Agreement, case and locality in the nominal and verbal domains

Edited by

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In this series:

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Contents

Chapter 1

A person split analysis of the progressive forms in Barese

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This paper explores the distribution of progressive aspect in some varieties of the Barese (dialect of Apulia). In many of these varieties the progressive is expressed through an aspectual inflected construction (in the terms of Manzini & Savoia 2005): it is formed from an inflected stative verb stɛ (='to stay'), a connecting element a (='to') and the present indicative of the lexical verb, which agrees in person and number with the matrix verb. The multiple agreement configuration, as in pseudo-coordinations (Jaeggli & Hyams 1993) is not interpreted as a coordination of two events occurring at the same time, but as a single complex event, with V1 having scope over V2, an interpretation that is usually realized with a non-finite form of V2 to represent an aspectual semantic value. In the same variety, however, we can find a parallel construction to express the progressive in which the embedded lexical verb is not inflected. The 1st and 2nd persons plural are not found in the aspectual inflected constructions, but allow only the infinitival counterpart. Differences in the pattern of the morphological derivation of the 1st and 2nd persons plural are quite common across Romance languages (Manzini & Savoia 2005; Manzini & Savoia 2011): I will argue that they in fact involve a more complex referentiality than other persons (as in Bobaljik 2008).

> In the original document, some revisions were not properly marked, so our converter did not find the incorrect revisions

1 The progressive inflected and non-inflected constructions in Barese

In some varieties of Barese, the progressive is expressed through an aspectual inflected construction (in the terms of Manzini & Savoia 2005): an inflected stative

verb *stɛ* (='to stay'), a connecting element *a* (='to') and the present indicative of the lexical verb, which agrees in person and number with the matrix verb. This progressive construction contains a multiple agreement configuration involving an inflected auxiliary and a finite complement introduced by *a*, as in finite control constructions of the Balkan type.[1] The example in (1) shows the progressive aspectual construction in the variety spoken in Conversano (Apulia):

(1) Stek   a fatsə u pɛn.
     stay.1SG to do.1SG the bread
     'I am making the bread.'

In the same variety, we can find a parallel construction to express the progressive in which the embedded lexical verb is not inflected. In (2), the embedded verb fɛ (=to do) is infinitival:

(2) Stek   a fɛ   u pɛn.
     stay.1SG to do.INF the bread
     'I am making the bread.'

In Conversanese, the aspectual inflected construction is not found with the 1st and 2nd persons plural, as shown in (3): only the construction with an embedded infinitival lexical verb is available to express the progressive, as in (4):[2]

(3) Nojə$_j$/voʊ$_k$ stɛmə$_j$/stɛtə$_k$ a *man'dʒɛmə$_j$/*man'dʒɛtə$_k$.
     we/you   stay.1PL/2PL to eat.1PL/2PL

(4) Nojə/voʊ ´stɛmə/´stɛtə a man´dʒɛ.
     we/you   stay.1PL/2PL to eat.INF
     'We/you are eating.'

---

[1] The phenomenon of finite control in the Balkan languages (and in Hebrew and many Southern Italian varieties) involves the appearance of inflected subjunctive complements which exhibit Obligatory Control (Landau 2004, among others): finite complements in these languages cover pretty much the entire spectrum of obligatory control or raising predicates (for an overview, see Ledgeway 2015; Manzini et al. 2017). The verbs embedding *a* complements, such as the ones we are describing, are a much more restricted set than the obligatory control/raising verbs in Balkan languages. The Apulian varieties under analysis, for example, include 'go' and 'be/stay' aspectual periphrases; we will concentrate on the 'stay' periphrases (for an analysis of the differences in aspectual finite constructions across southern Italian varieties, see Manzini et al. (2017)). 'want', as illustr are reeement configuration involving a ement

[2] Similar patterns are found in the varieties from the same area (i.e. in the south-east of Bari, in A: Mola di Bari, Rutigliano, Castellana, Turi). Throughout the paper we will refer mainly to the variety of Conversano, but we will also sketch some relevant differences between the variety of Conversano and some other varieties of the same group in §1.

Both types of structure share a locative derivation: the majority of progressive forms crosslinguistically, in fact, are derived from expressions involving locative elements (**BybeePerkinsPagliuca1994**; Mateu & Amadas 1999; Laka 2006). The two parallel constructions differ in the aspect of the denoted event. On the one hand, the construction with the embedded inflected verb, (1), denotes an event identification between the auxiliary and the lexical verb and seems to work like a restructuring or serial verb construction. On the other hand, the construction with the embedded infinitive, (2), involves a frequentative reading which is not found with genuine progressive constructions (Chierchia 1995) and seems to pattern with aspectual control verbs. The 1st and 2nd persons plural are not found in the aspectual inflected construction in (3), but allow only the infinitival counterpart (4). Differences in the pattern of the morphological derivation of the 1st and 2nd persons plural is quite common across Romance languages (Manzini & Savoia 2005; Manzini & Savoia 2011): they involve, in fact, a more complex referentiality than other persons (Bobaljik 2008); they are not mere plurals of the discourse participants, but may refer to other referents not directly involved in the discourse (event participants). In a lexical parametrization analysis (Manzini & Savoia 2011), languages involve a parametric distinction for plural and singular: plural persons do not show a pattern of parametric distinction between discourse (1st and 2nd) and event participants (3rd) found with singular persons.

In §2, the distribution of the pattern of inflection across the different varieties is described: the insights of previous accounts are also listed. §3 introduces the analysis of the progressive as a locative/unaccusative construction (in the terms of Mateu & Amadas 1999). §4 presents a syntactic analysis of the phenomenon. In §5, the aspectual differences between the two progressive patterns are described. §6 is devoted to some reflections on the person split pattern found in the progressive constructions in Conversanese. §7 resumes the insight and the main concerns of the present analysis.

2 The distribution of aspectual inflected constructions

2.1 Introduction

Various studies have focused on periphrastic verbal constructions in some Southern Italian varieties that involve two inflected verbs.[3] The main characteristic of

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[3]As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, this construction apparently shares the derivation of hyper-raising constructions (Harford Perez 1985; Martins & Nunes 2005; Nunes 2008; Zeller 2006), but there are few elements that allow us to take them as non- hyper raising constructions. In this paper we are dealing mainly with the auxiliary *stare* (='stay') in the progressive

these constructions is that a matrix aspectual auxiliary inflected for number and person selects a lexical verb that is also inflected. The lexical embedded verb may or may not be introduced by a preposition. The auxiliary loses its lexical meaning and the complex VP is interpreted as a single predicate, the embedded lexical verb being the one that gives the referential meaning to the event denoted by the complex VP. For example, in (5) the subject *Ma'ri* is not 'staying' and then eating, but just eating:

(5) Conversano, Apulia
    Ma[F0A2?]ri ste   a mandʒə.
    Maria   stay.3sg to eat.3sg
    'Maria is eating.'

