Total reduplication: the Apulo-Barese case study

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Abstract

The term reduplication refers to the repetition of words or parts of words used to express lexical and grammatical functions and is commonly recognized as a morphological process with formal and semantic properties and as a widespread communicative strategy. This paper intends to explore the phenomenon of total reduplication (TR) attested in dialects of Southern Italy and more precisely it focuses on varieties (Apulo-barese) of the area around Bari, in Puglia. These dialects constitute a source of interest for studies since, at first, a lot of reduplications occur in this area because Apulo-barese doesn't admit superlative form in –issimo and therefore speakers use reduplication as a semantic intensification and secondly, in these dialects you can find reduplicative forms that are not present in standard Italian. The main aim of my analysis is to propose a classification of reduplicative structures in Apulo-barese and to provide a description of such forms using linguistic approaches in order to consider both semantics and morphological properties. A typological perspective may help to reconstruct a historical evolution of the reduplicative construction of Italian southern dialects.

Keywords: total reduplication, Italian dialects, iconicity, Mediterranean sprachbund, typology

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the phenomenon of total reduplication (TR) analyzed in a dialectal variety of southern Italy called Apulo-Barese. The process of reduplication is today a highly debated topic in linguistics, as it allows us to reflect on iconic mechanisms that speakers use. Moreover, even though for many years reduplication has been considered a merely stylistic option for both Romance and European languages, today the interest in it has increased, since it has been observed that in many languages it appears as a grammatical phenomenon, being part of the grammatical system of language. For this reason, I have tried to classify and describe forms and functions related to reduplications in these dialects, since Apulo-Barese belongs to the European linguistic area in which total reduplication represents a grammatical and functional device, according to Stolz's schema (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2011).

The aim of this paper is to show why we can consider total reduplication as a true morphosyntactic phenomenon and which are the formal characteristics that these constructions present, following a word-classes based classification. Finally, an interesting aspect related to this phenomenon concerns its origins. I tried to provide an overview of the main possible historical and diachronic scenarios reported in the literature, focusing at the situation of linguistic influences in Puglia, in order to observe which donor languages responsible for this loan in Italo-Romance varieties may have been.

2. Total reduplication: meaning and functions

There is a terminological confusion about reduplication because other labels sometimes are attached to the phenomenon in question as well as to related or similar phenomena, such as reiteration, repetition and replication. Over the years the term reduplication has proven to be the most stable. Haspelmath (2013:100) defines reduplication as "a pattern in which a linguistic form is repeated directly before or after the base form in order to express a modification of its meaning". Total reduplication (or full) refers to the repetition of a morphological unit, represented by a word.

Moreover, the difficulty to define such phenomenon it emerges from the fact that reduplication is a process which might be considered involving both morphology and syntax, so there is a theoretical problem concerning the categories with which to analyze and study the reduplication. The issue is that total reduplication is configured in languages differently, so up to now it has not been possible to apply a universal model to all types of total reduplication occurring in all languages of the world[1]. Considering the upper observation in this paper we simply try to observe which kinds of total reduplication occur in Apulo-Barese dialects and which functions they mostly express in this variety.

Total reduplication can apply to many different word classes and may serve a wide range of meanings and functions, but, in general, it is a grammatical device used to increase the meaning of the so-called 'root' or base.

(1)   a.   nero **nero** ('very **black**')   < [[ADJ$_i$ ADJ$_i$]$_{AdjP}$ → very ADJ$_i$] >   It
       b.   pufka-**pufka** ('full of **bubbles**')< [[N$_i$ N$_i$]$_P$ → full of N$_i$] >   Alb
       c.   astean **astean** ('every **week**')   < [[N$_j$ N$_j$]$_{AdvP}$ → every N$_j$] >   Basque
       d.   k'ar-**k'ar** ('from door to **door**')< [[N$_i$ N$_i$]$_{PP}$ → from N$_i$ to N$_i$] >   Georg

The examples in (1) have been taken randomly from different languages in order to show that total reduplication is a widespread strategy in the world, so much so there's a never-ending debate about its belonging to linguistic universals[2]. In several cases you could come across non-transparent meanings, that is to say you are not able to understand immediately the meaning of the whole construction by the meaning of the single items. It's a kind of conventional meaning triggered from an iconic grammatical process. For this reason, it's not always correct to say that reduplication is just a matter of "increased meaning" and more importantly, it's not correct to consider it as a stylistic option.

