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.

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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.

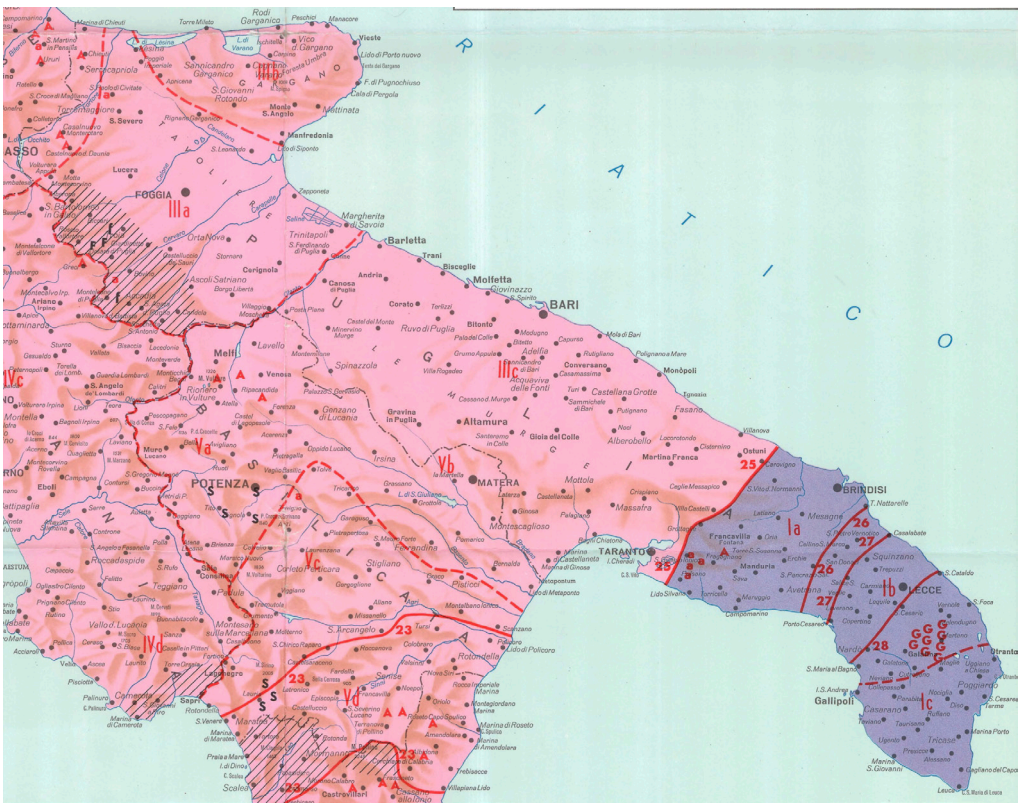
We will first introduce the linguistic varieties considered (§ 1.1) and provide some relevant background on the triggers of DOM (§ 1.2). In Section § 2, we present and comment on a number of potential DOM enviroments — mostly testing the specificity of referents across different levels of the Definiteness 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 (TA_1);
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 (TA_2).

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).


FOGGIA
BARI
BRINDISI
LECCE
TARANTO
MATERA
POTENZA
Barletta
Molfetta
Altamura
Gallipoli
Manfredonia
Lucera
Melfi
Venosa
Trani
Bisceglie
Andria
Canosa di Puglia
Corato
Bitonto
Monopoli
Fasano
Ostuni
Martina Franca
Francavilla
Massafra
Mottola
Grottaglie
Manduria
Maglie
Otranto
Tricase
Casarano
Taranto
Gioia del Colle
Gravina in Puglia
Spinazzola
Genzano di Lucania
Rionero in Vulture
Melfi
Lavello
Venosa
Matera
Policoro
Rotondella
Castrovillari
Lagonegro
Sapri
Vallo di Lucania
Eboli
Battipaglia
Salerno
Cerignola
Orta Nova
Foggia
Manfredonia
Vieste
Rodi Garganico
Peschici
Monte S. Angelo
Margherita di Savoia
Trinitapoli
Canosa di Puglia
Ruvo di Puglia
Bitonto
Adelfia
Conversano
Castellana Grotte
Alberobello
Cisternino
Ceglie Messapico
Oria
Francavilla Fontana
Sava
Avetrana
Porto Cesareo
Nardò
Galatina
Copertino
Maglie
Otranto
Tricase
Casarano
Ugento
Gallipoli
Taranto
Massafra
Mottola
Grottaglie
Manduria
Maglie
Lecce
Brindisi
Ostuni
Martina Franca
Fasano
Monopoli
Bari
Molfetta
Bisceglie
Trani
Barletta
Andria
Canosa di Puglia
Corato
Bitonto
Ruvo di Puglia
Altamura
Gravina in Puglia
Gioia del Colle

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 (Rohlfs 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 syncronic 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 [±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 respondants 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 chiesa
c. Mariə a ncuntrat'**a Giuann**'e **Taresə** allu mərcatə, ma **a Giuanne** non l'a salutatə

(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 jɛssə** a vedə (M&S 2005: II, 506)
'as for her, I see her'
ii. cɛ:mə **a jɪssə** (ibid.)
'call him!'
b. cɛ:mə **a ffiɟɟəmə** (ibid.)
'call my son!'
c. Marìə è truèt'**a Giuànnə** e **a Teresə** o mərchètə, ma **a Giuannə** nənn'u è salutàtə

[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
a. Giuannə stà spəttannə sckittə **a mmè**, e nnò **a ttè**
b. patəmə à canəssciútə **a mammə** nd'â chjísa grannə
c. Marí à truuat'**a Giuannə** e **a Terésə** ammizz'â chiazzə, e nn'à salutat'**a Giuannə**

(7) Faeto, FG (Francoprovençal)[6]
a. i. i rəmirə a l ɛnfannə 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!'
b. 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 fiʎéttə i statə pa səntì **a sa mar** (ibid: 125)
the daughter she stood not hear DOM her mum
'the daughter didn't listen to her mum'
iii. ʤ 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'
c. po i fand **a san proʃp** (ibid.: 134)
then they do.3PL DOM Saint Prospero
'then they do San Prospero (festival)'