Similar patterns are found in different Southern Italian varieties. Ledgeway (1997) refers to imperative structures in Neapolitan that involve two inflected verbs as asyndetic constructions. A fully inflected verb is embedded under another fully inflected matrix verb, as in (6). There is no preposition introducing the embedded element. In his terms, these constructions define a family of coordinative constructions grammaticalized into subordination. These imperative constructions are paratactic in the sense that "..they contain as many assertions as there are clauses [...]" (Ledgeway 1997: 231); in (6), in fact, there are two assertions (7), whereas the progressive construction in Conversanese contains only one assertion ranging over the entire construction.

(6) Va   spanne   'epanne   nfuse.
    go.imp.2sg hang.out.imp.2sg the.clothes wet
    'Go and hang out the washing.' (Ledgeway 1997: 230)

(7)   a. Va!
        'Go!'

---

constructions, which is not a raising predicate. Furthermore, in many Southern Italian varieties these constructions are also found with motion verbs (*go*, *come*) or modal auxiliaries (*want*) (**DiCaro2015**; **Lorusso2017**; Manzini & Savoia 2005; Manzini et al. 2017; Cardinaletti & Giusti to appear), but no genuine raising predicate is involved. The subject is base-generated (and case-assigned) under the T of the matrix verb. One more contrast with hyper-raising constructions is that no expletive counterpart of the sentences is available in the languages under analysis (or any version with embedded subjects). These constructions share more similarities with finite control constructions found in Balkan languages (**Manzini2000**; Landau 2004; 2013) and in Southern Italian varieties (Manzini & Savoia 2005; Ledgeway 2015).

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    b. Spanne 'epanne nfuse!

       'Hang out the washing!' (Ledgeway 1997: 231)

Most Sicilian dialects make use of a construction with a functional verb (usually of motion), followed by the linking element *a* and an inflected inflected verb. **Cardinaletti2001**; Cardinaletti & Giusti (2003) label these structures Inflected Constructions.[4] They are "..similar to what is generally known as 'Serial Verb Construction' in other language families (cf. Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006), in which the two verbs (V1 and V2) share the same inflection for Tense and person [...]" (**Caro2015**). The examples in (8) from the dialect spoken in Delia (Caltanissetta) are considered by **DiCaro2015** as monoclausal constructions with a functional verb, in opposition to their infinitival counterparts (9), which are the only option in standard Italian (10) and are biclausal constructions:

(8) La sira   mi   veni   a ccunta du cosi.
     the evening to.me(CL) come.3SG to tell.3SG two things
     'He comes to tell me some stories at night.'

(9) La sira   mi   veni   a ccuntari du cosi.
     the evening to.me(CL) come.3SG to tell.INF   two things

(10) La sera   mi   viene   a raccontare/*racconta delle storie.
     the evening to.me(CL) come.3SG to tell.INF/tell.3SG   some stories
     'He comes to tell me some stories at night.' (**DiCaro2015**)

In the present analysis, both the inflected and the infinitival constructions will be analyzed, following the intuition of Manzini & Savoia (2005: 1:688), as biclausal structures: while the inflected construction involves event identification (§3 and §4), the infinitival counterparts do not. The differences in the aspectual reading (see §4) of the two types of progressive construction in Conversanese will confirm this analysis.

Manzini & Savoia (2005: I:688–689) propose an event identification analysis for all the aspectual constructions with finite verbs found in Apulian, Calabrian and Sicilian varieties. These aspectual constructions are found with different matrix verbs: progressive (*stay*) in (11), motion verbs (*go*, *come*) in (12), and modals (*want*, *will*, *must*) in (13).

(11) Taranto, Apulia

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[4]In the terms of Cruschina (2013), these are Double Inflected Constructions.

Stɔk   a bbeivə.
stay.1SG to drink.1SG
'I am drinking.'

(12) a. Minervino Murge, Apulia
         Væ   u   cæmə .
         go.2SG him(CL) call.2SG
         'You go to call him.'

      b. Modica, Sicily
         Vaju   a mmaɲtʃu.
         go.1SG to eat.1SG
         'I go to eat.'

      c. Umbriatico, Calabria
         U   vəju cəmu.
         him go.1SG call.1SG
         'I go to call him.'

(13) a. Brindisi, Apulia
         Ti   vɔffu   a vveʃu.
         you.ACC(CL) want.1SG to see.1SG
         'I want to see you.'

      b. Mesagne, Apulia
         Vɔffu   mmaɲʤu.
         want.1SG eat.1SG
         'I want to eat.'

In the present work we will be dealing mainly with the progressive constructions involving the auxiliary *stay*, but the assumptions of the present analysis can also be applied to the other aspectual constructions with inflected verbs.

2.2 The progressive aspectual consructions with finite verbs in the Apulian varieties

In the Southern Apulian variety of Conversano, the present continuousprogressive is expressed through an aspectual inflected construction involving the inflected stative verb *stɛ* (='to stay'), a connecting element *a* (='to') and the present indicative of the lexical verb, which agrees in person and number with the matrix verb. In Table 1, the paradigm of inflection for the present indicative is presented.

The same pattern of inflection is not found in past tenses or the imperative. The inflection is also not found on embedded verbs in the case of the 1st and 2nd persons plural.[5]

Table 1: Progressive for the verb *ma'ndʒɛ* (= to eat) in the variety of Conversano

Indicative present	Auxiliary *stay*	Prep.	Lexical Verb
1SG	stek	a	mandʒə
2SG	ste	a	mandʒə
3SG	ste	a	mandʒə
1PL	stɛm	a	*mandʒɛmə
2PL	stɛt	a	*mandʒɛtə
3PL	stan	a	'mandʒənə

In the same area, there are varieties, such as those of Putignano (Table 2) and Martina Franca (Table 3) (Manzini & Savoia 2005: I:689−690), where specialized forms are found in the inflection for the auxiliary *stay* (2SG, 3SG, 1PL, 2PL), which differs from the inflected forms of the lexical verb *stay*. With 1st SG and 3rd PL the inflected forms of the auxiliary coincide with those of the lexical counterpart *stay*.

Table 2: Progressive for the verb *ffɔ* (= to make) in the variety of Putignano

Indicative present	Auxiliary *stay*	Prep.	Lexical Verb
1SG	**stok**	a	ffatsə
2SG	ste	∅	ffaʃə
3SG	ste	∅	ffaʃə
1PL	sta	∅	ffaʃeimə
2PL	sta	∅	ffaʃeitə
3PL	**ston**	a	'ffaʃənə

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[5]Other varieties have the very same paradigm with respect to the lack of an aspectual infinitive construction for the 1st and 2nd persons plural and with past tenses and imperatives: the varieties of Castellana, Turi, Rutigliano, Mola and Poligano. These towns are also in the southeastern part of Bari.

