

The Communicative Function of Gender in Italian
Joseph Davis
The City College of New York

An analysis of grammatical gender in Italian, the analytical text written in English, the examples selected from authentic texts in Italian

Un'analisi del genere grammaticale italiano, il testo analitico scritto in inglese, i dati selezionati da autentici testi italiani

What you will find here is an analysis of gender in Italian (what is often called the “literary” or the “standard” variety; variation is not analyzed here). The analysis is based on attested examples from Italian texts of various genres. The evidence-based hypothesis, thoroughly noncanonical, proposes a system of morphologically signaled meanings, and these are not the traditional categories “feminine” and “masculine.” Even the familiar and misleading term “gender” is replaced. The analysis concerns primarily what is typically called “grammatical gender,” although it stands to inform too the use of Italian in communication having to do with human cultural gender. The analysis concerns primarily what is called here “variable gender” (essentially, adjectives) although it stands to inform too the problem of “invariable gender” (essentially, nouns).

The analysis, which is complete and comprehensive, consists of eight chapters. This is envisioned to be a “living document,” so to speak, in the sense that interested readers are encouraged to offer suggestions for improvement, including corrections and criticisms. Suggestions will be most helpful if they can be keyed to specific pages in specific chapters. This is not the place, unfortunately, to debate fundamental theoretical points, such as the proper role in linguistics of the sentence or of formal rules of agreement. Those important issues aside, constructive criticisms of the analysis itself are most welcome. (Email jdavis@ccny.cuny.edu.) My intention is to revise the document periodically, taking into account readers’ suggestions and observations.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Grammatical gender has been one of the most resistant parts of language to revealing any communicative function. It has appeared to be nothing more than useless baggage, weighing humans down as we tell our stories, having to tack onto words little endings that appear to be totally redundant. But grammatical gender can teach us something about the workings of language, about the means by which humans communicate. It can yield to linguistic investigation. Grammatical gender does have a communicative function, and its function can be understood once the analyst insists upon relying on authentic usage data rather than on intuition and tradition, and insists upon letting the facts of those data lead

¹ Graphic courtesy of Eduardo Ho-Fernández.

where they do rather than only where we imagine—no matter how naively or ingeniously—they will. Grammatical gender, like other parts of language already investigated, reveals itself to be a functioning part of an instrument of intelligent human communication.

The mechanisms of language are a toolset that allows humans to communicate about a great variety of matters: about human beings of course, but also about lifeless physical objects such as the planets and the stars, about lifeless phenomena such as day and night, about nonhuman life-forms such as flowers and whales, and about abstract concepts such as justice and love. Communicating about friends, planets, love, and so forth at times involves clearly subjective characterization, for example “faraway friend,” “nearby planet,” “unrequited love.” Grammatical gender, it turns out (for those grammars that use it) plays a part in that subjective communication.

Understanding how grammatical gender fits into the overall linguistic machinery of which it is a part can factor as well into questions of how people identify people in a society, particularly a society that groups infinitely varied individuals into binary categories such as “masculine” and “feminine.” It is useful to know something about linguistics if one wishes to critique the use of language in social situations. Grammatical “gender” stands to inform discussions about cultural “gender” in addition to linguistic theory itself.

A. What this work is about, and what it is not about

This work is an account of the distribution of certain linguistic forms in certain attested stretches of discourse. To specify exactly which forms and which stretches of discourse will (as indeed it should) require some analysis, throughout this work. For now at the

outset: This work is an account of the distribution of the morphemes of variable grammatical gender in Italian. That is, this work offers an explanation for the presence of particular gender morphemes wherever the language system provides an option for the presence of a different gender morpheme, that is, wherever the language system offers the speaker or writer a choice. (N.B. “wherever the system offers a choice”: one’s intuition, even with the benefit/constraint of context, may at times make there appear to be no effective choice.) Sometimes, the presence of a gender morpheme seems so intuitively obvious that it would support the notion of a syntactic rule of “agreement” in gender of an adjective with its noun. At other times, though, the adjective does not agree with the noun in its noun phrase, or there is no noun for the adjective to agree with, or it is hard to say whether a word is an adjective or a noun or something else, and so no syntactic rule can be appealed to. And so, there is an analytical problem: If not by syntactic agreement, then how can the distribution of these morphemes in discourse be accounted for? This work offers communication as a solution that accounts for the distribution of both the canonical and the perhaps surprising instances.

It will be helpful, for now, to continue using familiar, canonical terms, only later justifying why some of those terms need to be avoided in the analysis, and for now introducing less familiar terms only gingerly. That is because readers will want to have a decent idea, from the outset, before getting deeply into details, what is the aim of the work and what is not the aim of the work. That is helpful because the scope of the work is importantly narrower than many readers might imagine upon encountering the term “grammatical gender.” (That restriction notwithstanding, it certainly is the case that an

understanding of phenomena covered in this work may well stand to benefit our understanding of grammatical gender writ large.)

Readers who know Italian to any degree may find the following four paragraphs pedantic and so may wish to skim over them; they contain nothing innovative or controversial. The paragraphs are intended primarily for those readers who do not know Italian specifically but are interested in the topic of grammatical gender.

In Italian—as in many languages—, some words—but not all—belong to one of a small number of lexical classes. That is, the Italian lexicon is divided into classes, traditionally called “genders,” or “grammatical genders.” Italian has two such classes, traditionally called “feminine” and “masculine,” even though the likely referents of most such words do not literally have biological sex.² A member of this group of lexical items—the “gendered” words—can usefully be said to have **invariable** gender; the word belongs to—is a member of—either one class or the other class. For example, the word *gamba* ‘leg’ is said to be feminine, and the word *gomito* ‘elbow’ is said to be masculine. Many words, like *gamba*, that are called feminine end in *-a*, and many words, like *gomito*, that are called masculine end in *-o*, but, as is well known, that difference is not at all reliable; for instance, *mano* ‘hand’ and *radice* ‘root’ are feminine, while *clima* ‘climate’ and *fiore* ‘flower’ are masculine. Endings can be practically anything: *Crisi* ‘crisis’ is feminine, while *caos* ‘chaos’

² Modern French and Spanish, like Italian, have two genders, and modern German has three (masculine, feminine, and neuter). Modern English makes no distinction. Classical Latin had three genders. Some languages, such as Swahili, have larger numbers of lexical classes. These figures are offered only for simple comparison; just what constitutes a “lexical class” or a “gender,” and how the two constructs relate, is a typological matter, beyond the scope of the present work.

is masculine. Consequently, the gender class of a word in Italian is determined, ultimately, not by anything obviously phonetic or semantic about the word itself but by something morphological about other words that come to be associated with it in usage. (More about that indirect mechanism almost immediately.) Typically, any word in this **invariable** group, while indeed having only one invariable gender—either feminine or masculine—, will have two distinct forms for the grammatical numbers, a singular and a plural: *gamba* ‘leg’ / *gambe* ‘legs,’ *gomito* ‘elbow’ / *gomiti* ‘elbows,’ *mano* ‘hand’ / *mani* ‘hands,’ *radice* ‘root’ / *radici* ‘roots,’ *clima* ‘climate’ / *climi* ‘climates,’ and *fiore* ‘flower’ / *fiori* ‘flowers.’ To use a simplistic but familiar term, the words in this group are primarily “nouns.”

By contrast, many words in Italian have no gender at all. Among these are: *grande* ‘big,’ *di* ‘of,’ *mai* ‘never,’ *e* ‘and,’ *è* ‘is,’ *quattro* ‘four,’ *cinquanta* ‘fifty.’ Some of these words, too, have two distinct forms for the grammatical numbers, a singular and a plural; thus, *grande* ‘big-sg.’ and *grandi* ‘big-pl.’ Other words in this group (such as *di* ‘of’) have only one form. In traditional terms, the words in this group belong to various parts of speech: adjective, preposition, adverb, verb, and so forth.³

Words in a third group have what might usefully be called **variable** gender. That is the topic of this work. These words, lacking their own invariable gender, show up in usage either feminine or masculine depending either on the invariable gender of some word they are somehow associated with or on the fact that they are not associated with any such

³ There are some forms that are evidently (i.e., per analysis in context) invariable, with no internal morpheme boundary, yet are homophonous with forms that are variable and with an internal morpheme boundary. E.g., *prima* ‘before’ (cf. *prima* ‘first-f.’) and *vicino* ‘near(by)’ (cf. *vicino* ‘near(by)-m.’). Obviously, an analyst needs to be skeptical of these, at least initially, until becoming convinced that their ending does not, in fact, constitute a morpheme of grammatical gender.

word at all. Just what it is to be “associated” is part of this exploration; suffice it for now to say that this association is semantic, not syntactic. Often—but not always—nearby words “agree” in gender. This is the “indirect mechanism” referred to above: The gender of a word of invariable gender is determined—determined by, for instance, an analyst—not on account of its own shape or even sense but by the shape of a word associated with it.⁴

For instance, the invariable gender of the word *gamba* ‘leg’ is determined to be “feminine” only because of the shape of an associated word such as *sinistra* (as opposed to *sinistro*) ‘left’ in, for instance, the phrase *gamba sinistra* ‘left leg; and the invariable gender of the word *pianeta* ‘planet’ is determined to be “masculine” only because of the shape of an associated word such as *lontano* (as opposed to *lontana*) ‘faraway’ in, for instance, the phrase *pianeta lontano* ‘faraway planet.’⁵

That less-than-obvious mechanism is analytically feasible for Italian because, in contrast with the words of the first group—the words with invariable gender—the words of this third group—the group of *variable* gender—by and large have endings that are entirely regular: *a* for feminine singular and *o* for masculine singular (plus *e* and *i*,

⁴ Readers who know French, for instance, may find that helpful here. In French, too, the gender of a word of invariable gender is analytically determined not by its own shape or sense but by the (often overt) variable gender of an associated word. For instance [lwa prɔʃɛn] ‘next law’ (feminine *loi* ‘law’) but [mwa prɔʃɛn] ‘next month’ (masculine *mois* ‘month’). The respective genders of *loi* and *mois* are evidently determined not by anything about those two words themselves but by the shapes of associated words [prɔʃɛn, prɔʃɛn]; that is, the genders of *loi* and *mois* are determined indirectly.

⁵ There are in Italian a few pairs of LIs (e.g., *punta* ‘point’ / *punto* ‘point,’ cf. Tabucchi p. 73) that appear to be historically and semantically related, with a common root (*punt*), but their distribution of which does not depend “on the invariable gender of some word they are somehow associated with” but rather on their own senses. Along with all LIs of invariable class, these beg lexical analysis. Perhaps the analysis here will be relevant to that.

respectively, for the plurals). For the most part, to use the familiar term, these words are the “adjectives.”⁶

The following set, for the sake of simplicity, can illustrate further with, in each case, a variably-gendered word (e.g., *sinistra* / *sinistro* ‘left’) that immediately follows and characterizes (modifies) an invariably-gendered word (e.g., *gamba* ‘leg’)⁷:

<u>Variable words end in <i>a</i></u>	<u>Variable words end in <i>o</i></u>
<i>gamba sinistra</i> ‘left leg’	<i>gomito sinistro</i> ‘left elbow’
<i>mano aperta</i> ‘open hand’	<i>clima temperato</i> ‘temperate climate’
<i>radice nuova</i> ‘new root’	<i>fiore rosso</i> ‘red flower’

Variably-gendered words, then, typically have four forms: two grammatical genders and two grammatical numbers. The systems of grammatical gender and number are in that way *interlocked*. Here are the plural forms of the above singulars:

<u>Variable words end in <i>e</i></u>	<u>Variable words end in <i>i</i></u>
<i>gambe sinistre</i> ‘left legs’	<i>gomiti sinistri</i> ‘left elbows’
<i>mani aperte</i> ‘open hands’	<i>climi temperati</i> ‘temperate climates’
<i>radici nuove</i> ‘new roots’	<i>fiori rossi</i> ‘red flowers’

It will prove useful, throughout this work, to distinguish symbolically the invariable-gender, two-form words (like *gamba/e*, *gomito/i*, *mano/i*, *clima/i*, *radice/i*, and *fiore/i*) from the variable-gender, four-form words (like *sinistra/o/e/i*, *aperta/o/e/i*, *temperata/o/e/i*, *giusta/o/e/i*, and *rossa/o/e/i*). The symbol “-” will here denote the morpheme boundary at the end of the stem of an invariable-gender, two-form lexical item

⁶ For an anticipation of this analysis, see Davis (1992: 281 fn. 7).

⁷ In Italian, the order of noun and adjective is often the reverse of that in English.

and the symbol “+” will denote the morpheme boundary at the end of a variable-gender, four-form lexical item. Thus:

Invariable-gender, two-form: *gamb-, gomit-, man-, clim-, radic-, fior-*

Variable-gender, four-form: *sinistr+, apert+, temperat+, giust+, ross+*

This distinction will facilitate an account of the distribution in discourse of the members of that four-form set of morphemes *+a/+o/+e/+i*.⁸ In this set, those four members are in grammatical **opposition** with one another. For any given token found in a text, the analyst can ask, “Why, at this point in the text, is this morpheme and not some other morpheme from the same set observed?” As hinted already, the answer to that question is emphatically not syntactic agreement. The answer has to do instead with a communicative **allusion** by a variable-gendered word to an associated invariable-gendered word.⁹

It may be helpful to state the aim of this work in several ways:

It is the aim of this work to account for the observed distribution in attested discourse of what has been called here “variable gender.” It is not the aim of this work to account for the distribution of what has been called here “invariable gender.” It is the aim of this work to account for the distribution of members of the four-member set of morphemes *+a/+o/+e/+i*, not any other set of morphemes.¹⁰ The aim of this work is to

⁸ While this set is highly regular, there are some morphological irregularities that will be accommodated in this analysis; cf. Ch. II.

⁹ Compare Contini-Morava (1996: 254) for use of the concept of allusion.

¹⁰ Allowing, advisedly, for morphological irregularities; cf. previous note.

account for why a lexical stem such as *sinistr+* ‘left’ shows up sometimes as *sinistra/e* and sometimes as *sinistro/i*. Or why we observe *apert+* ‘open’ sometimes as *aperta/e* and sometimes as *aperto/i*, or *temperat+* ‘temperate’ sometimes as *temperata/e* and sometimes as *temperato/i*, or *giust+* ‘exact’ sometimes as *giusta/e* and sometimes as *giusto/i*, or *ross+* ‘red’ sometimes as *rossa/e* and other times as *rosso/i*.

It is not the aim of this work to explain why any given word of invariable gender has the gender it has. For instance, no reason is offered here for: why *gamb-* ‘leg’ is feminine, *gomit-* ‘elbow’ is masculine, *man-* ‘hand’ is feminine, *clim-* ‘climate’ is masculine, *radic-* ‘root’ is feminine, or *fior-* ‘flower’ is masculine. No doubt, each word in the modern Italian lexicon has a history and for some reason that is now completely lost to time, has ended up today in the class that it is in. For instance, it is known that, through the generations, the forms that developed into modern Italian *man-o* ‘hand’ have belonged to a certain lexical class (the “feminine”) for at least two thousand years, since Classical Latin. Why Classical Latin *manus* ‘hand’ and modern Italian *man-o* ‘hand’ are in the “feminine” class is a diachronic question. Evidently, there is no conceptual or phonological basis for the modern classification. For instance, by no means are the members of one class all female and the members of the other all male; nor the members of one class all concrete and the other all abstract; nor one all beginning with a vowel and the other with a consonant. And so forth. The classification, such as it is in modern Italian, is taken for granted here.

The existence of the classification, however, is crucial to this hypothesis. The very fact that the modern Italian lexicon is divided arbitrarily into two classes provides the communicative justification—the *raison d’être*—for the grammatical system proposed here. (See Chapter II for the exact hypothesis.) For a conceptually arbitrary classification

to have any communicative functionality at all—for such a system not to be communicatively vacuous—it must be the case that there exists some grammatical mechanism that exploits it. That is the grammatical mechanism that is proposed in this work.

Indeed, there is, in principle, a communicative advantage, thanks to the system proposed here, for the classification being entirely arbitrary: If the classification were partly arbitrary and partly conceptual—if, for instance, one group tended to be more “feminine” or more “abstract” or whatever—then any encounter with a suffix attached to a word of variable gender (an *+a/+o/+e/+i*) would provoke an initial communicative problem to be solved even before the matter of allusion by the suffix got tackled; viz., Is this an instance of the signaling of the conceptual meaning (e.g., “abstract”), or instead an instance of allusion to a lexical item (e.g., *radic-e* ‘root’) of one class or the other? If the classification were partly conceptual, the communicative problem would be compounded.

Based on the evidence examined, the position taken in this work concerning lexical classification in Italian is this: In Italian, **invariable** gender (the lexical classification) is entirely arbitrary synchronically. That property complements perfectly the communicative function of **variable** gender (the domain of this analysis). See Chapter II for further on this position.

In simplistic, somewhat inaccurate, but still familiar terms: It is the aim of this work to account for the variable gender of adjectives in Italian, not the invariable gender of nouns. As fascinating as it might be to wonder why a certain noun in Italian has a certain gender, that is not the aim of this work.

Too, it is not the primary aim of this work to investigate whether there is any real connection between grammatical gender and cultural gender, however fascinating that

question might be. The discourse that human beings produce concerns many things that are not human and are not subject to cultural practices: gravity and climate, night and day, roots and flowers, stars and planets, and so forth. That wide-ranging discourse, which certainly includes humans, furnishes the data for this analysis. This analysis will, however, stand to inform the fraught issue of the use of language and the norms of cultural gender—societal roles associated with boys and girls, men and women—and how it does so is made explicit later in the work.

In far more careful terms now: This work will propose a **hypothesis** regarding **signals** with mutually oppositional **meanings**. The analysis is based upon the **observation** of the **distribution** of certain forms in authentic discourse. The hypothesis is in this way *a posteriori*; it will turn out to be noncanonical.

Even after cleaving the *a priori* pseudo-problem of “gender” in this way,¹¹ there are many interrelated pieces to “variable” gender, the part undertaken here. Therefore, if this has not been done already, the reader of this analysis may wish to scan the Table of Contents to gain a bird’s-eye view of the whole analysis to come. Any one section of this comprehensive analysis would justify a thorough presentation, with more examples; meanwhile, this overall treatment should be helpful in putting those pieces together.

B. The concepts of the lexical **lens** and of **identity**

It will be necessary throughout this work to conceive of a lexical item (loosely, a word) not as a reference to a thing but as a **lens** of **identity** chosen by a language-user as part of that person’s communication. It has long been appreciated that the concept of objective

¹¹ See Diver (1993/2012) on “What Is a Problem?”

reference cannot capture what is going on in the use of words in discourse. To illustrate just perhaps the most striking problem with the notion: One *thing* in the world, even one physical object, can be referred to by various terms: for instance, a glass object of a certain shape as a *bottle* or as *trash*. One person might say, “I really like that *bottle* on the shelf,” and another person (or the same person at a different time) might say, concerning the very same piece of glass, “Oh, that’s just *trash* to be thrown away.” Rather than objective reference, then, the lexical items *bottle* and *trash* serve in communication as **lenses** for the subjective **identification** that a language-user projects onto the glass object.¹²

The reason the concept of the **lens** will be helpful here is that this account of the observed distribution of tokens of variable gender hinges crucially on it. If a particular token of variable gender is held to communicate an **identity** through allusion to a particular lens, it will be important to say what that lens is. For instance, to account for the presence of the final *a* in a phrase such as *Che strana!* ‘How strange!’ as opposed the final *o* in *Che strano!* ‘How strange!’, it will be crucial to say whether *strana* alludes to a lens of the so-called feminine gender (perhaps *pietra* ‘stone’ or *donna* ‘woman’) or to a lens of the masculine gender (*sasso* ‘stone’ or *uomo* ‘man’) or to no lens at all: ‘How strange (to imagine)!’.¹³

¹² This view of lexical items is developed in Davis (2020). That work, however, uses the term “facet” rather than **lens**. **Lens** is a better term, since a lexical item is not a part of whatever thing it identifies on a given occasion (as a facet is a part of, say, a diamond) but instead is detached from that thing, available in storage (in the lexicon, as an optical lens might be in a drawer in a shop that sells sunglasses) to identify anything at all. The use of the term Identity (and *identification*, etc.) is akin to its use in Contini-Morava (1996).

¹³ That such allusion to a lens occurs even in cases that superficially might appear to be meaningless, such as with the two genders of the definite article, can begin to be seen in the fact that even the definite article typically gets specified anew (N.B. the forms underlined here) for each separate lens: “Riservo il mio amore e la mia stima a coloro che. . .” ‘I reserve my love and my respect for those who. . .’ (source file CovidRider).

C. Other terminology: Lexical Class, A-Class, O-Class

Traditionally, the two lexical classes in Italian are called “grammatical genders,” and their respective traditional labels are “feminine” and “masculine.” But the words “gender,” “feminine,” and “masculine” are misleading and stand in the way of a serious linguistic analysis. Clearly, inanimate objects, for instance, do not typically possess an identity of either cultural “gender.” A *stell-a* ‘star’ is not “feminine” in the way that a woman might be, and a *pianet-a* ‘planet’ is not “masculine” in the way that a man might be. (Even more absurdly, stars and planets do not have sex chromosomes and are not subject to conventions regarding cultural gender roles.) While the three traditional terms may indeed reflect the truly binary nature of the classification of the Italian lexicon, the terms are too freighted with cultural implications and can only bias a serious linguistic analysis into the topic. This work, then, will need more neutral terms to label Lexical Items (often abbreviated here LI) and to the two groups in which the invariable LIs belong. Thus, in Italian, there are two **Lexical Classes** (often abbreviated LC): the **A-Class** and the **O-Class**. For instance, the LI *stell-a* will be said to belong to the A-Class, and the LI *pianet-a* will be said to belong to the O-Class. The terms **A-Class** and **O-Class**, obviously, mimic not the ending of the word itself (*stell-a*, *pianet-a*) but instead echo mnemonically the regular ending of a variably-gendered word that is to be associated communicatively with the invariably-gendered word. For instance, the invariably classed LI *stell-a* ‘star’ is called A-Class because of the *+a* attached to the morpheme *luminos+* ‘bright’ in a phrase such as *stell-a luminos+a* ‘bright star.’ And

pianet-a 'planet' is called O-Class because of the *+o* attached to *luminos+* in a phrase such as *pianet-a luminos+o* 'bright planet.'¹⁴

The three terms **Lexical Class, A-Class, and O-Class**, though they categorize Italian lexical items that have **invariable** Lexical Class (think nouns), will nevertheless prove to be indispensable in this account of the distribution of the signals of **variable** Lexical Class (think adjectives). That is because an account of the distribution of the signals of **variable** LC depends critically on this binary lexical classification of **invariable** LIs.

To summarize: In Italian, some lexical items (e.g., *grande* 'big' and *di* 'of') belong to no Lexical Class at all. Such words are not the topic of this work. Other lexical items (e.g., *stell-a* 'star' and *pianet-a* 'planet') belong invariably to one LC or another: either the A-Class (*stell-a*) or the O-Class (*pianeta*). Such words, too, are not directly the topic of this work. This analysis concerns those Italian LIs that have variable LC (e.g., *luminos+* 'bright'). This analysis is an account of the distribution of the forms that those words take as observed in actual discourse. Why one form (e.g., *luminos+a*) at one point in the text and the other form (*luminos+o*) at another point in the text?

To restate that summary: This analysis is an account of observed distribution. With one set of lexical items in Italian, those with no Lexical Class at all (e.g., *grande* 'big' and *di* 'of'), there is no distribution to be explained; the forms just are what they are. With another set, those of invariable LC (e.g., A-Class *stell-a* 'star' and O-Class *pianet-a* 'planet') there is likewise no distribution to be explained synchronically; the forms just are what they are. But with lexical items of variable Lexical Class (e.g., *luminos+* 'bright'), there is

¹⁴ The two classes might almost as well be designated, say, Class 1 and Class 2, or Class X and Class Y, except that something like that might risk implying some sort of priority of one class over the other.

indeed an observed distribution to be accounted for: Why at one point in the text do we observe *luminos+a* (or its plural *luminos+e*) and at another point *luminos+o* (or its plural *luminos+i*)?

D. Notation

This section details a few peculiarities of notation that will be used throughout this work.

D1. Morpheme boundaries denoted “-” and “+”

As explained above, it will be useful in this work to have some formalism for distinguishing two types of morpheme boundaries. One type of morpheme boundary is that separating a lexical stem from a suffix consisting of one member of a two-member set of morphemes having to do with grammatical Number; thus the formalism “-” as in *stell-a* ‘star’ / *stell-e* ‘stars’ or *pianet-a* ‘planet’ / *pianet-i* ‘planets’ or *fior-e* ‘flower’ / *fior-i* ‘flowers.’ Here too belongs the two-way distinction in Number between, for instance, *grand-e* ‘big-sg.’ and *grand-i* ‘big-pl.’ The other type of morpheme boundary separates a lexical stem from a suffix consisting of one member of a four-member set of morphemes having to do with the **interlock** of Lexical Class and grammatical Number; thus “+” as in *luminos+a* / *luminos+e* / *luminos+o* / *luminos+i*. It is really only this latter type of morpheme boundary, the “+,” that this analysis directly concerns.

D2. Lens within angled brackets “⟨...⟩”; direction of allusion thereto (“←” or “⇒”)

It will be useful too to have a formalism to denote the invariably-classed lens alluded to by a variable word. For instance, in both $\langle stell-a \rangle$ *luminos+a* and *La* $\langle stell-a \rangle$ è *luminos+a*, the suffix *+a* attached to the variable *luminos+* alludes to the invariably A-Class

stell-a. The relevant lens for such a token of *luminos+a*, denoted by angled brackets, is $\langle stell-a \rangle$. In perhaps the most telling instances for this analysis, the lens is not so obvious, and the match between the two forms cannot be mistaken for an instance of syntactic “agreement.” For instance, in the following phrase, the lens for *l+a* is not the nearby O-Class *San Marco* ‘Saint Mark’ but the A-Class *macchin-a* ‘machine’: *L+a San Marco è una $\langle macchin-a \rangle$ da caffè* ‘The San Marco is a coffee machine’; the *+a* of *l+a* alludes not to the male *Marco* but to the A-Class *macchin-a*.

It will also be convenient to have a formalism to denote a plausible direction (\Leftarrow or \Rightarrow) of allusion to a lens by a given token of a “+” morpheme (when, that is, there is a lens explicit in the text); thus, to illustrate:

$\langle stell-a \rangle \Leftarrow luminos+a$ or $L+a \Rightarrow \langle stell-a \rangle \Leftarrow luminos+a$

$L+a \Rightarrow San Marco \text{ è } un+a \Rightarrow \langle macchin-a \rangle da caffè$.

D3. The use of red and blue fonts

In this analysis, two font colors will formalize the two Lexical Classes of Italian: red font for A-Class and blue font for O-Class. Thus, for instance, *Quest+a $\Rightarrow \langle stell-a \rangle \Leftarrow luminos+a$* ‘This star is bright’ and *Quest+o $\Rightarrow \langle pianet-a \rangle \Leftarrow luminos+o$* ‘This planet is bright.’ The font colors thus bleed across, as it were, from the invariably-classed lens (A-Class $\langle stell-a \rangle$, O-Class $\langle pianet-a \rangle$) to its associated variably-classed words (*quest+a*, *luminos+a*, *quest+o*, *luminos+o*), both stems and suffixes. (Wherever possible and appropriate, font colors are used too for English glosses. English words, of course, do not have Lexical Class, but this convention will remind readers that the Italian form glossed does have Lexical Class.) This formalism, along with the directional arrows, will allow a reader

of this analysis to see, at a glance at a text, which words “go with” (so to speak) which words. Or (expressed less loosely), this formalism will visually connect variably-classed words with their relevant invariably-classed lenses.

D4. Notes on phonology and orthography

As is well known, the relationship between phonology and orthography in Italian is fairly close (closer than in English), but it is far from perfect. Because the examples quoted in this study are written, and much of the data that inform the analysis were written, it may be helpful to note several challenges involved in reading Italian aloud.

The phonological distinction between smaller-aperture (more close) [e, o] and larger-aperture (more open) [ɛ, ɔ] is not indicated with the letters *e, o*, respectively. That between voiceless [s, t^s] and voiced [z, d^z] is not indicated with the letters *s, z*, respectively. Phonological stress, which is distinctive in Italian, is usually indicated only when it falls on the final, not the penultimate or the antepenultimate, syllable. For the most part, in Italian orthography acute and grave accent marks correspond to no phonological distinction at all; sometimes even the apostrophe is used (thus, e.g., *aprí, apri` , ragú, ragù, ragu`*).

Some additional stumbling blocks, particularly for readers of English: Before the letters *i, e*, the letter *c* typically corresponds phonologically to voiceless palatal affricate [č]; otherwise, to [k]. Before the letters *i, e*, the letter *g* typically corresponds to voiced palatal affricate [j]; otherwise, to [g]. The letter combinations *ch, gh* (used before the letters *i, e*) correspond to [k, g], respectively. Before the letters *i, e*, the letter combination *sc* corresponds to [š], and the letter combination *sch* to [sk]. Otherwise, the letter *h* is only historical, corresponding to nothing

phonological.¹⁵ Before the letter *i*, the letter combination *gl* corresponds to the palatal lateral [λ]. The letter combination *gn* corresponds to the palatal nasal [ɲ]. Double letters (e.g., *bb*, *cc*, *dd*) correspond to phonologically long (or “double”) consonants (a peculiarity of Italian). Single letter *r* corresponds to phonetic apical flap; double *rr* to phonetic apical trill. Odd letter combinations such as *ps* correspond to the obvious but odd phonological combinations. The Italian alphabet contains no letters that are unfamiliar to readers of English.

The letters *j*, *k*, *w*, *x*, and *y* are hardly used. The letter combination *qu* corresponds to [kw]; *q* alone is almost unused.

Finally, to illustrate succinctly what is to come in this work: This work is an analysis of the observed distribution in attested discourse of forms like those underlined in the following:

L+a ⇒ *mi+a* ⇒ *nuov+a* ⇒ *San* ⇒ ⟨*Marco*⟩ *funziona molto bene*; *quell+a* ⇒ *vecchi+a* ⇒ *no*. *Quest+a* ⇒ ⟨*macchin-a*⟩ *macina molto più bene* *il* ⇒ ⟨*caffè*⟩.

‘My new San Marco works very well; the old one, no. This machine grinds coffee much better.’

Il ⇒ *nuov+o* ⇒ *Sant+a* ⇒ ⟨*Mari-a*¹⁶⟩ *è un* ⇒ *bel* ⇒ ⟨*ospedale-e*⟩; *quell+o* ⇒ *vecchi+o* *no*.

The new Santa Maria is a beautiful hospital; the old one, no.

È *stran+o* *che quell+a* ⇒ ⟨*stell-a*⟩ *compare tanto* *luminos+a* *stasera*.

‘It’s strange that that star appears so bright this evening.’

È *importante* *farcel+a*.

¹⁵ As the Italian saying has it, *Non vale un’acca* ‘It’s not worth an *h*.’

¹⁶ To see that *Mari-a* has a morpheme boundary, consider phrases like *L+e Tre Mari-e* ‘the three Marys,’ as opposed to, say, the inseparable *I Due Marco* ‘the two Marcos.’

‘It’s important to manage.’

L+o *sposerò*.

‘I shall marry him.’

L+a *sposerò*.

‘I shall marry her.’

It appears that the problem of “grammatical gender” can usefully be broken down this way. The solution to this part of the problem will perhaps contribute to the solution to other problems.¹⁷

The Communicative Function of Gender in Italian
Joseph Davis

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¹⁷ Phrased a bit more carefully: The problem of **variable** Lexical Class can usefully be separated from the problem of **invariable** Lexical Class, and the solution to the problem of variable LC should contribute to the solution to the problem of invariable LC.

Chapter II

The hypothesis

Once one has succeeded in grappling with the idea that signaled communicative meaning rather than a syntactic rule of agreement is responsible for the observations relating to what has been called grammatical gender, and once one has accepted the fact that the basis of grammatical gender is not human cultural norms—once one has ceased to expect concepts associated with terms such as “rule,” “gender,” “feminine,” and “masculine” to account adequately for the observed distribution of bits of morphology at the end of Italian words such as *sinistra* and *sinistro* ‘left’ or *nuova* and *nuovo* ‘new’—then one can begin analysis.¹⁸

A. The overall steps of the analysis, and the hypothesis

The first, crucial step in the analysis is to distinguish between **variable** and **invariable** gender. This is basically the step of performing a simple morphological analysis. In Italian, many words (e.g., *di* ‘of’) do not vary in form in any way that is of interest here; those

¹⁸ The term “Italian” is used throughout this work as a *façon de parler*. While there are many works concerning the problems associated with terms for “named languages,” a statement of the mindset adopted here can be found in Davis (2017b: 241-242). In brief: The hypothesis advanced in this work accounts for the set of observations as defined herein within the texts used herein, and no claim is made as to any larger generality, including geographical or social. Indeed, “Italian” rather famously illustrates linguistic “variation.”

The term “word” is also used here as a *façon de parler* for, essentially, an orthographic entity separated in print by spaces. “Word” is neither a technical term in the field of linguistics nor a hypothesis in this analysis.

words are not the target of this analysis.¹⁹ Other words have endings that at most reflect only a two-way distinction in grammatical number: *radic-e* ‘root’ vs. *radic-i* ‘roots’; *fior-e* ‘flower’ vs. *fior-i* ‘flowers’; *man-o* ‘hand’ vs. *man-i* ‘hands’; *palazz-o* ‘house’ vs. *palazz-i* ‘houses’; *stell-a* ‘star’ vs. *stell-e* ‘stars’; *clim-a* ‘climate’ vs. *clim-i* ‘climates.’ Those words too are excluded from this analysis. But other words reflect a four-way distinction involving grammatical number and something else that is variable: *sinistr+a* / *sinistr+e* / *sinistr+o* / *sinistr+i* ‘left’; *nuov+a* / *nuov+e* / *nuov+o* / *nuov+i* ‘new.’ That “something else”—words such as these—are the target of this analysis. What is that “something else”? How to provide an account of the distribution of the endings *+a/+e* versus the endings *+o/+i* on morphological stems such as *sinistr+* ‘left’ and *nuov+* ‘new’? This distinction between **invariable** and **variable** gender is captured in the two technical terms **Lexical Class** and **Restriction of Identity to A-Class**.

Forms that in Italian do not vary (e.g., *di* ‘of’) lie entirely outside this analysis and are effectively irrelevant to it. Forms that vary at most for grammatical number but are otherwise invariable (e.g., *stell-a/-e* ‘star/s’ and *pianet-a/-i* ‘planet/s’) lie outside the scope of this analysis but are relevant to it in that each of them serves communicatively as a **lens** through which the speaker/writer instructs the hearer/reader as to what view to project (as it were) onto a thing (as it were). For instance, an ancient poet might identify a spot of light in the night sky as a *stell-a* ‘star,’ while a modern astronomer might identify that same spot of light as a *pianet-a* ‘planet.’ Finally, forms that exhibit a four-way variation—a variation beyond the two-way variation associated with grammatical number—are the

¹⁹ The elision observed in, e.g., *d’agosto* ‘of August’ vs. *di luglio* ‘of July’ and is not analyzed here.

target of this analysis. For instance, someone might characterize that spot of light in the night sky as ‘bright,’ thus either $\langle \text{stell-}a \rangle \leftarrow \text{luminos}+a$ or $\langle \text{pianet-}a \rangle \leftarrow \text{luminos}+o$.

This first step in the analysis diverges from Reid (2018), who makes “no distinction” between variable and invariable “gender,” treating Spanish words with variable gender (such as here $\text{luminos}+a$ ‘bright’ / $\text{luminos}+o$ ‘bright’) as “separate lexemes with the same meaning.” Reid treats “gender classes” (such as here the Lexical Classes) as “the same kind of formal construct as does the linguistic tradition.” Unlike Reid’s, the present analysis does not accept the traditional construct of grammatical gender and proposes that pairs such as $\text{luminos}+a$ / $\text{luminos}+o$ have, in fact, contrasting grammatical meanings, that their semantic overlap must be located in their shared lexical stem $\text{luminos}+$ ‘bright’ as distinct from what morphologically distinguishes the two, the endings $+a$ / $+o$.

Here is the hypothesis proposed in the present analysis; see the following paragraph for morphological irregularities, not noted in the diagram. The font colors red and blue are not technically part of the hypothesis; they are included here, and throughout, merely for expository purposes, as an easy visual reminder of the two Lexical Classes, **A** and **O**:

		<u>Enumeration</u>		
		DO NOT ENUMERATE	ENUMERATE	
Restriction of Identity to A -Class	}	MADE	$+a$	$+e$
		NOT MADE	$+o$	$+i$

The two grammatical **meanings** **MADE** and **NOT MADE** exhaustively divide the **semantic substance** (or **domain**) of Restriction of Identity to **A**-Class (often henceforth abbreviated RIA). That name for the semantic substance reflects the communicative function of these meanings: to **instruct** the listener/reader in how to apply the sense of the stem (e.g.,

luminos+ ‘bright’) to which the **signals** *+a/+e* and *+o/+i* are attached (*luminos+a / luminos+e* versus *luminos+o / luminos+i*). In Italian, this communicative process is accomplished by either **MAKING** or **NOT MAKING** the Restriction of the application of the sense of the stem to a lexical item of the **A-Class**. Thus, this grammatical system has an intrinsic connection to the classification of the Italian lexicon. Indeed, this system furnishes the very communicative *raison d’être* of that classification; this grammatical system is what makes the conceptually arbitrary classification functional. (Cf. Ch. I.)²⁰

Though overall the grammatical signals of these meanings are highly regular, as in the diagram above, the signaling does exhibit some morphological irregularities not displayed above, particularly among highly frequent items, with phonology playing a role: *il* ‘the-m-sg,’ *i* ‘the-m-pl,’ and *gli* ‘the-m-pl’ (homophonous with dative clitic *gli* ‘them-dat / him-dat / her-dat / it -dat²¹’); clitic *le* ‘her-f-sg-dat’ (which is homophonous both with clitic *l+e* ‘them-f-pl-acc’ and definite article *l+e* ‘the-f-pl’); compounds *al* (‘to-the’), *all+a*, *all+e* ‘to-the,’ *dal* (‘from-the’), *dall+a*, *dall+e* ‘from-the,’ *del* (‘of-the’), *dell+a*, *dell+e* ‘of-the,’ and *nel* (‘in-the’), *nell+a*, *nell+e* ‘in-the’; deictics *quel*, *quei*, *quegli* ‘that-m, those-m’; and the highly frequent lexical items *bel* ‘beautiful-m-sg,’ *buon* ‘good-m-sg,’ and *san* ‘saint-m-sg.’ In modern Italian orthography²², a LI of variable LC whose stem ends in *i+* will have not

²⁰ That, indeed, is why mention of **A-Class** is made in the formal name of the semantic substance itself (i.e., to the left of the bracket) rather than in the name of one or two of the meanings (the right of the bracket): The operation of the system itself — the entire system — is fundamentally based on the classification. Restriction of Identity is accomplished in modern Italian only in terms of Lexical Class, not in any other way. Even the meaning **RIA NOT MADE** is systematically about **NOT** Restricting Identity to **A-Class**; the meaning **RIA NOT MADE** is not at all non-committal as to Lexical Class.