(8) Celle di San Vito, FG (Francoprovençal)
a. Giuànnə gli éstə avardànn'**a mi** e **a ti**, e nun **a ìgliə**
b. mun pàjə i quanascìtt'**a mammə** nchié la ghìsə
c. Marìə i-a ncuntrà **a Giuànnə** e **Terésə** a lu mərcàtə, ma i-a pa salutà **a Giuànnə**

(9) Foggia
a. Giuànnə ste spəttannə **a nujə**, nen **a gheddə**
b. patəmə canuscì **a mmammà** nd'â chìəsə
c. i. Marì a ngudrät'**a Giuànn**'e Terësə o mərcätə, ma nenn a ssalutät'**a Giuànnə**
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 chìsə
c. Marì ngundré **a Giuvann**'e **Ttəròsə** ou mərcòtə, ma non saluté **a Giuvannə**

Bari, BA/Barletta-Andria-Trani, BT

(11) Trinitapoli, BT
a. Giuànnə stè aspəttè **a mmàie** e **a ttàie**, nàumə **a jèdde**
b. Attanəmə canusscett'**a mamme** jind'alla chiəsə
c. Marei'o ngundröt'**a Giuannə** e **Tarösə** o mərcötə, ma nan o salutöt'**a Giuannə**

(12) Barletta, BT
a. Giuénnə sta'spəttà **a mmaj**'e **a ttà**, non **a jéddə**
b. atténəmə canuscìtt'**a mmammìnə** nd'a chìsə
c. Maréj'è ttruat'**a Giuénnə** e **Nenìttə** o mərcätə, ma nn'è salutat'**a Giuénnə**

(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. jaɟɟə camæ: tə **a ttajə/jiddə** (M&S 2005: II, 507)
b. attànəmə canuscèi'**a màmmə** iìnd'a la chiísə
c. Marèj'o ngundræt'**a Giuànnə** e **Terés**ə o mərcætə, ma **a Giuànne** na l'o salutætə

(15) Giovinazzo, BA
a. sɔ ccame:tə **a jɪddə** (M&S 2005: II, 507)
b. sɔ ccame:tə **a ssɔr-mə** (ibid.)
c. Marí av'acchiét'**a Giuannə** e **Taresə** o mərchétə, ma non a salutét'**a Giuanne**

(16) Capurso, BA
a. Giuannə sta spett'**a mme** e **a tte**, noun'**a jèddə**
b. tou **i** sì vìste d'assì d'o camesànde **a megghièrme** 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 patroùne chiamòtte **a Fièlùccie** (ibid.: 29)
'the master called Raffaele'

(17) Mola, BA
a. Giuannə ste spett'**a mma** e **a tta**, noun'**a jeddə**
b. iattànəmə canəsscégghi'**a mmammə** jènd'â chiìsə
c. Sisinə ha'cchiat'**a Giuannə** nd'â chiazzə

(18) Conversano, BA
a. Giuannə ste spètt'**a mme** e **a tte**, mic'**a jiddə**
b. dattanəmə canəssciö **a mammə** nd'a la chisə
c. Marì av'acchiète nd'o mərchètə **a Giuannə** ca stéivə chə Teréisə; a salutèt'**a Tèréisə**, ma a Giuannə nòn l'a pənzètə pröpriə

(19) Polignano, BA
a. me vu **a mme**? (Bentley *et alii* 2014: 33)
'do you want me?'
b. tu, gasse **a mmàmete** i vvìne pi mmèje (CRSEC 2001: 6)
'you, leave your mum and come with me'
c. Marì av'acchièt'**a Giuannə** i **Sisin**ə o mərchètə, ma **a Giuannə** nann u a salutètə

(20) Putignano, BA
a. Giuannə ste spett'**a mmì** e **a ttìə**, non'**a jèddə**
b. attanəmə canuscèj'**a mammə** nd'â chìsə
c. Marèj'o'cchiat'**a Giuannə** i **a Teresə** o mərcatə, ma nann o ssalutat'**a Giuannə**

(21) Gravina, BA
a. Giuannə ste spett'**a mic**'e **a tichə**, noun'**a jèddə**
b. attanəmə canuscì **a mammə** ind'alla chìəsə
c. Marì è'cchiät'**a Giuannə** e **a Teresə** o mərchətə, ma nann è ssalutät'**a Giuannə**

(22) Altamura, BA
a. sɔ v:ɪst/k:jɛt/č:ɪs **a t:ai** (Loporcaro 1988: 269)
'I've seen/found/killed you'
b. attanəme canuscì **a mammə** jind'a la chìsə
c. sɔ v:ɪst/k:jɛt/č:ɪs **(a) p:ep:ɪin** (Loporcaro 1988: 269)
'I've seen/found/killed Peppino'

Taranto$_{I}$

(23) Mottola, TA$_{I}$
a. Giuannə ste spett'**a mme** e **a tte**, noun'**a jèddə**
b. attanəmə canuscì **a mammə** jind'a la chìsə
c. Marì av'acchièt'**a Giuannə** e **a Tèrèsə** allu mərchètə, ma nan gi'à salutèt'**a Giuannə**

(24) Montemesola, TA_1 (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. Marì a vvist'**a Giuannə** e **Teresə** a u mərcatə, ma non gi'à ssalutat'**a Giuannə**

(25) Taranto
a. aʝʝə camə:tə **a iddə** (M&S 2005: II, 507)
'I've called him'
b. aʝʝə camə:tə **a ffiʝʝətə** (ibid.)
'I've called your son'
c. Marì 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, TA_2