The closeness of total reduplication to style is one of the reasons why information on these constructions is missing from many grammars of European languages. Nowadays, instead, there is a big debate on total reduplication and it mostly concerns its belonging

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[1] Cases of morphological reduplications (lexical reduplications and productive reduplications), occurring in many languages of the world, seem to be rare in Europe. This state of affair is related to the fact that the predominant language spoken in Europe is Indo-European, which is generally believed to lack reduplicating languages in a narrow sense. […] The occurrence of productive reduplication thus appears to become markedly higher with an increasing distance from uncontroversial mainland Europe and western Indo-European languages (Schwaiger 2015: 478).

[2] See Moravcsik 1978.

to grammar or style. Some linguists argue the term reduplication correlates with morphology, whereas the term stylistic repetition alludes to syntax. However, more often than not, the distinction between the two is far from clear.
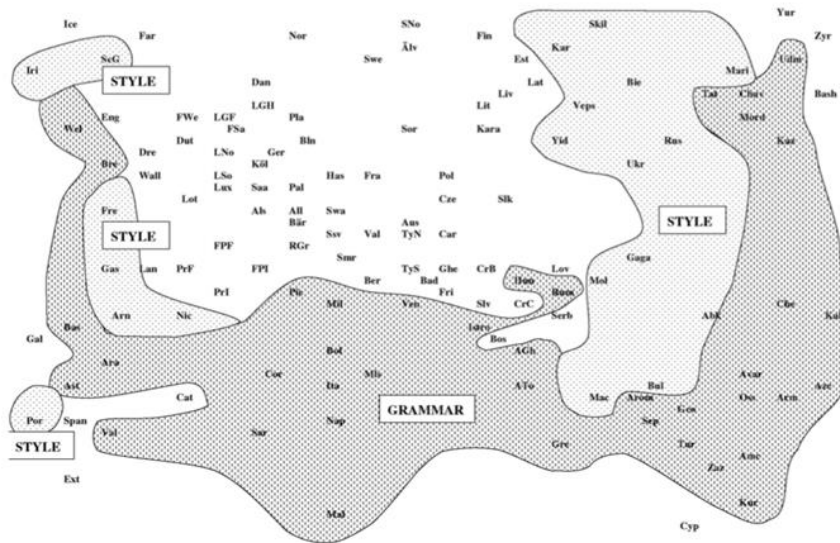
Criteria	Repetition	Reduplication
Interpretation	iconic	partly iconic
Distribution	unconstrained	constrained
Number of copies	any number	usually two
Unit repeated	word or larger unit	word or smaller unit

Table 1: Criteria for differentiate repetition and reduplication, proposed by David Gil (2005)

The table 1 summarizes the criteria formulated by David Gil (2005) which, in conjunction, make it possible to draw a line between repetition and reduplication in most instances. Therefore, each study on reduplication tends to underline one or another criterion according to the language under consideration. In fact, the Gil schema is formulated as a result of a work on creoles. So, they could be valid for creole languages, but it doesn't work accurately for European reduplications. For example, European and Mediterranean reduplications are usually larger than a word, as Albanian or Italian cases in (1) show.

Stolz (2009) who described European reduplications has drawn the picture below showing the distribution of reduplications in Europe in relation to their belonging to two main categories, style or grammar. In describing them, he recognizes a gap in freedom of choice. What does it mean? Talking about style means that the speakers have a higher degree of freedom in using constructions, whereas grammar reduces this freedom considerably[3]. From this picture, it's clear a dichotomy existing between the core of Europe in which reduplication is mostly stylistic, and the periphery in which reduplication appears as systematic, so more grammatical. The conclusion is that reduplication could be one of those parameters thanks to which we can say that Mediterranean area is a Sprachbund.

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[3] The example I always provide in order to clarify is that in Italian an expression like "un vento leggero leggero" is a stylistic repetition in relation to the Italian grammar rules because Italian has a morphological marker, the suffix – issimo for the superlative (you can say leggerissimo). So, the reduplicative form is just a choice you make. In the dialect leggero leggero is, by constrast, a reduplication in relation to the grammatical system of the dialect, because in Apulo-barese you don't have a morphological form for the superlative, so the reduplication is the only choice.