²¹ There is evidently quite a lot of variation involving this clitic *gli*. For some writers, it glosses exclusively as ‘them-dat.’

²² Reports on speech in this regard are inconclusive or variable.

indicate separately the *+i* signaling RIA NOT MADE (e.g., *vecchi+* ‘old-m.-pl.’). The following, on the other hand, are regular: *l+a*, *l+e* (‘the’), *l+o* ‘the’; *a+i* ‘to-the-m-pl,’ *da+i* ‘from-the-m-pl,’ *de+i* ‘of-the-m-pl,’ *ne+i* ‘in-the-m-pl’; *quell+a* (‘that’), *quell+e* (‘those’), *quell+o* (‘that’), *quell+i* ‘those’; and all other LIs with variable gender (such as *nuov+a/+e/+o/+i* ‘new’). The analysis takes responsibility for all of these. The following forms do not signal meanings of this semantic substance: the elided compounds *all’*, *dall’*, *dell’*, *nell’* (length of consonant, reflected in orthography, is distinctive in Italian phonology); and apocopated LI *gran* ‘big.’

The meanings proposed, MADE and NOT MADE, though certainly relational one to the other, are categorical, not purely relative. The meanings are more like the responses *yes* versus *no*, or the directions *up* versus *down*, or the polarities *positive* versus *negative* or the conditions *presence* versus *absence* than like the sensations *warm* and *cool* or the meanings MORE and LESS Deixis (or Attention) as proposed in, e.g., Diver (1990/2012) to account for the distribution of English *this / these* and *that / those*. The meanings MADE and NOT MADE are categorical in the way of, say, the meanings SPEAKER, HEARER, and OTHER in the semantic substance called Role in the Speech proposed by Diver (ibid.) to account for the distribution of English *I / you / he / she / it / we / they*. While the amount of attention one can pay to something, like the temperature of the weather, varies continuously along a spectrum, not so the categorical distinction captured by the names of the meanings MADE and NOT MADE or the meanings SPEAKER, HEARER, OTHER. In Italian, lexical items belong to either one Lexical Class or another, A-Class (such as *fed-e* ‘faith’) or O-Class (such as *fior-e* ‘flower’), or to neither Class (such as *di* ‘of’); with Lexical Class, there is no middle ground.²³

²³ There are, however, a few LIs that evidently have slightly distinct senses and clearly distinct, but both, LCs, e.g., *fin-e* ‘end,’ *front-e* ‘forehead/front.’ These obviously beg analysis.

Consequently, the meanings of the system Restriction of Identity to A-Class must be categorical: a word of variable gender (such as *luminos+a* ‘bright’ / *luminos+o* ‘bright’) alludes to an Identity communicated by a LI belonging categorically to one LC or the other, or (only for NOT MADE) to no LI of either LC.

Both meanings, MADE and NOT MADE, have to do with the communicative problem of Identity. That is, wherever the system is invoked, there is a problem of Identity. Even the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class NOT MADE has to do with establishing Identity; it is not the same as opting out of the system altogether. Wherever a signal *+o* or *+i* occurs, the communicative problem of Identity for the stem to which the signal is attached is raised: Is the Identity of this stem (e.g., *luminos+*) Restricted to A-Class or NOT? If it is NOT (*luminos+o* or *luminos+i*), then what is its Identity? The end of every variably classed LI (i.e., every “+”) poses a communicative problem: For this LI, is RIA MADE or NOT MADE?²⁴

The semantic substance, moreover, has essentially a communicative, not a descriptive, function. The meanings instruct the reader or listener as to how to process the text or the stream of speech, specifically how to process it in terms of the classification of the Italian lexicon. (Should a lens be sought out? If so, one of which class?) The meanings do not say anything at all descriptive about the nature of any referent, such as that a certain thing is feminine or masculine, long or short, concrete or abstract. The RIA signals, recall, attach to variably classed lexical items (e.g., *luminos+* ‘bright’), stems which by nature have no constant Identity (e.g., what is Identified as ‘bright’ varies: a star, a spotlight, a diamond, etc.).²⁵

²⁴ This reasoning applies even to participles in “compound tenses,” covered in Ch. VI.

²⁵ And if invariably classed LIs (e.g., *stell-a* ‘star,’ *pac-e* ‘peace,’ *città* ‘city’; *pianet-a* ‘planet,’ *silenzi-o* ‘silence,’ *paes-e* ‘town/country’) have any common conceptual trait—i.e., if the two

The two-by-two diagram above represents, furthermore, the proposed **interlock** of the system of RIA with the system of Enumeration: there are altogether four combinations of meaning that are signaled. Though the semantic substance of Enumeration is not the burden of this analysis, it deserves a word or two, being perhaps unfamiliar to the reader of this work.

Depending on the context, the Enumeration meaning DO NOT ENUMERATE (the traditional “singular”) can suggest the notion of a discrete ‘one.’ Such is particularly the case when the context includes mention of a physical object, distinct from other physical objects, as in *Quel* ⇒ *piccol+o* ⇒ *⟨sass-o⟩* è *↔stran+o* ‘That little stone is strange.’ But such discreteness is not inferred from the meaning DO NOT ENUMERATE in other contexts, as in *È stran+o che nevica* ‘It’s strange that it’s snowing’ or in *L+a* ⇒ *⟨pietr-a⟩* *↔usat+a nell+a* ⇒ *nostr+a* ⇒ *⟨costruzion-e⟩* è *↔prezios+a* ‘The stone used in our construction is costly.’ By contrast, the meaning ENUMERATE (the traditional “plural”), because enumeration inherently involves differentiation—cognitively recognizing individuals—is probably always effectively equivalent to the notion of ‘more than one’: *Quei* ⇒ *piccol+i* ⇒ *⟨sass-i⟩* sono *↔stran+i* ‘Those little stones are strange’; *L+e* ⇒ *⟨pietr-e⟩* *↔usat+e nell+a* ⇒ *nostr+a* ⇒ *⟨costruzion-e⟩* sono *↔prezios+e* ‘The stones used in our construction are costly.’ The semantic substance of Enumeration and these meanings were used for Italian in Davis

LCs have any semantic rationale—that is a problem for another analysis. Evidently, the membership of the two LCs in modern Italian is arbitrary; indeed, that arbitrariness makes the communicative rationale for the system of RIA all the stronger than if RIA were descriptive. (Further discussion in Ch. I and below.)

(2017b).²⁶ Neither Davis (2017b) nor the present work, however, undertakes a full analysis to flesh out the difference between the hypotheses of Number and Enumeration. Enumeration must therefore be considered a working hypothesis that succeeds in facilitating the analysis that is undertaken here, viz. that involving the semantic substance Restriction of Identity to A-Class.

In general, grammatical meanings proposed in linguistics need not accord exactly with conceptualizations already familiar to any educated person from specializations such as mathematics, biology, or anthropology—to cite just three fields that are tangentially related to the present analysis.²⁷ For instance, *zero* (0) and *negative one* (-1) are actually rather sophisticated mathematical concepts not reflected exactly in the grammatical system of Enumeration (nor, for that matter, in Roman numerals or in children’s counting games). Biology teaches that the sexes of animals and plants are not clearly distinctly binary, as might be suggested by the forms *lei* ‘she/her’ and *lui* ‘he/him.’ And as is anthropologically evident, human beings are not analyzable into discrete cultural stereotypical categories such as “feminine” and “masculine.” The names of the semantic substances proposed here—Enumeration and Restriction of Identity to A-Class—are intended to avoid such apriorism and to respond instead to the linguistic facts. These

²⁶ These meanings account for observed distribution rather than simply labeling it, as did the traditional “singular” / “plural” distinction. And they account for the distribution better than a semantic substance that might be called Number, with its meanings ONE and MORE (or ONE and OTHER THAN ONE), as seen in, e.g., Diver 1990/2012 and Reid 1991. Also compare the hypothesis for Swahili in Contini-Morava (2000: 18) of a system of “Individuation” (rather than Number), and the references there.

²⁷ Nor would it be surprising to learn that, in human communication, the distribution of the Italian or English tenses does not reflect exactly the prevailing conceptualization of time in modern academic physics. Nor should it be surprising if the distribution of the grammatical cases in, say, French or Italian does not reflect exactly the commonplace conceptualization of deliberate agency or control (e.g., Huffman 1997, Davis 2017b).

names, however, being mere attempts to capture in words the linguistic facts, cannot replace an understanding of the full analysis; if they could, no such verbosity as this extensive work would be needed.

The analysis consists of the application of this semiotic hypothesis (which was derived *a posteriori* from data), without exception, to usage data derived from attested discourse. For every observation of a token of *+a/+e*, or *+o/+i*, the analytical question is: At this point in the text why the signal of this meaning here and not the signal of the other meaning in the system?²⁸

B. Data coverage

Three texts were analyzed exhaustively: (1) the literary piece “Esperidi. Sogno in forma di lettera,” with other examples chosen extensively from the 1983 book in which that piece appears, *Donna di Porto Pim: e altre storie* (Tabucchi); (2) a 2017 article published in the online sports magazine *undici* titled “Dieci previsioni sulla nuova Nba,” plus other articles in that magazine by that writer (Pellecchia)²⁹; and (3) a 2020 article published online titled “Noi siamo tutto ciò che abbiamo: un appello di un rider di Manhattan per una solidarietà

²⁸ It is legitimate to ask, Which tokens of those suffixes will count as observations of the proposed signals? and to ask, What texts will make up the body of discourse that furnishes the data? The first question is, again, essentially a morphological problem; like all morphological problems, it hinges crucially on a successful solution accounting for the distribution and on some sort of semantic distinction. The second question relates to the problem of language variation. The question could be answered in advance of analysis (such as by choosing a corpus or a demographic or geographic group of language-users), but that is not done here. Rather, the analysis is allowed to determine which data are amenable to it and which are not. That approach is discussed briefly in Davis (2017b: 339-340) and is enacted throughout that analysis, and the approach is consistent with the view expressed in Diver (1993/2012: 341) that “we are responsible for our successes, but not for our failures.” Expanded widely enough in any dimension of variation, any such analysis would fail.

²⁹ <https://www.rivistaundici.com/2017/10/18/dieci-previsioni-sulla-nuova-nba/>, accessed July 4, 2018.

di condizione e posizione” by an anonymous immigrant living in New York City during the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic there (CovidRider).³⁰

These texts are homogeneous in that they could all be said to be written in the so-called “Standard Italian” of the past forty years. Their topics, however, vary: The Azores from the point of view of an Italian writer, professional American basketball from the point of view of a sports journalist, and the Covid-19 pandemic in Manhattan from the point of view of a struggling immigrant to the city. That is, the texts are homogeneous in grammar but richly varied in topic and lexicon.

No token in these texts is unaccounted for by the hypothesis.

The three full texts, analyzed for LC and RIA, are appended to this study.

Supplementary authentic examples that were needed or helpful in order to account fully for the observed distribution in these three texts were gathered as needed from other published works and web sites (cited throughout this study); they are many.

Such is the **observed distribution** that is mentioned so often throughout this work. The intended result is a plausible account of what is widely thought of as “grammatical gender” in “Standard Italian.”

An analyst can hardly expect to craft a successful hypothesis after examining only a subset of the vast range of data, especially if that partitioning of usage is done *a priori* in the analyst’s head rather than *a posteriori* on the basis of attested discourse. For instance, restricting oneself in advance to examples such as *<stell-a> ←luminos+a* ‘bright star’ and

³⁰ <https://crimethinc.com/2020/04/13/noi-siamo-tutto-cio-che-abbiamo-un-appello-di-un-rider-di-manhattan-per-una-solidarieta-di-condizione+e-posizione>, accessed July 1, 2020.

⟨*pianet-a*⟩ ← *luminos+o* ‘bright planet’ might lead an analyst to propose a rule of syntactic gender agreement or (stated in more functional terms) the choosing of forms of the same gender class, with the difference in meaning between *+a* and *+o* completely ignored (*pace* Reid 2018: 115). Supplementing that meager data coverage with another limited type established *a priori* such as (Ch. VII Ex. 10) *Giada Broz . . . l+a prim+o ⇒ ⟨violin-o⟩ dell’Orchestra delle Alpi* ‘Giada Broz [♀] . . . the first violin of the Orchestra of the Alps’ might lead an analyst to propose terms such as “gender” and “feminine” and “masculine” or (in more functional terms) the choosing of forms on the basis of male and female reference (*pace* Reid 2018: 120). No, a successful hypothesis is more likely to result from an analysis of the full range of data. That is done here. Indeed, the reliance upon authentic text, with its context, is pervasive throughout this analysis. For instance, the inferring of any particular tacit lens (such as the lens *mod-a* ‘fashion’ for *all+a* ‘à la’ in Ch. IV Ex. 12) is dependent upon the particular context. And the recognition (in Ch. V) that, in general, participial nouns ending in *+a* (e.g., *traversat+a*) must be glossed differently than prescribed simplistically in bilingual dictionaries (e.g., ‘thing-crossing’ rather than ‘crossing’) depends upon the nuances of those forms as they occur in actual text, not just upon one’s intuition applied to a list of words in a dictionary.

However, as the reader of this analysis will see, beginning in the next chapter, and all the way through to the Appendix, Italian texts are riddled with lexical classification and the system of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (that, is grammatical gender writ large), and thus examples are legion, dozens to a page. Each of those thousands of examples would be worthy of presentation, but few readers indeed would have the time or patience to wade

through such a tome; thus, presentation here is selective, intended to be illustrative of the full range of data.

C. Background in earlier work

The understanding that, in Italian, there is an “exhaustive classification” of items in the lexicon recalls the position of Diver (ca. 1970/2012) that there is one in Latin also (albeit three-way rather than two-way). And the appreciation here for the role of inference in the listener/reader’s parsing of just which variably-gendered item (e.g., *luminos+*) needs to be interpreted in connection with which invariably-gendered item (*stell-a* or *pianet-a*)—at least if the communication is to succeed in line with the speaker/writer’s intention—also recalls Diver: his recognition of the listener/reader’s range of “degree of difficulty in solving” the “communicative and human problem” of construing which is the intended “candidate” (or **lens** here) from among the invariably-gendered items in the context. In his highly suggestive remarks, Diver also recognized the communicative viability of an exhaustive lexical classification that is not conceptual (e.g, by sex) but arbitrary. For instance, with a system such as that proposed here, anaphora is accomplished just as effectively with an arbitrary as with a non-arbitrary classification. (See Ch. III on anaphora, though that discourse phenomenon does not actually loom terribly large in the overall distribution analyzed here.)

This work differs from that early work of Diver’s mainly in that this is a full analysis and not just a sketch in which “gender” was only one communicative problem discussed. It also differs crucially, however, in a theoretical way, a way having to do with the “minimax” solution that Diver saw Latin as achieving between a “non-arbitrary” classification having

to do with sex (male/female) and an “arbitrary” classification having nothing to do with sex. That minimax rationale is explained below, along with why it does not apply in this analysis.

Diver (ca. 1970/2012) not only retained the traditional terms “gender,” “feminine,” “masculine,” and “neuter.” (Again, Latin had three, not two classes.) He in fact viewed certain lexical items in Latin “that join conceptual with morphological characteristics” (e.g., “masculine *filiu-s* ‘son,’ “feminine” *fili-a* ‘daughter, and “neuter” *templu-m* ‘temple’) to be a “non-arbitrary” “base group” (emphasis added jd) on which the arbitrarily (by morphology) classed lexical items (e.g., “masculine” *pater* ‘father,’ “feminine” *mater* ‘mother,’ “neuter” *iter* ‘road’) are “dependent.” By contrast, there is no clear justification in modern Italian for considering terms having to do with human sex or cultural gender to be a “base group” off which the remainder of the Italian lexicon builds. (See Chapter VII.)

About the “minimax” solution that Diver saw Latin as achieving, a solution to a problem occasioned by that tension between the “non-arbitrary” and the “arbitrary,” that is, between an association of sex with morphology versus no association of sex with morphology:

Diver (ca. 1970/2012) noted that a morphologically arbitrary classification (e.g., m. *pater*, f. *mater*, n. *iter*) would function just as well communicatively in “increasing the precision of reference to an antecedent” (such as by pronouns, e.g., m. *is* ‘he,’ f. *ea* ‘she,’ n. *id* ‘it,’ respectively) as would a non-arbitrary classification (e.g., *filiu-s*, *fili-a*, *templu-m*), yet that, also, (presumably) a non-arbitrary classification would be easier to learn. That consideration would give the advantage to a non-arbitrary classification. However, in Latin, some referents that were conceptually neuter were morphologically “masculine”

(e.g., *locus* ‘place’) or “feminine” (e.g., *terra* ‘land’). Ergo, there could be in effect a five-way (not just a three-way) classification: (1) conceptually masculine and morphologically masculine or indeterminate (*filius, pater*), (2) conceptually feminine and morphologically feminine or indeterminate (*filia, mater*), (3) conceptually neuter and morphologically neuter or indeterminate (*templum, iter*), (4) conceptually neuter but morphologically masculine (*locus*), and (5) conceptually neuter but morphologically feminine (*terra*). That is, “if (in minimax terms) [one is] willing to invest in the greater difficulty of learning an *arbitrary* system, [then one gets] as return an increase of precision from a three-fold to a five-fold differentiation. Therefore, Diver saw the Latin system of so-called “confused gender” with three classes as constituting a “minimax” solution between the two extremes. That logical advantage for the “*arbitrary* scheme”—“an increase of precision”—vanishes in a language like modern Italian without a “neuter” class. The present analysis need not take into consideration at all the conflicting advantages of the arbitrary and the non-arbitrary classifications, since the possibility of a “minimax” solution does not apply in a two-class situation such as modern Italian. Diver’s calculus is moot for the purposes of this analysis.

Finally, Diver wrote in terms of “reference” rather than Identity, thus not making a distinction that is key to the present analysis.

A somewhat later work co-authored by one of Diver’s early students, Zubin and Köpcke (1981), treats “gender” in German—also with three genders—as a “less than arbitrary grammatical category,” that is, as a communicative problem that involves, as with Diver’s Latin, a minimax solution. But Zubin and Köpcke (1981) does not formally distinguish variable from invariable gender, and that paper mainly concerns the lexical classification of invariably-gendered words.

Three works by Contini-Morava (1996, 2000, 2002) on Swahili are particularly relevant here.

Like Diver before her, Contini-Morava (2002: 36) perceives that, “indexing” (such as linking pronouns with the antecedents they identify or adjectives with the nouns they modify) could be communicatively accomplished equally well by an arbitrary as by a non-arbitrary classification. And Contini-Morava (2002: 36), like Diver (but with references to research on the matter) notes the problem of language-learning as a consideration possibly favoring the non-arbitrary (i.e., the pairing of the conceptual with the morphological).

Those twinned points support the position taken in this work (and first stated in Ch. I): that, synchronically in Italian, invariable gender (the lexical classification) is entirely arbitrary, while variable gender (RIA) is fully meaningful. As both Diver and Contini-Morava have noted, the communicative function of variable gender would be just as effective given an arbitrary as given a non-arbitrary classification; in terms of communicative function, there is no reason to prefer one principle of organization over the other. And, as both Diver and Contini-Morava have noted, the presumed advantage of a non-arbitrary classification for language-learning is somewhat speculative. Indeed, evidently humans are capable of learning and storing in memory thousands of lexical items (The Italian lexicon is huge), each item with a complex phonological form and an idiosyncratic and communicatively versatile sense. It might not tax human intelligence too much to add the lexical classification of each item to that learning task. Moreover, even if an arbitrary classification is harder to learn, it is not necessarily unlearnable. Evidently—as amazing as it might be—people have learned a lexicon. Very young human beings are even speaking fluently, using grammar and lexicon together, before they learn to tie their shoes. In view of the pervasive

evidence presented in this analysis for the communicative functioning of the grammatical system (RIA) alongside the lexical classification (LC), it clearly is best for now to take the position stated just above: that, in Italian, synchronically, the lexical classification is arbitrary, while the system of Restriction of Identity to A-Class is meaningful.³¹

As with the present analysis, Contini-Morava (1996) makes use of the concepts of Identification and allusion, including the allusion to what is not explicit in a text (a very common occurrence in actual Italian texts). Contini-Morava (2002: 11) notes that, in Swahili, the “noun class markers” of that language “have a special link with the lexicon that makes them different from other grammatical” units. Compare (diagram above) the crucial mention of Lexical Class in the name of the semantic substance for the hypothesis in the present study.

There are several important differences, however, between Contini-Morava’s analyses and the present one. First, while modern Italian has only two classes, Swahili has about six (traditionally, about twelve, divided by two grammatical numbers). Second, evidently, the Swahili classes are “less semantically arbitrary than is usually assumed” (2000: 3). Indeed, Contini-Morava (2000: 14-15, 2002: 40-51) presents several “subcategories” of some of the Swahili classes that have to do with conceptual or cognitive categories such as lumpiness, shape, vitality, and so forth. That consideration does not apply to the modern Italian classification. Third difference: in Swahili, the classification is

³¹ There may very well be a reason, diachronically, why a certain lexical item ended up in the class that it did, but the history of the lexicon is beyond the scope of this work and, anyway, is probably not known to most people who have made the communicative choices that furnish the data for this analysis. It is also possible that, even synchronically, there is some yet-to-be-discovered rationale for the clumping or clumpings of LIs in classes in Italian, but such semantic coherence(s) within a class appear to have no bearing on the production of the texts that are used for this analysis.

accomplished by pieces of morphology (prefixed “noun class markers” or NCMs) attached to a lexical stem (2000: 4); stems themselves do not define the classes (2000: 11), and in fact lexical stems can co-occur with multiple NCMs (2002: 14-15). By contrast, in modern Italian (as mentioned in Ch. I above), there is no morphological correlate to nominal class—the closest possibility, but one that notoriously fails, is the *a* ending for “feminines” versus the *o* ending for “masculines”—and, overwhelmingly, lexical stems in Italian occur in only one class or the other, not both. Finally, the types of data coverage differ: For her analysis, Contini-Morava (2002: 23) uses a “database of nouns” from a dictionary, whereas the present study relies fundamentally upon connected text (texts such as in the Appendix here) and uses dictionaries merely as supplementary sources of information about the usage of Italian LIs.

Otheguy & Stern (2000) does recognize the distinction between variably and invariably classed words and also recognizes that variably-gendered words (in Spanish) are communicative and do not necessarily agree by rule with what one might call the head noun of their noun phrase. Reid (2018) recognizes the same but has a different account than that of its predecessor Otheguy & Stern (2000). As mentioned above, Reid (2018) holds that lexical items of different genders have “the same meaning”; the very heart of the present proposal is, to the contrary, that they have contrasting meanings. And the present treatment differs in major ways from both of those works, most importantly in that here no additional construct (no “communicative strategy”) is needed to serve as a “principle of choice” between the grammatical meanings in a successfully inferred communication. This power of hypothesized grammatical meaning to account for the observed distribution of forms in attested human communication is consistent with the position of Diver

(1995/2012³²) that a linguistic “theory” needs only three ingredients: (1) observations; (2) hypotheses; and (3) whatever independently known orienting information from other fields (specifically, communication, phonetics, and human psychology) constrains a successful solution to a distributional problem.

In sum, the present analysis both builds upon and departs from previous work.
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Joseph Davis

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³² See particularly pages 455 and 456.

Chapter III

The Lens of Identity Is Explicit

This chapter concerns the distribution of those tokens of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA, variable gender) for which some lexical item (LI) that serves communicatively as a token's **lens** of Identity is explicit somewhere in the text.

A. A lens is explicit in the the wider—not the nearby—context

The quickest way to see that the morphology connected with variable Lexical Class (LC) has at least the potential to serve as signals with a communicative function is to consider examples that clearly do not illustrate a syntactic rule of agreement. For instance, consider the two attested (but for now unnumbered) examples below. Lack of gender agreement is highlighted by different font colors as described in Chapter I (red for A-Class and blue for O-Class).

In this pair of examples, added in the original Italian of the first line is notation (font colors red and blue) of Lexical Class (LC) and RIA; notation of relevant morpheme boundaries (+ and -); notation of any lens ($\langle \dots \rangle$); and notation of the direction of allusion to that lens (\Leftarrow or \Rightarrow). In the second line here, with a rather word-for-word rendering into English, is indication of the communicative instructions (" \rightarrow " = "Look for this!"), provided by the proposed meanings, for allusion to one of the two Lexical Classes (" \rightarrow A" vs. " $\rightarrow \sim$ A," i.e., "Look for A-Class" vs. "Don't look for A-Class"). This rather casual suggestion of communicative instruction is provided, just for now, as a stopgap pending more formal introduction of the proposed meanings, to come soon in this chapter (already given in Ch.

II). Finally, here, comes a more idiomatic English gloss (enclosed by single quotation marks).

l+a *cancr-o*
the (→ *A*) *crab* (→ ~*A*)
 ‘the Crab’

il *Nuov+a* ⇒ ⟨*Venezi-a*⟩
the (→ ~*A*) *New Venice* (→ *A*)
 ‘the New Venice’

The point here is the mismatch in Lexical Class between *A*-Class-alluding *l+a* and *O*-Class *Cancr-o* (as opposed to matching *O*-Class *il Cancr-o*) and the mismatch between *O*-Class-alluding *il* and *A*-Class *Nuov+a Venezi-a* (as opposed to matching *A*-Class *l+a Nuov+a Venezi-a*). Since *cancr-o* ‘crab’ (pl. *cancr-i* ‘crabs’)—the invertebrate animal—belongs to the *O*-Class of Lexical Items, and *Venezi-a* ‘Venice’ (pl. *Venezi-e*³³ ‘Venices’)—the name of the city—belongs to the *A*-Class, the usual way to identify the animal and the city, making the animal and the city the relevant lenses (indicated by angled brackets, and with allusion to those lenses indicated by double-shafted arrows), would be:

il ⇒ ⟨*cancr-o*⟩

l+a ⇒ ⟨*Venezi-a*⟩

with, respectively, the “masculine” and the “feminine” articles, not the other way around. It must be that, in *l+a cancr-o* and *il Venezi-a*, the *l+a* and the *il* allude to something other than the animal and the city.

Here are the two examples in wider context, given now as Example (1) and Example (2):

³³ As in *L+e Tre* ⟨*Venezi-e*⟩ ‘The Three Venices,’ the name of a three-part territory around the famous city. (The region is also known as the *Triveneto*.)

- (1) Celebra il mese della tua nascita con il charm BOMBELLI che raffigura *l+a* ⇒ *CANCR-O*. Il tuo mese di nascita è associato a una *⟨costellazion-e⟩* che rappresenta alcuni tratti della tua personalità. Sono rifiniti in Argento 925 e sono costituiti da sfavillanti pietre di zirconi incolore con taglio a brillante. (web³⁴)

Celebrate the month of your birth with the BOMBELLI charm, which depicts *the* (→ *A*) *CRAB* (→ *~A*). Your birth month is associated with a *constellation* that represents certain aspects of your personality. They are finished in Silver 925 and are made up of sparkling colorless zircon stones splendidly cut.

and

- (2) *Nuov+i* ⇒ *⟨casinò⟩* qual-*i* ⇐ *il Sabbi-e*, ⇐ *il Nuov+a* ⇒ *⟨Venezi-a⟩* e ⇐ *il* Wynn attraggono *turist-i* da ogni *part-e del* ⇒ *⟨mond-o⟩*. (web³⁵)

New (→ *~A*) *casinos* such-as *The* (→ *~A*) *Sands*, *The* (→ *~A*) *New Venice* and *The* (→ *~A*) *Wynn* draw *tourists* from every *part-of-the* (→ *~A*) *world*.

'New casinos such as *The Sands*, *The New Venice*, and *The Wynn* draw tourists from every part of the world.'

Example (1), with *A-Class l+a*, is the text of an ad written for the purpose of selling a piece of jewelry; the piece of jewelry is in the shape of a *costellazion-e* 'constellation,' not of the invertebrate animal *cancr-o* 'crab.' The former shape would more likely be a selling point, to potential customers who are familiar with the Zodiac, than the latter. Example (2), with *O-Class il*, is a promotional text for *casinò* 'casinos,' not for the city of *Venezi-a* 'Venice.'

Context reveals, then, that the form *l+a* of *l+a cancr-o* and the form *il* of *il Sabbi-e* and *il Venezi-a* must allude, respectively, to the lenses *⟨costellazion-e⟩* 'constellation' and *⟨casinò⟩*

³⁴ <https://www.bombelli.eu/Cancro-p274867121>, accessed May 31, 2021.

³⁵ http://www.chinapictorial.com.cn/it/se/txt/2009-12/02/content_232281.htm, accessed May 4, 2021. In *il Sabbi-e*, the two words agree in neither gender nor grammatical number. See too <http://www.fumettodautore.com/editoriali/4656-leditoriale-r-dati-di-vendita-stavolta-tocca-ai-quotidiani>, accessed May 4, 2021, for *il Nuov+a* ⇒ *⟨Venezi-a⟩*, with lens *⟨giornal-e⟩* 'newspaper' for *il*.

‘casinos.’ In this way, the forms *l+a*⇒ and *il*⇒ have a communicative function.³⁶ The lenses alluded to, in these cases, appear outside the noun phrases in which the articles appear, that is, in the wider context; thus, the relevant mechanism must be semantic, not syntactic.

Recall the distinction made in this analysis (Ch. 1) between reference and **Identity**. In Example (1), reference is made to a ‘charm,’ a piece of jewelry, but that charm is **Identified**, thanks to *l+a*, with a *costellazion-e* ‘constellation,’ which in turn is Identified with a *cancr-o* ‘crab.’ In terms of reference, the crab is the constellation is the charm. But the distribution of the linguistic forms is accounted for not through objective reference (the item on the scene, the piece of metal and stone) but through communicative **Identity**, Identities chosen by the manufacturer for its own purposes (no doubt to sell the charm to a reader).

If, in the examples above, *l+a* and *il*, where they do not match the Lexical Class of their head nouns, have a communicative function, then perhaps the same is true, even more obviously, in those instances where they do match. So in:

il⇒ ⟨cancr-o⟩
the (→ ~A) ⟨crab⟩

and

l+e⇒ ⟨sabbi-e⟩; *l+a*⇒ *Nuov+a*⇒ ⟨Venezi-a⟩
the (→ A) sands; *the* (→ A) *New* (→ A) ⟨Venice⟩

³⁶ The forms *l+a*⇒ and *il*⇒ (in general the “definite articles” *l*, *l+o*⇒, *l+e*⇒, *i*⇒, *gli*⇒ ‘the’), though lacking lexical content, do presumably have grammatical (semantic) content. Effectively, the working hypothesis here is that these are weak deictics, weaker than *quell+* (and its related forms *quel*, *quei*, and *quegli*) ‘that’ and weaker still than *quest+* ‘this.’ See Otheguy (1977) on Spanish *el*, *la*, *lo*. See too Diver (1992/2012) on “The Latin Demonstratives.”

the relevant lenses alluded to by the RIA meanings may indeed be ⟨*cancr-o*⟩, ⟨*sabbi-e*⟩, and ⟨*Venezi-a*⟩. Even here, then, “gender” has a communicative function. That is, the rule of syntactic agreement may be an illusion; instead, communicative function may explain the distribution throughout. This view is consistent with that of Diver (1995/2012), in which a grammar is viewed as a collection of meaningful signals and there is no need for a syntactic component.

In view of the existence of examples such as (1) and (2), a reader of this analysis might wonder why Lexical Class (or “gender”) is assigned, inherently, to what are here called lexical items of **invariable** LC; why not maintain instead that a LI, inherently unclassified, only receives, or acquires, its classification (its “gender”) from associated forms (e.g., *l+a, il*)?³⁷ That is, why not maintain that *cancro*, *sabbie*, and *Venezia* have no Lexical Class until combined with a modifier of some sort, such as an article? The reason is that, in these and in general in the data analyzed, it is clear that the inherent LC of the invariable LI (e.g., O-Class *cancr-o*, A-Class *Venezi-a*) and its match or not with that of associated LIs is in fact communicatively responsible for the message. That is, in examples (1) and (2), the very reason why the tokens of variable LC (*l+a, il*) have the communicative effect they do—the effect of identifying something (a *constellation*, a *casino*)—is that the tokens of variable LC allude to LIs of the LC that matches their own (*costellazion-e, casin-ò*). Recall (Ch. 1) part of what this study is not about: No claim is made here that members of the two LCs of Italian have anything in common semantically. For instance, in these examples, the

³⁷ That would be essentially the reverse of the traditional view of grammatical gender. In the traditional view, a noun, such as *cancr-o* or *Venezi-a* acts syntactically as a “trigger,” determining the gender taken on by the adjective or article “target,” such as *il* and *l+a*, respectively. Both views are wrong.

identification of *l+a Cancr-o* with a ‘constellation’ (and not a ‘crab’) is due to the allusion by *l+a*, through its meaning (Restriction of Identity to A-Class is MADE) to the LI *costellazion-e*; and the identification of *il Nuov+a Venezi-a* with a ‘casino’ (and not the city ‘Venice’) is due to the allusion by *il*, through its meaning (RIA NOT MADE) to the LI *casinò*. The decision is not due to any hypothesis that A-Class and O-Class items share, within the class, any semantic property (e.g., *cancr-o* ‘crab’ and *casinò* ‘casino’ within O-Class, or *costellazion-e* ‘constellation’ and *Venezi-a* ‘Venice’ within A-Class). This analytical decision, of course, depends on the success of the analysis of the entire data set, not just of examples (1) and (2).

Apropos of a grammar consisting of meaningful signals versus syntactic agreement, consider this Identification, Example (3), through *l+a* ‘the’ and *not+a* ‘known,’ of an *ammiragli-a* ‘flagship’ and two other *nav-i* ‘ships’ (This passage also contains some Spanish). Though the passage might seem to instantiate a rule of syntactic agreement, a communicative function can easily be detected.

- (3) *L+a*⇒ *Santa María*, anche *not+a*⇒ come *La Gallega*, fu l'⟨*Ammiragli-a*⟩ dell'+a⇒ ⟨flott-a⟩ di tre ⟨nav-i⟩ ←utilizzat+e da *Cristoforo Colombo* nel⇒ su+o⇒ prim+o⇒ ⟨viaggi-o⟩ attraverso l'⟨ocean-o⟩ ←Atlantic+o nel 1492 (l+e⇒ altr+e⇒ ⟨nav-i⟩ erano ←l+a *Niña* e ←l+a *Pinta*). (web)³⁸

‘The *Santa María*, also known as *La Gallega*, was the **flagship** of the fleet of three **ships** used by Christopher Columbus in his first voyage across the Atlantic Ocean in 1492 (the other **ships** were **the** *Niña* and **the** *Pinta*).’

The three instances of *l+a*, plus that of *not+a*, are not reflexes of a syntactic rule of gender agreement with the names *Santa María* (Sp. ‘Saint Mary’), *Niña* (Sp. ‘girl’), and *Pinta* (Sp.

³⁸ [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Santa_Mar%C3%ADa_\(nave\)](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Santa_Mar%C3%ADa_(nave)), accessed July 21, 2020.

‘tart’) but rather contain a signal, *+a*, of the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class **MADE**; the relevant lens alluded to is *ammiragli-a* ‘flagship’ or *nav-e* ‘ship.’ The passage is about ships, in particular the lead ship, not about a female saint, a girl, or a prostitute; those have to do merely with the names given lexically to the ships.

The burden of this analysis is to make the case that the forms of variable Lexical Class—represented in these examples by *l+a*, *il*, *dell+a*, *del*, *tu+a*, *tu+o*, *associat+o*, *un+a*, *alcun+i*, *rifinit+i*, *costituit+i*, *nuov+a*, *nuov+i*—function as **signals** of grammatical **meanings**. The burden of this analysis is to make the case that forms such as *l+a*, *dell+a*, *tu+a*, *un+a*, and *nuov+a* have, attached to them at +, a grammatical signal of the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class **MADE**, while forms such as *il*, *del*, *tu+o*, *associat+o*, *alcun+i*, *rifinit+i*, *costituit+i*, and *nuov+i* function as grammatical signals of the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class **NOT MADE**. By hypothesis, these two meanings exhaustively divide the **semantic substance** Restrictedness of Identity to A-Class.

For convenience, the hypothesis is repeated from Chapter II³⁹:

		<u>Enumeration</u>	
		DO NOT ENUMERATE	ENUMERATE
Restriction of Identity to A-Class	}	MADE	<i>+a</i>
		NOT MADE	<i>+o</i> (and <i>il</i> , etc.)
			<i>+e</i>
			<i>+i</i>

This analysis concerns only the meanings of the semantic substance Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA), not those of the semantic substance of Enumeration, which is shown here only so that all four regular signals (*+a*, *+e*, *+o*, *+i*) of the RIA meanings in the interlock can be shown.

³⁹ But with morphological irregularities mostly omitted here; see Chapter II for those.

The examples *l+a cancr-o*, *il Sabbi-e*, and *il Nuov+a ⇒ ⟨Venezi-a⟩*, with what would appear to be “mixed gender,” are not particularly unusual. There are other examples where the RIA meaning alludes to a lexical item that belongs to the other Lexical Class. Following each example below comes the fuller context in which it occurs.⁴⁰

il Sant+a ⇒ ⟨Mari-a⟩ dell+a ⇒ ⟨Scal-a⟩:

- (4) Con *il ⇒ XVIII ⟨secol-o⟩ il ⇒ Sant+a ⇒ ⟨Mari-a⟩ dell+a ⇒ ⟨Scal-a⟩* sarà protagonist-a di *tutt+i ⇒ quei ⇒ ⟨mutament-i⟩*, istituzional-i, *⇐organizzativ+i*, funzional-i e anche struttural-i, che *l+o ⇒* porteranno ad entrare a far *part-e*, *nel 1790, del ⇒ ⟨sistem-a⟩ ⇐ospedali+o ⇐toscan+o*. Non più xenodochium [a Latin term], dunque, ma *⟨ospedal-e⟩ ⇐ver+o* e *⇐propri+o (nel ⇒ ⟨sens-o⟩ ⇐modern+o del ⇒ ⟨termin-e⟩)*, anzi *⟨ospedal-e⟩ ⇐universitari+o*. (web)⁴¹

‘With the Eighteenth Century, *the Santa Maria della Scala* becomes a protagonist in all those institutional, organizational, functional, and even structural changes that will bring *it* to taking part, in 1790, in the Tuscan hospital system. No longer a *xenodochium* [a hostel for pilgrims], then, but a true *hospital* (in the modern sense of the term), that is, a university *hospital*.’