Table 3: Tab 3: Progressive for the verb *ccɛ'mɛ* (= to call) in the variety of Martina Franca

Indicative present	Auxiliary *stay*	Prep.	Lexical Verb
1SG	**stɔ**	∅	ccɛmə
2SG	stɛ	∅	ccɛmə
3SG	stɛ	∅	ccɛmə
1PL	stɛ	∅	ccamɛ:mə
2PL	stɛ	∅	ccamɛ:tə
3PL	**stɔnə**	a	ʿccɛmənə

In both the variety of Putignano and that of Martina Franca (Tables 2 and 3), when the forms of the auxiliary coincide with the forms of the lexical *stay*, the embedded predicate is introduced by the preposition *a* (see 1st SG and 3rd plural for Putignano and 3rd plural for Martina Franca). Along this line of analysis, there is the variety of Mesagne where the auxiliary 'stay' shares only its root with the lexical *stay*: a specialized inflection is found in the progressive construction which is different from the lexical use of the verb (Table 3), as noted by Manzini & Savoia (2005: I:691). Since the auxiliary has specialized forms, there is no preposition introducing the embedded verbs.

Table 4: Progressive for the verb *ffari* (= to make) in the variety of Mesagne

Indicative present	Auxiliary *stɛ*	Prep.	Lexical Verb
1SG	sta	∅	ffatsu
2SG	sta	∅	ffatʃi
3SG	sta	∅	ffatʃi
1PL	sta	∅	ffatʃimu
2PL	sta	∅	ffatʃiti
3PL	sta	∅	ffannu

Apparently, iIn all the varieties in which there are specialized forms for the aspectual auxiliary, we do not find any restriction on the inflection of the embedded verb. So while in Conversanese (Table 1) there are no specialized forms for the auxiliary, and with 1st pl and 2nd pl we do not find the full inflected embedded verb, in the other varieties, when the aspectual auxiliary has spe-

cialized forms, the embedded verb is always inflected. While this generalization seems to hold for the Apulian varieties under analysis (Tables 1–3), it is not attested in all varieties (including those from Sicily, Calabria and Salento) described by **ManziniEtAl2017**. Following these authors, we assume that different microparameters cluster together across varieties, such as the presence/absence of the preposition *a* and the inflectional morphology on the specialized forms of the auxiliary. In the majority of varieties, Manzini et al. found that only one verb shows the complete inflectional paradigm, either the auxiliary or the embedded verb; a huge number of dialects have inflections on the embedded verb – with the possibility of partial phi-feature inflection on the matrix verb (as in the reduced forms of the specialized auxiliary in the cases of Putignano in Table 2 and Martina Franca in Table 3). Thus, the parametric variation seems to be linked mainly to where the inflection appears: on the auxiliary, on the embedded verb or on both. [6]

In many varieties, **ManziniEtAl2017** do not find a 1st and 2nd person plural split for finite/non-finite embedding; rather, the splits involve different persons or the number feature alone (singular vs. plural).[7] With regard to our data, the 1st and 2nd person plural split found in the distribution of the progressive aspectual inflected construction in Conversanese is linked to a general pattern found across Romance varieties, according to which 1st and 2nd persons plural show different inflectional patterns (Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011) because they are more referentially complex; we will return to this topic in §6.

In sum, this general aspectual Furthermore, the appearance of agreement morphology on V1 and V2 is subject to microparametric variation. Within the spectrum of variation, some varieties, such as that of Conversano, show a person split for 1st and 2nd persons plural, for which the inflected construction is not available. However, a

(14) ɛtɛ wɛ mi tò   ɖiɖa na Aluku
     what foc 2pl prog(='be at') cook to   Aluku

     'What are you cooking for Aluku?' (Aboh 2004)

---

[6]Following the data of **ManziniEtAl2017**, we can find only two varieties in which both the matrix auxiliary and the embedded verb show the full inflectional paradigm (with no specialized forms for the auxiliary): the Apulian variety of Torre S. Susanna and the Sicilian variety of Modica. Nevertheless, there is a single example of the matrix verb bearing the full inflectional specifications to the exclusion of the embedded verb, namely Carmiano (Apulia). For a detailed analysis of the micro-parametric variation in aspectual inflected constructions, see **ManziniEtAl2017**.

[7]In the variety of Camporeale (Manzini, **Lorusso2017**: 38).

Mateu & Amadas (1999), referring to this general analysis of progressives as locative constructions, further argue that progressives are universally unaccusative∎ In their proposal, two assumptions are made in order to refer to progressives as unaccusatives: the first is that, since progressives are expressed in the majority of the languages in the world by a locative structure, locatives are unaccusatives, and so progressive represents a process of unaccusativization for the lexical verbs that enter into the progressive derivation. This unaccusativization does not involve a change in the argument structure of the embedded verb. The thematic roles are assigned by the embedded verb that is selected in the locative construction. This kind of change is a type-changing operation (**deSwart1998**; **Fernald1999**): the event expressed by the embedded verb becomes a state through the locative construction involving the auxiliary and/or the locative preposition.[8] The second assumption is strictly linked to the first assumption: the process of unaccusativization is implied by the fact that the subject of a progressive structure enters in a central coincidence relation with the event denoted by the lexical verb (i.e. its lexical aspect or aktionsart). The central coincidence relation is the location within the locative structure: it is one precise moment within the event.[9] For telic predicates, such as in (22), the event has a natural endpoint in the sense that John 'finished' building the house. In the progressive version (23), the subject *John* is centrally located within the temporal contour of the event of building the house, so he is represented in a moment in which the the process of building is not yet complete.[10]

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[8]In this respect, Manzini et al. (2017) do not use the term 'unaccusativization' in the same way as Mateu & Amadas (1999). The change in the t cted 09. Savoia pages et ract and an INtroductive ollect just positive data not ungrammatical sentences) nversano) but I dosemantics of the embedded verbs is linked to the instantiation of a part/whole relation between the event (denoted by the embedded predicate) and the auxiliary: the embedded predicate is the event whose internal aspect represents the *whole*, while the auxiliary represents the time of utterance and it is the part of the event which is stressed by the progressive form (for a discussion of this semantic proposal, see **Higginbotham2009** and **Landman1992**). I will be using the term 'unaccusativization' just to refer to this event type change, as was also the case in the original framework of Mateu & Amadas (1999); see footnote 7 in this respect.

[9]Mateu & Amadas (1999) argues that there is a syntactically relevant semantic structure, which can be represented in a tree structure (cf . Bouchard 1995 for the same proposal). In their lexical-conceptual structure (LCS), the argument structure of the verbs (including locative constructions) can be viewed as a spatial relation in the sense that it purely relates elements to our cognitive space: Figure (i.e. the subject) and Ground (the locative complement), to use Talmy's (1985) terminology. On this approach, the timeframe of an event is also represented through a spatial relation.