Picture 1: European core-periphery dichotomy (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2011)

An alternative way to consider reduplication differently from repetition has been given by the Institute of Linguistics at University of Graz for the Reduplication Project. "A reduplicative construction is a set of at least two linguistic forms F and F' in a paradigmatic, i.e. non-suppletive morphological relation in which F' contains a segment or a sequence of segments, which is derived from a non-recursive repetition of F. Reduplication exists if a specific grammatical form makes systematic use of reduplicative construction". In analyzing Apulo-Barese reduplications, we take this definition of reduplication given by Graz University as a reference.

3. Total reduplication in Apulo-Barese: forms and functions

The aim of this paper is to observe some dialectal varieties of Southern Italy in which total reduplication can be considered a grammatical device rather than a stylistic option, according to the definition given by Graz University (see section 2).

The Stolz's schema (picture 1) places Italian in the group of languages in which Total Reduplication is 'grammatical'. As you can see, Stolz has rightly investigated more than one Italian variety; but, even though all of them share a high frequency of grammatical total reduplications, they don't behave similarly with regards to systematicity. Southern cases of TR, like Sicilian, Sardinian and Neapolitan ones, seem closer to Mediterranean TR schema more than Northern ones, like Milan, Venetian and Piedmonts. If a continuum between repetition and reduplication exist according to stylistic or grammatical features, there is also a continuum between Northern and Southern Italian varieties based on the grammaticality and frequency of TR.
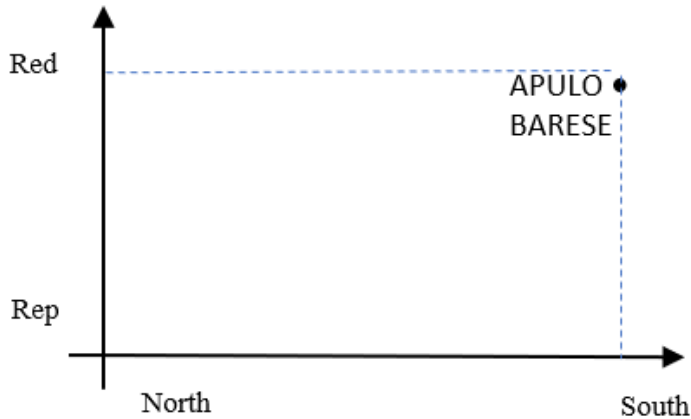
Figure 1: Continuum between repetition and reduplication and Northern and Southern Italian varieties

Apulo-Barese reduplications confirm this model since there are plenty of reduplicative cases which don't occur in Northern varieties, at least in a systematically way. As concern standard Italian, total reduplications occur (ex. terra terra, man mano, piano piano, etc.), but they seem to exist in a crystalized use of language, so it's not correct to tell about proper (systematic) reduplication. Moreover, we can not run out that they are regional expressions transferred into substandard Italian. For this reason, it is more appropriate investigate regional or dialectal varieties. I have decided to describe total reduplication phenomenon in a specific southern Italian variety, but, of course, similar or even the same reduplications occur in other Southern Italian dialects and regional varieties.

3.1 Data and methodology

Apulo-Barese is a label for a group of dialects spoken in Puglia, in the South of Italy. In this picture from Pellegrini (1977), you see it located in this area, IIIC (picture 2). The area corresponds more or less to the territory of the district of Bari, including some places of the district of Taranto. The single dialects spoken in the small cities of the area have various phonological differences, but they are similar in terms of morphosyntactic and lexical features. So, for this work, I have not found problems concerning diatopic differences in collecting data, except for some cases we will see later (section 3.2).

Picture 2: Dialects spoken in Puglia, by Pellegrini (1977)

The collected data comes from both written and oral sources. The examples have been collected through questionnaire, which had been distributed to native speakers. The questionnaire is made up by three different sections: translation, grammaticality judgements and the last part in which I ask to say which meaning a reduplication expresses.

The cities I have decided to investigate and where I have distributed questionnaires are (from North to South): Bari, Adelfia, Noicattaro, Minervino Murge, Altamura, Santeramo, Polignano, Castellana Grotte, Putignano, Gioia del Colle, Noci, Locorotondo, Cisternino. For this reason, it will be more correct to say that the inquiry has been carried out on the southern group of Apulo-Barese dialects.