The passage is about a *hospital*, not a *female saint*.

⁴⁰ For now, color-coding will be used for all tokens in a passage that either have Lexical Class (A or O) or that signal RIA (A or not A). This practice will give readers of this analysis a sense of how the relationship between these two features of Italian (its lexicon and its grammar) permeates Italian texts, essentially weaving the very fabric of the texts. Lexical Class and RIA function together almost as threads binding parts of a text. Thus, for now, examples will appear extensively colored in red and blue. That color-coding should help the reader of this analysis to appreciate how the elements in a passage potentially relate to each other by LC and RIA or, on the other hand, are distinguished by them. In later examples, color-coding will be used only to highlight particular tokens of interest at each point in the analysis. The three passages in the Appendix are fully color-coded.

⁴¹ <http://www.sienanews.it/cultura/il-santa-maria-e-le-sepolture-extra-moenia-il-laterino/>, accessed July 12, 2018.

l+a San ⇒ ⟨Marco⟩

Two examples of *l+a San* ⇒ ⟨Marco⟩ follow. In these, *l+a* ‘the’ identifies not the male saint but, as shown explicitly in the URLs for the companies, an ⟨aziend-a⟩ ‘company.’ In the first example, the company makes coffee-grinders and other food-processing equipment.

- (5) *L+a* ⇒ *San* ⇒ ⟨Marco⟩ produce *divers+i* ⇒ ⟨tip-i⟩ di *Macinadosator-i*, da
 ←quell+i ←tradizional-i a ←quell+i intelligent-i che macinano *l+a* ⇒
 ⟨quantità⟩ di caffè ←necessari+a automaticamente.

...

Macchin-e tradizional-i e a *capsul-e*, *macinadosator-i* e *altr+e* ⇒
 ⟨apparecchiatur-e⟩ professional-i per bar, ristorante-i ed hotel. (web)⁴²

‘The San Marco makes various types of coffee-grinders, from traditional ones to smart ones that automatically grind the required quantity of coffee.

...

Traditional and capsule machines, coffee-grinders, and other professional equipment for bars, restaurants, and hotels.’

In the second example shown here of *l+a San* ⇒ ⟨Marco⟩, Example (6), below, the *l+a* identifies an ⟨aziend-a⟩ ‘company’ that makes various architectural trims. (Notice too the absence of number agreement between singular *l+a* and plural *profil-i*.)

- (6) *L+a* ⇒ *San* ⇒ ⟨Marco⟩ *Profil-i* deve *l+a* ⇒ *su+a* ⇒ ⟨solidità⟩
 all'esperienz-a di due *generazion-i* di *person-e* che con *dedizion-e* e
costanz-a l'hanno *condott+a* ⇒ e *innovat+a* ⇒. Il ⇒ ⟨battiscopa⟩,
 articol-o in grad-o di influenzare *l+a* ⇒ ⟨percezion-e⟩ dell+o ⇒ ⟨spazi-
 o⟩ nel *su+o* *compless+o*, si presenta con *variant-i* di *form-a*, *color-e* e
misur-a per diventare il ⇒ ⟨dettagli-o⟩ di *stil-e* che completa e
 impreziosisce *l+a* ⇒ ⟨cas-a⟩. *Tutt+e* ⇒ *l+e* ⇒ ⟨lavorazion-i⟩ vengono
 ←fatt+e in Itali-a.

...

⁴² <https://www.lasanmarco.com/home.php> and <https://www.lasanmarco.com/azienda-mission-vision.php>, both accessed July 20, 2020.

Un⇒ ⟨ringraziament-o⟩ special-e va a Voi che in quest+i⇒ ⟨ann-i⟩ avete credut+o nell'⟨Aziend-a⟩. (web)⁴³

'(The) San Marco Trims owes its solidity to the experience of two generations of people who with dedication and perseverance have guided it and renewed it. The baseboard, an item in positioned to influence the perception of space within its complex, is presented in a variety of shapes, colors, and sizes, to become the stylish detail that completes and increases the value of your house. All production is done in Italy.'

...

A special thank-you goes to those of you who in these all these years have believed in the company.'

Examples such as those shown in this section strongly suggest that there is a communicative function rather than a syntactic rule of agreement behind the observed distribution of variable gender. The position taken in this analysis is that what is involved, throughout—whether there appears to be agreement or not—is the communication of meaning.⁴⁴ Those meanings are posited to be MADE and NOT MADE within the semantic substance of Restriction of Identity to A-Class.

B. A lens is explicit, though not immediately, somewhere within the sentence

Whether one views the sentence as a unit of syntax or (as here) as a unit of discourse and not grammar, the sentence is unarguably a useful heuristic of the relative proximity of a signal of a RIA meaning to its lens. This section, therefore, concerns tokens of signals of RIA

⁴³ <https://www.gruppobea.design/aziende/la-san-marco-profilo-110-0/> and <https://www.gruppobea.design/azienda/>, both accessed Aug. 3, 2020.

⁴⁴ Otheguy & Stern (2000) and Reid (2018) cite examples of non-agreement in terms of reference to a human being and speak of a special sex “strategy,” but clearly what is Identified need not be a human being—these examples are of a car, casinos, a coffee grinder, a company, and a hospital—and there is no need to posit such a special mechanism for reference to sexed human beings. See Chapter VII here for treatment of the Identification of humans.

with a lens within their own sentence but still not within their immediate orbit (or noun phrase). (The previous section included tokens with a lens outside that sentence but elsewhere in the text, and the next section concerns tokens with an even more proximate lens, one found within the RIA signal's own orbit, or noun phrase.)

B1. RIA signal and its lens separated by, at most, a copula (“predicate adjectives”)

This subsection concerns attested tokens like the following (which are constructed):

L+a ⇒ *⟨radic-e⟩ è* ⇐ *lung+a*
 The root is long
 ‘The root is long’

Il ⟨fior-e⟩ è ⇐ *bianc+o*
 The flower is white
 ‘The flower is white.’

In canonical examples such as these, the process of inference by which a reader or listener connects a signal of a RIA meaning with the lens by which its Identity is established is a relatively straightforward process, since the lens can be found not far off elsewhere in the discourse but right here in the same sentence with the RIA signal, separated by just one word, which word (è ‘is’), in fact, has to do with the lens itself. In the two illustrative sentences above, the lens for the signal *+a*, meaning RIA **MADE**, a signal attached to *lung+*, can be found just across the copula *è*, at *radic-e*, and the lens for *+o*, meaning **NOT MADE**, can be found at *fior-e*. (In traditional grammar, *lunga* and *bianco* would be labeled “predicate adjectives” modifying, respectively, *radice* and *fiore*.)

Treatment of this type can be brief, since the inference is transparent, *moreso*, at least, than in the previous section.

In Example (7), below, the writer describes the landscape he saw in a dream he had that was inspired, evidently, by the Azores. First a bit of the preceding context:

After having sailed for many days and many nights, . . .
The first island encountered, seen from the sea, is an expanse of green . . .

Now the example:

- (7) **L+e**⇒ <cost-e> sono <impervi+e>. . . . **L+e**⇒ <piogg-e> sono abbondant-i e il⇒ <sol-e> <impietos+o> (Tabucchi p. 13).

The coasts are **inaccessible**. . . . **The rains** are abundant, and **the sun** **raging**

The variably classed stem *impervi+* ‘inaccessible’ has, attached to it as a suffix, *+e*, a signal of the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class **MADE**. That meaning amounts to a communicative instruction to the reader to look for a LI of the A-Class to serve as the lens of Identity for *impervi+*: What is ‘inaccessible’? A suitable LI is not hard to find. *Cost-e* ‘**coasts**’ will already likely have been matched with the third-person plural *sono* ‘are,’ sits right nearby, and belongs to the right LC. Finally, that Identification of *impervi+* makes communicative sense: **the ‘inaccessible coasts’** of an imaginary island, surrounded by water, with no docking facilities (perhaps with no roads leading to those coasts, either).

The stem *abbondant-* ‘abundant’ is morphologically not amenable to having a RIA signal attached to it, and so RIA plays no role here at all. The reader is left to other devices (such as Enumeration) to connect *abbondant-i* with *piogg-e* for the inference that it is the ‘**rains**’ that are ‘abundant.’

And the variably classed stem *impetuoso*+ ‘raging’ bears the signal *+o*, meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class NOT MADE. The lens in this case turns out to be the very adjacent word, *sol-e* ‘sun,’ for an inference akin to ‘raging sun.’⁴⁵

In sum, Example (7) describes an encounter with an exotic, isolated island lying far beyond the familiar Mediterranean Sea.

In Example (8), below, the lens is almost as ready to hand. Two boys are fighting in the midst of a group of friends of the aggressor.

- (8) *Il*⇒ ⟨*ragazzott-o*⟩ gli si avvicinò e gli lasciò andare *un*⇒ ⟨*ceffon-e*⟩ che suonò ←*secc+o* e fece saltare di *gioi-a* gli⇒ *altr+i*⇒ ⟨*compagn-i*⟩.
(Moravia p. 37)

The sturdy boy came up to him and let loose on him a cuff that sounded sharp and made the other boys jump for joy.

The suffix *+o* on *secc+* ‘sharp’ signals the RIA meaning NOT MADE and encourages the inference that it is the O-Class *ceffon-e* ‘cuff’ that is ‘sharp.’ To judge from the boys’ reaction, the ‘cuff’ must indeed have sounded ‘sharp’ to them.

B2. Anaphora

As mentioned in Chapter II, the system of Restriction of Identity to A-Class provides the communicative justification for the very existence of a classification of the Italian lexicon. What would be the use of even having lexical classes with an essentially arbitrary membership, if there were no variably classed words to allude to them? Without a system like RIA, arbitrary lexical classes (in which, for example *pietr-a* ‘stone’ belongs to one class

⁴⁵ This is not the place to go into the problems with the traditional category “predicate adjective,” which here is not even separated from its “noun subject.” See Diver, Davis, and Reid (2012) for a presentation and critique of traditional grammar.

and *sass-o* ‘stone’ to another) truly would be annoying baggage for a language-user to have to carry around. The system of RIA, by alluding to invariably classed LIs, makes that lexical classification functional. Anaphora, the communicative process of making mention of a thing or person already mentioned in the discourse, illustrates that function rather clearly.

Example (9) concerns an imaginary god of Love. The signal of RIA that accomplishes anaphor is underlined.

- (9) *l'immagin-e del*⇒ <dio> non è un *idol-o* né qualcosa di visibil-e, ma *un*⇒ <suon-o> . . . e . . . *il*⇒ <suon-o> si riproduce in un <ec-o> <infinitt+a che rapisce chi <l+o sente e dà un+a⇒ <sort-a> di *ebbrezz-a* o di *intontiment-o* (Tabucchi p. 17)

the *image of the god* is not an *idol* nor anything visible, but *a sound* . . . and . . . *the sound* is repeated in an *infinite echo* that entrances anyone who hears *it* (*l+o*) and bestows *a kind* of *intoxication* or *befuddlement*.

The meaning of the signal *+o* of *l+o* ‘it,’ Restriction of Identity to A-Class NOT MADE, entails that this *l+o* cannot pick up, anaphorically, on the *ec-o* ‘echo,’ because that word belongs invariably to the A-Class. This token of *l+o* must allude instead to the farther-away LI *suon-o* ‘sound,’ which belongs to the O-Class. That is, anyone who is present for the initial onset of the infinitely echoing ‘sound’—and does not arrive late and hear only its ‘echo’—will be intoxicated and befuddled by it.

Example (10) concerns the god of Hate.

- (10) *il*⇒ *su+o*⇒ <tempi-o> sorge in *un+a*⇒ *minuscol+a*⇒ <isol-a> che ha *form-a* di *con-o*: e per <raggiungerl+a sono *necessari*⇒ *molt+i*⇒ <giorn-i> e *molt+e*⇒ <nott-i> di *viaggi-o* (Tabucchi pp. 15-16)

his temple rises on *a tiny island* in the *shape* of a *cone*, and to reach *it* (*l+a*) requires *many days* and *many nights* of *travel*

Perhaps a coherent interpretation of the passage would rule out this *l+a* picking up anaphorically on *form-a* ‘shape’ or *con-o* ‘cone’ anyway. But certainly one could coherently speak of reaching either a *tempi-o* ‘temple’ or an *isol-a* ‘island.’ The LI *tempi-o* is ruled out by its membership in the O-Class, but the LI *isol-a* belongs to the class pointed to by the RIA meaning **MADE**. Reaching the ‘island,’ not just the ‘temple’ on it, requires many days and nights of travel. Indeed, this piece of writing (“Esperidi”) fancifully describes the *piccol+e* ⇒ *〈crest-e〉 di isol-e* ‘little crests of islands’ that are the Azores, as the writer visits each of them.

In Examples (9) and (10), the signal of the RIA meaning in question is attached to a form, *l+*, with—unlike, say, *necessari+* ‘necessary’ and *minuscol+* ‘tiny’—no lexical content at all (*l+o* ‘it’ and *l+a* ‘it,’ respectively). *l+* does, however, have grammatical (semantic) content. The meaning of *l+* is crucial in the inference of what word is being alluded to by the RIA signal because the meaning has to do with participancy in events (e.g., ‘hear’ in Ex. 9 and ‘reach’ in Ex. 10). Only a plausible participant for a given event will be inferred if the communication is to be successful. It will be useful, therefore, to understand how *l+* is able to play that role.

First, basic morphology: In (9), *l+o* is (pro)clitic to (finite) *sente* ‘hears.’ In (10), *l+a* is (en)clitic to (non-finite) *raggiunger* ‘reach.’ That is, the positions of this *l+o* and this *l+a* are not free but fixed with respect to the verb. (In traditional grammar, such forms are labeled “accusative pronouns” and refer to the “direct object” of the verb.)

Davis (2017b: 46-52, 61-70) proposes that *l+* signals semantic content that communicates participancy in an event—as opposed to mere bystander status—but typically a relatively inert participancy. So, in Example (9) the ‘sound’ (*l+o*) participates in

the ‘hearing’ (by provoking the hearing, so certainly not entirely inert), but the ‘*sound*’ is not as responsible for the ‘hearing’ as the person with ears susceptible to external sound (i.e., not deaf) who has gone to the island and chosen to remain susceptible to sound (Even before the era of earbuds there were ways to block out sound if one chose to, as with wax in the ears). And in Example (10) the ‘*island*’ (*l+a*) participates in the ‘reaching’ (It is the goal of the traveling), but the ‘*island*’ is not as responsible for the ‘reaching’ as the person who journeys so far to it. (For more detail than that very brief synopsis of the analysis as it applies to these examples, see Davis 2017b).

For the present analysis, what matters is that, *l+o* in Example (9) and *l+a* in Example (10) have to do unambiguously with participancy in the events, respectively, of ‘hearing’ and ‘reaching.’ Only something that can be ‘heard’ is likely to be inferred as the LI alluded to by *l+o*, and only something that can be ‘reached’ through travel is likely to be inferred as the LI alluded to by *l+a*. The sense of the verb, then, is a tremendous help in inferring the lens in this case; many things in the text likely cannot be ‘heard,’ and many cannot be ‘reached.’ Making the inference even more manageable is then the system of RIA: Only something of the *O*-Class that can be ‘heard’ is likely to be inferred as the lens for *l+o*, and only something of the *A*-Class that can be ‘reached’ is likely to be inferred as the lens for *l+a*. Thus, in (9), with *l+o*, *<suon-o>* ‘*sound*’ and not *ec-o* ‘*echo*’; and in (10), with *l+a*, *<isol-a>* ‘*island*’ and not *tempi-o* ‘*temple*.’

If there is any potential for ambiguity, the system of RIA can help to disambiguate.

Yet ambiguity can vex even a listener who is given the benefit of RIA. Example (11) narrates a conversation between two men who have just met each other in a captaincy office in the Azores. The captain speaks to the visitor.

- (11) Non ce n'è rimast+i [⇒ ??] quasi più, mi dice, non credo sia facil-e trovare un imbarc-o. Domando se si riferisce ai⇒ <capodogli>, e lui ride divertit+o. No, dicevo di <balenier-i>, specifica, sono <emigrat+i <tutt+i in Americ-a (Tabucchi p. 70)

“There are hardly any left,” he tells me. “I don’t think it’ll be easy to find an embarkation.” I ask if he’s referring to sperm whales, and he laughs, amused. “No, I was speaking of whalers,” he specifies. “They’ve all emigrated to America”

Between the two men, there has been no mention of whalers, and the visitor to the captaincy would appear to be seeking an embarkation, which would require whalers, but the visitor, unbeknownst to the captain, is quite interested in sperm whales. The visitor thinks, mistakenly, that the captain is saying that there are hardly any sperm whales left, but actually the captain means that there are hardly any whalers left.

Grammar is not an algorithm that resolves all potential ambiguity and renders all communication successful. Discourse is not the mirror image of a scene. Grammar is a collection of hints (Diver 1995/2012: 479), and those hints can be quite imprecise, and so miscommunication can ensue (Diver ca. 1970/2012). In Example (10): Restriction of the Identity of rimast+i ‘left’ is NOT MADE to A-Class, so to what then? What is hardly ‘left’? Maybe sperm whales? No, whalers in this case.

C. The lens is explicit right there within the orbit of the RIA signal

The examples in this section, like but even moreso than the examples in Section B above, could be mistaken for evidence of a rule of syntactic agreement of gender. In this section, the lens of Identity for the variably-gendered stem is so close by as to appear obvious. The examples in this section, therefore, must be evaluated within the context of a wider collection of data that includes examples such as those in Section A above (*la cancr-o, il*

Nuova Venezia, il Santa Maria della Scala, la San Marco), where the lens was not so obvious and so the communicative function of the RIA system was more evident, and furthermore in the context of the full range of data, which is represented in this work.

In Italo Calvino's fanciful 1952 allegory *Il Visconte Dimezzato* 'The Divided Viscount,' a naive viscount of the Eighteenth Century named Medardo goes off to war against Turkey, imagining war to be a glorious thing. It turns out that the young man gets blown literally and precisely in half (left side separated from right side) by a cannonball. Astonishingly, the half of his body that is salvaged from the battlefield is restored to life by surgeons who are delighted to happen upon such a *bel caso* 'wonderful case' amidst all the ordinary wounds of war such as mortal arrows in dying soldiers' arms.

- (12) Tirat+o⇒ vi-a il⇒ ⟨lenzuol-o⟩, il⇒ ⟨corp-o⟩ del⇒ ⟨viscont-e⟩ apparve orrendamente ⇐mutilat+o. Gli mancava un⇒ ⟨bracci-o⟩ e un+a⇒ ⟨gamb-a⟩, non solo, ma tutt+o quell+o che c'era di torac-e e d'addom-e tra quel⇒ ⟨bracci-o⟩ e quell+a⇒ ⟨gamb-a⟩ era ⇐stat+o ⇐portat+o via, ⇐polverizzat+o da quell+a⇒ ⟨cannonat-a⟩ pres+o in pien+o. Del⇒ ⟨cap-o⟩ restavano un occhi-o, un orecchi-o, un+a⇒ ⟨guanci-a⟩, mezz+o ⇒ ⟨nas-o⟩, mezz+a⇒ ⟨bocc-a⟩, mezz+o⇒ ⟨ment-o⟩ e mezz+a⇒ ⟨front-e⟩: dell'altr+a⇒ ⟨metà⟩ del capo c'era piú solo un+a⇒ ⟨pappett-a⟩. A farl+a brev-e, se n'era ⇐salvat+o solo metà, l+a⇒ ⟨part-e⟩ ⇐destr+a, che peraltro era perfettamente ⇐conservat+a, senza neanche un+a⇒ ⟨scalfittur-a⟩, esclus+o quell'enorm-e squarci-o che l'aveva ⇐ separat+a dall+a⇒ ⟨part-e⟩ ⇐sinistr+a ⇐andat+a in briciol-i. (Calvino pp. 26-27)

With the sheet pulled back, the body of the Viscount was revealed to be horribly mutilated. He was missing one arm and one leg, and moreover, all that there was of chest and abdomen between that arm and that leg had been carried away, pulverized by that cannon shot that struck in the middle. Of the head, there remained one eye, one ear, one cheek, half a nose, half a mouth, half a chin, and half a forehead: of the other half of the head there remained only a smidgen. To make it brief, only half of him had been saved, the right side, which however was perfectly preserved, without even a scratch, except that enormous tear that had separated it from the left side, blown to bits.

Here is the catalog of the Viscount's injuries, grouped in column by LC, showing lenses of each of the two classes (body parts, in this case) and, where they are present, signals of RIA (quantifiers, in this case) alluding (\Rightarrow) to those lenses:

<u>A-Class</u>		<u>O-Class</u>	
$un+a \Rightarrow$ <gamb-a>	'one leg'	$un \Rightarrow$ <bracci-o>	'one arm'
		torac-e	'chest'
		addom-e	'abdomen'
		un^{46} occhi-o	'one eye'
		un orecchi-o	'one ear'
$un+a \Rightarrow$ <guanci-a>	'one cheek'	$mezz+o \Rightarrow$ <nas-o>	'half a nose'
$mezz+a \Rightarrow$ <bocc-a>	'half a mouth'	$mezz+o \Rightarrow$ <ment-o>	'half a chin'
$mezz+a \Rightarrow$ <front-e>	'half a forehead'		

The entire catalog shows signals of RIA meanings alluding to lenses that are immediately proximate to those signals.

The typical human body, of course, has: two legs, two arms, two eyes, two ears, two cheeks, one nose, one mouth, one chin, and one forehead. Therefore, if a human body gets blown precisely in half bilaterally, each half will have: one leg, one arm, one eye, one ear, one cheek, half a nose, half a mouth, half a chin, and half a forehead. The two different quantifiers in the list—*un* 'one' and *mezz+* 'half'—must not be confused if the list is to make any sense to a reader familiar with the shape of a typical human body and so if the subsequent plot of the story is to make sense. In particular, it would perhaps be nearly

⁴⁶ Here it will perhaps be noticed for the first time by a reader of this work that—at least in the data used for this study—the form written “un” immediately preceding [i, e, a, o, u] does not bear a RIA signal and so is not given a font color (phonetically, [un] in that phonological environment precedes either A- or O- Class), while the form written *un* immediately preceding some phonological unit with great constriction (a consonant) does signal O-Class (phonetically, [un] in that phonological environment precedes only O-Class; A-Class would be preceded by [una]). Thus, in the convention used here: *un*, *un*, and *un+a*. There is also *un+o*, immediately preceding certain consonants and consonant clusters.

impossible to process * *mezz+o* (*front-e*) in this context, since O-Class *mezz+o* could not possibly allude to the A-Class lens (*front-e*).

This situation—an instance of a variably-classed form such as *un(+)* or *mezz+* occurring in the immediate vicinity of the lens to which it alludes—is so common as to have been viewed in the tradition as the reflex of a rule of syntactic gender agreement. In the context of the full range of data, however, the situation here can be appreciated as, just like the situation elsewhere, a consequence of the signaling of grammatical meaning. The only difference is that, here, the semantic connection between the variably-classed form (‘one’ or ‘half’) and its lens is so obvious. For instance, if one human forehead is blown in half, the result can only be one half of a forehead (*mezz+a* ⇒ *front-e*) and the other half of the forehead, not one forehead (*un+a* ⇒ *front-e*).

This particular medical marvel propels the plot of Calvino’s story. It turns out that the evil half of Viscount Medardo’s human nature was preserved in that right side of his body that was recovered from the battlefield and worked on by the surgeons. It was believed that the left side of his body had been ‘pulverized’ on the battle field, but, as it turns out, the left side does show up later in the story, and in it lives, yes, the good half of Medardo’s nature. At the end of the story, the two halves battle in a duel, each gravely wounded by the other but again saved by medical wizardry, the result being the restoration of Medardo’s full body and human nature. As recounted by the narrator, Medardo’s nephew:

Così *mi+o zi+o* Medardo ritornò *⟨uomo⟩* ⇐ *inter+o*, né ⇐ *cattiv+o* né ⇐ *buon+o* (Calvino p. 103)

Thus *my uncle* Medardo was again a *whole man*, neither *evil* nor *good*

Such intra-orbital allusion being so commonplace and so transparent, it hardly needs much illustration here. Two more passages, in order to express again how the relation is semantic, not syntactic.

Example (13) is the beginning of Tabucchi's piece titled "Esperidi: Sogno in forma di lettera" "The Hesperides: Dream in the Form of a Letter."⁴⁷ (Example 7, above, is part of it.) The passage contains several instances of RIA that will be examined due to their proximity to their lenses. The narrator imagines himself sailing westward over the Mediterranean Sea from Italy through the Strait of Gibraltar to the Azores.

(13) Dopo avere veleggiat+o per molt+i⇒ <giorn-i> e per molt+e⇒ <nott-i>, ho capit+o che l'Occident-e non ha termin-e ma continua a spostarsi con noi, e che possiamo ⇐inseguirl+o a nostr+o⇒ <piaciment-o> senza ⇐raggiunterl+o mai. Così è il⇒ <mar-e> ⇐ignot+o che sta oltre l+e⇒ <Colonn-e>, senza fin-e⁴⁸ e sempre ugual-e, ⇐dal qual-e emergono, come l+a⇒ piccol+a⇒ <spin-a> dorsal-e di un⇒ <coloss-o> ⇐scompars+o, piccol+e⇒ <crest-e> di isol-e, nod-i di rocci-a ⇐perdut+i nel celest-e.

L+a⇒ prim+a⇒ <isol-a> che s'incontra, ⇐vist+a dal⇒ <mar-e> è un+a distes+a di verd-e e nel mezz+o vi brillano <frutt-i> come gemm-e, e a volt-e stran+i⇒ <uccell-i> dall+e⇒ <pium-e> ⇐purpure+e si confondono con ⇐ess+i. . . i⇒ <fior-i> abbondano: grand-i <fior-i> ⇐azzurri e rosa, ⇐carnos+i come frutt-i, che non ho mai vist+o in nessun altr+o⇒ <luog-o>. L+e⇒ altr+e⇒ <isol-e> sono più ⇐roc-cios+e, ma sempre ⇐ricch+e di fior-i e di frutt-i (Tabucchi 13-14)

After having sailed for many days and many nights, I have learned that the West has no end but continues to move with us, and that we can follow it at our pleasure without ever reaching it. Thus is the unknown sea beyond the Pillars, without end and always the same, from which emerge, like the small dorsal spine of a vanished colossus, little crests of islands, knots of rock lost in the blue.

⁴⁷ In classical mythology, the Hesperides were nymphs who lived in the west (from the perspective of Greece and Italy), somewhere near what is now known as the Strait of Gibraltar, thus near the Azores. The promontories that flank the Strait were known as the Pillars of Hercules.

⁴⁸ The LI *fin-e* can be A-Class or O-Class, and this token contains no redundant information to decide that question here, so it is left without font color.

The first island that is encountered, seen from the sea, is an expanse of green, and in the middle of it sparkle fruits like gems, and at times strange birds with purple feathers are mistaken for these. . . . flowers abound: big blue and pink flowers, fleshy like fruits, that I have never seen in any other place. The other islands are rockier, but also full of flowers and of fruits

Consider the following tokens of RIA that occur in the immediate orbit of their lenses. For convenience, instances in this passage are numbered:

1	molt+i⇒〈giorn-i〉	‘many days’
2	molt+e⇒〈nott-i〉	‘many nights’
3	nostr+o⇒〈piaciment-o〉	‘our pleasure’
4	il⇒〈mar-e〉←ignot+o	‘the unknown sea’
5	l+e⇒〈Colonn-e〉	‘the Pillars’ (the Strait of Gibraltar)
6	l+a⇒piccol+a⇒〈spin-a〉	‘the small (dorsal) spine’
7	un⇒〈coloss-o〉←scompars+o	‘a vanished colossus’
8	piccol+e⇒〈crest-e〉	‘little crests’
9	L+a⇒prim+a⇒〈isol-a〉	‘the first island’
10	stran+i⇒〈uccell-i〉	‘strange birds’
11	l+e⇒〈pium-e〉←purpure+e	‘(the) purple feathers’
12	i⇒〈fior-i〉	‘the flowers’
13	〈fior-i〉←azzurr+i	‘blue flowers’
14	altr+o⇒〈luog-o〉	‘other place’
15	L+e⇒altr+e⇒〈isol-e〉	‘the other islands’

In each instance, the RIA meaning serves communicatively to link the stem with variable LC (+) to the LI (〈 . . . 〉) through which perspective its Identity is established in this context.

(#1 - #5) The journey to the Azores: The writer is (imagining) sailing from, presumably, Italy or Greece to the Azores. Thus, the scene is a voyage over the Mediterranean Sea westward past the Strait of Gibraltar into the Atlantic Ocean. This is a long journey that requires molt+i⇒〈giorn-i〉 ‘many days’ and molt+e⇒〈nott-i〉 ‘many nights.’ We imagine that the journey by boat is made without interruption (that the boat does not dock overnight), so that days and nights pass in alternation as the scenery taken in by the writer changes continuously. The RIA system contributes to this inference by facilitating

the allusion twice, separately, for each iteration of the stem *molt+* ‘many.’ One signal of the system, *+i*, invokes the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class NOT MADE, and the other signal, *+e*, invokes the meaning MADE. Thus, the stem *molt+* is linked conceptually both to the O-Class LI *giorn-* and to the A-Class LI *nott-*. As the writer is addressing his reader and imagining that the reader too has at some time traveled westward, he can identify himself and such readers together with the stem *nostr+* ‘our’ and, with the RIA meaning NOT MADE attached to that stem, can allude to the O-Class LI *piaciment-o* ‘pleasure’; anyone traveling west can continue however far he wishes and can thus perceive that the western horizon is never reached. Eventually, the traveler’s attention will be taken by the sight of the promontories at the Strait of Gibraltar, *l+e*⇒*<Colonn-e>*, and the voyage will continue into (what was in classical antiquity) *il*⇒*<mar-e>* ⇐*ignot+o* ‘the unknown sea.’⁴⁹

(#6 - #8) First sight of the Azores: The Azores form an archipelago of volcanic origin, with altitude from zero at sea level, through low altitudes, to a few isolated mountains of considerable height. Thus they are essentially a series of rocky bumps (*nod-i di rocci-a*) sticking out of the Atlantic Ocean and reaching invisibly deep down to the ocean floor. The writer compares this sight of these *piccol+e*⇒*<crest-e>* *di isol-e* ‘little crests of islands’ to *l+a*⇒*piccol+a*⇒*<spin-a>* ‘the (relatively) small backbone’ of an ancient statue of enormous proportion that has fallen and thus mostly disappeared beneath the sea: *un*⇒*<coloss-o>* ⇐*scompars+o* ‘a vanished colossus.’ That is, the islands are identified as ‘crests’ that look like the ‘spine’ of a ‘giant statue.’ What is seen above the water, and what has

⁴⁹ Otheguy (1977) analyzes the Spanish forms (traditionally called “articles”) *el, la, lo* in terms of their semantic contribution having to do with attention. That furnishes a working hypothesis for the comparable Italian forms here.

disappeared beneath it? What is seen are the relatively *piccol+e/+a* ‘little’ pieces of rock (*crest-e* ‘crests’) that protrude above the surface, visible evidence of an only partially visible chain (*spin-a* ‘spine’); what has *scompars+o* ‘vanished’ is the enormous *coloss-o* ‘statue.’ Thus the signaled meanings of RIA trigger an allusion by each of the variably classed stems to an invariably classed LI of the appropriate LC.

(#9 - #14) Sight of the easternmost island of the archipelago: Approaching from the east, one’s attention is drawn to *l+a ⇒ prim+a ⇒ isol-a* ‘the first island’ before one sees the other islands. The natural history of this first island is described with some detail. To a visitor from far away—from a place lying in a different avian flyway, a visitor far away now from familiar birds—there are *stran+i ⇒ uccell-i* ‘strange birds.’ The exotic color of these birds draws one’s attention; the birds have *l+e ⇒ pium-e* *←purple+e* ‘the purple feathers’ to do that. (Presumably, only the ‘feathers,’ not the birds’ beaks, feet, or eyes are purple.) Also drawing the visitor’s attention are the abundant and large ‘blue’ flowers: *i ⇒ fior-i* ‘the flowers,’ *fior-i* *←azzurr+i*. In fact, the visitor has never seen such flowers in any *altr+o ⇒ luog-o* ‘other place.’

(#15) The voyage continues: Still sailing westward past that ‘first island,’ the visitor comes to *l+e ⇒ altr+e ⇒ isol-e* ‘the other islands.’ (The composition “Esperidi” then continues.)

Throughout the passage, RIA signals have meanings that allude to lenses of Identity. In this passage—as in so many other passages—, some of those RIA signals occur quite close to their lenses, even adjacent to them.

One more example of this type should suffice. It contains a stem of variable LC, *destr+* ‘right,’ and a LI of invariable LC, *man-o* ‘hand,’ that will recur in a later chapter.

In Example (14), a man and a woman are riding a ferry between islands in the Azores. They are facing west, towards the sea, looking distractedly over the boat's rail. Their conversation is interrupted when the man sees something that excites him. Here is the context (provided here in English only) leading up to the example:

"Look!" And he indicated with his finger towards the south. The woman turned and looked too. On the horizon, there could be seen the green cone of an island that stuck out sharply from the water. "We're arriving," said the man, all contented. "In my estimation, it'll take less than an hour and a half." Then he squinted his eyes and leaned against the rail. "There are cliffs too," he added. He moved his arm to the left and indicated two deep blue excrescences like two hats placed upon the water. "What ugly cliffs," he said. "They look like cushions."

"I don't see them," said the woman.

"There, a little more to the left, right in front of my finger. See them?" asked Marcel.

Now the example itself:

- (14) Passò *il*⇒⟨*bracci-o*⟩ ⇐⟨*destr+o*⟩ sull'*a*⇒⟨*spall-a*⟩ dell'*a*⇒⟨*donn-a*⟩, tenendo *l'a*⇒⟨*man-o*⟩ ⇐⟨*puntat+a*⟩ in avanti. (Tabucchi p. 23)

He placed *his right arm* on *the woman's shoulder*, keeping *his hand pointed* forward.

The man has seen something to his left that he believes to be cliffs. He attempts to point them out to the woman, that is, to bring them to her attention; she is evidently standing to his right. In order to align her eyesight with the target, the man rests *il*⇒⟨*bracci-o*⟩ ⇐⟨*destr+o*⟩ 'the right arm' of his own body on *the shoulder of hers* and maintains *l'a*⇒⟨*man-o*⟩ ⇐⟨*puntat+a*⟩ 'the pointed hand' that will help her to see what he sees. Both RIA signals—the *+o* of *destr+o* and the *+a* of *puntat+a*—through their meanings—NOT MADE and MADE—facilitate allusion by their respective variably classed stems—*destr+* 'right' and *puntat+* 'pointed'—to the invariably classed lens—*bracci-o* 'arm' and *man-o* 'hand'—that will identify the body parts involved in this activity.

In general, a meaning of Restriction of Identity to A-Class—MADE or NOT MADE—will allow the variably classed stem to which it is attached to guide a reader's or listener's inference towards an invariably classed lexical item that will serve as a lens of Identity for the stem. That semantic function obtains no matter how far apart the stem may be from its lens: far away in the text or even adjacent to the stem. With the meaning MADE, there is always a lens of the A Class; with the meaning NOT MADE, there is never a lens of the A Class (so there may be a lens of the O Class or there may be no lens at all; cf. Ch. VI).

The Communicative Function of Gender in Italian
Joseph Davis

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Chapter IV

The Lens of Identity is Tacit but Particular

The data in Chapter III illustrated the range of distance encountered in a text between a signal of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) and the lexical item (LI) through which its Identity is established. Examples included instances of RIA whose signaled meaning (MADE or NOT MADE) matched not that of the invariably classed LI nearest to it but instead that of some other LI farther away in the text (or even in the URL of an electronic text) to which the RIA meaning alluded. Examples included too instances of RIA whose signaled meaning matched that of the invariably classed LI nearest to it, even adjacent to it. While traditionally the former type might be acknowledged to have a semantic motivation, the latter type have traditionally been seen as reflexes of a rule of syntactic agreement. In fact, however, as Chapter III showed, the full account of the observed distribution is semantic throughout.

As in Chapter III, so here too the lens alluded to is a particular LI, not the super-generic *cos-a* 'what/thing' (cf. Ch. V for that). But the data in this chapter will illustrate instances of RIA for which the lens is not present in the text at all but only in the lexicon, and so is available for use in any text based on that lexicon.⁵⁰ In such examples, the lens is suggested by the semantic content of the stem itself to which the RIA signal is attached and

⁵⁰ Compare Contini-Morava (1996), where such absence of a term that would serve as a so-called "controller" of agreement is one reason to prefer a semantic to a syntactic analysis.

by the context in which that stem-*cum*-signal occurs. A successful interpretation of the text—an interpretation that would seem to be in sync with the message intended by the writer or speaker—may require that the lens be inferred. That was the case in the previous chapter as well; the only difference here is that the text itself provides no explicit help in the identification of the variably classed stem to which the RIA signal is attached. The analyst must look farther afield, outside the text.

Some well-known instances will illustrate.

A. Telling time by the hours

The ordinary way in Italian to tell time is to specify the number of *or-e* ‘hours’ at the given moment on the clock. Routinely, *<or-a>* ‘hour’ (or its plural *or-e*) is the implied lens. In some instances, as in Example (9) below, that LI is explicit.

- (9) Siamo stati insieme *dall+e*⇒ *<or-e>* 23 ⇐*all+e* 23.20 (interview of defendant Giuseppe Pelosi, *Omicidio nella persona di Pasolini Pier Paolo*, 1992, Kaos Edizioni Milano, p. 41)

We were together from 11 o’clock p.m. until 11:20.