(26) Mesagne, BR
a. Giuanni sta spetta **a mei** e **a tei**, noni **a edda**
b. sirma canuscìu **mama** ntra la chiesa
c. Maria è ccuntratu **Giuvanni e Teresa** allu marcatu, ma **Giuvanni** no **l**'è salutatu

(27) Oria, BR
a. Giuanni sta spetta **a mei** e **a tei**, noni **a edda**
b. sierma canuscìu **mama** ntr'alla chiesa
c. Maria è ccuntratu **Giuanni e Teresa** allu mercatu, ma non c'è salutatu **Giuanni**

(28) Latiano, BR
a. Giuanni 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 chiesia
c. Maria é ncuntratu **Giuanni** e **Tiresa** allu mircatu, ma non c'è ssalutatu **Giuanni**

(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 Giovanni**
'I called Giovanni'
iii. sta ccercu **lu Carlu**
'I'm looking for Carlo'

(30) Lizzano, TA_2
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 **Giuanni** sobbra la chiazza

Lecce, LE
(31) Carmiano, LE (Loporcaro 2021: 187)
c. addʒu ʃu ʈʈ͡ʂata **la maría**
'I went to visit Maria'

(32) Lecce
a. i. a iʃtu **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 quiḍḍa**[8]
b. sirama canuscìu **matrima** intru alla chesia
c. la Teresa a ncuntratu **lu Giuvanni** alla chiazza

(35) Otranto, LE
a. u Gianni **a nui** sta ne spetta, none **a iḍḍa**
b. sirima canusciu **mamma** alla chiesia
c. la Teresa aje cchiatu **u Giuvanni** alla chiazza

(36) Maglie, LE
a. u Gianni sta ne spetta **a mìe** e **a tìe**, no **a iḍḍa**
b. jeri a Marìa s'a ntisa fiacca e a chiamatu **marìtusa**
c. a Teresia a cchiatu **u Giuanni** alla chiazza

(37) Scorrano, LE (Presicce 2011)
a. **a mmie** **m**'ave vattisciatu la nunna Vata
'godmother Ada baptised me'
b. **Fijuma**, quiḍḍu 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 (30b.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 varities 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 mɜi'**a nnisciunə** — Torremaggiore, FG (Tondo 2008: 16)
'we never killed anyone'

c. nan tsɔ ccamɛtə **a niʃʃeunə** — Canosa, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
d. nann ɑʎʎə cammæ:tə **a nəʃʃɛunə** — Minervino, BT (ibid.)
e. n ɑʎʎə camə:tə **a niʃʃu: 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. ʤɔ kwanáj **kakunnə** 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 kˈki** ˈcɛ: mə? — San Severo, FG (M&S 2005: II, 506)
'who are you calling?'

d. ndovïn'**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, TA_1 (Rohlfs 1969: 9)
'who has skills, makes a living'

h. maliticu **a ci** ti violenta o **a ci** ti maltratta — Lizzano, TA_2
'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 crïati** — 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. vɛ:tənə **a jeunə** də kirə — Canosa, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
'they see one of those (people)'

f. na volde accedèrne poùre **a joùne** — 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. chiamégghie **a iëune** 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 exixstential 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 cundìnuən'a ffé casinə, joscə accic'**a cchédùnə** Mattinata, FG
c. sə quissə vucənantə condinuan'a fà casinə, joj'accid'**a cacchedunə** S.Marco, FG
d. si quillə accust'a mme cundinuən'a fa burdellə, oggə accid'**a chəcchevunə** Lucera, FG
e. sə quiss'affianghə accundìnu'a fà a cummèdiə, oggə agghi'a accid'**a quacchedönə** Foggia, FG
f. sə chidd'o coustə cuntenuon'a fè caseinə, goscə acceit'**a quacchegounə** Cerignola, FG
g. cə i vəcənandə fannə angourə casenə, jouscə accett'**a qualchejounə** Trinitapoli,BT
h. cə u vəcènə n'a fenèscənə, jóscə j'a'ccit'**a quacchejòunə** Barletta, BT
i. cə u vəcənàndə cundénu'a ffé jòsə, jòscə accéit'**a ngòcchédëunə** Mola, BA
j. cə u vəcənètə cundinuən'a fè la ióusə, jóuscə égghi'accéid'**a qualchèdóunə** Conversano, BA
k. c'i vəcenə cundenuən'a fajə casenə, juəscə j'a'ccer'**a quachijonə** Putignano, BA
l. cə le vəceinə condinuon'a fe la jousə, joscə **l**'accidəc'**a qualchedunə** Gravina, BA
m. cə chirə da vəcinə 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 cuntìnuunu a fa casinu, osci ccìu **ncunùnu** Mesagne, BR
p. ci quisti di costi fannu ncora rimori, osci scannu **ncunnunu** Latiano, BR
q. ci li vicini continuunu cu fannu casinu, osci ccìu **ncununu** Oria, BR
r. sçi li vicini contìnuanu 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 spìcciane cu crìdane, oçi ccìu **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 matrəmoniə nn'éi vist'**a nəsciunə d'i figghiə də Taresə** Carpino, FG
b. au spusalizziə nn'éi vist'**a nnəsciunə d'i figghiə də Térèisə** Mattinata, FG
c. allu spusalizziə nn'ei vist'**a nisciunə delli figghiə di Taresa** S.Marco, FG
d. o spusalizziə n'agghiə vist'**a nisciunə d'i figghiə də Teresə** Lucera, FG
e. au matrəmöniə nənn'agghie vist'**a nisciunə d'i figghiə de Terèsə** Foggia, FG
f. au matrəmoniə non e vest'**a nisciounə d'i figghiə də Teròsə** Cerignola, FG
g. o spusalìźźiə nan è vist'**a nəsscióunə d'i fìgghiə də Tarösə** Trinitapoli, BT
h. ou spusalizziə nann'ei vìst'**a nəscióune d'i figghiə də Nenìttə** Barletta, BT
i. au sponzalézziə na ssò vèst'**a nəsscëunə d'i féilə də Tarësə** Mola, BA
j. alla zëtə non so vèst'**a nisscióunə d'i fëlə də Tèréisə** Conversano, BA
k. â zeitə nann è vest'**a niscionə d'i feilə də Teresə** Putignano, BA
l. alla zeitə nan so vist'**a nəsciounə də lə figghiə də Teresə** Gravina, BA
m. alla zitə nan gə agghiə vist'**a nisciunə də li filə də Teresinə** Mottola, TA