[10]For an analysis of how languages encode the central coincidence relation or terminal coincidence relation first introduced by Hale & Keyser (1993), see **Mateu2004** and Ramchand (2001).

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(15) John built the house.
JOHN BUILT THE HOUSE

(16) John was building the house.
JOHN DID NOT BUILD THE HOUSE

In ergative languages like Basque, the single argument ('subject') of an intransitive verb behaves like the object of a transitive verb and is marked with the absolutive case, and it differs from the agent ('subject') of a transitive verb, which is marked with the ergative case. Laka (2006) argues that progressive structures in Basque are homomorphic with locative/unaccusative structures, which results from the fact that the progressive auxiliary *ari* involves a biclausal syntactic structure (26). The main verb *ari* 'to be engaged' takes a locative PP ('in something') expressed through the locative suffix, as in the intransitive structures in (24, 26): the PP can take a nominal complement (24b) or a VP (26b).

(17) a. Emakume-a   danza-n   ari   da.
woman-DET(ABS) dance-LOC engaged is

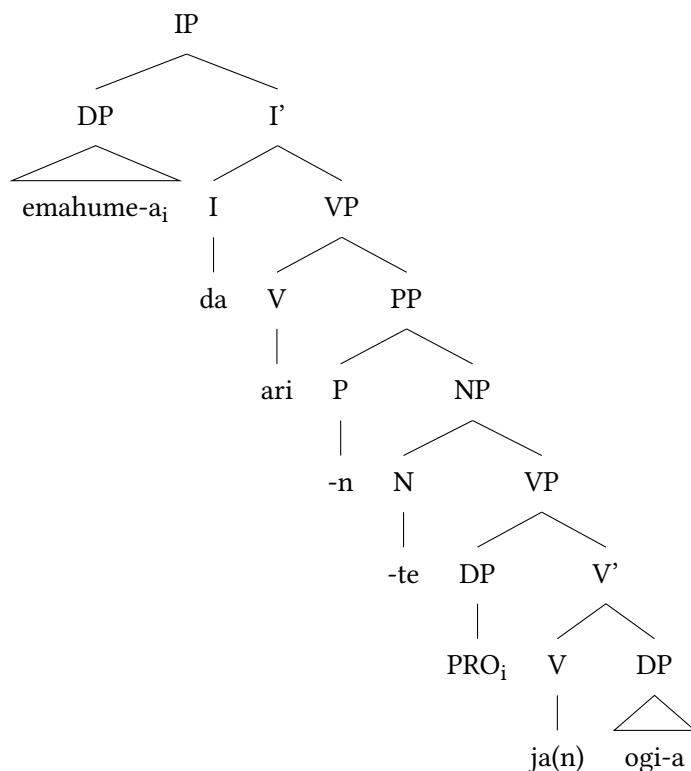'The woman is engaged in dance.' ('The woman is dancing.') (Laka 2006)

b.
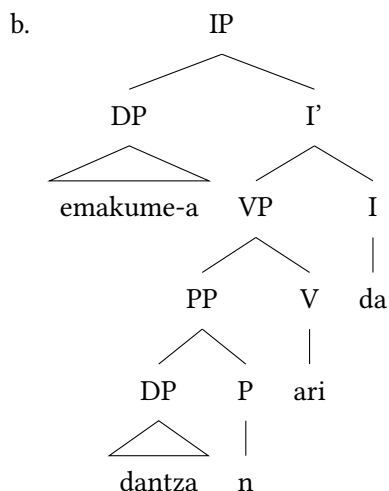
With transitive verbs, Laka (2006) points out that there is a contrast between canonical transitive sentences, in which the subject receives accusative case (25), and their progressive equivalents, in which the subject and the nominalized clause *ogia jaten* (26) receive absolutive case (zero marked).

please review and approve tree

(18) Emakume-a-k ogi-a jaten du.
woman-DET-ERG bread-DET eating has
'The woman eats (the) bread.'

(19) a. Emakume-a ogi-a ja-te-n ari da.
woman-DET(ABS) bread-DET eat-NOM-LOC engaged is
'The woman is (engaged in) eating the bread.'

b. (Laka 2006)

```
                          IP
                     /          \
                  DP              I'
                /    \          /    \
        emahume-a_i   I       VP
                      |      /    \
                     da    V       PP
                           |      /    \
                          ari    P       NP
                                 |      /    \
                                -n     N       VP
                                       |     /    \
                                      -te   DP      V'
                                            |      /    \
                                          PRO_i   V      DP
                                                  |      /\
                                                ja(n)   ogi-a
```

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These data concerning overt case marking in Basque confirm that progressive structures imply an unaccusativization of the event: when the progressive auxiliary is expressed, the subject is marked with absolutive case, as in all intransitive (unaccusative) structures. Furthermore, the presence of a PP as a complement of the auxiliary supports the crosslinguistic generalization that progressives are unaccusative locative constructions. The next section is devoted to the analysis of the progressive constructions in Conversanese as locative constructions.

3 A syntactic analysis of the progressive inflected constructions
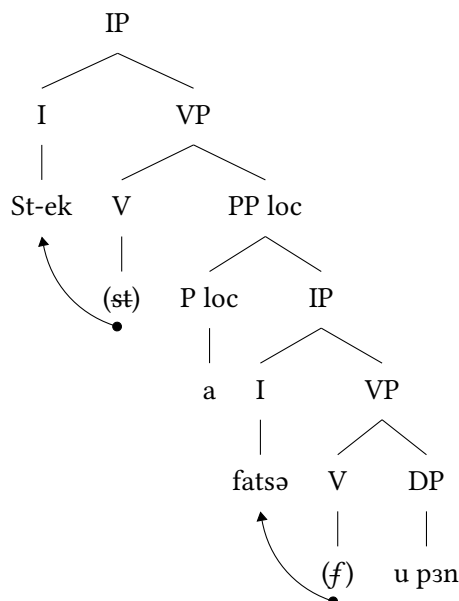
3.1 Introduction

The main progressive construction in Conversanese, which we introduced in §1 and §2 and is repeated here in (27), is formed from an inflected stative verb *stɛ* (='to stay'), a locative preposition *a* and an inflected lexical verb. It patterns with the unaccusative locative construction (28) formed from a stative auxiliary and a locative phrase.

(20) Stek   a [F0A2?]fatsə u   pɜn.
      stay.1SG to do.1SG   the bread

      'I am making the bread.'

(21) Stek   a [F0A2?]kɜsə.
      stay.1SG at home

      'I am at home.'

The main difference between the two sentences is that in (28) the complement of the preposition is an NP: the subject is in a spatial relation with the NP *[F0A2?]kɜsə* (='home'). In (27), the subject is centrally located within the timeframe denoted by the telic event of making the bread. The progressive involves a PP that introduces an IP. We propose for (27) the derivation suggested by Manzini & Savoia (2005): the aspectual inflected construction involves a connecting preposition which is selected by the aspectual auxiliary (29).