In other instances, the lens is not explicit. Example (10):

- (10) Sono stato in compagnia delgi stessi la mattina in via Lanciani a conversare del ballo che doveva aver luogo nel pomeriggio verso *l+e* 15.30 o *l+e* 16 in casa di un nostro amico (ibid., p. 44)

I was in the company of those men that morning on Lanciani Street discussing the dance that was to take place that afternoon around [*l+e <or-e>* ‘the hours’] 3:30 or 4:00 at the home of a friend of ours.

In an act of communication, the speaker may dispense with provision of the implied LI that is alluded to by a RIA meaning, particularly if, as in the above pair of examples, the provision has already been made (in Example 9 before Example 10). Regardless, it is

necessary, in a criminal interrogation, to specify increments (*or-e*) of time as precisely as possible. It is communicatively useful, therefore, to have A-Class *l+e* to allude to *or-e*.

B. The future and the past

In many communicative situations, it is not necessary to specify, in mentioning *il futur+o* ‘the future,’ that one is identifying a *<temp-o>* ‘time.’ Example (11) comes from an essay by a man (evidently from China, perhaps Italy) who is making a living during the Covid-19 pandemic by delivering supplies on bicycle to New Yorkers shut up in their apartments. He considers his prospects for the ‘future’:

- (11) Ogni giorno, ero tormentato da un pensiero: se fuggire in campagna o provare a tornare presto a casa mia, all'estero. Ho dovuto soppesare entrambe le possibilità pensando ai soldi che stavo mettendo da parte e alla prospettiva di *un futur+o* in cui potrebbe essere molto più complicato ottenere un impiego. (source: “Noi siamo tutto ciò che abbiamo: un appello di un rider di Manhattan / Per una solidarietà di condizione e posizione,” anonymous⁵¹, referenced henceforth in this text as CovidRider, in the Bibliography as Anonymous.)

Every day, I was tormented by a thought: whether to flee to the countryside or to try to return home soon, abroad. I had to forego both those possibilities, thinking about the money I was putting away towards the prospect of *a future* in which it might be much more difficult to get a job.

The implied lens for *il futur+o* ‘the future’ here is quite plausibly the O-Class LI *<temp-o>* ‘time.’ Naturally, in writing about ‘prospects’ for one’s career and how it might be affected by a pandemic of unknown duration, ‘time’ is a consideration.

⁵¹ <https://crimethinc.com/2020/04/13/noi-siamo-tutto-cio-che-abbiamo-un-appello-di-un-rider-di-manhattan-per-una-solidarieta-di-condizione+e-posizione>, accessed July 1, 2020.

In other contexts, the implied lens for an instance of *futur+o* might be some other LI of the O-Class, such as a *pianet-a* ‘planet’ in a process of the formation of a solar system, a *fior-e* ‘flower’ to the bud of a flowering plant, or a *uomo* ‘man’ promised in marriage. The implied lens for an instance of *futur+a* will be some LI of the A-Class, perhaps *stell-a* ‘star,’ *radic-e* ‘root,’ or *mogli-e* ‘wife.’

Similarly, in the right context, the implied lens for *passat+o* ‘past’ quite likely may be *<temp-o>*. And so forth. See the following section in this chapter for further on the signaling of RIA with stems (such as *passat+*) that are traditionally called participles (cf. *passare* ‘pass’), all of which in Italian have a suffix from the RIA set *+a/+e/+o/+i*.

C. In the fashion of

If one were not familiar with the French phrase *à la mode*, often abbreviated to *à la*, used even in English, and glossed ‘according to the fashion of,’ instances such as *all+a* in Example (12), below, concerning professional American basketball, would be mystifying—especially since Kevin Durant is a man and *la* is widely labeled the “feminine.” (Antetokounmpo and Durant are athletes in the National Basketball Association, the NBA.)

- (12) Giannis Antetokounmpo si candida a diventare l’epitome della superstar Nba del terzo millennio oltre il «il miglior giocatore che sia mai sceso su un campo da basket», per dirla *all+a* Kevin Durant. (source: Claudio Pellicchia, “Dieci previsioni sulla nuova Nba,” digital sports magazine *undici*; cf. Bibliography.)

Giannis Antetokounmpo stands to become the epitome of the NBA superstar of the third millennium in addition to “the best player that has ever played on a basketball court,” to put it *à la* Kevin Durant.

The passage is not puzzling at all if one infers that *all+a* implicitly alludes to the A-Class LI *<mod-a>* ‘*fashion*.’ There are ways to express something, and Kevin Durant’s way is one.

D. Terms from traditional grammar

Terms from the ancient study of traditional grammar (all of them still in use today⁵²) turn out to be a rich source of information about the meaningful functioning of the system of RIA.

Certain types of terms are irrelevant to this analysis, particularly those that do not signal RIA, among them: *condizional-e* ‘conditional,’ *singolar-e* ‘singular,’ and *plural-e* ‘plural’; and those terms that have invariant LC: *fras-e* ‘sentence,’ *part-e del discors+o* ‘part of speech,’ *participi-o* ‘participle,’ *verb-o* ‘verb, word’ (cf. below), *pronom-e* ‘pronoun,’ *preposizion-e* ‘preposition,’ *congiunzion-e* ‘conjunction.’

Other terms do signal RIA but routinely occur with their explicit lenses and so add nothing to the presentation in this chapter. Among those: *<fras-e>* \Leftarrow *interrogativ+a* ‘interrogative sentence,’ *<verb-o>* \Leftarrow *passiv+o* ‘passive verb,’ and so forth.

But some other terms in traditional grammar are often used with their lenses tacit and so can inform the presentation in this chapter. The terms *passat+o* ‘past’ and *futur+o* ‘future’ were covered above and, in grammar, as in many contexts, if used without an explicit lens, would certainly have the tacit lens *<temp-o>* ‘time.’⁵³ Others of this type include:

⁵² See the critique Diver, Davis, and Reid (2012).

⁵³ The English technical term *tense* in grammar derives from the French *temps* ‘time.’

With tacit lens *<verb-o>* ‘word’⁵⁴: *sostantiv+o* ‘substantive,’⁵⁵ *diminutiv+o* ‘diminutive,’ *peggiorativ+o* ‘pejorative,’ *aggettiv+o* ‘adjective,’ *sinonim+o* ‘synonym,’ *(in)transitiv+o* ‘(in)transitive’;

With tacit lens *<mod-o>* ‘mood, way’: *coniuntiv+o* ‘conjunctive, subjunctive,’ *imperativ+o* ‘imperative’;

With tacit lens *<aspett-o>* ‘aspect’: *perfett+o* ‘perfect(ive),’ *imperfett+o* ‘imperfect(ive)’;

With tacit lens *<grad-o>* ‘degree’: *comparativ+o* ‘comparative,’ *superlativ+o* ‘superlative’;

With tacit lens *<cas-o>* ‘case’⁵⁶: *nominativ+o* ‘nominative,’ etc.

With tacit lens *<argoment-o>* ‘(logical) argument’: *soggett+o* ‘subject,’ *predicat+o* ‘predicate’ (lit. ‘predicated-p.p.’);

Particularly telling are the **A-Class** *maiuscol+a* ‘upper-case letter’ and *minuscol+a* ‘lower-case letter’ with lens (explicit or tacit) *<letter-a>*. The two stems also sometimes occur as **O-Class** *maiuscol+o* and *minuscol+o* with lens (explicit or tacit) *<caratter-e>*, and so the terms are particularly helpful for understanding that the difference between “explicit”

⁵⁴ **O-Class** *verb-o* ‘word’ is a more technical term than the more colloquial **A-Class** *parol-a*.

⁵⁵ To the English technical term *noun* compare Italian *nom-e* ‘name.’

⁵⁶ Evidently, the LIs *cas-o* ‘case’ and *cas-a* ‘house’ have homophonous stems *cas-*.

and “tacit” is of absolutely no theoretical import beyond the process of analysis (It may be easier for the analyst to pinpoint an explicit lens than a tacit lens); the result is the same.

E. Terms from music

As with terms from the field of grammar, so too terms from the field of music can be instructive as to how words of variable lexical class—that is, stems with signals of RIA attached to them—can function with tacit lenses.

L+a ⇒ *⟨music-a⟩* ‘music’ may be *cantat+a* ‘sung-p.p.’ or *sonat+a* instrumentally ‘sounded, played-p.p.’⁵⁷ A *⟨temp-o⟩* ‘time, tempo’ may be *larg+o* ‘wide, spacious,’ *moderat+o* ‘moderated-p.p.,’ or *pian+o* ‘even, slow’—or, for that matter (not signaling RIA) *ad agi-o* ‘at ease’ or played *presto* ‘fast.’ *Il* ⇒ *⟨ritm-o⟩* ‘rhythm’ may be *staccat+o* ‘detached-p.p.’ or *legat+o* ‘bound-p.p.’ And a *uomo* ‘man’ who sings may be identified as *bass+o* ‘low’ or *alt+o* ‘high,’ or—particularly if *castrat+o* ‘castrato, castrated-p.p.’ or pre-pubescent—sing (also not signaling RIA) *sopran-o*.⁵⁸ (See Chapter VII for further on the Identification of human beings.) With all such instances of the signaling of RIA (“+” above) within the domain of music, the LIs alluded to may be tacit, not present in the text at all.

A speaker of Italian not familiar with the history of music might well not be familiar with all these allusions, just as one unfamiliar with the field of grammar might be unfamiliar with the implicit allusions made by traditional grammatical terms such as those

⁵⁷ In modern Standard Italian, the participle of *suonare* ‘sound, play’ is *suonat+*, with a *u*.

⁵⁸ In the medieval church, and even into early modern secular public spaces, women did not sing.

covered above. See §G below in this chapter for further on the matter of “The idiosyncrasy of accessibility of Identity.”

F. Some other instances of implied lenses

Example (13), below, comes from the prologue to Italian writer Antonio Tabucchi’s imaginative book *Donna di Porto Pim, e altre storie*, which was inspired by a prolonged sojourn in the Azores. In this passage, Tabucchi ironically compares his ‘little book’ to a famous French writer’s magnum opus.

- (13) Premesso questo sarebbe però disonesto spacciare queste pagine per pura finzione: la musa che le ha dettate, di un genere confidenziale e direi quasi tascabile, non è paragonabile neppure **all+a lontan+a** con quella maestosa di Raymond Roussel che fu capace di scrivere le sue *Impressions d’Afrique* senza scendere dal suo yacht. (Tabucchi p. 9)

Granted this, however, it would be unseemly to pass these pages off as pure fiction. The muse that dictated them, of a friendly and, I might say, almost portable, nature, is not comparable even distantly [lit., **at-the distant**] with that majestic one of Raymond Roussel, who was capable of writing his *Impressions d’Afrique* without getting off his yacht.

In classical Greco-Roman mythology, the muses were goddesses who inspired human activities such as writing. Surely, quips Tabucchi, the ‘friendly’ or ‘familiar’ muse that dictated his own modest output after a stay in the Azores cannot be compared, even from a great **<distanz-a> ‘distance,’** with the ‘majestic’ muse that inspired Roussel to write about Africa without ever visiting the place. (The phrase **all+a lontan+a** is by no means restricted to such specialized contexts, but this one is revealing.)

Similar in communicative effect to **all+a lontan+a**, lit. ‘**at-the distant,**’ are the variants of **all+a lung+a**, lit. ‘**at/in-the long,**’ among them **di gran lung+a**, lit. ‘of great **long,**’ and **per l+e lungh+e**, lit. ‘for **the-f.-pl. long-f.-pl.**’ The last, the plural, sometimes glossed ‘for a long

time,' is especially revealing, because the entities to which it alludes are *ENUMERABLE*, thus not likely to be lumped together cognitively as a "mass." One of those examples is Example (14), below. It is the headline of a news article about a court proceeding between two men, one of whom, Fazio, has accused the other, Bologna, of defamation. Bologna, the accused, by the way, appears to be particularly litigious. (Trapani is a commune in Sicily.)

(14) Trapani, la querela di Fazio a Bologna. Il processo va per **l+e lunghe** (web)⁵⁹

Trapani: Fazio's suit against Bologna. The process goes for (lit.) **the-f.-pl. long-f.-pl.**

In a civil case, such as for defamation, there are several sequential '*stages*,' or *<fas-i>*: the filing of a complaint within a statute of limitations, the serving of the complaint, a time limit to answer the complaint, the possibility for filing of motions, a discovery phase, the possible ordering of mediation, then (if things get to that point) a trial, with its presentation and rebuttal of evidence, deliberation, a verdict, and then a possible appeal. Fazio's suit against Bologna, according to the news source, is likely to grind through many of these *<fas-i>*.

At the end of the "fragment" of a story "Piccole balene azzurre che passeggiano alle Azzorre" 'Little Blue Whales that Pass by the Azores,' (cf. Ch. III, Ex. 13), the male writer who has been conversing with his female traveling companion as they cross between islands on a ferry calls out to her after he exits ahead of her onto dry land, perhaps happy to escape an awkward topic shared with her. Example (16):

(16) I passeggeri si accalcarono verso l'usita e Marcel fu risucchiato dalla folla che premeva. La donna si tenne in disparte, sorreggendosi

⁵⁹ <https://www.tp24.it/2020/07/22/cronaca/trapani-la-querela-di-fazio-a-bologna-il-processo-va-per-le-lunghe/152281>, accessed Aug. 8, 2020.

alla corda del parapetto. Ti aspetto sul molo, gridò lui senza voltarsi, devo seguire *l+a corrent-e*! Alzò un braccio fra la selva di teste, agitando la mano. (Tabucchi p. 27)

The passengers crowded near the exit, and Marcel was sucked into the pressing crowd. The woman held back, leaning against the rope of the rail.

“I’ll wait for you on the pier,” he shouted without turning. “I must follow *the* current!” He raised one arm above the forest of heads, waving his hand.

As the entire episode has involved a crossing over on a ferry between islands, and the man is an imaginative sort, it is not difficult to infer that, in saying *l+a corrent-e* ‘*the* running/flowing,’ he is alluding to the movement of *acqu-a* ‘*water*.’

The lexical item alluded to by the signal of a meaning of Restriction of Identity to *A*-Class can be idiosyncratic, according to the context, and may or may not actually be found explicitly somewhere in the context. RIA can be quite useful in implicitly tethering a creative Identification to a commonplace lens, thus facilitating communication that might otherwise run the risk of being opaque.

A restaurant in Brindisi serves a *⟨pizz-a⟩* that it markets as *L+a Non Lo So* ‘*The I Don’t Know*.’ This *⟨pizz-a⟩* is *condit+a* ‘*dressed*-p.p.’ with several ingredients.⁶⁰

The city of Campobasso in the Apennine Mountains puts on a *⟨gar-a⟩* ‘*race*’ called *L+a Su e Giù* ‘*The Up and Down*,’ which is *dedicat+a* ‘*dedicated*-p.p.’ to the memory of one of the race’s founders.

Consider this advertisement, Example (15):

(15) *Il GINGER BALADIN, è perfett+a da bere in compagnia*

⁶⁰ https://www.tripadvisor.it/Restaurant_Review-g10245214-d10756029-Reviews-Pizzeria_Lounge_Bar_La_Torre-Villanova_Ostuni_Province_of_Brindisi_Puglia.html, accessed July 24, 2017.

(The) BALADIN GINGER, it's **perfect** for drinking in company

Anyone blinkered by traditional grammar might be puzzled by the apparent mismatch of “gender” displayed here by the “masculine” *il* ‘the’ and the “feminine” *perfett+a* ‘perfect,’ but an understanding of the meaningful working of the system of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) dissolves the puzzlement. The firm Baladin manufactures soft drinks, and this particular *<bibit-a>* ‘soft drink’ is *perfett+a* ‘perfect’ for drinking among other people, for instance in the company of friends. The ad goes on to say:

quest+o⇒ ginger è davvero eccellent-e

...

Ginger Baladin è tra *tutt+e*⇒ *l+e*⇒ *<bibit-e>* Baladin *il*⇒ *<re>*
←incontrastat+o dell’*<aperitiv-o>*.

this ginger is truly excellent

...

Baladin Ginger is, among **all the** Baladin **soft drinks**, **the undisputed king** of the **aperitif**. (web)⁶¹

Il ‘The’ or *quest+o* ‘this’ *ginger* (among ‘**all the** Baladin **soft drinks**’) makes in fact a superlative *<aperitiv-o>* ‘aperitif.’ That is, thanks to the help of the RIA meanings, the message of the headline is: This particular aperitif is the perfect beverage to drink in company. Each signaled RIA meaning, as usual, alludes to a lexical lens.

In Italian discourse, instances of signals of RIA with an implicit, particular lens, suitable for the context, are not at all uncommon. Across the board, their distribution depends on the contextual suitability of both the lexical sense of the stem and the meaning RIA **MADE**. Among such instances, just a few others, in addition to the above, from the data set that informed this analysis:

⁶¹ <https://www.baladin.it/ginger>, accessed July 20, 2020.

phrase with RIA signal

nell'affermativ+a 'in the affirmative'
un+a stoppat+a 'a block' (lit. 'a blocked-p.p.')

più alt+a percentual-e 'higher percentage'
quest+a cors+a 'this race' (lit. 'this run-p.p.')

l+a calm+a 'the calm'
un+a filarmonic+a 'a philharmonic'
l+a cooperativ+a 'the coop(erative)'
l+a marin+a/Marin+a 'the marina/navy'
il mezz+o 'the means'
il vestit+o 'the garment' (cf. *vestire* '[to] wear')
il normal-e 'the normal'

plausible implicit lens

<part-e>⁶² 'part/side'
 <pall-a> 'ball' (in a basketball story)
 <quantità> 'quantity' (in a basketball story)
 <gar-a> 'competition/contest'
 <ari-a> 'air'
 <associazion-e> 'association/society'
 <società> 'society'
 <cost-a> 'coast'
 <mod-o> 'way/manner'
 <abit-o> 'clothing'
 <stat-o>⁶⁴ 'state/status'

G. Lexical idiosyncrasy, grammatical constancy, and communicative pragmatism

Consider the following passage, Example (16), below, written by the same writer as in Example (11), above, a man eking out a living in New York City in the spring of 2020, when the Covid-19 pandemic hit the city, by delivering, on bicycle, food and pharmaceuticals to New Yorkers afraid to leave their apartments.

- (16) Abbiamo visto anche qualche scienziato lanciare appelli ai Governi di tutto il mondo per andare in Africa, o presso altre popolazioni meno preziose per l'economia mondiale, per condurre degli esperimenti attraverso i quali sperano di creare *dei vaccin+i*. (CovidRider)

We have also seen certain scientists make appeals to the governments of the whole world to go to Africa, or to other populations [supposedly] less valuable for the world economy, to conduct experiments through which they hope to create *some vaccines*.

⁶² Cf. *sull+a negativ+a*. See Chapter V on <part-e> 'part/side' as implicit, generic lens.

⁶³ Cf. Chapter VI on *cors+o* 'course.'

⁶⁴ In this work, *stat-o/i* 'state/s, status/es,' with invariable LC, is distinguished from homophones *stat+o/i* 'stood-p.p.,' signaling RIA. The former derives from CL *statū* of the "fourth declension"; the latter is the O-Class participle, alongside A-Class *stat+a/+e*, related to *stare* 'stand' (in traditional grammar often treated too as the participle of *essere* 'be').

Although it is possible that the cynical writer knows about the history of vaccines in the discovery by Edward Jenner in 1796 that the *pus* ‘pus’ of a person infected with cowpox would reduce an inoculated person’s chance of contracting the disease, there is no evidence that the writer is alluding to *pus* when he writes of a *vaccin+o* ‘vaccine’—lit., ‘bovine’—against the novel coronavirus. (Compare *<stall-a> vaccin+a* ‘cowshed.’) It is more likely that the writer anticipates the development of a modern scientific intervention to forestall spread of the virus. Even, then, if the writer knows about Jenner’s invention, the writer appears not to be alluding to that in this passage. For this writer, then, at least for his present purposes, *vaccin-o* ‘vaccine’ is just an invariably classed O-Class LI. Its final [o] is not a signal of a meaning of RIA. If so, then, for him, *vaccin-i* ‘vaccines’ is just an identification of things that can potentially be enumerated and can inoculate against disease.

Different people will know different things, including bits of history related to the development of their lexicon. But this is not an account of speaker knowledge; it is an account of the observed distribution of forms in text. Even if an analyst knew that a certain language-user knew a certain bit of lexical history, the analyst might not be able to show that such knowledge factored into the user’s linguistic behavior on a given occasion, unless the user saw fit to mention that knowledge (not the case in Example 16). In this analysis, therefore, there is no evidence that would support a position that the letter *o* on the end of *vaccino* is in all instances a signal of RIA.

Similarly, there is no reason to believe—nor would it even matter—that the adolescent narrator of Giuseppe Berto’s 1951 novel *Il brigante* ‘The Brigand’ knows, when the boy describes meeting a soldier, that the word *divis+a* ‘uniform’ ends in *a* because of

any allusion to the rather literary A-Class *vest-e* ‘garment,’ a $\langle vest-e \rangle \leftarrow divis+a$ being a ‘garment’ that is ‘divided-p.p.’ into functional and symbolic parts:

- (17) Aveva **l+a divis+a** del soldato coloniale, coi pantaloni chiusi alla caviglia e le scarpe gialle a gambaletto. (Berto p. 10)

He was wearing **the uniform** of a colonial soldier, with the pants closed at the ankle and the yellow ankle-high boots.

Rather, it is likely that, for the boy, *divis-a* is an A-Class LI identifying the type of clothing worn by soldiers and the like. In fact, the LI *divis-a* ‘uniform’ is typically found alone, without the LI *vest-e* and with no evident allusion to it.

In an account of the observed distribution of forms in text, there is no need to speculate about a language-user’s knowledge or its bearing upon distribution. There is no need for the account of observed distribution to take such “an explicitly psychological turn” (Reid 1995: 138). It is required only to account for the observed distribution. *Divis+a* ‘uniform’ ends as it does because of an allusion to $\langle vest-e \rangle$, whether Berto’s fictional character knows it or not.

It is not at all clear whether professional sports writer Claudio Pellecchia, in Example (18) below, knows that the final *a* of *doppi+a* ‘double,’ a technical term in basketball, alludes to the A-Class LI *figur-a* ‘digit,’ thanks to the way such outstanding feats in that sport are written with two digits in a base-ten writing system. Here Pellecchia predicts a glorious season for NBA star Giannis Antetokounmpo, accumulating a spectacular five two-digit measures:

- (18) Realizzando, ovviamente, **un+a quintupl+a doppi+a**. (Pellecchia)

Accomplishing, of course, **a quintuple double**.

Some basketball fans no doubt know why a “double” is called a “double” in English, and perhaps too Pellecchia knows why *doppi+a* in Italian ends in *a*. But there is no need for the analyst to appeal here to allusion by Pellecchia to the LI *figur-a*.⁶⁵

And although the talented writer Antonio Tabucchi certainly appears to have been a well educated man who hailed from the Italian peninsula, there is no reason to appeal to any allusion by him in the two examples (19 and 20) below to the ancient Roman custom of noting the transfer of a *⟨letter-a⟩ ←dat+a* ‘letter given’ to its recipient:

- (19) [Gli inglesi] si trattennero a São Miguel fino all’aprile del 1839. È da supporre che la salute di mister Henry fosse alquanto migliorata se in *quell+a dat+a* i due fratelli decisero di imbarcarsi su . . . (Tabucchi pp. 30-31)

The Englishmen stayed at São Miguel until April 1839. Supposedly, Mr. Henry’s health had improved enough if on *that date* the two brothers decided to embark for. . . .

- (20) Per i navigatori che si fermano a Horta è norma lasciare sulla muraglia del molo un disegno, un nome, *un+a dat+a*. È un muro lungo un centinaio di metri dove si sovrappongono disegni di barche, colori di bandiere, numeri, frasi. (Tabucchi p. 37)

For sailors who stop at Horta, it is the custom to leave on the wall of the wharf a drawing, a name, *a date*. It is a wall of about a hundred meters on which are placed drawings of boats, colors of flags, numbers, phrases.

Evidence (as illustrated in this chapter) has shown that for a communicative allusion to be made to a lens, it is not necessary that that lexical item be explicitly present in

⁶⁵ An English-speaking friend of mine who watches a lot of basketball reports that he certainly knows what a “double” is and can even tick off some of the categories that count as “doubles” in basketball, but he had no idea that the term had anything to do with two digits.

the text; it may exist in other texts that use the same lexicon. In some cases, the sense of the variably classed stem to which the RIA signal is attached, in combination with other elements of the context, will suggest such an allusion. In some cases, allusions are unknown or irrelevant, or even lost to history. The analyst who is accounting for observed distribution may know or come to know things that some speakers do not know (and vice versa). For instance, there exist in the distribution of this study all four of these: *vaccin+a*, *vaccin+o*, *vaccin+e*, *vaccin+i*. In the history of public health, there was a development involving the pus of persons infected with the cowpox virus that led to the possibility to develop a vaccine for the virus that causes Covid-19. With such knowledge, an analyst might account for the observed distribution of the form *vaccin+o*. The writer referred to here as CovidRider may or may not know about the roles of pus and cows in the history of immunization, but he is not in the business of accounting for the distribution of the form *vaccin+o*. This analyst is.

It may help to consider the place of this indeterminacy of the RIA meanings in the wider context of language use.

The lexicon is riotously idiosyncratic. It is really big, consisting of thousands of items. Some of them are short, such as *ag-o* ‘needle,’ and some of them are longer, such as *asparag-o* ‘asparagus.’ Some begin with the oral cavity at maximum aperture, such as *amor-e* ‘love,’ and some with zero aperture, such as *pac-e* ‘peace.’ A lexicon’s semantic idiosyncrasy can perhaps best be appreciated through a cross-linguistic perspective. The English lexicon distinguishes *nephew* and *niece*, while the Italian has just *nipot-e*; and the Italian distinguishes *sapere* and *conoscere* while the English has just *know*.

By contrast, consider the grammar. There are just a few grammatical systems, not thousands of them: systems having to do with semantic substances such as Time (“tense”) and Degree of Control by participants in an event (“case role”) (Davis 2017b: 50, 61-87), Enumeration and Restriction of Identity to A-Class (this study). And each system has only a few members; two (the number of meanings in the system of RIA) is typical. There are only three known types of formal grammatical signaling: the phonologically based (e.g., Italian *+a/+o/+e/+i*, English plural *-s*), the null (e.g., English singular $-\emptyset$),⁶⁶ and the positional or order-based (e.g., Italian [*selodice*] ‘he/she tells him/herself it’ vs. [*losidice*] ‘one says it’ or English *A dog bit a man* vs. *A man bit a dog*).⁶⁷ And there are only a handful of known types of semantic organization in grammar, including the **opposition of exclusion** seen in the RIA meanings *MADE* and *NOT MADE*.⁶⁸

This contrast between the lexicon and the grammar is surveyed by Davis (2017b: 139-163) under the rubric “Grammatical constancy and lexical idiosyncrasy” as it pertains to to the constant semantic contribution of grammatical *si* (the clitic) across an array of diverse lexical items with verbal morphology.

Analysis here of the small and quite finite grammatical system of RIA, as it is found attached to a panoply of LIs in a mere sampling of the infinite variety of texts, compels contemplation of a third leg, as it were, to that communicative apparatus: pragmatic usage. Analysis of the system of RIA can be used to learn how (1) grammar and (2) lexicon function together, hand-in-hand as it were, in (3) pragmatic communication. A writer or

⁶⁶ For an analysis of the system of Number in English, see Reid (1991).

⁶⁷ For that analysis of Italian *si*, see Davis (2017b), particularly pp. 83-85 for the order of *s(i)* with respect to *l+*.

⁶⁸ Davis (2018) reviews those types of grammatical organization.

speaker has a finite—though large—lexicon and a finite—and quite small—grammar with which to communicate an infinite variety of **messages** to members of a large and quite varied population of other human beings. A writer or speaker constantly has to decide what to communicate, and how to communicate it, to whom. A reader or listener then has to figure out what signals are being read or heard (“Was that just an *a* or an *+a*?”), and what message the meanings they signal are jointly communicating. That fundamental distinction between finite, signaled grammatical **meaning** and infinitely varied communicated **message** was made long ago by Diver (1975/2012: 48-54 *et passim*). That gap is bridged, as per Diver, by a **human factor**, whereby people use their intelligence to derive rich communicated messages from meager grammatical (and even lexical) input. Reid (1991: 309-310) calls the communicative process of figuring out the signals and the message at the same time “interpretive bootstrapping.” Keeping the *ad hoc* communicative message distinct from systematic grammatical, signaled meaning, allows the analyst to craft hypotheses for grammatical meanings that are verifiable, allows the analytical **problem** to be solved, i.e., the problem of observed distribution.

Like the rest of grammar, the grammatical system of RIA is simple. RIA consists of only two mutually opposed signaled meanings (an **opposition of exclusion**) exhaustively dividing a single semantic substance. Other than the recognition of the signals (Which *a*? Which *o*?), the only systematic complexity, really, is that the RIA meanings exist in an **interlock** with two meanings of the semantic substance of Enumeration, resulting in a total of four signaled combinations of meanings (*+a/+o/+e/+i* signaling combinations of the meanings **MADE**, **NOT MADE**, **ENUMERATE**, and **DO NOT ENUMERATE**). Overall, the grammatical contribution to any communication will be quite simple.

More complex will be the contribution made by the lexicon, with its idiosyncratic membership.

The two RIA meanings come into contact with thousands of different LIs. And then that combination of grammar and lexicon confronts an infinite variety of messages to be communicated to an enormously varied population of other people with different stores of knowledge: Messages about whales, messages about basketball, messages about a pandemic in Manhattan, and messages to people who know a lot about whales or a little, a lot about basketball or a little, and a lot about Manhattan or a little. And so, when a writer signals Restriction of Identity to A-Class MADE or NOT MADE, and attaches that signal to a lexical item (say, *noios+* 'boring' or *interessant-* 'interesting') in a context (say, about whales or basketball or Manhattan), there will be a **communicative problem** (Diver ca. 1970 / 2012) for the reader to solve: Just how is Identity being Restricted here, to what if anything? In a token of *stran+a* 'strange,' is RIA being MADE to *balen-a* 'whale,' to *pall-a* 'ball,' to *città* 'city'? Is this a communication about the sea? about a sport? about a place where people live and work? In a token of *stran+o* 'strange,' the communicative problem is systematically even worse: Is it a 'strange' *capodogli-o* 'sperm whale'? *giocatore* 'player'? *virus* 'virus'? or (Chapter VI) some idea too complex even to be encapsulated in one LI, maybe that a whale played basketball in a city? A grammatical meaning is only an **imprecise hint** (Diver 1995/2012: 479 *et passim*), not an unambiguous reference. Just as a grammatical meaning like Number OTHER THAN ONE (or MORE THAN ONE) can be six, seventeen, eighty, or nine million (cf. Diver *passim*, Reid 1991: 71 *et passim*), so too the Italian grammatical meaning RIA MADE can allude to a *balen-a* 'whale,' a *pall-a* 'ball,' a *città* 'city,' or any other A-Class lens. It will not, however, be an allusion to a *capodogli-o* 'sperm whale,' a

giocator-e basketball 'player,' or a *virus* 'virus,' through those O-Class lenses, nor to an idea not expressed through a single lens.

There is no way for the analyst (at least one who cannot conduct psychological experiments or read minds) to know whether either the writer / speaker or the reader / listener knows the exact allusion. Such lack of knowledge on the part of the analyst, however, does not preclude the analysis of the distribution of forms in text.

he Communicative Function of Gender in Italian
Joseph Davis

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Chapter IV

The Lens of Identity is Tacit but Particular

The data in Chapter III illustrated the range of distance encountered in a text between a signal of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) and the lexical item (LI) through which its Identity is established. Examples included instances of RIA whose signaled meaning (MADE or NOT MADE) matched not that of the invariably classed LI nearest to it but instead that of some other LI farther away in the text (or even in the URL of an electronic text) to which the RIA meaning alluded. Examples included too instances of RIA whose signaled meaning matched that of the invariably classed LI nearest to it, even adjacent to it. While traditionally the former type might be acknowledged to have a semantic motivation, the latter type have traditionally been seen as reflexes of a rule of syntactic agreement. In fact, however, as Chapter III showed, the full account of the observed distribution is semantic throughout.

As in Chapter III, so here too the lens alluded to is a particular LI, not the super-generic *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ (cf. Ch. V for that). But the data in this chapter will illustrate instances of RIA for which the lens is not present in the text at all but only in the lexicon, and so is available for use in any text based on that lexicon.⁶⁹ In such examples, the lens is suggested by the semantic content of the stem itself to which the RIA signal is attached and

⁶⁹ Compare Contini-Morava (1996), where such absence of a term that would serve as a so-called “controller” of agreement is one reason to prefer a semantic to a syntactic analysis.

by the context in which that stem-*cum*-signal occurs. A successful interpretation of the text—an interpretation that would seem to be in sync with the message intended by the writer or speaker—may require that the lens be inferred. That was the case in the previous chapter as well; the only difference here is that the text itself provides no explicit help in the identification of the variably classed stem to which the RIA signal is attached. The analyst must look farther afield, outside the text.

Some well-known instances will illustrate.

A. Telling time by the hours

The ordinary way in Italian to tell time is to specify the number of *or-e* ‘hours’ at the given moment on the clock. Routinely, *<or-a>* ‘hour’ (or its plural *or-e*) is the implied lens. In some instances, as in Example (9) below, that LI is explicit.

- (9) Siamo stati insieme *dall+e*⇒ *<or-e>* 23 ⇐*all+e* 23.20 (interview of defendant Giuseppe Pelosi, *Omicidio nella persona di Pasolini Pier Paolo*, 1992, Kaos Edizioni Milano, p. 41)

We were together from 11 o’clock p.m. until 11:20.

In other instances, the lens is not explicit. Example (10):

- (10) Sono stato in compagnia delgi stessi la mattina in via Lanciani a conversare del ballo che doveva aver luogo nel pomeriggio verso *l+e* 15.30 o *l+e* 16 in casa di un nostro amico (ibid., p. 44)

I was in the company of those men that morning on Lanciani Street discussing the dance that was to take place that afternoon around [*l+e <or-e>* ‘the hours’] 3:30 or 4:00 at the home of a friend of ours.

In an act of communication, the speaker may dispense with provision of the implied LI that is alluded to by a RIA meaning, particularly if, as in the above pair of examples, the provision has already been made (in Example 9 before Example 10). Regardless, it is

necessary, in a criminal interrogation, to specify increments (*or-e*) of time as precisely as possible. It is communicatively useful, therefore, to have A-Class *l+e* to allude to *or-e*.

B. The future and the past

In many communicative situations, it is not necessary to specify, in mentioning *il futur+o* ‘the future,’ that one is identifying a *<temp-o>* ‘time.’ Example (11) comes from an essay by a man (evidently from China, perhaps Italy) who is making a living during the Covid-19 pandemic by delivering supplies on bicycle to New Yorkers shut up in their apartments. He considers his prospects for the ‘future’:

- (11) Ogni giorno, ero tormentato da un pensiero: se fuggire in campagna o provare a tornare presto a casa mia, all'estero. Ho dovuto soppesare entrambe le possibilità pensando ai soldi che stavo mettendo da parte e alla prospettiva di *un futur+o* in cui potrebbe essere molto più complicato ottenere un impiego. (source: “Noi siamo tutto ciò che abbiamo: un appello di un rider di Manhattan / Per una solidarietà di condizione e posizione,” anonymous⁷⁰, referenced henceforth in this text as CovidRider, in the Bibliography as Anonymous.)

Every day, I was tormented by a thought: whether to flee to the countryside or to try to return home soon, abroad. I had to forego both those possibilities, thinking about the money I was putting away towards the prospect of *a future* in which it might be much more difficult to get a job.

The implied lens for *il futur+o* ‘the future’ here is quite plausibly the O-Class LI *<temp-o>* ‘time.’ Naturally, in writing about ‘prospects’ for one’s career and how it might be affected by a pandemic of unknown duration, ‘time’ is a consideration.

⁷⁰ <https://crimethinc.com/2020/04/13/noi-siamo-tutto-cio-che-abbiamo-un-appello-di-un-rider-di-manhattan-per-una-solidarieta-di-condizione+e-posizione>, accessed July 1, 2020.

In other contexts, the implied lens for an instance of *futur+o* might be some other LI of the O-Class, such as a *pianet-a* ‘planet’ in a process of the formation of a solar system, a *fior-e* ‘flower’ to the bud of a flowering plant, or a *uomo* ‘man’ promised in marriage. The implied lens for an instance of *futur+a* will be some LI of the A-Class, perhaps *stell-a* ‘star,’ *radic-e* ‘root,’ or *mogli-e* ‘wife.’

Similarly, in the right context, the implied lens for *passat+o* ‘past’ quite likely may be *<temp-o>*. And so forth. See the following section in this chapter for further on the signaling of RIA with stems (such as *passat+*) that are traditionally called participles (cf. *passare* ‘pass’), all of which in Italian have a suffix from the RIA set *+a/+e/+o/+i*.

C. In the fashion of

If one were not familiar with the French phrase *à la mode*, often abbreviated to *à la*, used even in English, and glossed ‘according to the fashion of,’ instances such as *all+a* in Example (12), below, concerning professional American basketball, would be mystifying—especially since Kevin Durant is a man and *la* is widely labeled the “feminine.” (Antetokounmpo and Durant are athletes in the National Basketball Association, the NBA.)

- (12) Giannis Antetokounmpo si candida a diventare l’epitome della superstar Nba del terzo millennio oltre il «il miglior giocatore che sia mai sceso su un campo da basket», per dirla *all+a* Kevin Durant. (source: Claudio Pellicchia, “Dieci previsioni sulla nuova Nba,” digital sports magazine *undici*; cf. Bibliography.)

Giannis Antetokounmpo stands to become the epitome of the NBA superstar of the third millennium in addition to “the best player that has ever played on a basketball court,” to put it *à la* Kevin Durant.

The passage is not puzzling at all if one infers that *all+a* implicitly alludes to the A-Class LI *<mod-a>* ‘*fashion*.’ There are ways to express something, and Kevin Durant’s way is one.

D. Terms from traditional grammar

Terms from the ancient study of traditional grammar (all of them still in use today⁷¹) turn out to be a rich source of information about the meaningful functioning of the system of RIA.

Certain types of terms are irrelevant to this analysis, particularly those that do not signal RIA, among them: *condizional-e* ‘conditional,’ *singolar-e* ‘singular,’ and *plural-e* ‘plural’; and those terms that have invariant LC: *fras-e* ‘sentence,’ *part-e del discors+o* ‘part of speech,’ *participi-o* ‘participle,’ *verb-o* ‘verb, word’ (cf. below), *pronom-e* ‘pronoun,’ *preposizion-e* ‘preposition,’ *congiunzion-e* ‘conjunction.’