n. allu spusaliziu no agghiu vistu **nisciunu dli fili di Sisina** S.Vito, BR
o. allu matrimognu non agghiu vištu **nisciùnu ti li fili ti Teresa** Mesagne, BR
p. allu sposalizzio non ogghiu vištu **nisciùnu ti li fili ti Teresa** Latiano, BR
q. allu spusalizziu n'ogghiu vistu **nisciunu ti li fili di Teresa** Oria, BR
r. allu matrimoniu 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 matrimoniu nun aggiu vistu **nuḍḍu di fiji da Teresa** Otranto, LE
u. allu matrimoniu nun aggiu vistu **nuḍḍu dî fiji dâ 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 cchəchédùn**'alla riuniòunə? No, n'ganuscèv'**a nnəsciunə** Carpino, FG
b. canusciv'**a quacchedun**'alla riunionə? No n'ganuscev'**a nisciunə** Mattinata, FG
c. canusciv'**a cacchedun**'alla riunionə? No, non ganuscev'**a nisciunə** S.Marco, FG
d. canusciv'**a chəcchevun**'â reunionə? No, nən ganuscev'**a nisciunə** Lucera, FG
e. canusciv'**a quacchedun**'alla riunonə? No, non ganuscev'**a nisciunə** Foggia, FG
f. canuscìv'**a quacchegoun**'alla runionə? Nónə, non ganusciov'**a nisciùnə** Cerignola, FG
g. canussciəv'**a qualchejoun**'alla riunionə? Naumə, nan ganussciaiv'**a nəssciounə** Trinitapoli, BT
h. canuscìv'**a quacchejòun**'â riunióno? No, nan ganuscéiv'**a nəsciòunə** Barletta, BT
i. canəscìv'**a ngocchédëun**'alla reuniàunə? No, na ccanessciàiv'**a nəsscëunə** Mola, BA

j.	canəsciv'**a quacchedóunə** nd'a la riunióunə?	Innóune, nan ganessciéiv'**a nisscióunə**	Conversano, BA
k.	canusciv'**a quachion**'â riunionə?	No, nan ganuscev'**a nisciona**	Putignano, BA
l.	canusciv'**a qualchedun**'alla riunionə?	No, nan ganusciài **a nəsciunə**	Gravina, BA
m.	canuscìv'**a nqualchèdun**'alla riunionə?	No, nan gə canuscèv'**a nisciunə**	Mottola, TA_1
n.	canuscivi **qualchidunu** alla riunione?	No, no canusceva **nisciunu**	S.Vito, BR
o.	canuscivi **ncununu** alla riunioni?	No, no canuscìa **nisciunu**	Mesagne, BR
p.	canuscivi **ncunnunu** alla riunioni?	No, no canuscìa **nisciunu**	Latiano, BR
q.	canuscivi **quarchitunu** ti la riunioni?	Noni, no canuscìa **nisciunu**	Oria, BR
r.	canuscivi **ncununu** alla riunioni?	No, no canuscìa **nisciunu**	Lizzano, TA_2
s.	canuscii **quarchetunu** alla riunione?	None, nnu ccanuscìa **ceḍḍi**	Lecce, LE
t.	canuscivi **qualchetunu** allu ncontru?	None, nu canuscìa **sciueḍḍi**	Serrano, LE
u.	canuscivi **quarchedunu** alla riunione?	No, nu canuscia **nisciunu**	Otranto, LE
v.	canuscivi **quarchedunu** alla runione?	No, nu canuscìa **ciuveḍḍi**	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/identifiabilty 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**$_{\text{[+singular/+specific]}}$