3.2 Word-class based classification

Reduplications have been arranged in relation to word classes since the meanings arising from reduplication are often considered a direct function of the word classes that the process applies to. I have separated them into adjectival, nominal, verbal reduplications[4]. At first, I notice that just lexical categories may undergo reduplication, functional categories may not. I have not found examples of reduplication of articles or auxiliaries. For preposition, you can have reduplication with sotto ('under'), dentro ('inside'), but not with per ('for'), in ('in') or a ('to'). I suggest that reduplication requires a proper semantic content to reduplicate.

3.2.1 Adjectives

Reduplication of adjectives is common in Apulo-barese, as in all Southern Italian dialects, and in Italian as well. For Apulian and some other dialect, the high token frequency of adjectives undergoing reduplication is predictable, because of the lack of morphological markers for superlative. These varieties, in fact, make use of adjective reduplication for intensification (AB. biangə biangə, 'very white'), whereas Italian uses morphological superlative (it. bianchissimo).

The function for these adjectival reduplications will be clearly intensification, but, in certain cases, it's not so clear. Apulo-Barese is one of those dialectal varieties in which adjective of quality is used for expressing adverb of manner, or adverbial functions: chiarə (chiarə, adj. 'clear'),'clearly'.

In my corpus, I have found some cases in which adjectival reduplication is the only way to express adverbial meaning, but this meaning is not necessarily intensified. I mean that reduplication of adjectives can be considered, in a specific syntactic context, the only way to express an adverb, as you can see in the example below.

(2)   Sə   fàscenə   sembə i   cosə   onestə   onestə.
       IMPERS. do.PRES.3PL always the things.F.PL   honest.F.PL honest.F.PL
       'Things are always done honestly'

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[4] Due to space problems, in this paper I did not deal with either adverbial and numeral reduplications.

Taking this sentence, my hypothesis is that an adjective (of quality), which usually can express both adverbial and adjectival function, when it follows a noun, it must be repeated to express adverbialization, as you can see in (1). In (2), reduplication is not required in expressing adverbial meaning because the position of the adjective (it strictly follows the verb).

(3) Sə   fàscen   sembə   onestə   i   cosə
     IMPERS. do.PRES.3PL   always   honest.F.PL   the things.F.PL
     'Things are always done honestly'

If you use just one copy of the adjective right after the noun, the meaning might be ambiguous since the adjective can be referred to the noun. In this case, as you can see in (3), the interpretation might be ambiguous because onestə (adj., 'honest') can be referred to cose (noun, 'things'), not to the verb.

(4) Sə   fàscenə   sembə   i   cosə   onestə
     IMPERS. do.PRES.3PL   always   the things.F.PL   honest.F.PL
     'Honest things are always done'

You need total reduplication for a grammatical purpose. Syntax does what morphology cannot do.

3.2.2. Nouns

The nominal reduplication is more intriguing because it let us to draw a line between dialects and standard Italian. In Apulo-Barese you can find different types of nominal reduplication and we cannot say the same thing for Italian in which they exist, but they are rather crystalized structures and they have lost the original meaning, like terra terra ('modestly', where terra = 'land'), man mano ('step by step', where mano = 'hand').

Moreover, nominal reduplications in Apulo-Barese may realize even three or more functions depending on context and on lexical domain of the single item. The main functions are: Prolative (4), distributive (5) and also adverbialization (6).

Broadly speaking, all of them are productive strategies and may occur systematically.

(5) Sə   ne   è sciutə   tittə   tittə   [Noci, BA]
     RIFL. LOC.   has gone   roof.PL   roof.PL
     'He has gone from roof to roof'

(6) Nu   lenzulə   pezzə   pezzə   [Gioia del Colle, BA]
     ART. sheet.SG.M piece.PL. piece.PL.
     'A sheet made by pieces'

(7) Sə   l'   é mənetə   pinelə   pinelə   [Gioia del Colle, BA]
     RIFL. OBJ.   has eaten. pill.SG. pill.SG.
     'He ate like they were pills'