Other terms do signal RIA but routinely occur with their explicit lenses and so add nothing to the presentation in this chapter. Among those: *<fras-e> ⇐interrogativ+a* ‘interrogative sentence,’ *<verb-o> ⇐passiv+o* ‘passive verb,’ and so forth.

But some other terms in traditional grammar are often used with their lenses tacit and so can inform the presentation in this chapter. The terms *passat+o* ‘past’ and *futur+o* ‘future’ were covered above and, in grammar, as in many contexts, if used without an explicit lens, would certainly have the tacit lens *<temp-o>* ‘time.’⁷² Others of this type include:

⁷¹ See the critique Diver, Davis, and Reid (2012).

⁷² The English technical term *tense* in grammar derives from the French *temps* ‘time.’

With tacit lens *<verb-o>* ‘word’⁷³: *sostantiv+o* ‘substantive,’⁷⁴ *diminutiv+o* ‘diminutive,’ *peggiorativ+o* ‘pejorative,’ *aggettiv+o* ‘adjective,’ *sinonim+o* ‘synonym,’ *(in)transitiv+o* ‘(in)transitive’;

With tacit lens *<mod-o>* ‘mood, way’: *coniuntiv+o* ‘conjunctive, subjunctive,’ *imperativ+o* ‘imperative’;

With tacit lens *<aspett-o>* ‘aspect’: *perfett+o* ‘perfect(ive),’ *imperfett+o* ‘imperfect(ive)’;

With tacit lens *<grad-o>* ‘degree’: *comparativ+o* ‘comparative,’ *superlativ+o* ‘superlative’;

With tacit lens *<cas-o>* ‘case’⁷⁵: *nominativ+o* ‘nominative,’ etc.

With tacit lens *<argoment-o>* ‘(logical) argument’: *soggett+o* ‘subject,’ *predicat+o* ‘predicate’ (lit. ‘predicated-p.p.’);

Particularly telling are the **A-Class** *maiuscol+a* ‘upper-case letter’ and *minuscol+a* ‘lower-case letter’ with lens (explicit or tacit) *<letter-a>*. The two stems also sometimes occur as **O-Class** *maiuscol+o* and *minuscol+o* with lens (explicit or tacit) *<caratter-e>*, and so the terms are particularly helpful for understanding that the difference between “explicit”

⁷³ **O-Class** *verb-o* ‘word’ is a more technical term than the more colloquial **A-Class** *parol-a*.

⁷⁴ To the English technical term *noun* compare Italian *nom-e* ‘name.’

⁷⁵ Evidently, the LIs *cas-o* ‘case’ and *cas-a* ‘house’ have homophonous stems *cas-*.

and “tacit” is of absolutely no theoretical import beyond the process of analysis (It may be easier for the analyst to pinpoint an explicit lens than a tacit lens); the result is the same.

E. Terms from music

As with terms from the field of grammar, so too terms from the field of music can be instructive as to how words of variable lexical class—that is, stems with signals of RIA attached to them—can function with tacit lenses.

L+a ⇒ *⟨music-a⟩* ‘music’ may be *cantat+a* ‘sung-p.p.’ or *sonat+a* instrumentally ‘sounded, played-p.p.’⁷⁶ A *⟨temp-o⟩* ‘time, tempo’ may be *larg+o* ‘wide, spacious,’ *moderat+o* ‘moderated-p.p.,’ or *pian+o* ‘even, slow’—or, for that matter (not signaling RIA) *ad agi-o* ‘at ease’ or played *presto* ‘fast.’ *Il* ⇒ *⟨ritm-o⟩* ‘rhythm’ may be *staccat+o* ‘detached-p.p.’ or *legat+o* ‘bound-p.p.’ And a *uomo* ‘man’ who sings may be identified as *bass+o* ‘low’ or *alt+o* ‘high,’ or—particularly if *castrat+o* ‘castrato, castrated-p.p.’ or pre-pubescent—sing (also not signaling RIA) *sopran-o*.⁷⁷ (See Chapter VII for further on the Identification of human beings.) With all such instances of the signaling of RIA (“+” above) within the domain of music, the LIs alluded to may be tacit, not present in the text at all.

A speaker of Italian not familiar with the history of music might well not be familiar with all these allusions, just as one unfamiliar with the field of grammar might be unfamiliar with the implicit allusions made by traditional grammatical terms such as those

⁷⁶ In modern Standard Italian, the participle of *suonare* ‘sound, play’ is *suonat+*, with a *u*.

⁷⁷ In the medieval church, and even into early modern secular public spaces, women did not sing.

covered above. See §G below in this chapter for further on the matter of “The idiosyncrasy of accessibility of Identity.”

F. Some other instances of implied lenses

Example (13), below, comes from the prologue to Italian writer Antonio Tabucchi’s imaginative book *Donna di Porto Pim, e altre storie*, which was inspired by a prolonged sojourn in the Azores. In this passage, Tabucchi ironically compares his ‘little book’ to a famous French writer’s magnum opus.

- (13) Premesso questo sarebbe però disonesto spacciare queste pagine per pura finzione: la musa che le ha dettate, di un genere confidenziale e direi quasi tascabile, non è paragonabile neppure **all+a lontan+a** con quella maestosa di Raymond Roussel che fu capace di scrivere le sue *Impressions d’Afrique* senza scendere dal suo yacht. (Tabucchi p. 9)

Granted this, however, it would be unseemly to pass these pages off as pure fiction. The muse that dictated them, of a friendly and, I might say, almost portable, nature, is not comparable even distantly [lit., **at-the distant**] with that majestic one of Raymond Roussel, who was capable of writing his *Impressions d’Afrique* without getting off his yacht.

In classical Greco-Roman mythology, the muses were goddesses who inspired human activities such as writing. Surely, quips Tabucchi, the ‘friendly’ or ‘familiar’ muse that dictated his own modest output after a stay in the Azores cannot be compared, even from a great **<distanz-a> ‘distance,’** with the ‘majestic’ muse that inspired Roussel to write about Africa without ever visiting the place. (The phrase **all+a lontan+a** is by no means restricted to such specialized contexts, but this one is revealing.)

Similar in communicative effect to **all+a lontan+a**, lit. ‘**at-the distant,**’ are the variants of **all+a lung+a**, lit. ‘**at/in-the long,**’ among them **di gran lung+a**, lit. ‘of great **long,**’ and **per l+e lungh+e**, lit. ‘for **the-f.-pl. long-f.-pl.**’ The last, the plural, sometimes glossed ‘for a long

time,' is especially revealing, because the entities to which it alludes are *ENUMERABLE*, thus not likely to be lumped together cognitively as a "mass." One of those examples is Example (14), below. It is the headline of a news article about a court proceeding between two men, one of whom, Fazio, has accused the other, Bologna, of defamation. Bologna, the accused, by the way, appears to be particularly litigious. (Trapani is a commune in Sicily.)

(14) Trapani, la querela di Fazio a Bologna. Il processo va per **l+e lunghe** (web)⁷⁸

Trapani: Fazio's suit against Bologna. The process goes for (lit.) **the-f.-pl. long-f.-pl.**

In a civil case, such as for defamation, there are several sequential '*stages*,' or *<fas-i>*: the filing of a complaint within a statute of limitations, the serving of the complaint, a time limit to answer the complaint, the possibility for filing of motions, a discovery phase, the possible ordering of mediation, then (if things get to that point) a trial, with its presentation and rebuttal of evidence, deliberation, a verdict, and then a possible appeal. Fazio's suit against Bologna, according to the news source, is likely to grind through many of these *<fas-i>*.

At the end of the "fragment" of a story "Piccole balene azzurre che passeggiano alle Azzorre" 'Little Blue Whales that Pass by the Azores,' (cf. Ch. III, Ex. 13), the male writer who has been conversing with his female traveling companion as they cross between islands on a ferry calls out to her after he exits ahead of her onto dry land, perhaps happy to escape an awkward topic shared with her. Example (16):

(16) I passeggeri si accalcarono verso l'usita e Marcel fu risucchiato dalla folla che premeva. La donna si tenne in disparte, sorreggendosi

⁷⁸ <https://www.tp24.it/2020/07/22/cronaca/trapani-la-querela-di-fazio-a-bologna-il-processo-va-per-le-lunghe/152281>, accessed Aug. 8, 2020.

alla corda del parapetto. Ti aspetto sul molo, gridò lui senza voltarsi, devo seguire *l+a corrent-e!* Alzò un braccio fra la selva di teste, agitando la mano. (Tabucchi p. 27)

The passengers crowded near the exit, and Marcel was sucked into the pressing crowd. The woman held back, leaning against the rope of the rail.

“I’ll wait for you on the pier,” he shouted without turning. “I must follow *the* current!” He raised one arm above the forest of heads, waving his hand.

As the entire episode has involved a crossing over on a ferry between islands, and the man is an imaginative sort, it is not difficult to infer that, in saying *l+a corrent-e* ‘the running/flowing,’ he is alluding to the movement of *acqu-a* ‘water.’

The lexical item alluded to by the signal of a meaning of Restriction of Identity to A-Class can be idiosyncratic, according to the context, and may or may not actually be found explicitly somewhere in the context. RIA can be quite useful in implicitly tethering a creative Identification to a commonplace lens, thus facilitating communication that might otherwise run the risk of being opaque.

A restaurant in Brindisi serves a *<pizz-a>* that it markets as *L+a Non Lo So* ‘The I Don’t Know.’ This *<pizz-a>* is *condit+a* ‘dressed-p.p.’ with several ingredients.⁷⁹

The city of Campobasso in the Apennine Mountains puts on a *<gar-a>* ‘race’ called *L+a Su e Giù* ‘The Up and Down,’ which is *dedicat+a* ‘dedicated-p.p.’ to the memory of one of the race’s founders.

Consider this advertisement, Example (15):

(15) **II GINGER BALADIN**, è *perfett+a* da bere in compagnia

⁷⁹ https://www.tripadvisor.it/Restaurant_Review-g10245214-d10756029-Reviews-Pizzeria_Lounge_Bar_La_Torre-Villanova_Ostuni_Province_of_Brindisi_Puglia.html, accessed July 24, 2017.

(The) BALADIN GINGER, it's **perfect** for drinking in company

Anyone blinkered by traditional grammar might be puzzled by the apparent mismatch of “gender” displayed here by the “masculine” *il* ‘the’ and the “feminine” *perfett+a* ‘perfect,’ but an understanding of the meaningful working of the system of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) dissolves the puzzlement. The firm Baladin manufactures soft drinks, and this particular *<bibit-a>* ‘soft drink’ is *perfett+a* ‘perfect’ for drinking among other people, for instance in the company of friends. The ad goes on to say:

quest+o⇒ ginger è davvero eccellent-e

...

Ginger Baladin è tra *tutt+e*⇒ *l+e*⇒ *<bibit-e>* Baladin *il*⇒ *<re>*
←incontrastat+o dell’*<aperitiv-o>*.

this ginger is truly excellent

...

Baladin Ginger is, among **all the** Baladin **soft drinks**, **the undisputed king** of the **aperitif**. (web)⁸⁰

Il ‘The’ or *quest+o* ‘this’ *ginger* (among ‘**all the** Baladin **soft drinks**’) makes in fact a superlative *<aperitiv-o>* ‘aperitif.’ That is, thanks to the help of the RIA meanings, the message of the headline is: This particular aperitif is the perfect beverage to drink in company. Each signaled RIA meaning, as usual, alludes to a lexical lens.

In Italian discourse, instances of signals of RIA with an implicit, particular lens, suitable for the context, are not at all uncommon. Across the board, their distribution depends on the contextual suitability of both the lexical sense of the stem and the meaning RIA **MADE**. Among such instances, just a few others, in addition to the above, from the data set that informed this analysis:

⁸⁰ <https://www.baladin.it/ginger>, accessed July 20, 2020.

phrase with RIA signal

nell'affermativ+a 'in the affirmative'
un+a stoppat+a 'a block' (lit. 'a blocked-p.p.')

più alt+a percentual-e 'higher percentage'
quest+a cors+a 'this race' (lit. 'this run-p.p.)⁸²
l+a calm+a 'the calm'
un+a filarmonic+a 'a philharmonic'
l+a cooperativ+a 'the coop(erative)'
l+a marin+a/Marin+a 'the marina/navy'
il mezz+o 'the means'
il vestit+o 'the garment' (cf. *vestire* '[to] wear')
il normal-e 'the normal'

plausible implicit lens

<part-e>⁸¹ 'part/side'
 <pall-a> 'ball' (in a basketball story)
 <quantità> 'quantity' (in a basketball story)
 <gar-a> 'competition/contest'
 <ari-a> 'air'
 <associazion-e> 'association/society'
 <società> 'society'
 <cost-a> 'coast'
 <mod-o> 'way/manner'
 <abit-o> 'clothing'
 <stat-o>⁸³ 'state/status'

G. Lexical idiosyncrasy, grammatical constancy, and communicative pragmatism

Consider the following passage, Example (16), below, written by the same writer as in Example (11), above, a man eking out a living in New York City in the spring of 2020, when the Covid-19 pandemic hit the city, by delivering, on bicycle, food and pharmaceuticals to New Yorkers afraid to leave their apartments.

- (16) Abbiamo visto anche qualche scienziato lanciare appelli ai Governi di tutto il mondo per andare in Africa, o presso altre popolazioni meno preziose per l'economia mondiale, per condurre degli esperimenti attraverso i quali sperano di creare *dei vaccin+i*. (CovidRider)

We have also seen certain scientists make appeals to the governments of the whole world to go to Africa, or to other populations [supposedly] less valuable for the world economy, to conduct experiments through which they hope to create *some vaccines*.

⁸¹ Cf. *sull+a negativ+a*. See Chapter V on <part-e> 'part/side' as implicit, generic lens.

⁸² Cf. Chapter VI on *cors+o* 'course.'

⁸³ In this work, *stat-o/i* 'state/s, status/es,' with invariable LC, is distinguished from homophones *stat+o/i* 'stood-p.p.,' signaling RIA. The former derives from CL *statū* of the "fourth declension"; the latter is the O-Class participle, alongside A-Class *stat+a/+e*, related to *stare* 'stand' (in traditional grammar often treated too as the participle of *essere* 'be').

Although it is possible that the cynical writer knows about the history of vaccines in the discovery by Edward Jenner in 1796 that the *pus* ‘pus’ of a person infected with cowpox would reduce an inoculated person’s chance of contracting the disease, there is no evidence that the writer is alluding to *pus* when he writes of a *vaccin+o* ‘vaccine’—lit., ‘bovine’—against the novel coronavirus. (Compare *<stall-a> vaccin+a* ‘cowshed.’) It is more likely that the writer anticipates the development of a modern scientific intervention to forestall spread of the virus. Even, then, if the writer knows about Jenner’s invention, the writer appears not to be alluding to that in this passage. For this writer, then, at least for his present purposes, *vaccin-o* ‘vaccine’ is just an invariably classed O-Class LI. Its final [o] is not a signal of a meaning of RIA. If so, then, for him, *vaccin-i* ‘vaccines’ is just an identification of things that can potentially be enumerated and can inoculate against disease.

Different people will know different things, including bits of history related to the development of their lexicon. But this is not an account of speaker knowledge; it is an account of the observed distribution of forms in text. Even if an analyst knew that a certain language-user knew a certain bit of lexical history, the analyst might not be able to show that such knowledge factored into the user’s linguistic behavior on a given occasion, unless the user saw fit to mention that knowledge (not the case in Example 16). In this analysis, therefore, there is no evidence that would support a position that the letter *o* on the end of *vaccino* is in all instances a signal of RIA.

Similarly, there is no reason to believe—nor would it even matter—that the adolescent narrator of Giuseppe Berto’s 1951 novel *Il brigante* ‘The Brigand’ knows, when the boy describes meeting a soldier, that the word *divis+a* ‘uniform’ ends in *a* because of

any allusion to the rather literary A-Class *vest-e* ‘garment,’ a $\langle vest-e \rangle \leftarrow divis+a$ being a ‘garment’ that is ‘divided-p.p.’ into functional and symbolic parts:

- (17) Aveva **l+a divis+a** del soldato coloniale, coi pantaloni chiusi alla caviglia e le scarpe gialle a gambaleto. (Berto p. 10)

He was wearing **the uniform** of a colonial soldier, with the pants closed at the ankle and the yellow ankle-high boots.

Rather, it is likely that, for the boy, *divis-a* is an A-Class LI identifying the type of clothing worn by soldiers and the like. In fact, the LI *divis-a* ‘uniform’ is typically found alone, without the LI *vest-e* and with no evident allusion to it.

In an account of the observed distribution of forms in text, there is no need to speculate about a language-user’s knowledge or its bearing upon distribution. There is no need for the account of observed distribution to take such “an explicitly psychological turn” (Reid 1995: 138). It is required only to account for the observed distribution. *Divis+a* ‘uniform’ ends as it does because of an allusion to $\langle vest-e \rangle$, whether Berto’s fictional character knows it or not.

It is not at all clear whether professional sports writer Claudio Pellecchia, in Example (18) below, knows that the final *a* of *doppi+a* ‘double,’ a technical term in basketball, alludes to the A-Class LI *figur-a* ‘digit,’ thanks to the way such outstanding feats in that sport are written with two digits in a base-ten writing system. Here Pellecchia predicts a glorious season for NBA star Giannis Antetokounmpo, accumulating a spectacular five two-digit measures:

- (18) Realizzando, ovviamente, **un+a quintupl+a doppi+a**. (Pellecchia)

Accomplishing, of course, **a quintuple double**.

Some basketball fans no doubt know why a “double” is called a “double” in English, and perhaps too Pellecchia knows why *doppi+a* in Italian ends in *a*. But there is no need for the analyst to appeal here to allusion by Pellecchia to the LI *figur-a*.⁸⁴

And although the talented writer Antonio Tabucchi certainly appears to have been a well educated man who hailed from the Italian peninsula, there is no reason to appeal to any allusion by him in the two examples (19 and 20) below to the ancient Roman custom of noting the transfer of a *⟨letter-a⟩ ←dat+a* ‘letter given’ to its recipient:

- (19) [Gli inglesi] si trattennero a São Miguel fino all’aprile del 1839. È da supporre che la salute di mister Henry fosse alquanto migliorata se in *quell+a dat+a* i due fratelli decisero di imbarcarsi su . . . (Tabucchi pp. 30-31)

The Englishmen stayed at São Miguel until April 1839. Supposedly, Mr. Henry’s health had improved enough if on *that date* the two brothers decided to embark for. . . .

- (20) Per i navigatori che si fermano a Horta è norma lasciare sulla muraglia del molo un disegno, un nome, *un+a dat+a*. È un muro lungo un centinaio di metri dove si sovrappongono disegni di barche, colori di bandiere, numeri, frasi. (Tabucchi p. 37)

For sailors who stop at Horta, it is the custom to leave on the wall of the wharf a drawing, a name, *a date*. It is a wall of about a hundred meters on which are placed drawings of boats, colors of flags, numbers, phrases.

Evidence (as illustrated in this chapter) has shown that for a communicative allusion to be made to a lens, it is not necessary that that lexical item be explicitly present in

⁸⁴ An English-speaking friend of mine who watches a lot of basketball reports that he certainly knows what a “double” is and can even tick off some of the categories that count as “doubles” in basketball, but he had no idea that the term had anything to do with two digits.

the text; it may exist in other texts that use the same lexicon. In some cases, the sense of the variably classed stem to which the RIA signal is attached, in combination with other elements of the context, will suggest such an allusion. In some cases, allusions are unknown or irrelevant, or even lost to history. The analyst who is accounting for observed distribution may know or come to know things that some speakers do not know (and vice versa). For instance, there exist in the distribution of this study all four of these: *vaccin+a*, *vaccin+o*, *vaccin+e*, *vaccin+i*. In the history of public health, there was a development involving the pus of persons infected with the cowpox virus that led to the possibility to develop a vaccine for the virus that causes Covid-19. With such knowledge, an analyst might account for the observed distribution of the form *vaccin+o*. The writer referred to here as CovidRider may or may not know about the roles of pus and cows in the history of immunization, but he is not in the business of accounting for the distribution of the form *vaccin+o*. This analyst is.

It may help to consider the place of this indeterminacy of the RIA meanings in the wider context of language use.

The lexicon is riotously idiosyncratic. It is really big, consisting of thousands of items. Some of them are short, such as *ag-o* ‘needle,’ and some of them are longer, such as *asparag-o* ‘asparagus.’ Some begin with the oral cavity at maximum aperture, such as *amor-e* ‘love,’ and some with zero aperture, such as *pac-e* ‘peace.’ A lexicon’s semantic idiosyncrasy can perhaps best be appreciated through a cross-linguistic perspective. The English lexicon distinguishes *nephew* and *niece*, while the Italian has just *nipot-e*; and the Italian distinguishes *sapere* and *conoscere* while the English has just *know*.

By contrast, consider the grammar. There are just a few grammatical systems, not thousands of them: systems having to do with semantic substances such as Time (“tense”) and Degree of Control by participants in an event (“case role”) (Davis 2017b: 50, 61-87), Enumeration and Restriction of Identity to A-Class (this study). And each system has only a few members; two (the number of meanings in the system of RIA) is typical. There are only three known types of formal grammatical signaling: the phonologically based (e.g., Italian *+a/+o/+e/+i*, English plural *-s*), the null (e.g., English singular $-\emptyset$),⁸⁵ and the positional or order-based (e.g., Italian [*selodice*] ‘he/she tells him/herself it’ vs. [*losidice*] ‘one says it’ or English *A dog bit a man* vs. *A man bit a dog*).⁸⁶ And there are only a handful of known types of semantic organization in grammar, including the **opposition of exclusion** seen in the RIA meanings *MADE* and *NOT MADE*.⁸⁷

This contrast between the lexicon and the grammar is surveyed by Davis (2017b: 139-163) under the rubric “Grammatical constancy and lexical idiosyncrasy” as it pertains to to the constant semantic contribution of grammatical *si* (the clitic) across an array of diverse lexical items with verbal morphology.

Analysis here of the small and quite finite grammatical system of RIA, as it is found attached to a panoply of LIs in a mere sampling of the infinite variety of texts, compels contemplation of a third leg, as it were, to that communicative apparatus: pragmatic usage. Analysis of the system of RIA can be used to learn how (1) grammar and (2) lexicon function together, hand-in-hand as it were, in (3) pragmatic communication. A writer or

⁸⁵ For an analysis of the system of Number in English, see Reid (1991).

⁸⁶ For that analysis of Italian *si*, see Davis (2017b), particularly pp. 83-85 for the order of *s(i)* with respect to *l+*.

⁸⁷ Davis (2018) reviews those types of grammatical organization.

speaker has a finite—though large—lexicon and a finite—and quite small—grammar with which to communicate an infinite variety of **messages** to members of a large and quite varied population of other human beings. A writer or speaker constantly has to decide what to communicate, and how to communicate it, to whom. A reader or listener then has to figure out what signals are being read or heard (“Was that just an *a* or an *+a*?”), and what message the meanings they signal are jointly communicating. That fundamental distinction between finite, signaled grammatical **meaning** and infinitely varied communicated **message** was made long ago by Diver (1975/2012: 48-54 *et passim*). That gap is bridged, as per Diver, by a **human factor**, whereby people use their intelligence to derive rich communicated messages from meager grammatical (and even lexical) input. Reid (1991: 309-310) calls the communicative process of figuring out the signals and the message at the same time “interpretive bootstrapping.” Keeping the *ad hoc* communicative message distinct from systematic grammatical, signaled meaning, allows the analyst to craft hypotheses for grammatical meanings that are verifiable, allows the analytical **problem** to be solved, i.e., the problem of observed distribution.

Like the rest of grammar, the grammatical system of RIA is simple. RIA consists of only two mutually opposed signaled meanings (an **opposition of exclusion**) exhaustively dividing a single semantic substance. Other than the recognition of the signals (Which *a*? Which *o*?), the only systematic complexity, really, is that the RIA meanings exist in an **interlock** with two meanings of the semantic substance of Enumeration, resulting in a total of four signaled combinations of meanings (*+a/+o/+e/+i* signaling combinations of the meanings **MADE**, **NOT MADE**, **ENUMERATE**, and **DO NOT ENUMERATE**). Overall, the grammatical contribution to any communication will be quite simple.

More complex will be the contribution made by the lexicon, with its idiosyncratic membership.

The two RIA meanings come into contact with thousands of different LIs. And then that combination of grammar and lexicon confronts an infinite variety of messages to be communicated to an enormously varied population of other people with different stores of knowledge: Messages about whales, messages about basketball, messages about a pandemic in Manhattan, and messages to people who know a lot about whales or a little, a lot about basketball or a little, and a lot about Manhattan or a little. And so, when a writer signals Restriction of Identity to A-Class MADE or NOT MADE, and attaches that signal to a lexical item (say, *noios+* 'boring' or *interessant-* 'interesting') in a context (say, about whales or basketball or Manhattan), there will be a **communicative problem** (Diver ca. 1970 / 2012) for the reader to solve: Just how is Identity being Restricted here, to what if anything? In a token of *stran+a* 'strange,' is RIA being MADE to *balen-a* 'whale,' to *pall-a* 'ball,' to *città* 'city'? Is this a communication about the sea? about a sport? about a place where people live and work? In a token of *stran+o* 'strange,' the communicative problem is systematically even worse: Is it a 'strange' *capodogli-o* 'sperm whale'? *giocatore* 'player'? *virus* 'virus'? or (Chapter VI) some idea too complex even to be encapsulated in one LI, maybe that a whale played basketball in a city? A grammatical meaning is only an **imprecise hint** (Diver 1995/2012: 479 *et passim*), not an unambiguous reference. Just as a grammatical meaning like Number OTHER THAN ONE (or MORE THAN ONE) can be six, seventeen, eighty, or nine million (cf. Diver *passim*, Reid 1991: 71 *et passim*), so too the Italian grammatical meaning RIA MADE can allude to a *balen-a* 'whale,' a *pall-a* 'ball,' a *città* 'city,' or any other A-Class lens. It will not, however, be an allusion to a *capodogli-o* 'sperm whale,' a

giocator-e basketball 'player,' or a *virus* 'virus,' through those O-Class lenses, nor to an idea not expressed through a single lens.

There is no way for the analyst (at least one who cannot conduct psychological experiments or read minds) to know whether either the writer / speaker or the reader / listener knows the exact allusion. Such lack of knowledge on the part of the analyst, however, does not preclude the analysis of the distribution of forms in text.

The Communicative Function of Gender in Italian
Joseph Davis

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Chapter V

The Lens of Identity is Generic

Chapters III and IV concerned occurrences of signals from the system of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) that make allusion to particular lexical items (LIs). Those LIs may (Ch. III) be explicit in the text or may (Ch. IV) exist only in other texts and in the lexicon and be suggested by the LIs that actually are explicit in the context in question.

For convenience of reference, the hypothesis is repeated here:

		<u>Enumeration</u>	
		DO NOT ENUMERATE	ENUMERATE
Restriction of Identity to A-Class	}	MADE	+a
		NOT MADE	+o +i

See the full statement in Chapter II, including signaling irregularities.

This chapter too concerns occurrences of signals of RIA that make allusion to LIs, but those LIs, considered within the whole of the Italian lexicon, are extremely generic. It is communicatively useful for a speaker or writer to have access to generic terms. We often avoid specificity out of ignorance (“Who?”), evasiveness (“Someone”), a wish to generalize a particular situation to other situations deemed to be of its ilk (“This is a victory!”), or out of our confidence that our interlocutor will be able to infer whatever appropriate specificity we have efficiently left out (“When you said that, I knew what you meant”). This tug-of-war between language-users is part of Diver’s “human factor” (1970a; 1995/2012: 485 *et*

passim). Consider the usefulness of terms such as, for instance, *che* ‘what/that,’ *qualsiasi* ‘whatever,’ *anche* ‘also,’ or *loro* ‘they/them.’ This chapter, then, concerns examples of RIA with allusions, explicit or not, to generic lenses.

The division of the Italian lexicon into two classes is asymmetrical—besides in the semantic content of its two meanings—in the sense that the A-Class has several highly generic words, including the most generic LI in the entire lexicon: *cosa* ‘what/thing.’ (The classification is not particularly asymmetrical in terms of membership, the two classes having roughly equal membership numerically.⁸⁸) Those generic words, being so communicatively useful, are highly frequent in usage, and so the allusion to them by RIA, whether they are explicit in a text or not, is common enough to merit a detour here (out of the analysis of the observation of the distribution of RIA signals in texts) into the pragmatics of frequency of usage.

A. Detour: Frequency of usage of lexical items

Because, as seen in the previous two chapters, the lexical item alluded to by a token of a signal of a RIA meaning is not mechanically given—for instance, is not reliably the head noun in the phrase—but can be guessed at only through a process of inference, it is helpful to have an idea of the frequency, more or less, of various LIs in usage.

That is particularly true in Italian since, as it turns out, one LI in Italian stands out far above all the rest. If a certain LI is particularly frequent in usage, it is likely to be a good candidate for a target in that *ad hoc* process of inference. (Conversely, if a LI is rare, it is

⁸⁸ http://www.treccani.it/magazine/lingua_italiana/domande_e_risposte/lessico/lessico_595.html, accessed July 5, 2018.

unlikely to be a good candidate for status as a lens outside a specialized context.) Of course, since usage is far from constant but is constantly happening and the things that people communicate change over time (Who in medieval times communicated about gravitational waves?), no relative frequency of any LI can be stated definitively. Too, texts differ in the relative frequencies of their LIs. For instance, a scientific textbook about faraway stars and planets is unlikely to have high frequencies of lexical items having to do with human beings, while, by contrast, a fictional novel is likely to have relatively high frequencies of LIs identifying earthly men and women. One text is about whales, another about basketball, and a third about a pandemic. Still, it will be helpful to have in mind, as this analysis proceeds, that certain LIs are common in usage and others are rare, especially since that most generic LI in Italian (*cos-a*) is so extraordinarily frequent. Such knowledge is relevant in the analyst's determination of what might be a good candidate for allusion by a RIA meaning on occasion, and so it is relevant in this account of the observed distribution of the RIA signals. And the extraordinary frequency of the most generic LI in the lexicon (*cos-a*) is of considerable relevance in this chapter. Fortunately for anyone interested in analysis, pragmatic research on Italian usage suggests that only a few LIs are especially frequent. And fortunately, there are only a few LIs that are routinely alluded to when no lens is explicit, that is, lexical items that occur not in the particular text in question but only in other texts, that is, in the lexicon.

To get an idea of the relative frequency of LIs in common usage, this analysis turns to two reputable sources for the frequencies of words on the basis of pragmatic studies of

attested discourse. One of those sources gives frequencies based on spoken data, and the other gives frequencies based on written data.⁸⁹

According to that research, most of the super-frequent words in usage do not signal RIA meanings at all. (Recall the basic sketch of the lexicon that was laid out in Chapter I.) To put things into perspective, these words include the following: familiar disjunctive forms (i.e., excluding clitics and stems with attached gender-number suffixes; e.g., *io* 'I,' *tu* 'you'); forms associated (by the sources consulted) with *essere* 'be'; the forms *di* 'of'; *che* 'that/what'; *e* 'and'; *non* 'not'; *in* 'in/into'; forms of *fare* 'do/make,' *dire* 'say/tell,' and *andare* 'go'; *per* 'for'; *sì* 'yes' and *no* 'no'; *da* 'from/by'; *ma* 'but'; *perché* 'why/because'; *bene* 'well'; *anche* 'too/also'; and *se* 'if.' These words are essentially uninvolved in the present analysis.

Four of these super-frequent items do have variable Lexical Class and so do signal RIA meanings and thus are involved in the present analysis. The four with regular RIA signals (*+a/+o/+e/+i*) attached to them as suffixes are: *un+* 'one/a(n)' and *quest+* 'this/these.'⁹⁰ With regular and irregular forms is *quell+*, glossed 'that/those.' Most frequent of all are the items lumped together by these sources as the definite article typically glossed 'the,' all of which, when not elided (*l'*), have variable LC (signal RIA meanings): *il, l+o, l+a, i, gli, l+e*. Those four super-frequent morphological groups that signal RIA meanings are included in this study (and this study is responsible for the

⁸⁹ The two web sites are: *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato* (LIP) at <http://badip.uni-graz.at/it/>, and *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano scritto* (LIF) at <https://people.unica.it/mauriziotrifone/files/2020/04/Linguistica1.-Lessico-e-dizionari.pdf>, both accessed July 22, 2020.

⁹⁰ As mentioned earlier, there is also—and it occurs frequently—a form *un* that by itself signals RIA NOT MADE.

account of their distribution) right along with variable LIs of more ordinary frequencies (e.g., *alt+* ‘tall,’ *prezios+* ‘costly,’ *bianc+* ‘white,’ *vecchi+* ‘old,’ and so forth).

No entry in this super-frequent group, however, has invariable LC (inherent gender). That is, no super-frequent LI has permanent membership in the A-Class or O-Class. No entry in this group of super-frequent items ever serves as a lens alluded to by a RIA meaning.⁹¹

By far, the most frequent item with invariable Lexical Class is A-Class *cos-a*, which is typically glossed as ‘**what**’ or ‘**thing**,’ thus denoted here (since neither English gloss by itself captures the sense of *cos-a*) indifferently as ‘**what/thing**.’ According to one of the scholarly pragmatic sources, *cos-a*, together with its elided form *cos*’, occurs over three times as frequently as the second most frequent lexical item. To put that exceptionalism into perspective, consider the actual frequencies given by this source for the top ten most frequent LIs of invariable LC:

lexical items ranked	LC	n
1 <i>cos-a</i> ‘ what/thing ’	A	2,573
2 <i>ann-o</i> ‘year’	O	798
3 <i>part-e</i> ‘part’	A	744
4 <i>or-a</i> ‘hour’	A	670
5 <i>problem-a</i> ‘problem’	O	610
6 <i>volt-a</i> ‘turn/time’	A	601
7 <i>giorn-o</i> ‘day’	O	556
8 <i>cas-a</i> ‘house’	A	490
9 <i>esempi-o</i> ‘example’	O	473
10 <i>person-a</i> ‘person’	A	459

⁹¹ Any of these super-frequent LIs can, granted, be used as a word *qua* word, as in *il sí* ‘the yes.’ Such use of the RIA meaning Identity NOT MADE to A-Class is covered in Chapter VI.

In the table, note two things: Except for *cos-a*, the two LCs (A and O) are about equally represented among the top ten in frequency in the texts used for that pragmatic study (five A-Class and four O-Class items). And *cos-a*—to repeat—is over three times as frequent ($n = 2,573$) as the second-most frequent item ($n = 798$).

Moreover, in the variety of Italian analyzed here, *cos-a* is morphologically unique among lexical items with invariable LC in ever being elided (*cos*).⁹²

And *cos-a* is extraordinarily generic in sense. Of *cos-a*, *Dizionario Garzanti* says:

il termine più generico della nostra lingua, usato per indicare qualsiasi entità reale o ideale, concreta o astratta, che sia oggetto dell'attenzione di chi parla o scrive; spesso si impiega per alludere ad alcunché di cui non si possa o non si voglia parlare con precisione

the most generic term in our language, used to indicate any entity whatsoever, real or ideal, concrete or abstract, that may be the object of the speaker or writer's attention; often, it is used to allude to anything at all of which one cannot or does not wish to speak with precision.⁹³

The quotation is helpful, particularly its phrase *il termine più generico della nostra lingua*

'the most generic term in our language' and its detailing the extremes of that range.

However, being one part of an instrument of human communication, the item *cos-a*

functions rather more subjectively than Garzanti's definition would suggest. (Recall

Chapter I on the important difference between reference and Identification.) The LI *cos-a* is

⁹² Recall (Ch. II) that the elided forms *bel* 'beautiful,' *buon* 'good,' and *san* 'saint(ly), holy' (cf. the unclassified stems *bell+*, *buon+*, *sant+*) signal the RIA meaning NOT MADE, and that elided *gran* 'big' (cf. the unelided *grand-e*) belongs to neither LC.

⁹³ Though there are forms (e.g., *person-a* 'person') that are specialized for the identification of humans, *cos-a*—in perhaps the lowest degree of identification imaginable, implying perhaps only entitihood—can even be used for a human being (e.g., <https://ricerca.gelocal.it/lanuovasardegna/archivio/lanuovasardegna/2000/08/22/ST401.html>, accessed Feb. 26, 2021). The collocation *che cos-a* 'what (thing),' however, quite reliably identifies a nonhuman, no doubt influenced by the semantic difference between *che* 'what/that/who(m)' and *chi* 'who/whom.'

not used objectively to *indicare qualsiasi entità* ‘to indicate any entity whatsoever’—that formulation smacks of referentiality—but rather to communicate the language-user’s **Identification** of an entity: in effect, to entify something, to make something a ‘thing.’ “Things” do not pre-exist objectively in the universe, available already for a person to ‘indicate’; rather, a human being **Identifies** whatever is called for in that person’s communication.⁹⁴

Take the LI *amor-e* ‘love,’ a LI that rather notoriously identifies a plethora of diverse experiences.

Or take another extreme case: To speak, in English, even of a solid, compact ‘stone’ (e.g., *a small stone*) is to assume a point of view, one that conveys discreteness as opposed to mere materiality (e.g., *a stone wall*). Such distinctions can even be lexicalized in some lexicons. This distinction seems pretty well conveyed by the two Italian LIs *sass-o* and *pietr-a*, both available to be chosen by a language-user at will.

In other cases such shades of communication are not encoded in a given store of lexical items. For instance, if a user of the Italian lexicon were to wish to convey a discreteness of the substance of *legn-o* ‘wood,’ the person might need to resort to using a combination of LIs such as *pezz-o di legn-o* ‘piece of wood.’

This property of words is hinted at in the traditional distinction between “count nouns” and “mass nouns.” For instance, one can speak of countable *albor-i* ‘trees’ or collectively of a *selv-a* ‘forest.’ The count/mass distinction, however, is inadequate. Here is

⁹⁴ Davis (2020) concerns the idea of lexical items for subjective Identification rather than objective reference.

an example, (1), just to show how *cos-a* is sometimes glossed as ‘*what*’—which, of course, does not even rise to a count/mass distinction:

(1) Ma tu, invece, *cos-a* cerchi, che tutte le sere sei qui? (Tabucchi p. 78)

“But you, on the other hand, *what* (*cos-a*) are you looking for, being here every night?”