a.	aìərə Marijə c'è səndutə mmalamèndə e òu chiamét'**u maritə**	Mattinata, FG
b.	ierə Maria jè sənduta malə e a cchiamat'**allu maritə**	S.Marco, FG
c.	aírə Maríje nn'è statə bbonə e a cchiamat'**u marítə**	Lucera, FG
d.	aìrə Marìe s'è səndìte malamendə e a cchiamät'**u marìte**	Foggia, FG
e.	aìrə Marì s'o səndoutə malamendə e o cchiamòt'**u marètə**	Cerignola, FG
f.	ajìərə Marìə sə səndéttə malaménde e chiamétt'**o marétə**	Trinitapoli, BT
g.	ajìrə Maré nan s'è səndìtə bbonə e chiamìtt'**u marètə**	Barletta, BT
h.	ajìrə Mariə na ss'à səndëutə bbonə e à cchiamët'**u maréitə**	Mola, BA
i.	Marì ajirə s'a səndóutə brottə e a cchiamèt'**u maretə**	Conversano, BA
j.	ajerə Marejə s'i ndeisə brottə i o cchiamat'**u maretə**	Putignano, BA
k.	ajirə Mari s'è səndoutə bruttə e jè cchiamät'**o mareitə**	Gravina, BA
l.	ajìrə Mariə na ss'é 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 **marìtasa**	Latiano, BR
p.	Maria ieri no s'è sintuta bona e è cchiamatu **marìtusa**	Oria, BR
q.	ieri Maria s'ae ntisa fiacca e a ccchiamatu **marìtusa**	Lecce, LE
r.	ieri la Maria se ntise fiacca e chiamau **marìtusa**	Serrano, LE
s.	ieri a Maria s'a ntisa fiacca e a ttuccatu chiama **marìtusa**	Otranto, LE
t.	jeri a Marìa s'a ntisa fiacca e a cchiamatu **marìtusa**	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 (440-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 vòlətə la mammə dèvə mazzə au figghiə p'addrəzzàrələ) Mattinata, FG
b. prima na mamma menava **allu figghiə** pə farlu mparà S.Marco, FG
c. na vótə na mammə frəcavə də taccaratə **u figghiə** pə mbararlə a'ducazzónə 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 cresəmav'**u figghiə** chə farl'assì bərəféttə Barletta, BT
h. aqquannə jaivə tannə na mammə mazziaiv'**u fegghiə** p'addrəzzauə Mola, BA
i. (ê timbə də prëmə na mammə ngə déivə mazzèt'ê fëlə 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 talìa **lu figghiu** cu lu educava Mesagne, BR
o. tiempu angretu nna mamma talìa **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 attìanu li figghi cu lli mpàranu cristiani. Lecce, LE
r. (alli tiempi passati na mamma vattìa nu fiju cu nu lu fazza ddivintare scustumatu) Serrano, LE
s. (na fiata e mamme li vattìane li fiji cu li mparàvane. Otranto, LE
t. a ttiempi la mamma vattìa **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 säpə ca na mammə volə send'*o figghiə *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 figghiə də nu candandə famòusə**	Mattinata, FG
b.	jerə Maria a canəsciutə **lu figghiə də nu candandə famosə**	S.Marco, FG
c.	aìre Marì a canusciut'**o figghiə̱ də̱ nu candandə̱ chə̱ vacə̱ pə̱ nnumə̱natə̱**	Lucera, FG
d.	airə Maria a canəsciöt'**u figghiə də nu candandə famösə**	Foggia, FG
e.	aìrə Marì o canousciout'**u fegghiə də nu candandə famòusə**	Cerignola, FG
f.	ajìərə Marì o canesscióut'**o fìgghiə̱ də̱ nu candàndə̱ famòusə̱**	Trinitapoli, BT
g.	ajìrə Marèj'è canusciòut'**u figghiə də nu candandə famóusə**	Barletta, BT
h.	ajìrə Marì à ccanəsscëut'**u fégghiə də nu candandə famëusə**	Mola, BA
i.	ajìrə Marì a canəscióut'**u fègghiə də nu candandə famóusə**	Conversano, BA
j.	ajerə Marej'o canisciot'**u fegghiə də nu candandə mbortandə**	Putignano, BA
k.	ajìrə Marì è canəsciout'**u figghiə də nu candandə famousə**	Gravina, BA
l.	ajìre Marì à canisciutə **lu figghiə 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 Marìa 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 *Giuannə a vist'a nu criaturə pə nderrə e a chiamat'*o 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**$_{\text{[+plural/+specific]}}$

a.	aìərə Marì òu sciacquét'**i figghi**ə pəll'acquə də merə	Mattinata, FG
b.	ierə Maria a llavatə **li figghi**ə cull'acqua lu marə	S.Marco, FG
c.	aírə Marì a llavat'**i figghiə** pəll'acquə d'u marə	Lucera, FG
d.	aìrə Marìe a llavat'**i figghie** chəll'acquə də marə	Foggia, FG
e.	aìrə Marì o llavòt'**i figghiə** chəll'acquə d'u morə	Cerignola, FG
f.	ajìərə Marìə lavétt'**i fìgghi**ə chəll'acquə d'u morə	Trinitapoli, BT
g.	ajìre Marèjə lavétt'**i figghi**ə chəll'ècqua salätə	Barletta, BT
h.	ajìrə Marì à llavët'**i féggghi**ə chəll'acquə də mërə	Mola, BA
i.	ajirə Marì a llavètə **tòtt'i fëlə** chəll'acquə d'u mèrə	Conversano, BA

11. This includes Faetar, where a similar example shows the unmarked referent 'the doctor': [ʤə 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. ajìrə Marej'o llavat'**i feil**ə cull'acquə d'u marə — Putignano, BA
k. ajirə Marì è llavät'**allə figghiə** pəll'acquə d'u märə — Gravina, BA
l. ajìre Marì à llavètə **li fil**ə chəll'acquə 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 Marìa 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 Marìa 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 vòlətə li mmammə sciacquèvən'**i figghie** ammìəzzə la chiazzə dlu paèisə — Mattinata, FG
b. ində lu passatə li mammə lavavan'**alli figghiə** ammezzə la chiazza lu paiesə — S.Marco, FG
c. na vótə i mammə lavaven'**i figghiə** ammizz'u larəchə — Lucera, FG
d. na votə lə mammə lavaven'**i figghiə** nd'â chiazze d'u paése — Foggia, FG
e. prèimə i mammə lavavən'**i fegghiə** a la chiazzə du paeisə — Cerignola, FG
f. prémə i màmmərə lavàven'**i figghi**ə mméźź'alla chiàzzə d'u pajésə — Trinitapoli, BT
g. na vólətə i mmémmə lavavən'**i figghi**ə nd'â piézzə — Barletta, BT
h. nəfallànnə i màmmərə lavàvən'**i fégghi**ə jènd'â chiazzə d'u paiéisə — Mola, BA
i. ê timbə də prëmə, i màmmərə lavéivən'**i fëlə** mminz'alla chiazzə d'u paiësə — Conversano, BA
j. appremə i mammərə lavavən'**i feil**ə nd'â chiazzə d'u paesə — Putignano, BA
k. primə lə mammə lavàinə **lə figghiə** mennz'a la chiazzə d'u paeisə — Gravina, BA
l. primə li mammərə lavavənə **li file** mmìnz'a la chiazzə də lu paìsə — Mottola, TA
m. na vota li mammi lavavunu **li fili** mmienza alla chiazza dlu pajsi — S.Vito, BR
n. nna vota li mammi llavàunu **li fili** alla chiazza ti lu paìsi — 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 paise — 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 dû paìse 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'òu salutétə **l'amicə** — Mattinata, FG
b. prima də jìrcənə, 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 salutät'**i cumbägnə** — Foggia, FG
e. premə də partə, Giuvann'o salutòt'**i cumbagnə** — Cerignola, FG
f. prémə de partə, Giuànn'o salutötə **l'amécə** — Trinitapoli, BT
g. prèimə də scərasìnnə, Giuénnə salutitt'**a tutt'i cumbégnə** — Barletta, BT
h. preimə də scərasennə, Giuannə salutegghi'**all'améiscə** — Mola, BA
i. (prëmə 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'amècərə** — Mottola, TA
m. prima di partiri, Giuvanni è salutatu **l'amici** — S.Vito, BR
n. prima cu parti, Giuvanni 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. bəsogn'aiuta**ll'all'ameiscə̱** ca stonnə ndəffəcoldè — Mola, BA
ii. **all'ameiscə̱** ca tenənə dabbəsugnə, **l**'am'ajutëjə — Mola, BA
b. besogn'ajutà **ai amëscə̱** ca stonnə ndəffəcoldè — Conversano, BA
c. aiot'**all'ameiscə̱** ca jàvənə dabbəsugnə — Putignano, BA
d. Bəsogn'aiutè **allə̱ cumbagnə̱** 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 chiamɜt'**e(/i) figghiə** 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. ˈcɛmə **(a) li ɣwaɲɲeunə** Canosa, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
'call the boys'
e. alla fine, chiêmêi'**u mêràite** 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. Dì 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** sì vìste d'assì […] a megghièrme 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 fèmene** allanoùte? Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 28)
'at the cemetery one has to see naked women?'
e. nu ppozzu vitire **li fiji mei** Scorrano, LE (Presicce 2011)
'I can't see my sons'

