-(infinitive)
- (5) 'Nɔjɜj /'vəʊk 'stɛmɛj/'stɛtək a man'dʒɛ
 We / you(2P) stay-1P/ -2P to eat-(infinitive)
- (6) 'Nɔjɜj /'vəʊk 'stɛmɛj/'stɛtək a *man'dʒɛmɛj / *mangɛtək k
 We / you(2P) stay-1P/ -2P to ea -1P/ -2P

With other persons (1st/2nd /3rd S and 3rd P), although we can find the infinitive verb in some varieties, the use of the in inflected is crucially preferred (7).

- (7) 'Jɛ; /'təʊ/'Mari: 'stek /'ste /'stɜ a (* /ʔ?mang)/mange.
 We / you(2P) stay-1P/ -2P to eat-(infinitive)

The a+ inflected lexical verbs seem to behave like the gerundive in the Italian progressive constructions for the distribution of frequentative adverbs: frequency adverbs are not compatible with progressive forms, which are episodic operator (Chierchia,1995), in Italian (8) and in the inflected verb progressive construction in Barese (3). The a+ infinitive Barese constructions seem to pattern with the 'control-like' periphrasis in Italian in allowing the intermediate position for the frequency adverbs (Johannsdottir, 2005), in which a distributional reading is available. The parallelism between (8) and (3) might support an analysis in which the complex a+inflected is compatible with constructions involving a gerund (as in Gallego,2010).

- (8) Maria sta (?/# sempre) mangiando
 Maria stay-3s always eating
- (9) Maria sta sempre a mangiare
 Maria stay-3s always to eat

Why 1st and 2nd plural person do not allow the a+inflected form construction? Our answer is that there is a person split in the distribution of progressive forms in Barese. In theoretical literature different person split have been attested especially in the distribution of auxiliaries (Manzini & Savoia, 2011): for example between 1st and 2nd singular persons (discourse anchored pronouns) vs 3rd singular person event-anchored pronouns). In our respect 1st and 2nd plural are the inclusive or exclusive version of the 1st singular person pronouns (Harley & Ritter, 2002). The episodic value of the progressive aspectual forms can be incompatible with the distributive properties of the 1st and 2nd plural pronouns in Barese, whose distributional properties of inclusion/exclusion of the speaker/hearer in the event might pattern with the distributive reading available in the a-infinitive constructions.

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