To see that the LI *cos-a* imposes an entification, it suffices to examine attested usage data such as the following, Example (2) (an example chosen merely to illustrate the point):

(2) Penso che Rupert e Breezy attraversano i mari accompagnati dai clavicembali e dalle melodie mozartiane, e *l+a*⇒ *⟨cos-a⟩* mi sembra *un+a*⇒ *stran+a*⇒ *⟨bellezz-a⟩*, forse perché ho sempre associato la musica all’idea della terraferma, del teatro o di una stanza ovattata e in penombra. (Tabucchi p. 37)

I think that Rupert and Breezy cross the oceans accompanied by harpsichords and Mozartian melodies, and the *thing* (*cos-a*) seems to me to be a strange *beauty* (*bellezz-a*), perhaps because I have always associated music with the idea of terra firma, of the theater or of a room cushioned and in darkness.

In this passage, the writer twice entifies his thinking that *Rupert e Breezy attraversano i mari accompagnati dai clavicembali e dalle melodie mozartiane* ‘Rupert and Breezy cross the oceans accompanied by harpsichords and Mozartian melodies’: first generically as *cos-a* and then more specifically as *bellezz-a*. The Italian lexicon happens not to have a LI particularly suited to the concept of a couple crossing ‘the oceans accompanied by harpsichords and Mozartian melodies.’ *Cos-a* can do that, and then that *cos-a* can be identified further as, in this writer’s opinion, a *bellezz-a*.

Cos-a is truly in a league by itself. It is pragmatically, morphologically, and semantically special. It will be the LI most often claimed here to be implied when there is no

explicit lens to which a RIA meaning alludes. *Cos-a*, as it were, hovers perpetually in the lexicon, even when it is not explicit in the discourse.

Among the most frequent of the words of invariable LC—but far below *cos-a*—are the following: *part-e* ‘part’ (ranked second among A-Class LIs); *person-a* ‘person’ (ranked sixth); *temp-o* ‘time/weather’; *mod-o* ‘manner/way’; *donn-a* ‘woman’; and *uomo* ‘man.’ These will often be appealed to in this work as implied lenses. Since *cos-a* can be anything at all, it logically subsumes all other potential lenses, but two of the most useful in this treatment—in accounting for the distribution—will be *part-e* ‘part’ and *person-a* ‘person.’ And, in turn, *person-a* ‘person’ can be thought of even more specifically (in a way that Italian-speakers have often found useful) as *donn-a* ‘woman’ and *uomo* ‘man.’ Because the present work saves the Identification of human beings to Chapter VII, and because more particular nonhuman Identification (including *temp-o* and *mod-o*) was covered in Chapter IV, the present chapter will mostly concern allusion to *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ and *part-e* ‘part’ (“mostly” because, again, *cos-a* can even, at times, Identify a person). If one thinks of *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ as entifying—that is, as Identifying something as a holistic ‘what/thing’ conceivable distinctly from other ‘what/thing’s—then one can think of *part-e* as the most generic way to identify something as only ‘part’ of some whole. So, loosely put, this chapter concerns allusions to generic wholes and their parts.

B. Explicit generic lenses *cos-a* and *part-e*

Cos-a ‘what/thing’ and *part-e* ‘part/side’ can both appear as explicit lenses. Consider such examples before turning, in the next section, to tokens of RIA for which *cos-a* and *part-e* are interpreted as tacit lenses.

The context of Example (3) is a bitter man feeling betrayed by a woman.

- (3) Ah, su *un+a* ⇒ *sol+a* ⇒ *⟨cos-a⟩* lei non mi aveva mentito, lo scopersi al processo. Si chiamava davvero Yeborath. (Tabucchi p. 87)

Ah. On *one thing* (*cos-a*) *alone* she hadn't lied to me. I found out about it at the trial. Her name really was Yeborath.

The LI *cos-a* entifies the fact that the woman's name really was Yeborath. That entification allows the speaker not only to distinguish this fact from others but also to characterize it.

He says that it was the *un+a* ⇒ *sol+a* ⇒ *⟨cos-a⟩* 'one thing alone' that the woman did not lie about to him; she lied to him about every other thing:

Io le chiedevo: chi sei, da dove vieni?, perché non andiamo via . . . , voglio stare con te per sempre. Lei rideva e mi lasciava intendere la ragione di quella sua vita, e mi diceva: aspetta ancora un po' e ce ne andremo insieme, devi fidarti di me, di più non posso dirti. (p. 85)

I asked her, "Who are you? Where do you come from? What don't we go away . . . ? I want to be with you forever."

She laughed and told me the story of her life, and she said to me, "Wait a little while longer, and we can go away together. You must trust me. I can't tell you more."

Actually, the woman was awaiting the return of a lover. The narrator finds out at the climax of the story.

In fondo alla stanza una figura si mosse. Era un uomo anziano e si stava vestendo.

At the back of the room a figure moved. It was an old man, and he was getting dressed.

Example (4) comes from an editorial about the difficulty of getting appointments for Covid-19 vaccinations in Campania in March 2021, after the Region officially opened up appointments to residents over seventy years old. The government's intention was that residents would make appointments on the internet. Problems ensued, of which two

(numbers [1], [2] inserted by jd) are given in the passage below, in the words of an official of the consumer-protection agency Codacons.

- (4) “La piattaforma telematica per le adesioni alle vaccinazioni per gli over 70 della regione Campania è aperta e subito si manifestano le solite inefficienze. [1] Il sistema subito si blocca e non viene spedito L’OTP e la registrazione non si completa. Centinaia di Campani bloccati in casa da questa mattina per cercare di inserire se stessi, i genitori o i nonni”, ha affermato in una nota l’Avv. Marchetti, vicesegretario nazionale del Codacons.

“È un disastro - ha poi aggiunto lo stesso - [2] Ma che ne sarà per quegli over 70 incapaci di usare un PC? È veramente **un+a**⇒ **⟨cos-a⟩** **←vergognos+a** costringere gli anziani a passare ore dinanzi al computer per avere un codice OTP”. (web)⁹⁵

“The data transmission platform for the agreement for vaccinations for those over 70 in the Region of Campania is opened up, and immediately there are the usual inefficiencies. [1] The system immediately crashes and the OTP [One-Time PIN] doesn’t get sent, and the registration doesn’t get completed. Hundreds of Campanians [are] stuck at home since this morning trying to get themselves, their parents and grandparents in,” said attorney Marchetti, National Vice Secretary of Codacons.

“It’s a disaster,” he then added. “But what will happen to the *over 70s* who are unable to use a PC [personal computer]? It’s truly **a shameful thing** (**cos-a**) to make old people spend hours in front of a computer to get an OTP code.”

The LI **cos-a** entifies *costringere gli anziani a passare ore dinanzi al computer per avere un codice OTP* ‘to make old people spend hours in front of a computer to get an OTP’ and then characterizes that ‘one’ particular ‘thing’ as ‘shameful.’ That ‘shameful’ **cos-a** ‘what/thing,’ according to the official, is in addition to another problem: the fact that the web site

⁹⁵ <https://quifinanza.it/editoriali/video/vaccino-covid-campania/471051/>, accessed June 18, 2021.

crashed, with the result that even users who were able to access the web site were unable to get their appointments. Lens *cos-a* entifies and thus allows one ‘thing’ to be distinguished conceptually from another. This property of *cos-a* will prove to be crucial for several examples in this chapter.

Similarly Example (5):

- (5) Google Maps ha aggiunto lo spazio alle sue mappe interattive ed è veramente *un+a*⇒⟨*cos-a*⟩ ⇐*magnific+a* da vedere. (web)⁹⁶

Google Maps has added space to its interactive maps, and it is truly a wonderful thing (*cos-a*) to see.

The LI *cos-a* entifies *Google Maps ha aggiunto lo spazio alle sue mappe interattive* and characterizes that *un+a*⇒⟨*cos-a*⟩ as *magnific+a*. This addition is a new act by Google, following its development of other features, such as maps of land masses on earth.

In Example (6), explicit *cos-a* is alluded to anaphorically by *l+a* (*l+* with the RIA signal *+a* attached to it) clitic to the verb *pensa* ‘thinks.’ (See Chapter III on RIA signals attached to *l+*, with its grammatical but no lexical content.)

- (6) Una persona dice *un+a*⇒⟨*cos-a*⟩ ma non ⇐*l+a* pensa davvero e non vuole dire quello. (web)⁹⁷

A person says a thing (*cos-a*) but doesn’t really think it and doesn’t want to say that.

⁹⁶ <https://www.navigaweb.net/2017/10/esplorare-i-pianeti-in-google-maps.html>, accessed June 18, 2021.

⁹⁷ ucalgara.ca/live-uc-ucalgary-site/, accessed 6/28/21.

Cos-a can be explicit lens for RIA attached to both lexical (Examples 3, 4, 5) and grammatical (Example 6) items.

Turn now from Identification of the whole *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ to one or more of its *part-i* ‘parts.’ Logically, if there are ‘parts’ to a whole, then those ‘parts’ are conceptually distinct from one another.

In Example (7), a young immigrant who delivered products by bicycle to people shut up in their Manhattan apartments during the worst of the pandemic in 2020 explains why he sometimes refused requests when they appeared on an app he had on his phone. His rationale (*perché*) for, overall, doing his best (*del mio meglio*) has two *part-i* ‘parts.’

- (7) Ho fatto del mio meglio per rifiutare le richieste di consegna presso le farmacie Walgreens e Duane Read, in *part-e* perché era troppo mortificante accettare lavori in cui la mia unica funzione era di ridurre il rischio che gente più ricca di me avrebbe dovuto affrontare, in *part-e* perché sapevo che i prodotti che le persone cercavano di ordinare erano già esauriti.

I did my best to refuse delivery requests from the pharmacies Walgreens and Duane Read, in *part* (*part-e*) because it was too mortifying to accept jobs in which my only function was to reduce the risk that people richer than I am would have had to face, in *part* (*part-e*) because I knew that the products that the people were looking for were usually already sold out.

There are two *part-i* ‘parts’ to this whole thing, this rationale for refusing work assignments.

Example (8) concerns Calvino’s imaginary ‘divided viscount’ met in Example 12 of Chapter III. As a reminder: The man, who is of course bilaterally symmetrical, gets blown literally in half by a cannonball, the evil half of his nature confined to his right side, and the good half of his nature to his left side (which makes a surprise appearance late in the story). Example (12) of Chapter III concerned the particular lenses provided by Viscount

Medardo's specific body parts. Example (8) below, by contrast, concerns the generic right and left *part-i* 'sides' of his body and what of its singular entirety 'was saved' (*se n'era salvato*).

- (8) A farla breve, se n'era salvato solo metà, *l+a*⇒ ⟨*part-e*⟩ ⇐*destr+a*, che peraltro era perfettamente ⇐*conservat+a*, senza neanche una scalfittura, escluso quell'enorme squarcio che l'aveva ⇐*separat+a dall+a*⇒ ⟨*part-e*⟩ ⇐*sinistr+a* ⇐*andat+a* in bricioli. (Calvino pp. 26-27).

In brief, only half of him had been saved, *the right side* (*part-e*), which, moreover, was perfectly *preserved*, without even a scratch, except for that enormous tear that had *separated* it from *the left side* (*part-e*) *blown* to bits.

Much as there are *part-i* 'parts' to reasons for refusing delivery work and two 'sides' to a human body, so there are *part-i* 'parts' or 'sides' in a disagreement. It is a disagreement even if the other 'side' is not explicitly mentioned. The quotation in Example (9), below, is spoken by an 'ex-center fielder and ex-captain' (N.B. 'ex') of the Milan soccer club to an interviewer. There are two *part-i* 'parts' to 'what happened' (*Cos-a è successo?*): his *part-e* 'part' and, by implication, that of the *club*.

- (9) SULL'ADDIO AL MILAN - "*Cosa* è successo? No, non ho la risposta a quella stagione maledetta. E le risposte che mi hanno dato non corrispondono al vero. Comunque ho avuto problemi con alcune persone del club, ma non con il club. E poi da ⟨*part-e*⟩ ⇐*mi+a* penso di aver sempre avuto un comportamento impeccabile". (web)⁹⁸

CONCERNING THE GOOD-BYE TO MILAN: "*What* (*Cos-a*) happened [you ask]? No, I don't have the answer to that accursed season. And the answers that they have given me do not match the truth. Nevertheless, I had problems with certain persons in the club but not

⁹⁸ <https://www.calciomercato.com/news/milan-riecco-montolivo-da-parte-mia-comportamento-impeccabile-ad-16767>, accessed June 15, 2021.

with the club [itself]. And then, for **my part** (*part-e*), I think I always behaved perfectly.”

The LI *part-e* ‘part’ identifies the speaker’s side (*mi+a* ‘my’) in a two-way dispute with his former soccer club.

Examples (3-9), above, show that the generic terms *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ and *part-e* ‘part’ can function as explicit lenses of Identity to which a signal of RIA (indicated by “+”) can allude. These two lenses’ importance as **tacit** lenses will be illustrated by data in the remainder of this chapter.

C. Tacit generic lenses *cos-a* and *part-e*

The lenses *cos-a* and *part-e* may not be explicitly present; they may only be alluded to *in absentia* by the RIA signal *+a* attached to a stem of variable Lexical Class (in traditional terms, by an adjective without a noun). (Or, analogously, implicit allusion by *+e* to plurals *cos-e* and *part-i*.)

Part-e ‘part, side, faction,’ is the second most frequent A-Class lexical item and is likely to be inferred as the relevant lens for an *+a* RIA signal in any appropriate context where the word *part-e* is not even explicit but allusion to it by *+a* is consistent with the context.

Example (10), below, illustrates just that in a context involving a disagreement between individuals (cf. Ex. 9, above) in which one side gets the upper hand. Example (10):

- (10) Capisco che vuole portare l’attacco successivo dalla lancia, ma il « mestiere » non sembra d’accordo: ne segue una confabulazione concitata dalla quale il marinaio col viso da ragazzo si tiene fuori. Poi evidentemente Chá Preto ha **l+a** meglio (Tabucchi, p. 74)

‘I understand that [the man Chá Preto] wants to carry out the next attack [on the whale] from the ship’s launch, but the ship’s “master” doesn’t seem to agree. There ensues an impassioned confabulation

which the sailor with the boyish face keeps out of. Then, evidently, Chá Preto comes off on top [lit., has **the** better (*meglio*)].’

In an argument there are two *part-i* ‘sides,’ one of which will emerge *meglio* ‘better’ than the other. In such a context, therefore, it is reasonable to infer *part-e* as the relevant lens.

Contrast Example (10)’s allusion by *+a* to tacit lens *part-e* with a situation that instead does not involve ‘sides’: doing one’s best (*il meglio*) in a bad situation. Example (11) below (a chunk of Ex. 7, above) is an example (as Ex. 10, above) of *meglio* ‘better, best,’ but this time with not *l+a* but *il mi+o*, lit. ‘the my,’ thus RIA **NOT MADE**, to *part-e* or to any other **A-Class** lens. Examples (10) and (11) together allow a close comparison of the differential effects of the two RIA meanings **MADE** and **NOT MADE**.

- (11) Ho fatto **del mi+o** meglio per rifiutare le richieste di consegna presso le farmacie Walgreens e Duane Read (CovidRider).

I did [lit. ‘of **the**’] **my** best (*meglio*) to refuse deliveries from the pharmacies Walgreens and Duane Read.

In (11), with *del* instead of *dell+a*, allusion to *part-e* is **NOT MADE**. One’s options for response in a challenging situation may well **NOT** be divided into **parts** but may lie instead along a continuous scale, as it were, with *il meglio* ‘the best’ sitting at the top of the scale.

Back now to allusion by *+a* to an implied lens *part-e*.

Example (12), below, concerns successful shooting ‘percentage’ in basketball. Brad Stevens was the coach of the NBA team the Boston Celtics, and Kyrie Irving was a new star player on that team.

- (12) il sistema di Brad Stevens, . . . , sembra essere fatto apposta per esaltare i pregi e mascherare i difetti di Kyrie Irving, aumentandone l’efficacia nei movimenti *off the ball*, limitando i momenti in cui la palla stessa risulti ferma nelle sue mani e concedendogli un numero di tiri minore ma a più **alt+a** percentual-e. . . (Pellecchia)

Brad Steven's system . . . seems to be designed precisely to raise the value and hide the defects of Kyrie Irving, increasing his success rate in off-the-ball movements, limiting the times when the ball itself is kept in his hands, and giving him a smaller number of shots but with a **higher** percentage

A professional basketball player, such as Irving, has a shooting record divided logically into two '**parts**': successful shots (those that go into the basket) and unsuccessful shots.

(Obviously, a player with a higher percentage of success is more valuable to a team.) The signal **+a** of **alt+a** '**high**' alludes to the implicit lens **part-e** '**part**': that '**part**' of the total '**percentage**' that is successful.

Before moving on beyond *percentual-e* to other examples involving tacit allusion to **part-e**, it is worthwhile to pause here to consider all four tokens in this text (Pellecchia) that bear upon the point of allusion by **alt+a** in Example (12), above, to **part-e**.

First note that it is not the word *percentual-e* itself which makes that allusion; *percentual-e* has no inherent LC, is not a member of either LC. This widely known fact (Dictionaries include the indication *agg.* 'adjective' for the entry *percentual-e*) can be easily illustrated with actual data. In the following, Example (13), instructions for implementing a mathematical formula (involving algebraic variables *t*, *p*, and *T*), the three occurrences of *percentual-e/-i* have been underlined for emphasis:

- (13) Per risolvere problemi in cui entrano in gioco **l+e** percentual-i devi: riconoscere qual è **il**⇒ **⟨tass-o⟩** percentual-e *t*, qual è **l+a**⇒ **⟨part-e⟩** percentual-e *p*, qual è l'intero dell'**l+a**⇒ **⟨part-e⟩** percentual-e *T* (web)⁹⁹

To solve problems in which [**the**] percentages come into play, you must: recognize which is **the** percentage **rate** *t*, which is **the** percentage **part** [or **share**] *p*, [and] which is the whole of **the** percentage **part** [or **share**] *T*

⁹⁹ https://matematica.diginsegno.it/app/books/CPAC00_DGSAMEAR62/html/124, accessed June 30, 2021.

In the example, one token of *percentual-e/-i* occurs in combination with A-Class *l+e*, one occurs with O-Class *il+⇒〈tass-o〉*, and one occurs in combination with A-Class *l+a⇒〈part-e〉*. The term *percentual-e* itself does not have LC; other forms in its immediate vicinity (even its noun phrase) might. (Note too, for Chapter VI, *l'inter+o* ‘the whole.’)

The analytical question then would be: When *percentual-e* ‘percentage’ occurs, as in Example (12) or in the first token of *percentual-e* here in Example (13), without any explicit LI that could serve as lens, which signal of RIA, *+a/+e* or *+o/+i*, will occur attached to any other stems occurring alongside *percentual-e* which do signal RIA? That is, why *alt+a percentual-e*, and not *alt+o percentual-e*, in (12), and why *l+e percentual-i*, and not *i percentual-i*, in (13)? The answer is the allusion by *alt+a* and *l+e* to A-Class *part-e/-i*. The *+a* of *alt+a* and the *+e* of *l+e* allude implicitly to LI *part-e/-i*.

The full range of relevant data from the text by Pellecchia, while surely not adequate in themselves to answer the question, do fit the pattern (supported by an examination of other texts): that *+a/+e* in combination with *percentual-e* allude to *part-e/-i* while *+o/+i* in combination with *percentual-e* do not, with the result that *percentual-e* is interpretable as a scale. Here are the data from the Pellecchia text: Three tokens of actual numbers with “%” occurring with *il* and one token of *percentual-e* occurring with *alt+a* (Ex. 12, above):

tirando con oltre *il+⇒〈50%〉* dal campo
‘shooting above [*the*] 50% from the field’

il flirt con *il+⇒〈50%〉* di vittorie
‘the flirt with [*the*] 50% of wins’

chiuderà la regular season a oltre 16 punti di media con *il+⇒〈40%〉* dal campo
‘he will end the regular season above 16 points on average, with [*the*] 40% from the field’

concedendogli un numero di tiri minore ma a più *alt+a⇒ percentual-e* (= Ex. 12)
giving him a smaller number of shots but at a *higher* percentage

The pattern exhibited is: the RIA meaning **MADE** makes allusion to A-Class *part-e* ‘part’ for the more generic interpretation of *percentual-e*: a proportion that is part of some whole; versus the RIA meaning **NOT MADE** when not a generic proportion but specific percents (“%”) are given.¹⁰⁰

A-Class *part-e*, like A-Class *cos-a*, if taken to be the LI tacitly alluded to, does account for what would otherwise be puzzling parts of the distribution of *+a/+e/+o/+i*.

The inside of an egg has two ‘parts’: a yellow **part** (the yolk) and a ‘clear’ **part** (the white). Thus one term for ‘the clear’ part of an egg is *l+a chiar+a*, lit. ‘the clear.’

By nature, an ‘addition’ is a *part-e* ‘part’ ‘added’ onto the part that pre-existed. In Example (14) below, Tabucchi admits to having made *aggiunt+e* (considered a “participle” of the “verb” *aggiungere* ‘add’; cf. below in this chapter) to an autobiographical story told to him by a man in a tavern in the Azores.

- (14) Non escludo di averla modificata con **l+e aggiunt+e** e le ragioni della presunzione di chi crede di trarre dalla storia di una vita il senso di una vita. (Tabucchi pp. 10-11)

I do not deny having modified it with **the additions** and the motives of someone who presumes to draw out of the story of a life the meaning of a life.

There are two ‘parts’ hidden within the story as Tabucchi relates it: the man’s original life story and the *aggiunt+e* ‘additions’ to it made by Tabucchi in order to achieve his desired literary effect. The *+e* of *aggiunt+e*, signaling RIA **MADE**, alludes to the tacit lens *part-i*. See

¹⁰⁰ The orthographic symbol “%” corresponds with the O-Class *percento*: “Il simbolo % si legge **percento** e il numero che precede il % si dice **tasso percentuale**” (<https://www.impariamoinsieme.com/la-percentuale/>, accessed 6/30/21) ‘The symbol % is read **percento**, and the number that precedes the % is called the **percentage rate**.’ The LI *percento* also is an entry in Dizionario Garzanti.

the next section of this chapter for further on participles ending in *+a* and alluding implicitly to *part-e* or *cos-a*.

For examples of *intern+a* ‘inside’ and *ester+a* ‘foreign/abroad’ alluding to *part-e*, see Chapter VI, Examples (8) and (10), respectively, where their meaning RIA **MADE**, signaled by *+a*, is contrasted with the meaning RIA **NOT MADE**, signaled by *+o*.

Rather than alluding to a *part-e* ‘part’ of a whole, the RIA meaning **MADE** may allude to a whole *cos-a*, a ‘what/thing’ that is distinct from other *cos-e*. Examples (3-6) above showed that the lens *cos-a* may be explicit, but the lens *cos-a* may also be tacit, as seen in Example (15), below. In Example (15), only the word alluding to *cos-a* is explicit, not the word *cos-a* itself. And so it is necessary to consider how an alluding word—a word of variable LC with a RIA signal attached—also, like the word it alludes to, serves as a **lens of Identity**.

Recall (Ch. 1) that a lexical item is usefully thought of as a **lens** through which a thing might be viewed. A lexical item is not the thing itself. For instance, the lexical item *calic-e* ‘goblet’ is not the physical object itself but a perspective chosen onto that physical object. The physical object might be viewed through a different perspective, such as *regal-o* ‘gift,’ *arm-a* ‘weapon,’ or even *do diesis* ‘C#,’ a pitch played on a musical instrument of goblets with various amounts of liquid in them.

The same as applies to items of invariable, or inherent, lexical class (such as *calic-e*, *regal-o*, *arm-a*, or *do diesis*) also applies to stems of variable, or *ad hoc*, lexical class. They too are lenses of Identity. So, for instance, *prezios+* ‘costly’ is a particular perspective taken on a thing. A $\langle \textit{calic-e} \rangle \Leftarrow \textit{prezios+o}$ ‘costly goblet,’ a $\langle \textit{calic-e} \rangle \Leftarrow \textit{vecchi+o}$ ‘old goblet,’ and a $\langle \textit{calic-e} \rangle \Leftarrow \textit{bianc+o}$ ‘white goblet’ could all Identify the very same ‘goblet,’ just from

different points of view: It's 'costly,' 'old,' 'white,' or whatever the language-user cares to mention.

For instance, *il Ginger Baladin* 'the Baladin Ginger' (Ch. IV, Ex. 15) may be *perfett+a* 'perfect' as a *bibit-a* 'soft drink' to consume in the company of friends, but it is perhaps *<nutriment-o>* \leftarrow *imperfett+o* 'imperfect nourishment.' Whether it is *perfett+* or *imperfett+* is a matter of perspective.

A lens may be explicit or tacit. Even if the word of invariable LC (the A-Class or O-Class noun) is tacit and only a word of variable LC (an adjective) is explicit, both words—the noun and the adjectival stem that, through its RIA suffix, alludes to the noun—function as lenses of Identity.

For instance, the word *caratteristic+* 'characteristic' with a signal of RIA **MADE** attached to it, contributes two lenses of Identity: The lens *cos-a* 'what/thing,' alluded to by *+a/+e*, and the stem *caratteristic+* itself. There are two morphemes, each making its semantic contribution: the stem and the RIA suffix. Consider in this regard Example (15):

- (15) Dopo tre stagioni passate a lottare con gli infortuni, il camerunense riuscirà finalmente a dare seguito all'*hype* che lo ha sempre circondato, riscrivendo **l+e modern+e caratteristich+e** del centro Nba (in grado di attaccare dal palleggio e con un range di tiro che sia comprensivo dei *long two*) e concretizzando quel *Process* per il quale Sam Hinkie « non è morto invano ». (Pellecchia)

After three seasons battling injuries, the Cameroonian [Joel Embiid] will finally succeed at making real the hype that has always surrounded him, rewriting **the modern characteristics** of the NBA center (in a position to attack while dribbling and with a shooting range that will include some *long two*) and putting into effect that "Process" for which [NBA general manager] Sam Hinkie "didn't [so to speak] die in vain."

The writer predicts that the promising basketball player Embiid will ‘rewrite **the modern characteristics**’ of his playing position. Embiid, predicts the writer implicitly, will do **cos-e ‘things**’ that haven’t previously been considered ‘**characteristic**’ of the position that Embiid plays, **cos-e ‘things**’ like attacking while dribbling and shooting long. Before Embiid, the ‘**characteristic**’ ‘**things**’ that basketball centers typically have done (i.e., ‘**what**’ they have characteristically done) include playing close to the basket (not dribbling farther afield) and the gentle-motion “hook shot,” not a long-distance two-pointer.

While, as in Example (15) above, the lens **cos-a/-e ‘what/thing’s** may be only an implicit allusion by a token of **caratteristic+a/+e**, the lens **cos-a/-e** may also be explicit, as in Example (16) below:

- (16) **L+a**⇒ **⟨cos-a⟩** ← **caratteristic+a** di Douz è il suo magnifico festival internazionale del Sahara (web)¹⁰¹

The characteristic thing about Douz [a town in Tunisia] is its magnificent international festival of the Sahara

Tunisia here promotes this particular ‘festival’ generically as a **cos-a ‘what/thing.’** A town promoted on a tourist web site such as this needs to have some ‘**what/thing**’ that distinguishes it, attracts visitors to it (a festival, a castle, a beach, whatever). For Douz, this ‘festival’ is not just a ‘**what/thing**’ but ‘**the characteristic thing**,’ the real draw. (In traditional terms, **caratteristic+a/+e** may be “used as” a noun, as in Example (15), or as an adjective, as in Example (16.) In either case, whether **cos-a/e** is explicit or not, **caratteristic+a/+e** alludes to **cos-a/e**. Each meaningful signal—each morpheme, in this case—makes its own semantic contribution.

¹⁰¹ <https://allascopertadellatunisia.wordpress.com/2014/03/11/festival-di-douz/>, accessed 6/2/21.

Sometimes, a language-user identifies a particular situation as an absence in place of substance. Sometimes, the analyst finds in a text *null+a* \Rightarrow \langle *cos-a* \rangle ‘no thing,’ or just *null+a*, where the language-user evidently thinks there should be *qualche cos-a* ‘some thing’—finds nothing where there should be something. Such is the situation sometimes faced by CovidRider when he accepts a delivery during the pandemic and the deal goes badly, when he receives ‘nothing’ for his trouble. Example (17), below, comes from his lengthy description of an incident when a woman requested, by app, a delivery of a certain product that turned out to be sold out when he, CovidRider, went into a pharmacy to try to buy it for her and she asked him to cancel the order so that she would not have to pay the cancellation fee.

- (17) Stava effettuando un ordine di 250 dollari e mi ha chiesto di poter calpestare la mia dignità per non doverne “sprecare” 2.36. Sono certo che se non avessi parlato bene l’inglese, non avrei ricevuto *null+a* per le mie pene. (CovidRider)

She was effecting an order for \$250 and she asks me to trample over my own dignity so as not to have to “waste” \$2.36. I’m sure that if I hadn’t spoken English well, I would have gotten *nothing* for my efforts.

The frustrated man identifies the potential he faced as *null+a* [viz. *null+a* \Rightarrow \langle *cos-a* \rangle] ‘no thing’ when he believed that his efforts (braving the worst of a pandemic on bicycle and going into a pharmacy) should have led at least to some compensation.

The same man complains about the ‘solidarity’ that privileged people say they felt during the pandemic with under-privileged workers like him. Such are the people, in CovidRider’s view, who praise certain political leaders and institutions for their role during the pandemic. In Example (18) he identifies the accomplishments of such leaders and institutions as *null+a* [viz. *null+a* \Rightarrow \langle *cos-a* \rangle].

- (18) È sconvolgente come la gente continui a giustificare il valore di leader e istituzioni che non hanno fatto assolutamente **null+a** per aiutarci a sopravvivere a questa catastrofe.

It's upsetting how people keep justifying the "courage" of leaders and institutions that have done absolutely **nothing** to help us survive this catastrophe.

The implication is that, in CovidRider's view, leaders and institutions ought to do something—'some **thing**,' not '**no thing**'—to help people in need in a time of crisis.

See Chapter VI regarding the coming together of the RIA meanings **NOT MADE** and **MADE** in the phrase *il null+a*.

D. Participial "nouns"¹⁰² in *+a*

What follows in the next two paragraphs is not new analysis but merely the traditionalist view of participles (since those are not the focus of this investigation), except cast here in terms of RIA. The paragraphs are intended merely to help readers of this analysis fit what have been called "participles" into the RIA analysis (which is, of course, original to this investigation).

As has been recognized at least since the ancient Roman grammarian Varro (d. ca. 27 B.C.) there are words, at least in Latin and its descendants, that straddle two (or three, depending on how one counts) of the traditional parts of speech defined by ancient Greek grammarian Dionysius Thrax (d. 90 B.C.), the "verb" and the "noun" (and the "adjective").

¹⁰² The term "participle" (and "participial") is retained here because no suitable analysis is available to be cited; no claim is advanced here as to their meaning or grammatical status. Here the term is a label for a set of forms that all end in a signal of RIA and whose stems are evidently related in form and sense to LIs that occur with what is traditionally known as verbal morphology. The reason these "participles" are often labeled "nouns" in traditional grammars and dictionaries has to do with their (sometime) occurrence in discourse with no explicit lens; that point will be incorporated into the discussion to follow.

“Participles” take “part” of the verb and “part” of the noun. In Italian, the forms that are called participles share with verbs their stems (with the lexical senses of those) and, typically, a phonological unit ([a], [u], or [i]) associated with a verbal conjugation. They share with nouns and adjectives the morphology of “number” and “gender.” (And that is what relates directly to this study.) Standing syntagmatically between these two morphological categories is, in modern Italian, a voiceless apical obstruent (usually [t]) that thus apparently distinguishes participles from verbs, nouns, and adjectives; this is denoted ζ in the two tables below. In modern Italian, words derived diachronically from the Latin conjugations #1, #2, and #4 are relatively transparent in the relation of their participial forms to their other forms. Italian orthography does not indicate the phonological stress that distinguishes conjugations #2 and #3; therefore, in this section, an acute accent mark over the letter *é* represents the stressed [e] of #2, and a breve mark over the letter *ě* represents the unstressed [e] of #3.

<u>some verbal forms</u>	<u>stem</u>	<u>conjug.</u>	<u>ζ</u>	<u>RIA</u>	<u>participial forms</u>
<i>am-are, am-o, am-i, etc.</i> to-love, I-love, you-love, etc.	<i>am-</i> love	<i>-a- (#1)</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>+a/+o/+e/+i</i>	→ <i>amat+a/amat+o, etc.</i>
<i>cad-é-re, cad-o, cad-i, etc.</i> to-fall, I-fall, you-fall, etc.	<i>cad-</i> fall	<i>-u- (#2)</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>+a/+o/+e/+i</i>	→ <i>cadut+a, cadut+o, etc.</i>
<i>dorm-ire, dorm-o, dorm-i, etc.</i> to-sleep, I-sleep, you-sleep, etc.	<i>dorm-</i> sleep	<i>-i- (#4)</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>+a/+o/+e/+i</i>	→ <i>dormit+a, dormit+o, etc.</i>

In modern Italian, descendants of classical Latin verbal conjugation #3 show greater variation than conjugations #1, #2, and #4 in stem between verb forms and participles. Too, the participles of conjugation #3 typically lack a distinctive vowel (cf. *-a-*, *-u-*, *-i-* in the table above), and they often have [s] instead of [t] as their defining participial morpheme (ζ). Three of these to illustrate:

<u>some verb forms of the 3rd conj.</u>	<u>stem</u>	ζ	<u>RIA</u>	<u>participial forms</u>
<i>perd-ĕre, perd-o, perd-i</i> , etc. to-lose, I-lose, you-lose, etc.	<i>perd-</i> lose	-s-	+a/+o/+e/+i	→ <i>pers+a, pers+o</i> , etc.
<i>mett-ĕre, mett-o, mett-i</i> , etc. to-put, I-put, you-put, etc.	<i>mett-</i> put	-ss-	+a/+o/+e/+i	→ <i>mess+a, mess+o</i> , etc.
<i>vinc-ĕre, vinc-o, vinc-i</i> , etc. to-win, I-win, you-win, etc.	<i>vinc-/vinc-</i> win	-t-	+a/+o/+e/+i	→ <i>vint+a, vint+o</i> , etc.

Verbal morphology (phonologically [vinĉ-ĕre], [vink-o], [vinĉ-i], etc.) lies entirely outside the scope of this study. In the relation between the verbal stem and the participial form (orthographically, *vinc-*, *vint+*), what is relevant to this study is only that the two do appear to have the same lexical sense ('win/won'). Also lying outside the scope of this study is the meaning, if any, of that distinctive participial morpheme, denoted ζ above, typically realized as *t* or *s*. As a working hypothesis, however, given that this is the morpheme to which the RIA signal directly attaches, it is useful to note here that, in modern Italian, the forms in question—the participles—all appear to have a sense that might be described as one of instantiation or accomplishment, as opposed to potential or action (See attested examples to come). For instance:

L+a ⇒ ⟨*nott-e*⟩ è ← *cadut+a* 'The night is fallen'

versus

L+a ⇒ ⟨*nott-e*⟩ *cad-e* 'The night falls / is falling'

L+a ⇒ ⟨*nott-e*⟩ *sta per cad-ĕre* 'The night is about to fall'

Cadĕre 'fall' has an intransitive sense. For words such as *cadĕre*, this sense of instantiation, attributed here to participle *cadut+*, amounts to the full accomplishment of its lone participant ('night' above). For verbs with a transitive sense (that is, with at least an inferred agent and a patient), that sense of instantiation is realized as the accomplishment of the action upon the patient; thus, the "passive participle." For instance:

Quella ⇒ *cas-a* è ← *amat+a* ‘That house is loved.’ (Unsaid: Who loves it.)
Quel ⇒ *sass-o* è ← *pers+o* ‘That stone is lost.’ (Unsaid: Who loses it.)

All that is traditionalist thinking, but, absent a host of analyses of those forms, it will have to suffice here as a tentative description of the relation in modern Italian between forms that have no signal of RIA (other verb forms) and the one that does have a signal of RIA (called the “participle”). What matters for this study—and the only thing that can fall within its purview—is that, with these words, the system of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) works exactly as it works everywhere else. A signal of RIA allows the form to which it is attached (a participle in this case) to allude to a lens of Identity.

Scattered throughout this study so far have been several forms with RIA signals attached to them (“participles”) alluding to explicit lenses somewhere in the text, sometimes even adjacent to the stem with the RIA signal, or alluding to lenses that are tacit but nevertheless strongly implied by the elements of the context, including the stem to which the RIA signal itself is attached. These forms with RIA signals attached to them have called for no special treatment; indeed, the reader of this study may not even have noticed them. Among them have been: *utilizzat+* ‘used,’ *condott+* ‘conducted,’ *innovat+* ‘innovated,’ *rimast+* ‘remained,’ *divertit+* ‘amused,’ *emigrat+* ‘emigrated,’ *tirat+* ‘drawn,’ *portat+* ‘carried,’ *polverizzat+* ‘pulverized,’ *salvat+* ‘saved,’ *conservat+* ‘preserved,’ *separat+* ‘separated,’ *andat+* ‘gone,’ *veleggiat+* ‘sailed,’ *capit+* ‘understood,’ *scompars+* ‘disappeared,’ *perdut+* ‘lost,’ *puntat+* ‘pointed,’ *condit+* ‘dressed,’ *dedicat+* ‘dedicated,’ *stoppat+* ‘blocked,’ *cors+* ‘run,’ *vestit+* ‘worn,’ *divis+* ‘divided,’ *dat+* ‘given,’ and, most recently, above, *aggiunt+* ‘added.’ The account of the distribution of forms traditionally called “participles” has required no special statement here; the system of RIA works in their case exactly as it does

generally. They are treated separately here (and in Ch. VI) in case any reader is wondering specifically how they work with RIA.