(22) Stek a [F0A2?]fatsə u pɜn.
      'I am making the bread.'

IP
├── I
│   └── St-ek
│   └── V
│   └── (st̶)
└── VP
    ├── V
    └── PP loc
        ├── P loc
        │   └── a
        └── IP
            ├── I
            │   └── fatsə
            └── VP
                ├── V
                │   └── (f̶)
                └── DP
                    └── u pɜn

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The sentence in (29) is a biclausal structure, since both the auxiliary and the embedded verb show overt present indicative morphology. These constructions can be considered biclausal if we follow one of the diagnostics proposed to account for the biclausality of present perfect (for English, Chomsky 1957; 1981; 1995; for Romance languages, Kayne 1993; Manzini & Savoia 2005; 2007; Manzini & Savoia 2011): that is, the optionality of clitic placement in Romance languages (Manzini & Savoia 2011). The progressive in Conversanese shows long-distance clitic placement (30): the clitic climbs to a proclitic position before the auxiliary, as in the 'restructuring' present perfect constructions in the sense of Rizzi (1982). However, there are also varieties in which the clitic is found not only in a long-distance configuration, but also as a proclitic on the embedded verb, as in the the following examples of the aspectual inflected construction from Minervino Murge (31), Montemilone (32), Mesagne (33) and Alliste (34). The examples from Mesagne (33) show that optionality of clitic placement is found within the same variety (33a vs. 33b). The optionality of clitic placement across and within varieties in Romance shows that the parameter is independent of the monoclausal vs. biclausal status of the construction involved. In this respect, long-distance clitic placement cannot be taken as proof of monoclausality (see Manzini & Savoia 2011; Manzini et al. 2017 for discussion).

(23)   Conversano, Apulia
U   stek   a *(*u) mandʒə
it(CL) stay.1SG at it(CL) eat.1SG
'I am eating it.'

(24)   Minervino Murge, Apulia (Manzini & Savoia 2005)
Væ   u   cæmə.
go.2SG him(CL) call.2SG
'You go to call him.'

(25)   Montemilone, Basilicata (Manzini & Savoia 2005)
Va/vinə u   camə
go/come him call.2SG
'You go to call him.'

(26)   a. Mesagne, Apulia (Manzini & Savoia 2005)
Vɔʃʃu   lu veʃu.
want.1SG it see.1SG
'I want to see it.'

      b. Lu   sta ffattsu.
it(CL) stay do.1SG

(27)   Alliste (Manzini & Savoia 2005)
ʃta   llu   tʃɛrku
stay(AUX) (1SG)him/it search
'I am searching for him/it.'

As pointed out in Laka (2006) for the Basque progressive auxiliary *ari*, the verb *stɛ* coincides with the lexical verb 'stay': the same form of the verb is used for both locative/progressive constructions and for sentences involving other PPs, (35). In varieties where the progressive auxiliary differs from the lexical *stay*, such as in Putignano, we have the progressive forms without the connecting preposition, (36), and the lexical *stay* with a preposition, (37).[11]

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[11]This pattern found in the variety of Putignano is quite stable, anyway it is not found in other varieties such as that of Martina Franca, in which both the lexical and the progressive forms of stay coincide. In other varieties, the presence of a specialized progressive form does not always imply the absence of the connecting locative element (see Manzini et al. 2017). Further analysis is needed in these varieties to understand the relevance of the pattern found in the variety of Putignano.

(28) Conversano, Apulia
      Stɛm   kə   la   makənə.
      stay.1PL with the car
      'We are by car.'

(29) Putignano, Apulia
      Sta   ffaʃeimə.
      stay(AUX) (1PL.)do(.1PL)
      'We are doing.'

(30) Putignano, Apulia

   a. Stam   aə   la   'mɛkənə.
      stay.1PL with the car
      'We are by car.'

   b. Stam   a   kɛsə.
      stay.1PL at home
      'We are at home.'

These biclausal progressive constructions, as Manzini & Savoia (2005) suggest, involve event identification between the two inflected verbs, contrary to the asyndetic constructions of the imperative in Neapolitan (Ledgeway 1997), where each verb represents an assertion (see the examples in 6-7). Event Identification is defined by Kratzer (1996) as a recursive operation involving the external argument and the aspectual reading that is applied to the event denoted by the embedded lexical VP.[12] It relates the external argument, introduced by a *v* head or by aspectual heads, to the predicate via an identification of the event variable of the

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[12]In Kratzer (1996), the lexical root (embedded verb) contains information about the internal argument, but the external argument is introduced by a hierarchically superior functional head v. This was initially posited by Kratzer as a mechanism for joining the external argument onto a verb using Voice. Event identifying Voice and the verbal event adds the condition that the verb has an Agent. Event Identification takes one function of type <e,<s,t» (a function from individuals to functions from events to truth values) and another function of type <s,t» (a function from events to truth values) and returns a function of type <e,<s,t». In other words, Event Identification combines two predicates of events by abstracting over both of their event arguments The insight of Kratzer's (1996) Event Identification is that it is a recursive operation that allows an n-clausal syntactic structure to be mapped onto a mono-eventive semantic representation. Although T is usually assumed to close off the event variable introduced by V and v, successive event identifications with higher functional heads allow for different aspectual interpretations. In the cases discussed here, the recursive use of Event Identification allows us to add (through a second recursive operation after the introduction of the external argument) further aspectual information about the event denoted by the embedded lexical verb.

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embedded predication. The overt effect of Event Identification is the agreement morphology on both the auxiliary and the embedded verb. Roughly, Event Identification allows us to add further aspectual information to the event described by the verb. Only if the two predicates have compatible aktionsarten may event identification take place. With respect to the constructions discussed here, the progressive auxiliary allows for event identification, following Vendler's (1967) classification, with activities and accomplishments, but not with achievements or states.

(31)   a.   Activity
            Stec   a manʤə.
            stay.1SG to eat.1SG
            'I am eating.'

       b.   Accomplishment
            Stek   a fatsə   la kɜsə.
            stay.1SG to build.1SG the house
            'I am building the house.'

       c.   State
            #Stek   a satʧə.
            stay.1SG at know.1SG
            'I am knowing.'

       d. # Achievement
            Stek   a canəskə u 'sennəkə.
            stay.1SG at know.1SG the mayor

The structure in (29) cannot be accounted for in terms of a serial verb construction if we follow **Baker1989**'s (**Baker1989**) analysis, for which the serial verbs must share the same object. However, as Cruschina (2013) suggests, we can consider these aspectual inflected constructions as serial verb constructions if we adopt a less rigid definition of serial verbs, such as that of Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006: 12): "Prototypical serial verb constructions share at least one argument. Serial verb constructions with no shared arguments are comparatively rare, but not non-existent." The aspectual progressive constructions under discussion share the same subject, which is also marked on the overt morphology of both verbs.