The existence of prolative constructions based on total reduplication is acknowledged for Italo-Romance by various scholars among whom we encounter Rohlfs (1968: 89– 92). Rohlfs (1968: 90) observes that in Tuscan old Italian, the prolative is mainly restricted to expressions which are associated with the coastline (navigammo riva riva 'we sailed along the riverbanks', riva, SG. 'riverbank'). Further to the outh of Italy, this lexical restriction seems to be less rigid. In the example (5), the reduplication with prolative function involves tittə, which means 'roof'. The meaning of prolative reduplication generally follows this schema:

(8)   < [[Ni Ni]PP → from Ni to Ni] >

Nouns occurring in prolative constructions can be singular or plural, depending both on the referent and the semantic scope. Singular nouns occur when the noun is a continuous or uninterrupted referent of landmark, like a street, a coast, a riverbank. By contrast, plural nouns occur in case of distributive referent of landmark, like houses, roofs, doors, etc.

The second most common function that a nominal reduplication may express is distributive one. Prolatives and distributives share many traits, such that it is not always easy to distinguish one from the other. For this reason, some authors subsume prolative under the category of the more general distributive function. For this work, I have used both of labels because we assume that distributive is referred to a proper distribution of some items in a specific space, whereas the meaning coming from prolative is referred to a movement along an element of landmark. In the example (6), reduplication of word pezzə, 'piece', means 'made by pieces'. In the following case, the meaning will be distributive but with another semantic schema:

(9)   Nu   lenzulə   bocherə bocherə   [Gioia del Colle, BA]
      ART. sheet.SG.M holes.PL holes.PL
      'A sheet full of holes'

It obviously depends on the semantic of the single items[5], but generally speaking, we can conclude that the construction expressing distributive reduplication is the following:

(10)   < [[Ni Ni]P → full of Ni] >

An unusual meaning coming up from nominal reduplication in Apulo-Barese is adverbialization. In (6) you can see a case of two reduplicated nouns expressing a manner. Actually, it can be a case of distributivity since the original meaning of (6) can be represented by the schema in (8): 'He ate from pills to pills' > 'He ate pills by pills".

The difference existing between nominal and adjectival reduplication concerns the continuum between grammar and style. Nominal reduplication represents a more grammatical device in Apulo-Barese compared to adjectival reduplication.

First of all, on semantic level, the meaning of some reduplicative constructions is guaranteed by the reduplication, which seems to be significative for a semantic scope. It

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[5] Taking sentences (5) and (6), we couldn't say 'A sheet full of pieces', even if it's not totally ungrammatical; but we can say 'A sheet made of holes'.

means that in case of nominal reduplication, in Apulo-Barese you can't have the same meaning by removing one of the two items. The result will be totally ungrammatical.

(11)   a.   Nu   lenzulə   pezzə   pezzə
            'A sheet made by pieces'
        b.   *Nu   lenzulə   pezzə

Nevertheless, for the adjectival reduplication, removing an item doesn't completely compromise the meaning of the original reduplicative structure. The result doesn't yield to an ungrammatical sentence, but it misses intensification semantic interpretation (9.b.).

(12)   a.   Da uagnonə Mariə jerə mazzə mazzə
            'When he was young, Mario was very thin'
        b.   Da uagnonə Mariə jerə mazzə
            'When he was young, Mario was thin'

3.2.3. Verbs

Finally, let's move on to verbal reduplication. Verbs occurring in a reduplicative construction in Apulo-Barese can be finite or non-finite verbs[6]. In this section we will particularly deal with reduplications of finite verbs, a grammatical phenomenon requiring further investigation, which presents interesting syntactic issues.

   You can see some example which differ from each other. I have taken them from the questionnaire the speakers have completed. The verbs are finite verbs, they usually occur in indicative. Like other reduplications, they are fully reduplicated. But, in these cases you can even recognize a further item that is in between. In the first example is an E, in the others an A[7].

(13)   Addò   sə   jacchjə   e   jacchjə, […]   [Bari]
        Where. RIFL. he.stays.   ET   he.stays
        'Wherever he is'

(14)   C   stajə   a   stajə jndə alla caəsə, […]   [Minervino Murge, BA]
        Who stays   AC stays in   the house
        'Whoever is in the house'

(15)   Quannə   arrivəkə   arrivəkə, […]   [Noci, BA]
        When. come.PRES.1SG   come.PRES.1SG
        'Whenever I come'

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[6] Non-finite verbs undergoing total reduplications are usually gerunds (it. camminando camminando, 'keep walking'). There is evidence not only from southern Italy, being common in standard Italian as well. That's the reason why it's not a remarkable example for this paper.
[7]In these examples, I used a non-strictly phonetic transcription. A more complete analysis will be done analysing also the presence of phonosyntactic doubling after the conjunction.