(53) **other predicates**
a. U chènë mòccëchë **a u straccètë** San Severo, FG
'a dog bites the beggar'
b. U cœnë muzzichèjë **u strazzœtë** Foggia, FG (Fidanza 1992)
'a dog bites the beggar'
c. i dritte s'ajùtene da pe llóre, **ê 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 **parjìende** Capurso, BA (Pastore 2002: 27)
'to go visit the other relatives'
e. S'essi pigghiatu **lu giovini** ca a tittu tuni Lizzano, TA_2
'If only I had taken the guy you said'
f. lu previti è ddittu ca, **li scinnuti**, **li** sposa la matina prestu Lizzano, TA_2
'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. ʤ e viáw **a la fiʎə** 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 ənfán** (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 ʧəstíəl 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 patrúŋ 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**$_{\text{[-human/+animate]}}$
a. ha chiamɜt' **e(/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 ke: nə** Giovinazzo, BA (M&S 2005: II, 507)
'I've called the dog'
f. aqquanne accìteche **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. aʝʝə camə: tə **u kə: nə** Taranto, TA_1 (M&S 2005: 11, 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. Marì 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. (Marì à canussciútə nu bbèllə uaglióna ê féstə d'aùstə) Lucera, FG
d. Marì a ccanəsciutə **quillu bbèllə uagliönə** â fèstə u paèsə Foggia, FG
e. Marì o canoscioutə **quiddə bellə uaglionə** a la festə d'u paèisə Cerignola, FG
f. Marì o canəsscióut'**a ccüddə bbellə uagnàumə** alla féstə d'u pajésə Trinitapoli, BT
g. Maré canuscitt'**a cuddə bbèllə uagnónə** â fìsta patronalə Barletta, BT
h. Marì à ccanəsscëut'**a ccodə bbéllə uagnaunə** alla fésta grannə Mola, BA
i. Marì a canəscióut'**a còddə bèllə uagnóunə** alla fésta patronalə Conversano, BA
j. Marej'o canisciot'**a curə bellə uagnonə** â festə d'u paesə Putignano, BA
k. Marì è canəsciout'**a cuddu bellə uagnounə** alla festə d'u paeisə Gravina, BA
l. Marì à canisciutə **curə bellə uagnònə** alla fèsta grannə Mottola, TA
n. Maria è canusciutu **cuddu beddu vagnoni** alla festa S.Vito, BR
o. Maria è canuscitu **curu bbeddu vuagnone** alla festa di paisi Mesagne, BR
p. Maria è ccanusciutu **cuddu bbeddu vagnoni** alla fešta ti lu paisi Latiano, BR
q. Maria è canusciutu **cuddu beddu vagnoni** alla festa ti lu paisi Oria, BR
r. la Marìa à ccanusciutu **ḍḍu beḍḍu strìu** alla fera Lecce, LE
s. la Maria canuscìu **ḍḍu beḍḍu carusu** alla festa te lu paese Serrano, LE
t. a Maria a canusciutu **ḍḍu beḍḍu vagnone** alla festa du paese Otranto, LE
u. a Marìa **ḍḍu beḍḍu fiju** alla festa **l**'a canusciutu Maglie, LE
'Maria met that handsome guy at the village fair/festival'