The presence of the connecting element *a* should also support an analysis of the aspectual inflected constructions as non-serial-verb constructions.[13] Never-

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[13]Two hypotheses are found in the literature regarding the origins of a: (i) it comes from the

theless, in the varieties of Putignano, Martina Franca and Mesagne, we do not find such a connecting element (see Tables 2, 3, 4). With regard to such "unstable" connecting elements found with serial verbs, Aikhenvald & Dixon (2006) admits that serial verb constructions "may include a special marker which distinguishes a SVC from other types of constructions but does not mark any dependency relations between the components" (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006: 20). So in the case of the locative progressive inflected structure in (29), we can call it a serial verb construction since the two verbs are inflected and the connecting locative preposition is a special marker of the instantiation of a central coincidence relation (not a dependency relation) between the two verbs: the output is a unique event. In contrast, the progressive locative construction with the embedded uninflected verb has a different structure and distribution: it does not imply event identification and it is not a serial verb construction, since the embedded verb is an infinitival complement which is in a dependency relation with the matrix auxiliary.

3.2 The progressive 'uninflected' constructions

In Conversanese, there is a parallel progressive construction that we introduced in §1 and §2 and is repeated here in (39). It is formed from an inflected stative verb *stɛ* (='to stay'), the locative preposition *a* and an uninflected lexical verb (infinitive). It differs from the aspectual inflected construction mainly in its syntactic structure and aspectual entailment.

(32) Stek   a fɛ   u pɔn.
      stay.1SG to do.INF the bread
      'I am making the bread.'

Like the aspectual inflected progressive (30), it allows only long-distance clitic placement, (40). But since the embedded verb is an infinitive, it allows enclitics, (41), which are not possible with the finite verbs in the inflected aspectual counterpart.


Latin preposition ad; and (ii) it derives from the Latin coordinating conjunction ac used in spoken and late Latin (cf. Rohlfs 1969: §§710,761). Although in other southern Italian varieties there are cases in which the a is used both as a locative preposition and a conjunction, in the present analysis we analyze the a as a locative preposition (given the locative nature of the progressive). Further evidence comes from the aspectual non-inflected construction in (39).

(33) U   stek   a *   (*u)   man'dʒɛ.
     it(CL) stay.1SG at it(CL) eat.INF
     'I am eating it.'

(34) Stek a mandʒa-llə.
     stay at eat.INF.ACC(CL)
     'I am eating it.'

As for the locative structures in (28) and the aspectual inflected constructions in (27), we have a locative construction where the aspectual auxiliary selects a locative PP, but in (39) the PP introduces an infinitive that is a full indefinite CP$_I$ in the terms of Manzini & Savoia (2003): "The domain, labelled C$_I$, to suggest Indefiniteness, is identified with the 'indefinite' modality lexicalized by infinitivals" (Manzini & Savoia 2003:97). The infinitival verb raises to a CP$_I$ position and the accusative enclitic is embedded in a nominal position before the the inflectional domain, as in (42).

(35) Stek a mandʒa-llə.
     'I am eating it.'
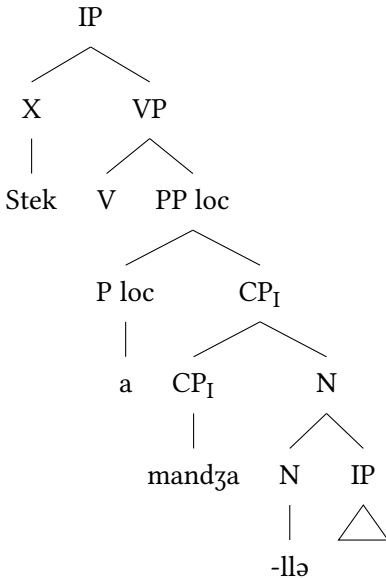
The structure in (42) is a locative structure: the subject is located in a position within the indefinite event expressed by the embedded infinitival verb. While in

(29) we have been saying that the subject is centrally located within the event denoted by the embedded lexical verb, in (42) the subject is located (not centrally) within the event. In fact, we also find this type of progressive construction with states (43) and achievements (44) that were banned for the aspectual inflected construction. In (43) and (44) the interpretation of the sentence is inchoative: the subject is located in the starting point of the event denoted by the embedded verb.

(36) State
      Stek   a saˈpe.
      stay.1SG at know.INF
      'I am realizing it.' (='I am starting to know.')

(37) Achievement
      Stek   a canəʃə   u ˈsennəkə.
      stay.1SG at know.INF the mayor

      'I am getting in touch with the mayor.'

These constructions do not identify a unique event. Similarly to the asyndetic imperative constructions in Neapolitan (Ledgeway 1997) in (6) and (7), these constructions may be decomposed into two subevents: the auxiliary denotes both a truly locative and a progressive periphrasis.[14] Due the indefiniteness of the infinitival verb in CP$_I$, the subject is controlled by the matrix subject.[15] This is confirmed by the presence of the accusative enclitic, (41-42). No special forms are found for the matrix auxiliary with the uninflected construction (compare the specialized matrix auxiliary for the inflected construction in the varieties of Putignano, Martina Franca and Mesagne) and the connecting element can never be omitted. Nevertheless, the aspectual infinitive constructions with the verb *stay* are still interpreted as progressive constructions: they are the sole progressive forms available for 1st and 2nd persons plural (§5) and they mark an ambiguous progressive form. The next section is devoted to sketching the aspectual differences between the inflected and non-inflected aspectual progressive constructions.

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[14] They do differ from the asyndetic constructions of Ledgeway (1997), since there is a connecting element between the two verbs and they cannot be interpreted as truly paratactic constructions.

[15] For the purposes of the present work, the CPI has to be interpreted merely as tenseless, in the sense that it lacks independent tense specification and thus agrees in tense with the matrix auxiliary. However, for a complete analysis of the CPI, see Manzini & Savoia (2005; 2007); Manzini & Savoia (2011).

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4 Aspectual analysis of the inflected and non-inflected progressive constructions

Both inflected and uninflected aspectual progressive constructions are interpreted as truly progressive: in both cases the event entails an ongoing reading (as in Arosio 2011 among others).[16] In other words, the event does not have an entailment of termination. So, for example, telic events with a natural endpoint, such as 'eat the bread', are interpreted as unfinished both in inflected (45) and non-inflected constructions (46).

(38) Inflected construction
      Stek   a mandʒə u   paninə.
      stay.1SG to eat.1SG   the sandwich
      'I am eating the bread.'
      I HAVE NOT EATEN THE BREAD

(39) Uninflected construction Stek   a man'dʒɛ u   pɜninə.
                               stay.1SG to eat.INF   the sandwich
      'I am eating the sandwich.' I HAVE NOT EATEN THE BREAD

They differ from simple present forms, since they are not found with habitual constructions, as shown in (47): in (47a) the temporal modifier 'every year' is found with the present tense, while we cannot find this 'habitual' temporal modifier with inflected (47b) and uninflected (47c) progressives.