(16) Cə venə a   vənə,   a'ma   ssté cittə cttə.

[Noci, BA]

who come.PRES.3SGAC come. PRES.3SG we have to. stay quiet quiet
'Whoever comes, we have to be very quiet'

One may ask, at this point, why we can consider them to be total reduplication. At first, the status of these verbal reduplications is unclear, thus we do not know for sure which syntactic structure they belong to. The linguists who have reported the presence of these structures call them total reduplication or reduplicated patterns[8].   Moreover, the structure is catching amongst young people more and more, so into regional Italian variety. In all these varieties the conjunction does not exist or at least it is not spelled out. It follows that they belong to the definition of total reduplication that we have given at the beginning.

Verbal total reduplication occurs in a subordinate clause, consisting in a wh-pronoun[9] followed by two reduplicated verbs, with or without conjunction in between. The arguments, including subject, must follow the reduplication. This is the prototypical structure[10].

(17)   [[Wh-pron] – [[fV] (-and) [fV] Obj Subj]

Functions related to Wh-ever clauses are mostly two, since the pronouns may introduce Universal concessive Conditionals or Unspecific free choice relatives (Caponigro 2003: 112). The two functions are difficult to distinguish, Universal concessive conditionals being typically treated in section of relative clauses. A crucial difference between the two constructions consists in the fact that only the latter is a constituent of the containing clause and may fill a functional slot within that clause. Nevertheless, this difference is not relevant for our purpose. Moreover, we can often simply consider the concessive conditional as the result of extraposing or dislocating the free relative in the left periphery and replacing it by a pronoun[11]. In Apulo-Barese the verbal reduplication may serve both structures, with the important mention that it occurs more frequently in Concessive conditionals[12].

(18) Cə venə   a venə,   a'ma   ssté   cittə cittə.[Noci, BA]

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[8] I refer to works for Sicilian reduplicative constructions reported by Haspelmath & König (1998: 615) and Rohlfs (1968:78-79) for Salentino.

[9] All of them are admitted except why.

[10] For this paper, I'm not dealing with other types of verbal reduplication like 'Come va, va', in which the second verb is part to the main clause; neither of Coordinative verbal structures with iterative meaning; neither of word formation processes from verbs yielding to nouns (Un mangia mangia generale).

[11] Wh-ever pronouns can introduce universal concessive conditional clauses (UCC) (1):
      [UCC Whoever you choose], you won't make a bad choice;
      [UCC Whatever you are selling], I'll buy it;
   or an Unspecific free-choice relative clause (UCC) (2):
      I'll marry [FR whoever you choose]
      I'll buy [FR whatever you're selling]   (examples taken from Caponigro 2003: 112).

[12] On this topic see Haspelmath (1997), Haspelmath & König (1998) and Caponigro (2003).

who come.PRES.3SG. AC come. PRES.3SG. we have to. stay quiet. quiet.
'Whoever comes, we have to be very quiet'
[Universal Concessive Conditional (UCC) in Apulo-Barese]

(19)   Dovə ve   e   ve,   sə   fescə   i cumbagnə.
[Adelfia, BA]
Where go.PRES.3SG ET. go.PRES.3SG, RIFL. makes ART.PL friends.
'Wherever he/she goes, he/she makes friends'
[Unspecific Free-choice relative in Apulo-Barese]

To observe the areal distribution of the two conjunctions, I asked the speakers to translate the same sentence. The result has been that the use of the conjunction ET> e is limited to the area of Bari; the varieties spoken in the innermost areas of the analyzed region present the conjunction AC> a. This would seem to suggest that the use of ET> e may be the most innovative, given that the innermost part of the region is considered the most conservative, according to the areal linguistics' theories. Moreover, Bari is a seaside city and it is also the capital of the region, therefore being more exposed to the influences of other varieties and languages. However, this last consideration does not clarify the nature of the conjunction.