In what follows, the tacit lens implicitly alluded to by the signal *+a* (or *+e*), meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class *MADE*, is the generic *<cos-a>* ‘what/thing’ or one of its slightly more particular A-Class options *<part-e>* ‘part’ or *<person-a>* ‘person.’ These examples merit particular attention here not because the system of RIA works any differently with them than elsewhere—It does not—but only because such tacit allusion to these generics is so common in texts and because these words, all ending in *+a* and all—according to the treatment here—alluding implicitly to *<cos-a>*, *<part-e>*, or *<person-a>*, receive separate entries in dictionaries (such as Garzanti or Sansoni) as participial “nouns,” labeled *s.f.* (*sostantivo femminile* ‘feminine noun’), and so any reader of this work who is familiar with Italian may well wonder how they are accommodated in this analysis. For this reason too was all the investment in earlier parts of this chapter: the pragmatic frequencies of LIs, occurrences of *<cos-a>* and *<part-e>* as explicit lenses (Reminder: The identification of humans is mostly left for Chapter VII), and occurrences of those two LIs as tacit lenses with non-participles (the section just above). To repeat, then: The system of RIA functions no differently at all with these words than with other words once the full range of data is considered. Though these words have traditionally been treated as special (called “participial nouns” and given special entries in dictionaries), the result of analysis is instead that they are not special at all, at least so far as the grammatical system proposed in this study is concerned.

D1. Participial nouns in *+a* compared with definite infinitives

There are quite a few entries in dictionaries of words that are identical with the participles of the verbs that are related (morphologically and semantically) to those separate entries. These separate entries, though of exact participial form, are treated in the dictionaries as nouns, not parts of verbs. Many of these nouns of participial form end with an *+a* suffix and are labeled *s.f.* (*sostantivo femminile*); others end in *+o* and are labeled *s.m.* (*sostantivo maschile*). (All end with one suffix or the other.) The former are covered in this section, the latter in Chapter VI.

For participial nouns ending in *+a*, the first definition given in dictionaries is usually *il* (or elided *l'*) 'the' plus the infinitive form of the related verb. For instance,¹⁰³ just to illustrate with two: Garzanti gives as its first definition of *disces+a, s.f.*, "*il* discendere," which, in turn, Sansoni (an Italian-English dictionary) glosses as 'to come down, to descend, to go down.' And Garzanti gives as its first definition of *traversat+a, s.f.*, "*il* traversare" 'to cross.' Thus, the primary sense given for the "feminine" participial noun is the action itself, the quintessential verb form, the infinitive, preceded, however, by the "masculine" form *il*. Curious indeed; actually, misleading.

Attested examples in context, however, do not support this implication that forms such as *l+a disces+a* and *il discendere* are synonymous.¹⁰⁴ Though, along with the "finite" conjugated forms of this verb, the forms *l+a disces+a* and *il discendere* do share most of the morpheme *discend* and though they do share that morpheme's sense of descending or

¹⁰³ Except that here I add font colors and the morpheme boundary "+" in keeping with this analysis.

¹⁰⁴ I have added *l+a 'the-f.'* to *disces+a* in order to maximize the parallelism for the sake of this demonstration and to highlight the noun-like sense of *l+a disces+a* the descent.'

going/coming down, the similarity ends there. The two forms obviously differ in RIA, and specifying that semantic difference is the main objective of this section. But too the forms differ in communicative effect in actual examples in context, as will now be shown through three pairs: *l+a* (or other A-Class) *disces+a* / *il discendere* ‘descend,’ *l+a* (or other A-Class) *distes+a* / *il distendere* ‘spread,’ and *l’attesa* (or other A-Class) / *l’attendere* ‘await.’ The participles have a sense of instantiation that the infinitives (underlined in the examples below, for convenience) do not. Getting a sense of that difference is a necessary preliminary digression before turning to the semantic difference associated with the difference (*+a* / *il*) in RIA.

First, a pair of attested examples, (19a) and (19b), of (*l+a*) *disces+a* and (*il*) *discendere*. In (19a) the bicycle delivery-worker CovidRider uses a metaphor to describe the first, scary weeks of the Covid-19 pandemic in New York City.

(19a) Nelle prime settimane di marzo [2020], trovarsi a New York è stato come trovarsi su delle montagne russe che arrivano al punto più alto prima di tuffarsi verso **un+a disces+a ripid+a**. La tensione continuava a crescere. (CovidRider)

In the first weeks of March [2020], to be in New York was like being on those Russian mountains that come to their highest point before plunging towards **a steep descent**. The tension grew continuously.

In (19b), Tabucchi describes the women in the islands he dreams of; he too uses a metaphor.

(19b) Le donne sono belle e altere, con gli zigomi prominenti e la fronte ampia, camminando con le brocche sulla testa e **nel discendere** le ripide scalinate che portano all’acqua niente del loro corpo si muove, sì che sembrano statue cui qualche dio abbia donato l’andare. (Tabucchi p. 14)

The women are beautiful and proud, with prominent cheek-bones and wide foreheads, walking with jugs on their heads and, **in (the) going down** the steep staircases that lead to the water, nothing of their body

moves, such that they appear to be statues to which some god has endowed locomotion.

The image that CovidRider conjures up in (19a) is that of a mountain with a steep drop-off; the image that Tabucchi conjures up in (19b) is that of majestic statues descending steep stairs. The topography of a mountain is relatively fixed in time, effectively realized; the mountain has likely had a *disces+a ripid+a* ‘steep descent’ for eons and will for eons more.¹⁰⁵ By contrast, the *discendere* ‘moving’ of the women ‘down’ a steep set of stairs is a dynamic action that Tabucchi imagines observing in process; he notices how—impressively—their body parts remain motionless even while jugs are balanced on their noble-looking heads. The “participle” *disces+a* connotes full realization of the process; the “infinitive” *discendere* connotes process with potential for still more action to come. To appropriate for modern Italian a term used by Diver (in Diver and Davis 2012: 197 fn. 4) for Classical Latin, the ‘descent’ of the mountain, with *disces+a*, is portrayed as “less vivid,” while the ‘descent’ of the women, with *discendere*, is “more vivid.”

Similarly, the pair of examples in (20a), with *distes+a*, and (20b), with *distendere* ‘spread’:

- (20a) Così è il mare ignoto che sta oltre le Colonne, senza fine e sempre uguale, dal quale emergono, come la piccola spina dorsale di un colosso scomparso, piccole creste di isole, nodi di roccia perduti nel celeste.
La prima isola che s’incontra, vista dal mare è *un+a distes+a* di verde e nel mezzo (Tabucchi p. 13)

The unknown sea beyond the Pillars [of Hercules, i.e., Gibraltar] is like that, endless and always the same, from which emerge, like the little

¹⁰⁵ At the middle of March 2020, the metropolis of New York City essentially shut down quite abruptly, even overnight. The writer’s metaphor of ‘a steep descent’ from a great height is apt.

dorsal spine of a vanished Colossus, little tufts of islands, knots of rocks lost in the blue.

The first island that one encounters, seen from the sea, is **an expanse** of green, and in the middle of it

(20b) **Come accorciare la gamba dello stivale – Consigli e novità**

Comincia con **il distendere** lo stivale sul tavolo e con il metro da sarta misura una distanza, partendo dal tacco, di circa 30 cm. A questo punto prendi le forbici da sarta e taglia lo stivale longitudinalmente, in corrispondenza del punto che hai misurato.

[Heading:] **How to shorten the leg of a boot—Advice and news**

Start by **(the) spreading** the boot out on a table, and, with a measuring tape, measure the length, beginning from the heel, of about 30 cm. At this point, take sewing scissors and cut the boot longitudinally, at the point you measured. (web)¹⁰⁶

As with the previous pair of examples, here too there is a difference in “vividness” in the portrayals of the ‘spreading’: less vivid with the participle *distes+a* and more vivid with the infinitive *distendere*. The ‘spreading’ of green on an island in the sea is an event of geological proportions, essentially static from the point of view of the writer. By contrast, the ‘spreading’ out of a boot upon a table for a how-to procedure of shortening the boot is dynamic: Do it like this! Here’s how to do it!

Finally in this section, the pair in (21a), with *attes+a*, and (21b), with *attendere*

‘(a)wait’:

(21a) « Queste piccole barche stanno in **attes+a** rimpiazzate in piccole spiagge. . . » (Tabucchi p. 65)

“These little boats are **waiting**, hidden on little beaches”

(21b) La vera meditazione è **l’attendere** senza prospettiva, **l’attendere** per **l’attendere**, che non distrugge il pensiero razionale, ma semplicemente lo ignora (web)¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.dimodaoutlet.com/blog/accorciare-gamba-dello-stivale/>, accessed June 8, 2021.

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.salvatorebrizzi.com/2015/>, accessed June 8, 2021.

True meditation is waiting with no prospects, waiting for the waiting, which does not disrupt rational thought but simply ignores it

The little boats of (21a) are immobile on little beaches, ‘waiting’ in anticipation of someone using them. By contrast, in (21b) the ‘waiting’ required for ‘true meditation,’ according to this how-to, involves deliberately ignoring rational thought. People find it hard to do that and so even take courses to learn how to meditate, how to ‘wait’ in this way.

Consistently, in these and in all such examples, there is a systematic communicative difference associated with the two forms; participles in *+a* and definite infinitives are not synonymous. Participles connote less vividness in the portrayal of the action, and infinitives connote more vividness in the portrayal of the action. This sense of relative stasis, of instantiation, will need to be kept in mind as the reader examines the examples to follow in order to appreciate the function of RIA with participial nouns in *+a*.

D2. Participial nouns in *+a* and the generic lexical items they allude to

It was shown above that the LI *cos-a* entifies, with the consequence that one ‘*what/thing*’ can be distinguished from other ‘*what/thing*’s. In a phrase: if “It’s a thing,” then there are other things that are not it. The meaning RIA *MADE*, then, has the effect of making relevant to the communication a plurality of which the token in question is, conceptually, a member. A count of participles (which signal RIA) versus infinitives (which do not), in actual text, supports this contention.

In Italian, both forms that are called participles and forms that are called infinitives can be pluralized. Plural participles, ending in *+e* or *+i*, are common—several have appeared already throughout this work, and several more will make an appearance. But plural infinitives (ending in *-i* instead of the usual *-e*) are rare. Only a few infinitives occur

as plurals (alonside singulars) with any appreciable frequency at all and are recognized in dictionaries or have been attested during this study. They are: (conjugation #1) *cenar-i* ‘suppers, dinings,’ *cantar-i* ‘singings, epic ballads,’ *lavar-i* ‘washings’; (#2) *avér-i* ‘inheritances,’ *dovér-i* ‘duties,’ *potér-i* ‘powers’; (#3) *esser-i* ‘beings’ (as in ‘human beings’), *viver-i* ‘life-styles’; and (#4) *divenir-i* ‘becomings’ (in the philosophical sense).

All three authentic texts analyzed exhaustively for this study (in the Appendix) exhibit strong correlations of participles with plural form versus definite (*il/l+o*) infinitives with singular form.¹⁰⁸ The table below combines the results from the three complete texts.

Table. Participles vs. definite infinitives, with respect to grammatical Number

	<u>plural</u>	<u>singular</u>
participle (signals RIA)	187	245
def. infinitive (does not signal RIA)	1	211
	OR > 161	

Sources: CovidRider, Tabucchi’s “Esperidi,” Pellecchia, combined, omitting quotations of the speech of others.

What the table shows, in words, is that the odds of a participle appearing in plural form is over 161 times as great as the odds of an infinitive appearing in plural form. Rationale: Forms in modern Italian that are called participles end in a signal of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (viz., *+a/+o/+e/+i*), which is interlocked with (i.e., also signals) grammatical Number. All tokens with a signal of the RIA meaning **MADE** (viz., *+a, +e*) allude to a LI (i.e., have a lens of A-Class); also, many tokens with a signal of the RIA meaning **NOT MADE** (viz., *+o, +i*) allude to a LI (i.e., have a lens of O-Class). Such LIs—whether explicit in the text or not, whether generic (i.e., *cos-a*) or not—entify what they identify with the consequence

¹⁰⁸ Odds ratios: CovidRider 65, Tabucchi’s “Esperidi” 7, and Pellecchia 32. For the rationale for using the odds ratio (and not a test of statistical significance), see Davis (2002).

that it is distinguishable from others of its ilk. That is, participles, involving Identity as they always do via their signaled RIA meaning, inherently connote the relevance of plurality to the message (“This thing is not that thing”; ergo, there are at least two things). And wherever there is entification, a particular Identity is necessarily involved: “This thing is of the same ilk as those things—they can all be Identified with the same LI—but they are distinguishable from one another; they are enumerable as a plurality.” By contrast, forms that are called infinitives do not signal RIA and so do not systematically allude to any LI that serves as a lens of Identity. That is, infinitives do not inherently entify, do not connote the distinction of one thing from another, thus do not connote the relevance of plurality. For that reason, participles, as opposed to infinitives, tend in texts to be plural as opposed to singular. (That does not entail, mathematically, that plural participles are more common than singular participles; it is a description of relative tendencies.) The table above quantifies that tendency for three texts.

The table above gives a bird’s-eye view of hundreds of authentic examples simultaneously, so that their differential distribution with respect to Enumeration (grammatical Number) can be seen at a glance. Following are some actual examples of participial nouns in *+a*, illustrating their use for distinguishing an instantiation of an action from other things.

Most commonly, words classed in dictionaries as participial nouns ending in *+a* (classed as nouns precisely because they have no explicit lens) have the most generic LI in Class A as implied lens: *cos-a* ‘what/thing.’ Less commonly, they have the still generic, though less generic, lenses *part-e* ‘part’ (i.e., part of a whole thing) or *person-a* ‘person.’ Analysis of attested examples of allusion to all three lenses now follows, beginning with

implied lens *cos-a*. It will be helpful to examine several examples of participial nouns in *+a*, lest the constant semantic contribution of the meaning RIA *MADE* be overlooked amidst the bewildering variety of (participial) stems to which its signals *+a/+e* are so often attached.

Because the complex forms being considered in this section have several meaningful morphological parts, it is useful to remain cognizant of the semantic contribution of those parts. In particular, participial nouns in *+a* can usefully be thought of as the instantiation of a verbing (so to speak) of a ‘thing,’ a ‘thing-verbing.’ To illustrate, the easily morphemized *travers-a-t+a*: First comes the stem *travers-* ‘cross/traverse’; then the conjugation-identifying *-a-*; then that ζ-morpheme (apparently with a sense akin to instantiation) of the columned illustrations above, here, as often, appearing as *-t-*; and finally the signal of RIA *+a*.

The form *attes+a* ‘thing-(a)waiting’—in addition to connoting, as participles generally do, the instantiation, the accomplishment, the static nature, the low “vividness” of the action—alludes, through its RIA signal *+a*, to the generic LI *cos-a* ‘what/thing.’ In Example (21a) above, that ‘what/thing’ happens to be *barch-e* ‘boats’ sitting idly in the hidden beaches of craggy islands. Of course, the ‘boats’ do not literally have brains; they are not capable of lying in wait, anticipating something, but that is how they look to Tabucchi. In this way, these ‘boats’ resemble other *cos-e* ‘things’ identifiable as being *in attes+a*.

In Example (22), below, those ‘things’ are *bigliett-i* ‘notes’ and so forth that get tacked to a bar on an island in the Azores that has become a kind of central gathering place for anyone with no permanent address who eventually washes up there. It is as if the notes are ‘awaiting’ the arrival of someone who will make them useful.

- (22) Sul bancone di legno del « Peter's » sono attaccati biglietti, telegrammi, lettere nell'**attes+a** che qualcuno venga a reclamarli. (Tabucchi p. 39)

On the wooden bar of "Peter's" are tacked notes, telegrams, letters, in the **anticipation** that someone will come to claim them.

So the '**notes**' are like the '**boats**' in that each can be identified as a '**thing**' in **attes+a**.

The '**thing**' identified as being in such a condition of '(a)waiting' may be not an inanimate boat or note but a grown man, such as Tabucchi's narrator in Example (23):

- (23) Mi seggo pazientemente su una panchina, sotto una palma . . .
Dopo **un+a lung+a attes+a** nel caldo meridiano vedo un taxi
(Tabucchi p. 61)

I sit patiently on a bench, underneath a palm tree . . .
After a **long wait** in the southern heat, I see a taxi

The man is like the boats and the notes: he is a '**what/thing**' identified as being in a low-level state of 'waiting.'

Such too was the plight of all the people stuck in New York City when CovidRider fled the U.S. for China four weeks after Covid-19 hit the City (the article was published April 13, 2020). The people left behind were essentially helpless, facing the unknown prospects of a pandemic caused by a virus that no one at that time knew much at all about.

- (24) Alla fine, sono fuggito, lasciando molte persone che amo in **attes+a** dell'ignoto. (CovidRider)

Finally I fled, leaving many people that I love **awaiting** the unknown.

The people stuck in New York City are like the man waiting on the bench for a taxi, like the notes tacked to a bar, and like the boats bobbing on a beach: '**things**' in a state of '**waiting**.'

Thus **attes+a** '**thing**-(a)waiting' illustrates two points simultaneously that will run through as a theme in all instances of participial nouns in **+a**: a low degree of vividness and

an allusion to some ‘thing’ in such a state, which ‘thing’ varies from context to context; thus, each participle in *+a* being a particular instantiation of the action. The generic *cos-e* ‘what/thing’s identified by a given participle in *+a* all have that one characteristic (e.g., *attes+* ‘waiting’) in common, but, as entities (*cos-e*), they are nevertheless distinguishable from one another (one *cos-a* from another *cos-a* of the same ilk).

A *cors+a*, a ‘thing-running,’ may be a basketball game (Pellecchia), a taxi route (Tabucchi p. 61), or the pursuit of a whale (Tabucchi p. 74). *Cors+a* is often glossed ‘race’ in the sense of a competition run.

The *disfatt+a* ‘thing-undoing, defeat’ in Example (25) below is, concretely, a dead whale, previously killed in a hunt, that has washed ashore and is progressively decomposing.

- (25) il povero capodoglio percorre progressivamente la via *dell+a disfatt+a* dalla prima ferita infertagli dall’uomo fino all’azione delle infime creature che lo avviano al compimento del ciclo fatale in cui si risolve il destino degli esseri viventi. (Tabucchi p. 34)

the poor sperm whale progressively travels the way of (the) *defeat(ed)* from the first wound inflicted upon him by man up to the action of the lowest creatures, which send him off to the completion of the fatal cycle in which the destiny of living beings is resolved.

This particular ‘thing-undoing’ may be a sperm whale, but Tabucchi explicitly compares him to all *esseri viventi* ‘living beings’ that suffer the common fate of mortality. So *la via dell+a disfatt+a* hovers in interpretation here between the fate of the animal itself and the fact of defeat generally; *la via dell+a disfatt+a* could equally well be glossed ‘the way of the defeated’ or ‘the way of defeat.’ (In Example 25 too appears one of those rare examples of a plural infinitive: *gli esser-i vivent-i* ‘the living beings.’)

Look again at the previous passage and consider now a different participial noun in *+a*, *ferit+a* ‘thing-wounding.’ Example (25) is repeated as Example (26), with different highlighting.

- (26) il povero capodoglio percorre progressivamente la via della disfatta **dall+a prim+a ferit+a infert+a**agli dall’uomo fino all’azione delle infime creature che lo avviano al compimento del ciclo fatale in cui si risolve il destino degli esseri viventi. (Tabucchi p. 34)

the poor sperm whale progressively travels the way of (the) defeat(ed) **from the first wound inflicted** upon him by man up to the action of the lowest creatures, which send him off to the completion of the fatal cycle in which the destiny of living beings is resolved.

This particular *ferit+a* might be thought of as the moment when the harpoon pierces the skin; the whale’s undoing begins when the harpoon pierces the skin. Or this token of *ferit+a* might be thought of as the physical tear in the whale’s skin that was put there by a harpoon hurled by a man. The ‘thing’ that results from this particular instantiation of the action of *ferire* ‘wounding,’ then, might be thought of as the tear in the skin.

In Example (27) below, however, *ferit+a* seems to identify instead the actual whale, not the piercing of the skin or the hole in the skin.

- (27) E tutto ciò è animato, vivificato da un fiotto di sangue rosso . . . **L+a⇒**
⟨balen-a⟩ ⇐ferit+a ne inonda il mare in un attimo (Tabucchi p. 55)

And all that [i.e., everything in the whale’s body] is animated, vivified by a stream of red blood . . . **The wounded whale** floods the sea with it in an instant

The concrete difference between Example (26) with *ferit+a* and Example (27) with *ferit+a* is that in (27), as with examples in Chapter III, the token of *ferit+a* has an explicit lens:

⟨balen-a⟩ ‘whale.’ (In Example 27, *ferit+a* is “used as an adjective modifying” *balen-a*; cf. **⟨cetace-o⟩ ⇐ferit+o**, Tabucchi p. 73.) In (27), the ‘thing-wounding’ is explicitly an Identifi-

cation of the ‘whale.’ By contrast, in (26), there is no explicit lens (*ferit+a* is “used as a noun”), there is only the tacit lens *cos-a*, and so the ‘thing-wounding’ is free to be interpreted as identifying whatever ‘thing’ is appropriate in the context, whatever ‘thing’ can appropriately serve as an entification of the action of ‘wounding’: maybe the piercing, maybe the physical hole. In (26), the ‘thing’ that entifies—that directly results from—the action of ‘wounding inflicted’ by a whaler hurling a harpoon, and that seals the whale’s ultimate demise, is the tear in the whale’s skin. The whale’s suffering begins with the instantiation of that successful harpoon-hurling, begins with the tear in (= the piercing of) the skin.

In general with RIA in Italian, as Diver (ca. 1970/2012) recognized for gender in Latin, there is a communicative problem for the reader to solve: What is being identified by this token of RIA? The solution to that communicative problem may be made quite easy if the writer has, as in (27), placed an explicit lens (e.g., *balen-a*) nearby. It may be a harder problem to solve if the reader is left to his own devices. A participial noun in *+a*, where the only lens is the implied generic *cos-a*, as in (26), is entirely dependent upon context and the reader’s ingenuity for a solution to that “communicative problem.” Example (26) places the ‘thing-wounding’ into the context of a hurling of a harpoon by a man into a whale. The accomplishment (-*t-*) of that action can be thought of equally well as a physical hole in the whale’s skin or as a kinetic piercing of the whale’s skin. Such ambiguity (such freedom of

interpretation) will be encountered in several of the participial nouns in *+a* covered in this section.¹⁰⁹

Example (28) below is the wisdom (translated here from the Italian of Pellecchia) of Minnesota Timberwolves coach Tom Thibodeau contemplating the NBA finals, where his team will face competition with other teams.

- (28) « Se ti fermi ad aspettare il potenziale in realtà stai solo aspettando *l+a sconfitt+a*. Non possiamo assolutamente puntare ancora a lungo sul potenziale ». (Pellecchia)

“If you stop at waiting for the potential, in reality you’re only waiting for *(the) defeat*. We absolutely cannot aim any longer at the potential.”

Sconfitt+a, signalling RIA *MADE*, alludes tacitly to *cos-a* ‘what/thing.’ The instantiation of *sconfitt+a* ‘defeat’ (lit. ‘unnailing’)—the ‘thing-unnailing’—that Thibodeau dreads is the potential fate of his basketball team at the hands of other teams in the NBA playoff series. Placing the fate of his team in the same realm as so many other losers in contests, Thibodeau (twice here) philosophically contrasts *sconfitt+a* ‘defeat’ with *il potenzial-e* ‘the potential’ (see Ch. VI on that signaling of RIA *NOT MADE*.) *Sconfitt+a* ‘defeat’ is Thibodeau’s choice here of a lens through which the outcome of a basketball team’s performance in a series of games can be viewed.

Any variety of things might be *traversat+* ‘crossed/traversed’: a *mar-e* ‘sea,’ a *lagun-a* ‘lagoon,’ a *cammin-o* ‘path,’ or a *vi-a* ‘road/way.’ In Example (29) below, the *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ *traversat+a* ‘crossed/traversed’ is (almost explicitly) an *ocean-o* ‘ocean.’ The

¹⁰⁹ Of course, freedom of interpretation is not at all the peculiar province of participles. Diver (1975/2012: 48) helpfully distinguished signaled **meaning**, inferred **message**, and real-world **scene**.

writer meets Breezy on a boat and knows that she uses the boat for ocean-crossings, such as to travel to the Azores (not, say, for inland river-crossings).

- (29) Breezy ha un viso aperto e molto cordiale, uno splendido sorriso e porta un lungo vestito a fiori come se dovesse affrontare un garden-party e non **un+a traversat+a oceanic+a**. (Tabucchi p. 36)¹¹⁰

Breezy has an open and very friendly face and a bright smile, and she is wearing a long flowery dress as if she were facing a garden-party and not **an ocean crossing**.

The *+a* of *traversat+a*, just like the *+a* of *un+a* and the *+a* of *oceanic+a*, alludes implicitly to *cos-a* ‘**what/thing**’: whatever thing fits the context.

Recall that CovidRider receives requests/demands via app from people stuck in their apartments in New York City during the worst of the pandemic for some product or other, often food or pharmaceutical. He then bikes somewhere and tries to purchase and deliver whatever *cos-a* ‘**what/thing**’ they want. Following is one example, Example (30), a repeat of Example (11) above, of the participial noun *richiest+e* ‘**requests**’ from his ‘call for solidarity’:

- (30) Ho fatto del mio meglio per rifiutare **l+e richiest+e** di consegna presso le farmacie Walgreens e Duane Read (CovidRider)

I did my best to refuse **(the) delivery requests** from the pharmacies Walgreens and Duane Read

CovidRider tried to refuse such requests no matter what *cos-a* the person wanted. This example is not at all unusual; the term *richiest+a/+e* ‘**request/s**’ is quite common.

The example does, however, allow a bit of analysis as to the question of the allusion to *cos-a* as tacit lens versus its actual presence in the text. Example (31) below, in contrast

¹¹⁰ Note too in this short passage the participles *sorris+o* ‘**smile**’ (cf. Ch. VI) and *vestit+o* ‘**garment/dress**’ (mentioned in Ch. IV), with implicit lens *abit-o* ‘**clothing**.’

with (30) above, contains *cos-a* as explicit lens for *richiest+a*. Example (31) also provides a neat opportunity to discuss the switch from *+a* to *+o* and back to *+a*; that matter will be discussed immediately after discussion of the absence versus the presence of *cos-a*. (For the purpose of information, extensive context is provided.)

- (31) Il sistema kanban decide la quantità e tipologia da produrre in tutti i processi. Il primo beneficio del sistema kanban è che riduce la sovrapproduzione, producendo soltanto *l+a*⇒ *⟨cos-a⟩* ⇐*richiest+a*, quando è *chiest+o* e *nell+a*⇒ *⟨quantità⟩* ⇐*richiest+a*. In giapponese l'espressione kanban significa scheda o cartellino, ed è il nome assegnato all'insieme di schede di controllo usate in un pull system. Ogni scheda o kanban identifica un prodotto o componente ed indica da dove arriva e dove deve andare. Usando questo metodo, il kanban si comporta come un sistema d'informazione che integra la produzione, collegando tutti i processi, l'uno con altro, armonicamente, con la domanda del cliente. (web)¹¹¹

The kanban system decides the quantity and type to be produced in all [manufacturing] processes. The main benefit of the kanban system is that it reduces overproduction, producing only **the thing requested**, when it is **asked for** and in **the quantity requested**. In Japanese the expression *kanban* means 'card' or 'index-card,' and it is the name assigned to the control set of cards used in a pull system. Each card, or kanban, identifies a product or component and indicates from where it arrives and where it has to go. Using this method, kanban works with an information system that integrates production, bringing all processes together, harmoniously, one with the other, with the client's demand.

In the kanban system of production, overproduction is eliminated because the system takes into account precisely *cos-a* 'what/thing' is *richiest+a* 'requested' and precisely what *quantità* 'quantity' of it is *richiest+a* 'requested'.¹¹² Along with these two considerations, the *cos-a* and the *quantità*, there is a third consideration: the time *quando* 'when' the

¹¹¹ <https://www.leanmanufacturing.it/strumenti/kanban.html>, accessed June 2, 2021.

¹¹² Just such a system of production has been blamed by some for the shortage of many products during the pandemic written about by CovidRider.

request is made. *Cos-a* ‘what/thing’ is here explicitly listed alongside two other considerations. The explicit presence of the LI *cos-a* serves the communication.

As the passage moves along from the first consideration to the second to the third, the variably-classed participles change: *richiest+* then *chiest+* and then *richiest+* again. Even while all three participles share the morpheme *chiest*, the middle consideration stands out in that way from the other two.¹¹³ Even more striking, thanks to the color-coding, the signaling of RIA changes from *+a* to *+o* and back to *+a*. By hypothesis, the meaning of the signal *+o* is RIA NOT MADE; allusion is NOT MADE to *cos-a* or *quantità* here. See Chapter VI for extensive analysis of the meaning NOT MADE where there is no lens at all; meanwhile, here note that *quando* ‘when’ applies to the time of the making of the ask, not precisely to ‘what/thing’ is ‘requested,’ nor to the ‘quantity’ ‘requested’: not the “what?” or the “how much?” but the “when?”

Whenever an action of *scegliere* ‘choosing’ is instantiated, some *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ is chosen. Just what gets chosen may be left totally generic with *scelt+a* (as opposed to there being a particular lens, with *scelt+a/+o/+e/+i*). In that case, what gets chosen will be determined to whatever degree possible, or communicatively appropriate, from context. For Example (32) below, recall that, in Calvino’s fanciful (and anti-establishment) story, the young Viscount Medardo gets literally blown in half, right side and left side, by a cannonball in an eighteenth-century war of the Austrians (the *cristian+i* here) against the Turks.

- (32) Alla sera, scesa la tregua, due carri andavano raccogliendo i corpi dei cristiani per il campo di battaglia. Uno era per i feriti e l’altro per i morti. *L+a prim+a scelt+a* si faceva lí sul campo. . . .

¹¹³ Without committing here to a lexical analysis, it can be noted that, between the two (*chiest* and *ri-chiest*), the former, *chiest* without the *ri-* ‘again,’ appears generally to have a less insistent sense.

L+a second+a scelt+a si faceva all'ospedale. . . . Quando un paziente moriva, tutto quello che aveva di buono serviva a racconciare le membra di un altro, e così via. (Calvino pp. 25-26)

In the evening, under cease-fire, two carts went around gathering the bodies of the Christians throughout the battlefield. One was for the wounded, and the other for the dead. **The first choice** was made there on the battlefield. . . .

The second choice was made at the hospital. . . . When a patient died, everything he had that was in good condition served to mend the extremities of another, and on down the line.

The actions of the various noncombattants in choosing are twice instantiated here. The first *cos-a* 'what/thing' chosen, by the cart-bearers on the battlefield, is a whole body (or what was left of it) on the battlefield, either 'wounded' or 'dead.' The second *cos-a* chosen, by the doctors in the field hospital, is a body part from one failed patient that might serve to mend another, more promising patient.

In certain contexts, the *cos-a* 'what/thing' chosen is an actual person, even a man. So with Example (33), which concerns male basketball player Kyle Kuzma (twice identifying him with so-called "feminines," but the point here is the *scelt+a*):

- (33) Da carneade al primo giro del Draft (*scelt+a* numer-o 27) a *nuov+a*⇒
 <*speranz-a*> per il futuro gialloviola, il passo è stato breve.

From complete unknown in the first round of the draft (**choice** number 27) to **new hope** for the future purple-and-gold [team colors of the Los Angeles Lakers], the passage has been brief.

In a draft, *scelt+e* 'choices'—instantiations of *scegliere* 'choosing'—have to be made. Yes, up to the present in the National Basketball Association, those choices have all been men, but many sports, with both male and female players, have teams with athletes that are 'chosen.' The **choice** of Kuzma fits into that general sports matrix.

If, instead of placing a particular **choice** within the generic (the *cos-a*) matrix of *choosing*, a user of Italian wishes to imply that the outcome of the *choosing* is specifically a man, that can be done. In certain contexts, *l+o Scelt+o* ‘the Chosen (One)’ would be interpreted as an identification of Jesus. See Chapter VII for identifications (such as *uomo* ‘man’) that are clearly human.

A *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ may have divisions that are mentioned. The term *partit+a* is common in one of the main texts for this study, where the writer (Pellecchia) mentions many a basketball ‘game.’ A basketball game is a competition (a *cos-a* ‘thing’) that is ‘divided’ between opposing teams; it is a *partit+a*.¹¹⁴

One notch down, in generality and in frequency of use, from *cos-a*, a whole ‘what/thing,’ is *part-e*, a ‘part/side’ of a whole.

See Examples (8, 9) for *part-e* as explicit lens. See Examples (10, 12) for *part-e* as tacit lens, and Example (14) for (as participial noun) *aggiunt+a*, an ‘added’ ‘part’ of a thing.

Another so-called participial noun alluding to *part-e* ‘part’ is *rispost+a* ‘response / reply / answer,’ morphologically and diachronically related to *rispondere* ‘respond / reply / answer.’ There is a stimulus part and a ‘response’ part to, for example: the rising threat posed by a pandemic (CovidRider), a question spoken by one person to another (Tabucchi p. 76), and an exchange of postal letters, as in Example (34):

- (34) Durante la stagione delle arance, . . . , si poteva scrivere in Inghilterra ogni settimana ricevendo **l+a rispost+a** dopo una ventina di giorni (Tabucchi p. 30)

¹¹⁴ According to Garzanti, the (transitive) sense of ‘divide’ is now literary for *partire*. More colloquial today is *partire* in the (intransitive) sense of ‘leave’—that is, ‘divide’ a congregation of humans into two parts by ‘leaving,’ as opposed to remaining.

[From the island of São Miguel in the Azores] During orange season, . . ., one could write to England every week, receiving **the reply** within twenty days or so

Rispost+a is, in fact, the ordinary Italian translation of English *answer, reply, and response*; **rispost+a** is that second ‘**part**’ to a dialogue.

The most generic term for the identification of a human being may well be **person-a** ‘**person**,’ and that term is certainly frequent in usage.¹¹⁵ Although coverage of the Identification of human beings by explicit lenses that are (almost) exclusively human (e.g., **donn-a** ‘**woman**,’ **uomo** ‘**man**’) and by forms that have been called pronouns (e.g., **l+a** ‘**her**’ and **l+o** ‘**him**’) is concentrated in Chapter VII, it is useful to examine here a few participial nouns in **+a** that, while not themselves exclusively human in identification, do allude, evidently, to **person-a** ‘**person**’ as lens.

One such participial noun in **+a** with **person-a** ‘**person**’ as tacit lens is **sorpres+a** ‘**surprise**,’ participle of *sorprendere* ‘surprise.’ Whatever the ‘**surprise**’ may be, the only ‘**thing**’ that can normally be ‘**surprised**’ in an action of ‘surprising’ is a **person-a** ‘**person**.’¹¹⁶ For example, any avid fan of American basketball in 2018 would have been ‘surprised’ by the event related in Example (35), regarding youthful basketball player Kyle Kuzma:

- (35) chiuderà la regular season a oltre 16 punti di media con il 40% dal campo, trascinando i Lakers ai limiti della zona playoff e risultando a **sorpres+a** il *Rookie of the Year* (Pellecchia)

he will close the regular season with more than 16 points on average, with 40% from the field, carrying the Lakers to the margins of the playoff zone and ending up by **surprise** the *Rookie of the Year*

¹¹⁵ **Person-a** is ranked #6 in frequency of use among **A-Class** items by the *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato* (<http://badip.uni-graz.at/it/>); cf. above in this chapter.

¹¹⁶ Or, anyway, a being viewed by the language-user as having cognitive ability, e.g., whales in Tabucchi p. 69.

Whatever makes a *person-a* be *sorpres+a* ‘surprised’ might be, on occasion, a title (as in Example 33), an unexpected person, an event in one’s life, a birthday party, or even an engagement ring. Any of those might be identified as a *sorpres+a* if it results in a *person-a* ‘person’ being *sorpres+a* ‘surprised.’

Indeed, participles in *+a* can be used to Identify concrete physical objects if they are serving as the lens through which that object is conceptualized. For instance: an onion growing underground in the middle of a field is unlikely to be identified as a *scelt+a* ‘choice’ (‘thing-choosing’), but that same onion might be identified as a *scelt+a* once it is on display in the produce rack in a grocery store. Not just any hole in a whale’s skin (if indeed a hole can be Identified as a physical object) would likely be Identified as a *ferit+a* ‘wound’ (‘thing-wounding’). For instance, the whale’s blowhole would not be identified as a *ferit+a*, but a hole in the whale’s skin inflicted by a harpoon hurled by a person would. A silver finger ring that is crafted in an artisan’s studio for display in that person’s case as an exhibit of artisinal skill would not likely be Identified as a *sorpres+a* ‘surprise’ (‘thing/person-surprising’) but it might be if it serves as a gift to someone unawares. The face of an ancient Egyptian pyramid would likely not be Identified as a *scalinat+a* ‘stairway’ (‘thing-scaling’) even though the sides of its tiers are at right angles to each other and the whole structure is angled upward and forward; the tiers are too tall (about maybe four or five feet—almost two meters—each) to be climbed easily with human legs.¹¹⁷ An opening in the wall of a sixteenth-floor apartment, giving onto the apartment’s terrace, is not likely to be identified as an *uscit+a* ‘exit’ (‘thing/person-exiting’)—that opening would be a bad way

¹¹⁷ The Metropolitan Museum in New York displays a painting by Adrien Dauzats of people scaling the face of the Great Pyramid at Giza.

to escape a fire—while a doorway designed specifically to give a person egress from a room towards freedom elsewhere—as to escape fire—quite well might be identified as *uscit+a*. And a piece of furniture that is shaped inconveniently for a person’s *sedere* ‘sitting,’ for instance a hat tree, would not likely be identified as a *sedut+a* ‘seat’ (‘thing/person-sitting’), but a more comfortable piece of furniture shaped properly for sitting—thus not a bed—might well be so identified. A physical object may indeed be identified by a participle in *+a* if that action is the lens through which the object is viewed.

The Italian lexicon contains certain items that are not participles (and so, presumably, do not connote actions) that also can serve as lenses for identifying things; among them *usci-o* ‘exit’ and *sedi-a* ‘seat/chair.’ Some of the participles in *+a* are used so frequently (or by the right people, anyway) as lenses to identify physical objects (e.g., *uscit+a* ‘exit’) that they are recognized in dictionaries. Some are used by people (e.g., *sedut+a* ‘seat/chair’) but might not be sanctioned by dictionaries. And different lexicons will offer their users different options. For instance, while *chosen* (cf. *choose*) is not the usual way in English to identify a *choice*—nor *choisie* in French (cf. *choisir*)—in Italian *scelt+a* (cf. *scegliere*) is the usual identifier of a thing chosen; Italian *scelt+a* is the usual gloss for English *choice*—or French *choix*—(that is, for translating English or French into Italian).