(40) a. Tottə i   annə vek   o   mɛr.
          all   the years go.1SG to.the sea
          'Every year I go to the sea.'

      b. # Tottə i   annə stek   a vekə o   mɛr.
          all   the years stay.1SG to go.1SG to.the sea
          '#Every year I am going to the sea.'

      c. # Tottə i   annə stek   a ʃʃi   o   mɛr.
          all   the years stay.1SG to go.INF to.the sea
          '#Every year I am going to the sea.'

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[16]We refer all over the present paper to the progressive uninflected constructions as opposed to the inflected ones: we want to stress simply on the fact that the embedded predicate is not inflected

A major difference is found between the aspectual interpretations of the two constructions. This is linked to the episodic value of progressives: Chierchia (1995), among others, suggests that while individual-level predicates express properties of individuals that are permanent or tendentially stable, progressives and stage-level predicates, by contrast, attribute transitional and episodic properties to individuals. Frequentative adverbs roughly indicate the repetition of the same action, and thus are mainly incompatible with progressive episodic operators. We might expect, then, that neither inflected nor uninflected constructions can be found with frequentative adverbs, but this is not the case: uninflected progressives can be found with frequentative adverbs.

In both type of constructions, the morpheme *a* is the only element that can intervene between the two verbs. Adverbs like *sembə* (='always'), which encodes frequentative aspectual properties (Cinque 1999), cannot be found between the functional and the lexical verb, but are only allowed after the complex predicate with both type of constructions, (48) and (49). Furthermore, with the 'uninflected' construction in (49) we can also find the frequentative adverb between the matrix auxiliary and the locative PP, while it is ruled out in the inflected construction in (48).

(41) Inflected embedded verb
      Mariː stɜ   (*sembə) a (*sembə) mandʒə (sembə).
      Maria stay.3sg (always) to (always) eat.3sg (always)
      'Maria is always eating.'

(42) Inflected embedded verb
      Mariː stɜ   (sembə) a (*sembə) man'dʒɛ (sembə).
      Maria stay.3sg (always) to (always) eat.inf   (always)
      'Maria is always eating.'

Cardinalettti2003, in their analysis of aspectual inflected constructions with motion verbs in Sicilian, take the different distribution of frequentative adverbs as proof that the inflected version is monoclausal while the uninflected one is biclausal. Our proposal, on the contrary, is that both types of progressives are biclausal. The presence of the frequentative temporal quantifier with the uninflected construction is linked to the indefinite CP_I selected by the locative preposition. The subject of the embedded verb in CP_I must receive a variable/operator interpretation, since no person and number morphology is found on it as in the control constructions. The subject of the matrix auxiliary is just located within the event denoted by the embedded verb, but it is not in a central coincidence

relation with the embedded predicate. The frequentative adverbial modifier can bind the variable introduced by the embedded infinitival verb in (49) and allow a frequentative interpretation of the progressive locative construction.[17] The double inflection of (48), on the other hand, marks the fact that event identification has taken place and the fact that the subject is centrally located within the event denoted by the embedded predicate: no temporal and aspectual binding is possible, since both the auxiliary and the embedded verb show the same inflectional morphology. Nevertheless, besides these minor aspectual differences, both types of constructions still imply a progressive reading: the 'uninflected' construction, in fact, is the only progressive form found with the 1st and 2nd persons plural. The next section is devoted to analysing the distribution of the aspectual constructions inflected for person and number.

5 Person split in the progressive aspectual inflected constructions

The progressive aspectual inflected construction is not found with 1st and 2nd persons plural. As we mentioned in §1, (3-4), repeated here as (50-51), the 1st and 2nd persons plural do not allow the progressive constructions involving the inflected embedded verb (50), but are only found in the construction involving an embedded infinitival verb, (51).

(43) Nojə$_j$/voʊ$_k$ stɛməj/stɛtə$_k$ a *mandʒɛməj/*mandʒɛtə$_k$.
      we/you   stay.1PL/2PL to eat.1PL/2PL
      'We/you are eating.'

(44) Nojə/voʊ stɛmə/stɛtə a man'dʒɛ.
      we/you   stay.1PL/2PL to eat.INF
      'We/you are eating.'

Similar data are also found in other varieties. Cardinaletti & Giusti (2003) found a similar pattern in their analysis of the inflected constructions in the dialect of Marsala. Manzini & Savoia (2005) mention many other southern varieties

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[17]Since the embedded verb is tenseless and aspectless, an adverb can work as an operator that binds it, intervening, as a modifier, in the aspectual relation instantiated between the matrix aspectual auxiliary and the embedded verb: the embedded verb, in fact, has no overt morphology marking its inherent aspect, so its aspect can be more easily modified/marked by an (extra) adverbial item.

(not only in Apulia) in which the aspectual inflected constructions are not found with 1st and 2nd persons plural, while the other persons allow it; (51) and (52) provide examples from the Sicilian varieties of Villadoro e Calascibetta.

(45)   Villadoro Jamo/jete a mmanɲdʒarɪ.
                    go.1PL/2PL to eat

(46)   Calascibetta
       Imu/iti   a mmaɲdʒarɪ.
       go.1PL/2PL to eat

Why do the 1st and 2nd persons plural not allow the *a*+inflected form construction? Is it worth talking of a person split? Our answer is that the 1st and 2nd persons plural are referentially more complex than the other singular and plural (3rd) persons. Their complexity is linked to the fact that the 1st and 2nd persons plural are not merely plural versions of the 1st and 2nd persons singular. In this sense we are dealing with a person split different from the one attested for the singular persons in auxiliary selection (Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011).

Bobaljik (2008) proposes a two-valued binary feature system [±speaker] and [±hearer] to account for the personal pronominal system across languages.[18] The two-valued person feature system lacks a feature 'third person', which is then analyzed as [−speaker, −hearer]. For plural persons, Bobaljik (2008) argues, along the lines of Lyons (1968) and Benveniste (1966), that 1st and 2nd persons plural are not merely plurals of the singular 1st and 2nd persons: "We ('first person plural') does not normally stand in the same relationship to I ('first person singular') as boys, cows, etc., do to boy, cow, etc. The pronoun we is to be interpreted as 'I, in addition to one or more other persons'… In other words, we is not 'the plural of I': rather, it includes a reference to 'I' and is plural" Lyons (1968: 277). So Bobalijk suggests that "[i]t is indeed meaningful to speak of a first person plural, but it is important to note that plural, for the first person, normally means an associative or group plural, rather than a multiplicity of individuals sharing the property [speaker]" (Bobaljik 2008: 209). The same is also true of the 2nd person plural, which is not merely the plural of singular *you*. So while the 1st person plural is not just a sum of [speaker], but is the sum of speaker plus others, the 2nd person plural is not just a sum of [hearer], but is the sum of hearer plus others. Furthermore, Bobaljik (2008) resumes this discussion by saying that while the 1st

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[18]With varying choices of feature labels, a similar argument has been presented and defended in one form or another by Ingram (1978); Harley & Ritter (2002) and, in particular detail, Noyer (1997: Chapter 2).