My hypothesis is that these constructions (13-16) are not real coordination structures, but a case of pseudo-coordination. The Apulian dialects present several cases of Pseudo-Coordination, making up by the conjunction AC> a, as being shown by A. Ledgeway (2016:174-179). Using the same criteria as Ledgeway (2016), my conclusion is that there are several points which make it impossible to talk about real coordination. It could be a coordination structure, but:

(i)   if AC > a were a coordinator, we should expect that it can be substituted by other coordinators such as the disjunctive coordinator AUT > o 'or'; nevertheless, we cannot;
(ii)   a coordination in reduplicative verb structures usually yields to iterative or durative functions (mangia e mangia);
(iii) in cases of complex verbal structures (i.e. with auxiliaries, modals and clitics) the conjunction AC > a or ET > e is weak or is missing;
(iv)   in the regional variety, the conjunction(s) AC > a or ET > e mostly misses, whereas for genuine coordination structures it remains (see noi e noi, litteraly 'us and us', 'only us');
(v)   adjectival reduplications show a similar (phonological?) phenomenon for feminine adjectives: (AB.) madonne bianga bianghə (white.F.SG. white F.SG Virgin F.)
(vi)   coordinative structures usually consist in the sequence of two different actions; in this case reduplication seems to indicate a kind of overlapping events, or disjunctive actions, rather than consequently.

Thus, if coordination was ruled out, another grammatical reason which explains these two copies is to be found. It could be hypothesized that the conjunction is purely phonological, serving as a link for the two copies, since, as it has been shown, in these dialects the final word is indistinct (/ə/). Anyway, this phonological hypothesis is not supported by convincing evidences.

4. Origins

There is an ongoing and wide debate concerning the origins of this process. The cases of total reduplication that we have seen so far, with the exception of verbal construction with an indefinite function, seem to share the same formal and functional characteristics; it may be the case that they are the result of a universally valid process characterizing all languages. Nevertheless, not all languages behave in the same way.

  These are some main hypothetical diachronic scenarios. The schema in figure 4 refers to a total reduplication developing from an erstwhile coordination or subordination (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2011). The coordination construction looks like prime candidate for the role as predecessor of the TR-constructions.

STAGE 0	X_{flex} AND X_{flex}	co-ordination
STAGE 0₂	X_{flex} BY X_{flex}	subordination
STAGE I	X_{flex} X_{flex}	syntagm
STAGE II	$X_{flex} - X_{flex}$	univerbation
STAGE III	$X - X_{flex}$	externalisation
STAGE IV	XX_{flex}	compound
STAGE V	xX_	reduction

Figure 4: Coordination/Subordination hypothesis (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2011: 512)

  However, these processes fail to exhaustively explain the dynamics of TR.
It may be assumed there are several possible origins and several possible destinations of TR, diachronically speaking. There are at least two other candidates for stage I (see figure 4), the grammaticalization of erstwhile purely pragmatic repetition and the possibility of a spontaneous TR formation. As for the former hypothesis, grammaticalization is assumed to take place, starting from more unrestricted and pragmatically controlled forms towards more reduced and rule-governed forms. Stolz calls this idea the contraction model (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2011: 171).

  On the other hand, spontaneity model does not presuppose that the formal side of the TR construction has a prehistory of its own. According to this idea, reduplications would be directly created on the basis of recursion and iconicity. Spontaneous model is invoked for reduplication in creole languages. Creoles are commonly believed to be new languages in the sense that their genesis is inextricably tied to multilingual contact constellation from which a language arose that did not exist prior to the initiation of contact. TR may be considered as a kind of universal that belongs to the basic equipment of human language, thus being activated when a language is natively employed or when a native speaker of one language meets a not native speaker and they want to communicate, to make themselves understood.

  It is for this very reason that the last option called "contact language situation" is not totally autonomous from the others, i.e. for each of the previous hypothesis about TR evolution the contact situation is not rejected, since all of these possible developments

may have been reinforced by borrowings typical of language contact situations. This means that in the realm of TR, one has to reckon with multiplicity of origins and thus, perhaps, also with the co-existence of several sub-types of TR.

5. Apulo-Barese and Mediterranean reduplications

This brief summary of the diachronic scenarios is useful to address the question of the origin of Apulo-Barese reduplications. The problem of Apulian reduplication cannot be investigated independently from the presence of reduplication in Italo-Romance varieties. As already being said, Italian languages are included in European languages using grammatical TR, according to Stolz schema (see section 1).