(57) **'to meet those few people': Dem+NP**$_{[+plural/+specific]}$

a. u sìnəc'òu affrundétə **quédda picchə də crəsti**énə c'u vulèvənə canóscə Mattinata, FG
b. lu sinnəc'a ncundratə **ddi pochə crəstianə** chə lu vulevənə canoscə S.Marco, FG
c. u sinec'à ngrundatə **quilli quattə crəstianə** c'u vulévənə canosscə Lucera, FG
d. u sinnec'a ngudrätə **quilli quattə crəstiänə** ca u vulevənə canosscə Foggia, FG
e. u sennəc'o ngundrótə **chiddə quattə crəstiònə** ca u vulevənə canoscə Cerignola, FG
f. u sìnəc'o ngundröt'**a cchiddə picchə crəstiönə** ca u vulàvənə canòsscə Trinitapoli, BT
g. u sinnec'a ngudrat'**a cchiddə picchə crestianə** ca vulevənə səndìnzə Barletta, BT
h. u sènəc'à ngundrët'**a chèdə quattə crəstiënə** ca u velévəne canóəsscə Mola, BA
i. u sènəc'av'acchiat'**a chiddə e quattə crəstiènə** ca u veléivənə canösscə Conversano, BA
j. u senəc'o'cchiat'**a cherə pecchə crəstianə** ca u vulevənə canoscə Putignano, BA
k. (U sinnəchə s'av'acchiätə pə kiddə pikkə crəstiänə ca u vulàinə canoscə) Gravina, BA
l. (Lu sinəchə s'av'acchièta chə chirə picchə crəstiènə ca lu vulavənə canoscə) Mottola, TA
m. lu sinnacu è sci'ncuntratu **quiddi picca cristiani** ca lu vuli'canuscevunu S.Vito, BR
n. lu sinducu è ccuntràtu **quiddi picchi crištiani** ca lu vulìunu canòscunu Mesagne, BR
o. lu sinnucu è cuntratu **quiddi picca cristiani** ca lu vuliunu canoscunu Latiano, BR
p. lu sinnucu è ccuntratu **quiddi picca cristiani** ca lu vuliunu canusciunu Oria, BR
q. lu sìndecu ae ncuntratu **ḍḍi picca nunni** ca ulìanu llu canuscenu Lecce, LE
r. lu sinnacu ncuntrau **ḍḍi picca cristiani** ca ulìne cu lu canuscane Serrano, LE
s. u sìnnicu a ncuntratu **ḍḍi picca cristiani** ca ulìane lu canùscune 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 Apulian[14] (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 mǫ c̓aňňę́və **a stu fiǵǵə** ke sə nə i̯ę́rə i̯ú̞tə Foggia, FG (Melillo 1970)
'The dad was crying for this son who had left'
b. jaɟɟə camæ: tə **a kkwera fɛ̞mənə** Minervino, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
'I called that woman'
c. sɔ vvistə **a kkur ɔ̞mə** Canosa, BT (ibid.)

14. It is worth noting that, for the variety of Foggia, one (recorded) informant produced sentence (63), § 2.4, as *Giuannə 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 *agghiə canəsciut'**a quillə*** 'I met **that** (person)', where the demonstrative pronoun is *a*-marked, on a par with personal (and indefinite) pronouns.

'I saw that man'
d. sɔ 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 pizzeca** redinne stè tremende Ostuni, BR
'the laughing moon is looking at this pizzica'
h. **sta mugghieri**, addo cazzu **l**'agghiu sci ccugghiuta Lizzano, TA_2
'this wife, where the hell did I fetch her?'
i. ma addò cazzu l'agghiu ncuntrata **sta signora** Lizzano, TA_2
'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 fiʎə** kə piɛro 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 ʤɛnn**! Celle, FG
disturb.2SG.IMP not DOM this people
'do not disturb these people!'

(61) ʤ 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 mìe ha viste **<u>a nu criature</u>** 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**<u>a nu segnaure</u>** de kudde paése Barletta, BT (Melillo 1970: 79)
'he started serving a lord from that village'

d. jaɟɟə camæ: tə **na fɛmənə** Minervino, BT (M&S 2005: II, 507)
I called a woman'

e. sɔ vvistə **<u>(a n)n ɡ̊mə̱</u>** Canosa BT (ibid.)
'I saw a man'

f. sɔ ccame: tə **<u>(a n)nu mə̱nɪnnə̱</u>** 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 **<u>a nnu sargènde</u>** Polignano, BA (CRSEC 2001: 8)
'a person took a sergeant (as a fiancé)'

i. aɟɟə camə: tə **<u>a nnu kristiə̱nə̱</u>** Taranto, TA$_1$ (M&S 2005: II, 507)
'I called a person'

j. stamatina stè spittava **nu cristianu** Lizzano, TA$_2$
'this morning I was waiting for a person'

k. aggiu visctu **na fimmina** Squinzano, LE[15]
'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'**<u>a nnu uagnònə</u>** pə ndèrrə	Mattinata, FG
b.	Giuann'a vistə **nu mənninnə** pə nderra	S.Marco, FG
c.	Giuann'a vist'**<u>a nu criaturə</u>** pə nderrə	Lucera, FG
d.	Giuann'a vvistə **nu criaturə** pə nderrə	Foggia, FG
e.	Giuann'o vestə **nu criatourə** nderrə	Cerignola, FG
f.	Giuànn'o vist'**<u>a nnu criatóurə</u>** ndèrrə	Trinitapoli, BT
g.	Giuènn'è vvistə **nu criatour**ə ndérrə	Barletta, BT
h.	Giuann'à vvèstə **nu peccənènnə** scəttëtə ndéərrə	Mola, BA
i.	Giuann'a vèstə **nu uègnəngiddə** ndérrə	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 ndèrrə)	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 vagnuneḍḍu** anterra	Serrano, LE
s.	u Gianni aje vistu **nu piccinnu** nterra	Otranto, LE
t.	u Gianni a vistu **nu vagnunceḍḍu** 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'**<u>a nu criaturə</u>** chə vəlé trascì â casə Carpino