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person plural is the sum of all persons, (54), the 2nd person plural is the sum of all persons excluding the [speaker].

(47) 'we' is 1st (+ 2nd) (+ 3rd)

(48) 'you' is 2nd (+3rd). (adapted from Bobaljik 2008)

Following similar considerations on the person system, Manzini & Savoia (2007); Manzini & Savoia (2011) use a person split analysis to describe the patterns found in other constructions (i.e. auxiliary selection with present perfect) where the 1st and 2nd persons singular (discourse-anchored pronouns: [+speaker, +hearer]) and the 3rd person singular (event-anchored pronouns: [-speaker, -hearer]) show different morphosyntactic patterns. For the analysis of plural persons, Manzini & Savoia (2011) argue that "the 1st person plural does not necessarily denote a plurality of speakers (though it may), or the speaker and hearer only (though again it may); rather its denotation routinely involves one speaker and a certain number of other individuals that are being referred to together with the speaker. The same is true for the 2nd person singular, which does not necessarily (or normally) denote a plurality of hearers but simply refers to the hearer taken together with a certain number of other individuals …Because of this referential structure of the so-called 1st and 2nd plural, it is reasonable to propose that even varieties that activate the person split in the singular may not do so in the plural" (Manzini & Savoia 2011: 213). In a lexical parametrization approach (**Manzini1988**; Manzini & Savoia (2011)), languages involve a parametric distinction for plural on the one hand and the discourse participants and event participants may not apply in the plural.

With respect to the constructions being discussed here, the person split we found in the aspectual inflected progressive of Conversanese is not directly linked to the split involving discourse vs. event participants, but to the referential complexity of the 1st and 2nd persons plural. More precisely, we have been contending that the progressive aspectual inflected constructions are based on a locative structure where the subject of the matrix subject enters into a central coincidence relation within the event denoted by the embedded predicates (as in Mateu & Amadas 1999; Laka 2006). The 1st and 2nd persons plural may not enter into this derivation because the referential complexity of the plurality does not allow the instantiation of a central coincidence relation as tight as the one found in the aspectual inflected constructions with other persons, (29). The main idea is that the central coincidence relation entails a reading for which a referentially unique (easily identifiable) event participant is centrally located within the eventive structure. 1st and 2nd persons plural, however, cannot be centrally located

due to their referential complexity, which does not allow the identification of a unique participant or group of participants. That is, only clearly identifiable referents can be centrally located in the aspectual progressive constructions, at least in Conversanese. The microparametric variation in the aspectual inflected constructions (see §2.2) shows that different dimensions may determine the finite/non-finite split (person and number features, reduced inflectional paradigms, *a*/bare embedding). Conversanese does not allow finite embedding, which encodes a central coincidence relation, for referentially unclear referents; this is an interpretative requirement which blocks the multiple agreement configurations for 1st and 2nd persons plural.[19] To express the progressive with the 1st and 2nd persons plural, the subject is 'located' within the event denoted by the embedded verb, but this locative relation is not a central coincidence relation (§4.1): the different aspectual flavors of the two constructions interact with the referential complexity of the 1st and 2nd plural persons.

6 Conclusions

In this paper, we have presented a preliminary analysis of the progressive form in a number of Apulian dialects, focusing on the variety of Conversano (Apulia). In Conversanese, two forms of the progressive are available. Both constructions are formed from an inflected stative verb, a connecting preposition and a lexical verb. The two constructions differ in the inflection found on the lexical verb selected by the preposition: one type of construction involves an inflected embedded verb, and we have defined this as the aspectual (progressive) inflected construction (following Manzini & Savoia 2005); the other type of construction involves an uninflected embedded lexical verb, and we have defined this as the aspectual uninflected construction.

Both types of structure share a locative derivation: the majority of progressive forms crosslinguistically, in fact, are derived from expressions involving stative auxiliaries and/or locative prepositions (Bybee, **Perkins1994**, Mateu & Amadas 1999, Laka 2006). In (29) and (42) we proposed a biclausal syntactic derivation for

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[19]While some authors define agreement as a mere computational mechanism at work in syntax that may or may not involve a semantic counterpart (the case of default agreement, as in Preminger 2014), others claim that agreement always plays a role in semantic interpretation (Manzini & Savoia (2007), 2011). On this view, agreement does not involve a feature-checking operation, but in the terms of Manzini & Savoia (2007) it represents the sharing of referentially relevant properties that play a role in semantic interpretation. So, under our proposal double agreement represents a marked aspectual reading at the semantic interface, which is obtained through event identification.

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both inflected and uninflected progressive constructions. The difference is that, while in the inflected construction the locative preposition selects a full IP, in the uninflected one the locative preposition selects an indefinite CP$_I$. The distinction between the structures has been used to account for the different syntactic and aspectual properties of the two progressive constructions.

On the one hand, the aspectual inflected constructions: 1) denote an event identification between the auxiliary and the lexical verb; 2) seem to work like serial verb constructions; 3) allow long-distance clitic placement; and 4) locate the matrix subject of the inflected progressive centrally within the event denoted by the embedded verb. On the other hand, the aspectual uninflected progressive constructions: 1) may denote a a frequentative aspectual reading; 2) seem to work like control constructions; 3) allow enclitic placement on the embedded infinitival verb; 4) locate the subject in a given position (although not in a central coincidence relation) within the event denoted by the embedded verb.

The 1st and 2nd persons plural are not found in the aspectual inflected constructions, but are only possible in the infinitival counterpart. Differences in the pattern of the morphological derivation of 1st and 2nd persons plural are quite common (Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2011) across Romance languages: these persons are more complex than other persons (Bobaljik 2008) because they involve a complex reference to the discourse participants (as with 1st and 2nd singular), to the plurality of participants and to the event participants. However, further analysis is needed in order to account for the nature of this person split: for present purposes, the complexity of the referentiality seems to pattern with certain aspectual interpretations (such as the inchoative interpretation attributed to 43-44 when the embedded verb is infinitival) linked to the complex referentiality, such as the inclusion/exclusion of the subject(s) within the complex locative/progressive constructions, which involve an event identification/change. In a lexical parametrization analysis (Manzini & Savoia (2011)), languages involve a parametric distinction for plural persons: the difference between discourse participants and event participants found in the singular (1st and 2nd singular person vs. 3rd person) may not apply in the plural, but different overlapping referents may influence the status of the plural persons and imply their overt morphological realization as a parametric choice across languages.

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