   Rohlfs (1968) assumes that language contact was responsible for distributive TRs in Italian dialects, since they were introduced into Italo-Romance via Byzantine Greek. An alternative donor language for this pattern might have been Arabic, as Sgroi and others assume, especially for the Sicilian case. However, Arabic influence alone does not explain why the same phenomenon is also common outside the former sphere of Arabic dominion on Italian soil, where one would have to resort to Greek as the instigator anyway (Stolz, Stroh, & Urdze 2011:529).

   A possible but unsatisfactory conclusion would require us to separate the two cases from each other, claiming there were parallel developments: Sicilian might have borrowed the pattern from (Siculo-)Arabic, whereas the Romance varieties on the other side of the Strait of Messina might have borrowed something similar from local varieties of Greek. Another solution would be to assume an Arabic and Greek influences in Sicily and purely Greek influence on the mainland of Southern Italy.

   What I want to focus on is that the same TR structures are shared by all Mediterranean languages. Some evidence from Modern Greek (Kallergi 2015: 427-428) or Albanian reveal different cases of total reduplication with the same function/meaning, which might be originated from same patterns. Hereunder I will compare some Greek and Albanian constructions and their Apulo-Barese TR counterparts.

(20)	Greek TR	Apulo-Barese TR	Meaning
	porta porta	porta portə	'from door to door'
	jalo jalo	costa costə	'along the coast'

(21)	Albanian TR	Apulo-Barese TR	Meaning
	pjesë-pjesë	pezzə pezzə	'piece by piece'
	roga-roga	chiazzə chiazzə	'with many spots'

Broadly speaking, full-blown prolatives and distributives expressed by TR constructions represent a property of the southern and eastern areas of the continent; we have no evidence of prolatives of this kind in the westernmost parts of Europe. This picture would also suggest that total reduplication (in particular, the more 'grammatical' type, such as the nominal one) has spread into Italo-Romance varieties (and especially into southern Italian dialects) as a consequence of the contact between population of the Italian peninsula and Balkans starting from the classical era, given the well-known cases

of invasions and commercial relationships. Total reduplication represents, in fact, a grammatical trait characterizing the Balkan Sprachbund.

However, there is an ongoing debate regarding which features have in common languages of a so-called 'linguistic league'. When two or more languages show a non-random degree of similarity, there are three possible types of explanation: 1) the common origin from a rebuildable ancestor; 2) contact between the respective linguistic communities, which led to the emergence of a common linguistic phenomenon; 3) the existence of universal trends in human languages. In the first case, we are dealing with a genealogical explanation, in the second – with areal explanation, and in the third case – with a typological explanation. In trying to explain the evolution of TR in Balkan Sprachbund, universality and borrowability compete for the status of explanation, but it cannot be decided for every language whether TR is "self-made" or "imported". It follows that we can also suppose total reduplication belongs to linguistic universals coming up from a multilinguistic situation. It should not be unlikely, since languages like "lingua franca" are characterized by a lack of morphology, favoring syntax. Accordingly, since even the same Mediterranean linguistic area (extended to the Eastern languages like Catalan, Maltese, Sardinian, etc.) is often considered a Sprachbund, it would not be excluded that total pragmatic reduplications emerged during a period of strong cultural and linguistic exchanges between countries facing the same sea for communicative purposes.

6. Conclusions

In trying to describe total reduplication occurring in Apulo-Barese, we deduced that it is not easy to make a classification in relation to word classes, given that the relation between reduplicative meaning and word class does not involve a one-to-one relation. I am currently analyzing whether there are contrarily lexical, phonological or morphosyntactic features being responsible for the rise of certain meanings in reduplications. Up to now, I have discovered the following general correlations: countability and plural marking yield the distributivity meaning; words belonging to lexical domain of landscape have a prolative function (even for distinctions between singular and plural nouns) and, finally, gradability yields an intensification meaning.

Overgeneralizing, Apulo-Barese structures can be regarded as belonging to the grammatical subtype of total reduplication.

As for the origins of this case of total reduplication, it is not possible to undoubtedly confirm whether it is a "self-made" or "imported" process. Nevertheless, the resemblance between the reduplicative constructions present in Puglia and the ones that can be found in Balkans is evident, probably given to the intensity of the contacts between Eastern and Greek populations and southern Italy populations, which can be traced starting with the classical era.

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