b. mammə c'è spavəndétə quann'òu uist'**<u>a nnu uagnòunə</u>** chə vulèvə trasì 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 trasì dind'â casə Lucera
e. mammà s'è scantätə quann'a vistə **nu criaturə** ca vulevə trasí nd'â cäsə Foggia
f. (mamm'o sckandotə quann'o vest'u criatourə ca vulòvə trasè nd'a la còsə) Cerignola
g. mamm'o sckandötə quann'o vist'**a nnu criatóurə** ca vulàivə trasì nd'a ccösə Trinitapoli
h. mammin'è sckandätə quann'è vvistə **nu criataurə** ca ulévə trasì a ccäsə Barletta
i. mammə s'a ssckandët'acquann'a vvèstə **nu pəccənènnə** ca vəlàivə traségghiə jènd'a cchësə Mola
j. mammə s'a aldarèt'acquann'a vèstə **nu uagnəngiddə** ca vəléive trasï jènd'alla chèsə Conversano
k. mammə s'i assurmat'aqquann'o vestə **nu piccennə** ca vulevə trasejə nd'â casə Putignano
l. mamm'è spandätə quann'è vistə **nu zaraffə** ca vulài trasì nd'a ccäsə Gravina
m. (mammə s'av'assurmètə quann'a vistə lu piccinnə ca vulèvə trasì nd'â 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 vištu **nnu vagnoni** ca vulìa 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 vaggnioni** 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 ulìa ttrasa ntru ccasa Lecce
t. mamma se mpaurau quandu vitte **nu vagnone** ca ulìa cu trasa intru a casa Serrano
u. mamma s'a mparuata quandu a vistu **nu vagnone** ca ulìa trase ccasa Otranto
v. (mamma, quannu a vistu ca nc'era nu vagnunceḍḍu ca ulìa trase ntru casa, s'a sciuntata. 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 nànnə cə la sèndə quannə vèit'**a nnu uagnòunə** də chiangə 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 ndənərìscə quannə vedə **nu criaturə** ca chiagnə Foggia, FG
e. la nonnə sə chəmmovə quannə vodə **nu criatourə** ca chiangə Cerignola, FG
f. nonònnə sə chəmmòuvə quannə vàit'**a nnu criatóurə** ca chiàngə Trinitapoli, BT
g. a nónnə sə mètt'a cchièngə quannə vatə **nu criaturə** ca chièngə Barletta, BT
h. nononnə s'acchəlombə aqquannə vàitə **nu pəccənènnə** ca chiangə Mola, BA
i. la nonnə sə dəspièscə acquannə véidə **nu menènnə** a chiangə Conversano, BA
j. a nonnə s'emozionescə quannə verə **nu piccennə** ca chiangə Putignano, BA
k. la nonnə sə mett'a chiangə quannə vädə **nu criaturə** ca chiangə Gravina, BA
l. Nonnə sə dəspièscə quannə vètə **nu piccinnə** ca ste chiangə 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 vagnuneḍḍu** 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. quédda uàrdi'òu dittə c'aìərə ànn'accis'**a nnu crəmənélə prəchəlusə** Mattinata, FG
b. dda wuardi'a ditte chə jerə ann'accisə **nu crəmənalə pəricolosə** S.Marco, FG
c. quillu uardi'à dittə c'ajírə à ccísə **nu sortə də dəlinguèndə** Lucera, FG
d. u guàrdi'a dittə c'ajirə ann'accis'**a nu crəmənalə pəricolösə** Foggia, FG
e. Quedda guardi'o dettə c'ajìrə ann'acceisə **nu crəmənòlə pəruculòsə** Cerignola, FG
f. Cüddə vìgel'o dittə c'ajìərə onn'accés'**a nnu dəlinguéndə pərəculóusə** Trinitapoli, BT
g. U poləzziótt'è ddittə c'ajìrə ann'accisə **nu malamində** Barletta, BT
h. Chéda uàrdi'a ddèttə c'ajìrə an'accéisə **nu crəmənëlə pərəchəlëusə** Mola, BA
i. Chédda uardi'a dèttə c'ajire ann'acciəsə **nu malvuvéndə pəricolóusə** Conversano, BA
j. Chera guardi'o dettə c'aijrə on'accesə **nu malacarnə pərəchəlousə** Putignano, BA
k. Chedda uardi'è dittə c'ajirə ann'acceis'**a nu malavətousə pericolousə** Gravina, BA
l. Chera uardi'à dittə c'ajìre an'accisə **nu malacarnə pərəchəlusə** Mottola, TA

m. Quera uardia è dittu ca jeri annu ccisu **nu delinquenti piriculosu** S.Vito, BR
n. Quedda uàrdia 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. ḍḍa uardia à ddittu ca ieri annu ccisu **nu criminale periculosu** Lecce, LE
r. ḍḍa guardia ave dittu ca ieri ane ccisu **nu latru fiaccu fiaccu** Serrano, LE
s. ḍḍa guardia a dittu ca ieri annu ccisu **nu criminale pericolosu** Otranto, LE
t. (ḍḍa 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**$_{[-specific]}$
a. nn'è ggiustə ca la puləzzi'accit'**a nnu dəlinguèndə** sènza fé u procèssə Mattinata, FG
b. non è justə ca la polizzia accidə **nu dəlinguendə** senza processə S.Marco, FG
c. nn'è juste si a puluzzei'accidə **nu dəlinguendə** 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'accïd'**a nu crəmənòlə** senza nu processə Cerignola, FG
f. nann'è ggiüstə cə la puleźźéi'accét'**a nnu dəlinguéndə** senźa prucìəssə Trinitapoli, BT
g. nann'jè ggiœstə cə la polizzi'accit'**a nnu malamìndə** sìnza procìssə Barletta, BT
h. na jë ggiòstə ca i gendarmə accéitən'**a nnu malandreinə** sénz'u prəcissə Mola, BA
i. nann'ì giostə ca i guardi'accèdənə **nu malvuvéndə** senza mang'u procéssə Conversano, BA
j. nann'jè giostə c'a pulzzei'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 prucìssə 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 polizìa 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 definitentess 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'**<u>a nu crestiane</u>**	Mattinata, FG
b.	decchire i viarund **un pellerinne**	Celle, FG
c.	quanne vedèrene **nu ppassande**	Andria, BT
d.	quanne vedèren'**<u>a nu crestiéne</u>**	Bisceglie, BT
e.	Quanne vederen'**<u>a nnu crestiàne</u>**	Martina Franca, TA
f.	Quanne vìder'**<u>a nnu passande</u>**	Taranto, TA = Statte, TA
g.	Quannu vìderu **nna cristiana**	Francavilla Fontana, BR
h.	Quandu ìddera **nu cristianu**	Lecce, LE
i.	Quandu vìttera **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/ash', 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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