Other participial nouns in *+a* (dictionaries list many) that factored into this analysis — i.e., participles in *+a* without explicit lenses in the text—include: *durat+a* ‘duration,’ *fiut+a* ‘feint,’ *impres+a* ‘enterprise,’ *pretas+a* ‘pretence,’ *ricadut+a* ‘falling again / relapse,’ *rincors+a* ‘run-up,’ *risat+a* ‘burst of laughter,’ *rivist+a* ‘review/magazine,’ *rivolt+a* ‘revolt,’ *scoss+a* ‘jolt,’ *sterzat+a* ‘swerve,’ *strett+a* ‘grip,’ *virat+a* ‘turn,’ and *vist+a* ‘sight.’

D3. Remarks on some pseudo-participles of the A-Class

Recall that the goal of this study is to account for the observed distribution (mostly of alphabetic letters but also of spoken phonological units as encountered by this analyst) of what turn out to be grammatical **signals** involved in **variable Lexical Class** (e.g., *parlat+a* / *parlat+o* / *parlat+e* / *parlat+i* ‘spoken’). The goal of this study is not to account either for the LC membership of invariably classed words (e.g., why *fed-e* ‘faith’ belongs to one LC and *fior-e* ‘flower’ to the other) nor to account for the endings of such invariably classed words (e.g., why *man-o*, *an-o*, *ann-o*, *mann-a*, and *clim-a* have the endings they have). Nor does this study need to be constrained by traditional categories (such as “gender,” “feminine,” “noun,” or “participle”), since these turn out, upon analysis, to be irrelevant to the observed distribution.

The hypothesis put forward in this study to account for that observed distribution is called Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) with its grammatical signals and meanings as specified in the diagram (from Chapter II) repeated early in this chapter.

All that notwithstanding, it might be useful here to offer remarks on a few Italian LIs, with signals of RIA, that might appear to be participles but are not. Such words, ending in *-a/-e*, share the phonology of their endings with participial nouns in *+a/+e* discussed in the section above but do not (ever, in the data available for this study, even after searches) end in *+o/+i*, thus denoted here “*-a*” not “*+a*,” with “*-*” indicating a two-way, not a four-way distinction.) Compounding the similarity with participles, these words too are morphologically complex: stem plus *-at-* plus *+a/+e*; recall that a penultimate *at* is also a defining feature (as shown above) of participles of modern Italian verbs of the first conjugation (e.g., *am-are* ‘love’ *am-a-t+* ‘(be)loved’). The words to be covered in this

section belong to the same LC (the **A Class**) to which the RIA signals *+a/+e* allude. The words all have lexical stems in common with both invariably classed words (“nouns”) and morphologically complex words that have verbal paradigms, including “participles.” Moreover (without getting too deeply into lexical analysis here), these words evidently share with the “participial nouns” in *+a* covered just above a sense of realization, achievement, or instantiation, thus suggesting that they might be alluding, as RIA often does, to the LI *cos-a* ‘**what/thing**.’ These similarities are highly suggestive. There clearly is at least a diachronic connection.¹¹⁸

It might be useful, therefore, to offer tentative remarks on such words here, particularly in case someone later conducts a lexical analysis that includes these words. It might even be possible someday to connect the distribution of variably classed words (the object of this study, with its RIA hypothesis) with that of individual invariably classed words, and so the words covered in this section may be helpful in that regard. Three such words are covered in this section: *cordat-a* ‘**roped party**’ (like a parade), *facciat-a* ‘**façade**,’ and *giornat-a* ‘**day**.’

The first example here, Example (36), is of *cordat-a* ‘**roped party**’:

- (36) In *un+a*⇒ *curios+a*⇒ *⟨cordat-a⟩* ← *marin+a* ← *guidat+a* dalla lancia e chiusa dalla balena, ci dirigiamo verso l’isola di Pico (Tabucci p. 75)

In **a curious seafaring roped party led** by the boat and closed at the end by the whale, we headed towards the island of Pico

The manned boats are literally held together by a ‘cord’ as they move forward; they are thus unified, made into one entity; the action of tying boats together with a ‘cord’ is

¹¹⁸ There was a Latin suffix *-ata*, and Allen & Greenough’s Latin grammar (§246) says, “Adjectives meaning *provided with* are formed from nouns by means of the regular participial endings— *-tus*, *-ātus*, *-ītus*, *-ūtus*.”

instantiated. (The assemblage is a bit like a Calder mobile.) The Italian lexicon contains the items *cord-a* ‘cord’ and the morphologically complex verbal paradigm that can be represented here by *accordare* ‘(to) tune a stringed musical instrument, (to) agree,’ including its participle *accordat+*. *Cordat-a* seems an awful lot like a participle, but it is in fact of invariable LC.

The next example, (37), is of *facciat-a* ‘façade’:

- (37) Gli inglesi trovarono ospitalità in **un+a**⇒ **cas-a** ← **sull+a** cui **facciat-a** spiccavano in bianco le lettere THE PLYMOUTH BALTIMORE (Tabucchi p. 30)

The Englishmen found hospitality in **a house on the façade** of which stood out the letters THE PLYMOUTH BALTIMORE

The ‘**façade**’ of the house is a coherent part of the house instantiating that phase of construction. The Italian lexicon contains the items *facci-a* ‘face’ and the morphologically complex verbal paradigm that can be represented here by *affacciare* ‘(to) show, put forward,’ including its participle *affacciat+*. *Facciat-a* seems an awful lot like a participle, but it is in fact of invariable LC.

The last examples of this section, (38) and (39), are of *giornat-a* ‘day.’ *Giornat-a* is quite frequent in everyday usage. Typically, in the morning, a person greets another person by saying “*Buon giorn-o!*” ‘Good day!’ and says when the person is leaving “*Buon+a giornat-a!*” ‘Good day!’¹¹⁹ The term *giornat-a* may be used in connection with a day’s weather, as in “*Che bell+a giornat-a!*” ‘What a beautiful day!’ The term *giornat-a* also tends to be used in connection with a day’s work, as in these two examples (37, 38).

¹¹⁹ This happens to me routinely when I interact with Italian-speaking shopkeepers.

In (37), at the end of a day's exhausting work, a whaler is speaking to the writer, who has come along to observe a hunt.

- (38) Ma lei perché ha voluto partecipare a **quest+a**⇒ **giornat-a**, mi chiede, per semplice curiosità? (Tabucchi p. 76)

“But you, why did you want to participate in **this day**?” he asks me.
“Just out of curiosity?”

In Example (39), a man is reminiscing to the writer about the days of the man's early adulthood.

- (39) Continuammo noi due [io e mio padre] ad andare a balene. Ora era più difficile, bisognava affidarsi a braccianti di **giornat-a**, perché in meno di cinque non si può uscire (Tabucchi p. 81)

“We two [my father and I] continued going for whales. Now it was more difficult, we had to depend on **day** laborers, because you can't make it work with less than five.”

The term **giornat-a** seems to have the sense of a fully realized ‘**day**,’ the expanse of a day, as opposed to the sense, more the province of **giorn-o**, of a point in the continuum of time (one ‘**day**’ and then another ‘**day**’). As the dictionary Garzanti defines **giornat-a**: “periodo compreso tra la mattina e la sera in rapporto all’attività che vi si svolge o agli avvenimenti che vi accadono” ‘period comprised between morning and evening with respect to the activity that unfolds in it or the events that happen in it.’ In terms similar to remarks above about participial nouns in **+a**: **Giornat-a** seems to entify (to make into a unit) the collection of happenings during the period of a day.

In addition to the LI **giorn-o** ‘**day**,’ the Italian lexicon contains the morphologically complex verbal paradigm that can be represented here by *aggiornare* ‘(to) update,

adjourn,’ including its participle *aggiornat+*. *Giornat-a* seems an awful lot like a participle, but it is in fact of invariable LC.

There are also other such pairs of words identifying periods of time, as conventionally measured: *ser-a* ‘evening’ / *serat-a* ‘evening, *soirée*’; and *ann-o* ‘year’ / *annat-a* ‘year.’

The status of such words will have to await lexical analysis that includes them. And it is conceivable that, at least diachronically, analysis will eventually reveal a link between the variable lexical class studied here (RIA) and the invariable classification of the Italian lexicon into A-Class and O-Class. Also suggestive in this regard may be the status of words alluding to relatively opaque lenses, discussed above —such as *dat+a* ‘date’ (on the calendar), versus ‘given-f.-sg.,’ and *vaccin+o* ‘vaccine,’ versus ‘bovine-m.-sg.’—and what they suggest about the distinction made here between variably (“+”) and invariably (“-“) classed words. Meanwhile, in the account of the observed distribution in this study, the distinction between “variable” (“+”) and “invariable” (“-“) holds, and the hypothesis offered here (RIA) applies only to the “variable” tokens, and to all of them. Only those tokens of *+a/+o/+e/+i*—certainly not all occurrences of word-final *a, o, e, i* in a text, nor even word-final *-a, -o, -e, -i*—function communicatively as **signals of meanings**. The hypothesis offered here (RIA) accounts for that distribution. In this study, forms such as *cordat-a*, *facciat-a*, and *giornat-a* must be treated as invariably A-Class LIs.

E. The not-at-all “idiomatic” accusative clitic *l+a*

Data seen already in this study show that a signal of RIA can be attached to a grammatical item with no lexical content but with grammatical meaning, and that in such cases, as always, the RIA meaning is signaled, so if there is a lens (there always is a lens in the case of the RIA meaning **MADE**), the RIA meaning will allude to that LI. Thus, in Chapter III,

Example (9) showed (“accusative direct object clitic”) *l+o* used anaphorically, and Example (10) showed *l+a* used that way. Other examples are scattered (unobtrusively) throughout this study. In this chapter, Example (6), above, showed (accusative direct object clitic) *l+a* alluding anaphorically to the explicit generic lens *cos-a* ‘what/thing.’ And many examples (particularly those of the “participial nouns” such as—to choose just one to illustrate—*traversat+a* ‘thing-crossing’) in this chapter have shown the RIA signal *+a* alluding, through its meaning RIA *MADE*, to *cos-a* as tacit, not explicit, lens. The communicative rationale for doing that, recall, is simultaneously to entify a particular experience (i.e., to make it into a *cos-a* ‘what/thing’) and to situate it within the realm of similar experiences that should help to make it identifiable thanks to clues in the context, particularly the lexical items and stems that are explicit in the nearby context (e.g., *traversat+*). It is not surprising, then, that, on occasion, *+a* is attached to (accusative direct object clitic) *l+*, thus forming *l+a*, alluding tacitly to the generic lens *cos-a*.

This section, then, contains analysis of just a few, illustrative examples of *l+a* alluding to a lens (*cos-a*) that is both generic and tacit. In the tradition, this is referred to as “idiomatic *la*.” Probably, this *l+a* has been considered idiomatic because grammarians tend to have a referential view of meaning (while instead the senses of forms **identify** rather than refer), and because the instances of *l+a* that the grammars have recognized as such (seemingly referring to nothing in particular) are regularly associated in the grammars with a fairly restricted range (a dozen or so) of verbs. But an analysis of actual, attested data of the full range of occurrence of *+a*, as has been done in this study, shows that, actually, there is nothing unusual about such tokens of *l+a* at all.

The catalog of *l+a* “idioms” routinely listed in grammars includes: *per dir l+a al . . .* ‘to put it (in the manner of . . .)’, *saper l+a lung+a* ‘know a thing or two,’ *godersel+a* ‘enjoy oneself, have a good time,’ *cavarsel+a* ‘manage,’ *prenderse l+a* ‘get annoyed,’ *battersel+a* ‘run off,’ *aver(ce) l+a* ‘be angry/annoyed,’ and *me l+a pagherai* ‘you’ll pay me for that.’ But if *l+a* can be idiomatic, so can *l+e* (according to this study, implicitly alluding to plural *cos-e* ‘what/thing’s): *far l+e sentire a qualcuno* ‘let someone hear about it,’ and *dar l+e* ‘give a good beating.’ No doubt other expressions too involving *l+* have heretofore been poorly understood. This analysis, by clarifying the function of *l+a/+e* through an extensive examination of attested data, should help to make them better understood.

The context for Example (40), below, is an argument between two adolescent boys. The first speaker, angered, is calling the other boys in the group *can-i* ‘dogs.’

- (40) « Cani... cani » gridò [Berto] ancora. Il ragazzotto gli si avvicinò e gli lasciò andare un ceffone che suonò secco e fece saltare di gioia gli altri compagni. « *L+a* vuoi smettere sì o no? ». Berto, come forsennato, corse all’angolo della baracca, si chinò, afferrò con le due mani una pietra enorme a la scagliò contro il suo nemico (Moravia, *Agostino*, p. 37)

“Dogs! dogs!” he [Berto] shouted again. The [other] guy approached him and threw him a punch that sounded sharp and made the other friends jump for joy. “You gonna quit *it* or not?” Berto, crazy-like, ran to the corner of the hut, bent down, and grabbed with both his hands a huge rock and threw it at his enemy

The ‘thing’ that Berto wants the other boy to *smettere* ‘quit’ is obviously ‘what’ that boy is doing at the moment of the exchange, namely punching Berto. The *+a* of this *l+a* alludes implicitly to the tacit, generic LI *cos-a* ‘what/thing,’ which, as ever, covers whatever the speaker wants it to, and for whatever reason. Specifically, Berto wants the other guy to stop hitting him, but that ‘what/thing’ is of an ilk with other ‘what/thing’s that some people do to the annoyance of other people. (Indeed, in this story, Berto is trying to fit in socially

with this group, and getting punched by one of the boys is one of the ‘things’ that threaten to keep Berto on the fringes of the group.) Anyone, including Berto, who is annoyed by the behavior of others wants the perpetrators, of course, to ‘quit *it*,’ and everybody involved will likely know what ‘*it*’ is.

Example (41), below, relates an incident at a tennis match held at the U.S. Open in New York. Hammond is an umpire, and Nastase, a Romanian, is a player in the match.

- (41) Hammond a un certo punto infligge un game di penalità a Nastase, il pubblico allora comincia a fischiare, a lanciare oggetti in campo, i giocatori restano immobili mentre entrano in campo poliziotti e Hammond abbarbicato sul seggiolone suda e non sa più cosa fare. Prima annulla l’incontro, ma poi è lui che viene sostituito mentre Nastase se *l+a* ride. (Fabio Severo, web)¹²⁰

Hammond at a certain point imposes a penalty of one game on Nastase. The crowd then begins to hoot and throw objects onto the field. The players stand immobile while police enter the field and Hammond, stuck in his seat, sweats and wonders what else to do. First he voids the match, but then he’s the one who gets replaced while Nastase laughs *it* off.

Any reader at all familiar with how genteelly tennis matches normally go, and how challenging that traditional ambience is to maintain at the U.S. Open in New York, will understand immediately when encountering this *l+a* that the unflappable European Nastase is ‘laughing off’ the chaotic situation.

Example (41) offers a good opportunity to remember too that *l+* signals a relatively LOW Degree of Control over an event (in this case ‘laughing’) (Davis 2017b: 61ff.). The chaotic situation (*l+a*) is fully under the champion Nastase’s control, in his unperturbed head. Nastase is not going to let this situation bother him.¹²¹

¹²⁰ <http://www.rivistaundici.com/2017/08/28/storia-us-open/>, accessed July 7, 2018.

¹²¹ The function of *se* too in Ex. (40) may be obscure to the reader; see Davis (2017b: 211-213).

Finally, Example (42) comes well into Tabucchi's story relating the conversation aboard a ferry between a woman and her male friend, who is a writer who has gone to the Azores specifically to write. This is an example of the "idiom" whose citation form is *farcela* (infinitive *far* plus two clitics) 'do it.' Here, because *l* 'it' occurs immediately before *hai* (phonologically [ai]), there is "elision": There is no signal of RIA attached to *l*. Note, however, the *+a* attached to *fatt+* (participle of *far* 'do'), thereby making implicit allusion to *cos-a* 'what/thing.'

- (42) Non ti ho neanche chiesto se ce l'hai *fatt+a* Oh, diciamo che è una rilettura di Ibsen in chiave brillante, disse lui (Tabucchi p. 24)

"I haven't even asked whether you did *it*"

"Oh, let's say that it's a rereading of Ibsen in a bright key," he said.

Both the woman and the man know exactly 'what' the man went to the Azores to 'do,' what he wanted to get under his control: the story he aimed to write.

F. Conclusion to the chapter

When the lexical item that the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) *MADE* alludes to is the highly generic lexical item *cos-a* 'what/thing' or an only slightly less generic LI, *part-e* 'part' or *person-a* 'person,' it may not be apparent to the reader of a text just what is being alluded to. The communicative function of *l+a* or *l+e* is particularly opaque if that reader imagines that something is being "referred" to, or maybe that something should always be referred to but in such examples that is not happening. Such occurrences of *+a* and *+e* in a text can be puzzling; they can prompt special entries in dictionaries or receive the label "idiomatic." When, however, they contribute to a comprehensive analysis based on attested examples, an analysis that takes into account the lexical classification of Italian

(into **A** and **O** classes), as here, the communicative function of the forms becomes clear.

The morphemes **+a** and **+e** are **signals** of the grammatical **meaning** Restriction of Identity to **A-Class MADE**.

The Communicative Function of Gender in Italian
Joseph Davis

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Chapter VI

There is No Lens

This chapter concerns almost exclusively the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) **NOT MADE**, signaled by (DO NOT ENUMERATE a.k.a. “singular”) **+o** and (ENUMERATE a.k.a. “plural”) **+i** in those instances when that meaning does not make allusion to any Identifying Lexical Item (LI), or **lens**, at all, not even implicitly or tacitly. That is, this chapter concerns examples of **+o/+i** with no lens.

Included among the examples in Chapters III and IV are lenses of the O-Class of LIs in the binary lexical classification of Italian (*casinò*, *sol-e*, *bracci-o*, etc.). Included alongside those LIs are allusions to them—adjacent or far away in the text or present only in the lexicon—by the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) **NOT MADE**, signaled by **+o/+i** (*impetuos+o*, *nuov+i*, *futur+o*, etc.). As already mentioned, the division of the Italian lexicon into two classes (A and O) is roughly half-and-half. One of the members of the A-Class, however, *cos-a* ‘what/thing,’ is extraordinarily frequent in pragmatic usage and is semantically generic, thus commonly alluded to by the RIA meaning **MADE**, signaled by **+a/+e**, when no lens at all is explicit in the text, including tokens of **+a/+e** that are traditionally called feminine participial nouns. Those were the topic of Chapter V.

There is, however, an asymmetry built into the system of RIA, and that asymmetry is reflected in the name of the semantic substance itself and of the two mutually exclusive and exhaustive **meanings** assigned to it by this study: Restriction of Identity to A-Class **MADE** and **NOT MADE**. In addition to alluding to LIs of the O-Class, the meaning **NOT MADE** oftentimes alludes to no lexical item at all. Those examples are the topic of this chapter.

The meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class **NOT MADE** entails that a lexical stem with the signal *+o* or *+i* attached as a suffix is definitively not making an allusion to a LI of the A-Class through which the Identity of the stem is conceived and is to be interpreted. Logically, given the structure of the Italian lexicon and the nature of discourse, this communicative instruction can be broken down into two parts:

Restriction of Identity to A-Class **NOT MADE** entails:

Either:

1. Identity is viewed through an O-Class lens

Or:

2. Identity is viewed through no lexical lens at all.

Logical possibility #1 (Identity is viewed through an O-Class lens) was illustrated in Chapter III for explicit O-Class lenses, and in Chapter IV for tacit O-Class lenses.

To illustrate allusion to an explicit O-Class lens, an example from Ch. III is here repeated as Example (1):

(1) *il*⇒ <suon-o> si riproduce in un <ec-o> ←infin+o che rapisce chi ←l+o sente (Tabucchi p. 17)

the sound is repeated in an infinite echo that entrances anyone who hears it (*l+o*)

The signal *+o* attached to *l+*, resulting in *l+o* ‘it,’ has the RIA meaning **NOT MADE** and so the thing that is heard is interpreted through the explicit lens of *suon-o* ‘sound’ (and not *ec-o* ‘echo’).

To illustrate an allusion to a tacit **O-Class** lens, an example from Ch. IV is here repeated as Example (2):

- (2) Ogni giorno, ero tormentato da un pensiero: se fuggire in campagna o provare a tornare presto a casa mia, all'estero. Ho dovuto soppesare entrambe le possibilità pensando ai soldi che stavo mettendo da parte e alla prospettiva di **un futur+o** in cui potrebbe essere molto più complicato ottenere un impiego. (CovidRider)

Every day, I was tormented by a thought: whether to flee to the countryside or to try to return home soon, abroad. I had to forego both those possibilities, thinking about the money I was putting away towards the prospect of **a future** in which it might be much more difficult to get a job.

The signal *+o* attached to *futur+* ‘future,’ resulting in *futur+o*, with its RIA meaning **NOT MADE**, can be interpreted, in this context, through the tacit lens *temp-o* ‘time.’

Those examples, repeated from Chs. III and IV, represent logical possibility #1 above, allusion by the RIA meaning **NOT MADE** to some LI through which Identity is established. This chapter concerns logical possibility #2 above: Identity is viewed through no lexical lens at all.

With the examples in this chapter, allusion to an explicit lens is out of the question, since there simply is no plausible explicit lens in the text. But what about some tacit lens, one that is not explicitly present in the text but only in the lexicon? The examples in this chapter involve instances of the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** that do not even allude to a tacit lens. For the purpose of presentation, because it is difficult to demonstrate convincingly that allusion to some LI existing somewhere in the lexicon is not made (in a phrase, “it is

hard to prove a negative”), it is helpful to keep in mind that the signals *+o/+i* definitively eliminate the possibility of allusion to A-Class *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ and *part-e* ‘part,’ which were the principal topic of Ch. V. With those highly generic (and frequently used) LIs out of the picture, the LIs that potentially might be relevant to examples in this chapter—but are not—are reduced to more ordinary, particular LIs of the O-Class, such as *temp-o* ‘time,’ *problem-a* ‘problem,’ *nom-e* ‘name,’ or *film* ‘film/movie.’ And none of those (hundreds of words!) are alluded to by examples in this chapter. Examples of *+o/+i* in this chapter, to repeat, allude to no lexical item.

What examples in this chapter all have in common is this: That the lexical stem to which the RIA signal *+o/+i* is attached is the only relevant identifier as it occurs in the particular context. For a full interpretation, no lens needs to be alluded to. For instance, in the phrase *al minim+o* ‘to the minimum,’ cited just below in this chapter, the lexical stem *minim+* ‘minimum’ is the only relevant identifier alongside anything else in the context that might help to solve the communicative problem at hand.

A. The stem identifies a point

The communicative effect of that non-allusion (RIA NOT MADE)—that non-reliance on any other LI—might most easily be appreciated by beginning with examples of *+o* involving what might be called “points” or even “cardinal points,” in any conceptual sense, not necessarily the geometric. These points are self-referential, as it were, not requiring allusion to any other LI in order to be interpreted in the context.

One such cardinal point is the ‘minimum’ on a scale. Example (3) is part of the narration of a whale hunt observed by the writer aboard a hunting boat after a whale has been harpooned:

- (3) avanza col motore al *minim+o*, ci dirigiamo sulla balena che respira immobile nella pozza di sangue mentre la sua coda, inquieta, schiaffeggia l'acqua con movimenti spasmodici. (Tabucchi p. 75)

[The boat's captain] moves forward with the motor at the *minimum*. We head towards the whale, which is breathing but still within the pool of blood, while its tale, restless, smacks the water with spasmodic motions.

With the frenetic phase of the hunt over, and lest the still-breathing whale be startled and smack the boat with its gigantic tail, the captain moves the boat towards the whale at the lowest speed possible, with the motor throttled all the way down as far as it will go. A boat like this does not have gears, the way a car does; the speed of the motor is controlled along a continuous scale, of which *il minim+o* is the absolute bottom, one of two cardinal points on the scale, the other being *il massim+o* 'the maximum.'

Other attested examples that can be thought of as working this way—the meaning RIA NOT MADE in the Identification of a conceptual point (as opposed to one *part-e* 'part' distinct from other parts, or one *cos-a* 'what/thing' distinct from other things of its ilk)—include: *al contrari+o* 'on the contrary,' *l'oppost+o* 'the opposite,' *l+o stess+o* 'the same,' and *all'ultim+o* 'at/to the end.'

That last one, *all'ultim+o* 'at/to the end,' is particularly revealing. Obviously, 'the end' can be thought of as a cardinal point on a scale—from beginning to end—and so the meaning RIA NOT MADE fits such an identification. However, there is also attested (and fairly common) the initially puzzling phrase *fine all'ultim+o pagin-a* 'up to the last page,' with the two RIA meanings NOT MADE and MADE colliding, as it were, as they did in some examples seen in Chapter III. Here is one example, Example (4), in which the writer employs the metaphor of a detective story for the 2017-18 NBA basketball season:

- (4) La stagione Nba 2017/2018 è stata un lungo, a tratti interminabile, romanzo giallo di cui si conosceva già il finale, con il nome dell'assassino noto a tutti fin dall'estate 2016. . . . Eppure, nonostante la prevedibilità della sua conclusione, il libro è stato comunque godibile fino all'**ultim+o pagin-a** (Claudio Pellegrini "Cinque cose sulle Finals Nba")

The 2017-2018 NBA season has been a long, at times interminable, detective story, the end of which was already known, with the name of the killer known by everyone since the summer of 2016. . . . And yet, in spite of the predictability of the conclusion, the book has nevertheless been enjoyable up to the **last page**

By hypothesis, the **+o** of **ultim+o** 'last,' with its meaning RIA NOT MADE, cannot allude to **pagin-a** 'page,' a member of the A-Class of LIs. In line with other terms suggesting cardinal points, such as those just above, **ultim+o** must be interpreted in line with merely the stem **ultim+** 'last' in this context. This is a context about a book. A book is typically read as a continuum from beginning to end. **Ultim+o** identifies that endpoint. **Ultim+o** must be interpreted on its own, not in connection with **pagin-a**, even though that is the very next word and even though the (constructed) phrase *l'ultim+a* ⇒ *⟨pagin-a⟩* 'the last page,' with **ultim+a** alluding to **pagin-a** as its lens, is perfectly intelligible through intuition. In this context, **ultim+o** must be interpreted as identifying the 'end'—endpoint—of the book.

Example (5), below, thanks to punctuation between **ultim+o** and **pagin-a** and thanks to the phrase *dopo pagin-a* 'after page' immediately following the first instance of **pagin-a**, confirms that **ultim+o** is not to be interpreted alongside **pagin-a**. (Example 5 is the beginning of a poem by Alberto Toni.)

- (5) *Il dolore*

*a mia madre
in memoria*

Il dolore si muove. A giorno pieno
se ne va il ritratto, il sembiante che

era. Sembra un segno di ritorno, ma non è questo. Ritaglia piuttosto una posa antica di sé, in ogni fotogramma. Tiene svegli i sensi, a volte è ascolto, sottilissima piega, o una curva. Là, alla radice la parola lei, cara come non mai: i saluti, quei saluti nel corridoio, tutto annotato fino all'*ultim+o*, *pagin-a* dopo *pagin-a*, sentimento dopo sentimento. (web)¹²²

Sadness

*to my mother
in memory*

Pain moves. In broad daylight the portrait goes away, the countenance that it was. It seems to be a sign of return, but it's not. It etches rather an old image of itself, in every frame. It keeps the sense awake, sometimes it's listening, slightest wrinkle, or a curve. There, at the root her voice, dear as never before: the greetings, those greetings in the hallway, all noted down, up to the *end*, *page* after *page*, feeling after feeling.¹²³

As in Example (4) above, so here in Example (5), the poet uses a literary work as a metaphor, this time for his grief after his mother's death, his ongoing memories of her voice until its *end*, as if his recollections of her voice were the turning of *page* after *page* of a literary work to to its *end*. In Example (5), the comma separating *ultim+o* from *pagin-a*, and the subsequent phrase *dopo pagin-a*, drawing, as it does, the first token of *pagin-a* into interpretation with it ('*page* after *page*'), support the reading that *ultim+o* is not to be interpreted as an allusion to *pagin-a*. And that is the case in Example (4) too.

¹²² <https://www.laboratoripoesia.it/speciale-alberto-toni-sulla-necessita-delleleganza/>, accessed May 14, 2021.

¹²³ This translation, like all translations by the present writer in this study, is intended for linguistic, not literary, purposes.

The meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class NOT MADE blocks any interpretation of a stem to which *+o/+i* is attached from making an allusion to any member of the A-Class of the Italian lexicon. The stem itself to which the *+o/+i* is attached, in its context, may be all there is to help solve the communicative problem of Identification. That certainly appears to be so in cases involving “cardinal points” such as *minim+o* ‘minimum,’ *massim+o* ‘maximum,’ *contrari+o* ‘contrary,’ *oppost+o* ‘opposite,’ *stess+o* ‘same,’ and *ultim+o* ‘last.’¹²⁴

B. The stem identifies a space

Just as, in examples above and their like, a stem can identify a point (conceptually, including but not limited to geometrically) with no allusion to another LI, so too a stem can identify a space with no allusion to another LI. In such cases, the RIA meaning NOT MADE communicates the instruction NOT to look for an A-Class lens (albeit leaving open the possibility of there being somewhere a suitable O-Class lens). There is no clear distinction, in real communication (outside specialized fields such as geometry) between point and space, and so, again, the grouping of examples here is purely heuristic.

Examples in the previous section concern what might be thought of as cardinal points on a continuous scale. So too are the spaces identified by the LIs *alt+* ‘high’ and *bass+* ‘low,’ except that these two terms allow for a wider space at those two extremes. They almost could be said to define two *part-i* ‘parts’ of a scale, except that they do not imply any clear division of the scale: What is ‘low’? What is ‘high’? What is midway along the scale? Example (6), below, contains three pairs of *alt+o* ‘high’ and *bass+o* ‘low.’ At a

¹²⁴ The lexicon has an item of invariable O-Class *inizi-o* ‘beginning,’ so that is not helpful here.

hunt, a whale is harpooned, drags the boat of whalers on a short, furious flight, and finally dies.

- (6) Lo strumento di morte non viene scagliato dall'*alt+o* in *bass+o*, come mi aspettavo, ma dal *bass+o* in *alt+o*, come un giavellotto; ed è l'enorme peso del ferro e la velocità della ricaduta a trasformarlo in un proiettile micidiale. . . .

...

Ma la corsa affanosa dura poco, forse neppure un chilometro: la balena si ferma di botto, come esausta. . . .

...

Questa volta lo strumento di morte cala dall'*alt+o* verso *il bass+o*, scagliato obliquamente, e trafigge la carne molle come se fosse burro. (Tabucchi pp. 73-75)

The instrument of death does not get thrown from *high* to *low*, the way I expected, but from *low* to *high*, like a javelin; and it is the enormous weight of the iron and the speed of the fall that turns it into a deadly projectile. . . .

...

But the strenuous run doesn't last long, perhaps not even one kilometer: the whale suddenly stops, as if exhausted. . . .

...

This time the instrument of death drops from *high* to *low*, thrown obliquely, and it pierces the tender flesh as if it were butter.

The whaler's harpoon travels in a continuous arc, rising and then, in Example (6), falling.

The terms *alt+o* and *bass+o* identify two extreme spaces in that arc.

Similarly Identifying a space without contrast with other spaces is *larg+o* 'wide' in Example (7), below. After a day's hunt, the captain of a whaling vessel is talking to the writer, who has come along to observe the hunt.

- (7) Siamo a più di diciotto miglia *al larg+o*, mi dice . . . , ci vorrà una notte intera per rientrare (Tabucchi p. 75)

"We're more than eighteen miles *wide*," he tells me. . . . "It'll take us a whole night to get back in [to port]."

The open space between the boat and its destination, the port, is identified as *larg+o* 'wide.'

There is no indication that the speaker conceives of that expanse of ocean as one *part-e*

'part' of the ocean as opposed to the rest of the ocean, which is of no interest to him. The RIA meaning NOT MADE signaled by the suffix *+o* attached to *larg+* 'wide' is sufficient in the context to identify the space, without allusion to any other LI.

Analysis of two pairs of attested examples, (8-11), below, will help to clarify the contributions of the RIA meanings on their own when there is no explicit LI in the text to which they allude. The two pairs involve the variably classed *intern+* 'inside' and *ester+* 'foreign.'¹²⁵

Consider first Example (8), below, with *all'intern+a* 'inside,' with *+a* signaling RIA MADE. Effectively, the Identity of *intern+a* here is Restricted to the LI *part-e* 'part.' The writer implicitly distinguishes the *intern+a* 'inside' of one 'Team' in a company from other *part-i* 'parts' of the company into which that one Team is *insert+a* 'inserted.' This passage comes from a job ad for an "accounting specialist." Some supporting context has been underlined.

- (8) che, inserita all'*intern+a* del Team Administration & Accounting, si occuperà di garantire la corretta tenuta della contabilità generale e della fiscalità ordinaria. (web)¹²⁶

who, inserted *inside* the Administration & Accounting Team, will be concerned with ensuring correct maintenance of general bookkeeping [for the company] and with ordinary conformity with the application of tax regulations.

The "Administration & Accounting Team" plays a role in the company, a role with 'general' relevance, but the Team is only one *part-e* 'part' of the company. (The company advertises

¹²⁵ For *ester+*, stress is on the antepenultimate syllable: ['estera] and ['estero]. The stem *ester+* has a particularly political sense, thus 'abroad' or 'foreign.'

¹²⁶ <https://www.powersoft.com/it/about/jobs>, accessed July 2, 2021.

for other positions too.) In Example (8), with *intern+a*, the RIA meaning **MADE**, as always, Restricts Identity to **A-Class**, specifically in this case to the tacit *part-e* ‘part.’

By contrast, Example (9), below has *all'intern+o* ‘inside,’ with RIA **NOT MADE**.

CovidRider, who delivered products by bicycle to home-bound New Yorkers during the worst of the pandemic of 2020, writes about the experience of shopping for requested products:

- (9) Sono andato in farmacia e sono entrato. Mi sembrava di trovarmi all'*intern+o* di una gigantesca capsula di Petri brulicante di COVID-19. Ovviamente, come in ogni farmacia di Manhattan, tutto era esaurito (CovidRider)

I went [by bicycle] to the pharmacy and went in. I seemed to be *inside* a gigantic Petri dish brimming with Covid-19. Obviously, as in every pharmacy in Manhattan, everything was sold out

The writer sees the *intern+o* ‘inside’ of the pharmacy as a gigantic space that he ‘entered.’ There is no indication that he conceives of that space as a *part-e* ‘part’ of any larger space (such as the confines of Manhattan, with the interior space separated from the exterior space by the membrane of the walls of the pharmacy) or as one *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ distinct from others *cos-e* ‘what/thing’s (such as other spaces in other stores). In fact, CovidRider sees all of Manhattan as infected with Covid-19. He perceives the *intern+o* ‘inside’ of the pharmacy as a whole; he has no communicative need to allude to any particular LI.

The second pair examined here is *all'ester+a* ‘abroad’ versus *all'ester+o* ‘abroad.’ For each, extensive context is provided as support for the difference between the RIA meanings **MADE** and **NOT MADE**.

Example (10), below, is the beginning and the end of a short article on *La Stidda*, a criminal organization. Again, particularly supporting material has been underlined.

- (10) La Stidda è un'organizzazione criminale, tipo mafioso, che esiste prevalentemente nel sud centrale di Sicilia. Si è affermata maggiormente fuori dalle zone che sono tradizionalmente considerati il territorio della Cosa Nostra, quindi la Stidda opera in particolare nelle province di Agrigento, Caltanissetta, Enna e Ragusa. Però, col passar del tempo, i due gruppi stanno diventando concorrenti forti.

...

Perché tutti e due operano in Sicilia, la Stidda e la Cosa Nostra sono diventati rivali. Prima degli anni '80, la Stidda è stata limitata alle zone rurali della Sicilia, a causa della dominanza della Cosa Nostra nelle città. L'attività dell'organizzazione consisteva maggiormente degli aspetti del crimine che la Cosa Nostra ignorava, come la prostituzione e le scommesse illegali.

Durante gli anni ottanta, dopo la seconda Guerra mafiosa, l'organizzazione è cresciuta in numero grazie ad un influsso di ex membri della Cosa Nostra; dopo che questi mafiosi sono stati espulsi dalla Cosa Nostra per delle ragioni come violazione del codice e disaccordo con il capo, si sono aggiunti al più aperto Stidda. Oggi ancora non si sa molto della Stidda, e l'organizzazione continua a crescere, in Sicilia ma anche all'ester+a nei Stati Uniti. (web)¹²⁷

Stidda is a criminal organization, of the Mafia type, that exists prevalently in the south central [part] of Sicily. It is attested primarily outside the areas that are traditionally considered the territory of *Cosa Nostra*, so *Stidda* operates in particular in the provinces of Agrigento, Caltanissetta, Enna, and Ragusa. However, with the passage of time, the two groups are both becoming strong. [. . . (Two paragraphs, one about the name, the other about the origins of the group)]

Because both operate in Sicily, *Stidda* and *Cosa Nostra* have become rivals. Before the 1980s, *Stidda* was restricted to the rural areas of Sicily because of the dominance of *Cosa Nostra* in the cities. The activity of the organization consisted primarily of those aspects of crime that *Cosa Nostra* ignored, such as prostitution and illegal gambling.

During the 80s, after the second Mafia War, the organization grew in size thanks to the influx of former members of *Cosa Nostra*. After these mafiosi were expelled from *Cosa Nostra* for reasons such as violations of the code and disputes with the *capo*, they joined with the more open *Stidda*. Even today, not much is known about *Stidda*, and the organization continues to grow, in Sicily but also abroad in the United States.

Notice the prevalence in the short piece of mentions of territory, of 'parts' of land: geographical sections, provinces of Sicily, rural versus urban areas, and finally the distinct political entities of Sicily and the United States. All this context supports the hypothesis

¹²⁷ <https://italian5gruppo11mafia.wordpress.com/stidda/>, accessed July 12, 2021.

that the *+a* suffix attached to *ester+* ‘abroad’ is a signal of the meaning RIA **MADE**, particularly, **MADE** to the A-Class LI *part-e* ‘part.’

By contrast, CovidRider is concerned with divisions in social class (*class-e*, *part-e di noi*), not with political boundaries. His editor summarizes his piece thusly (bold and italic fonts are in the original), highlighting CovidRider’s social conscience:

Oggi, anziché parlare di **class-e** operaia, potrebbe essere più accurato parlare della **class-e a rischio**. In questo resoconto, un rider di Manhattan, epicentro della pandemia di COVID-19, descrive le condizioni in cui sono costretti a vivere i lavoratori e le rigide relazioni di **class-e** tra *vulnerabili* e *tutelati*, per concludere con un appello alla solidarietà tra tutti coloro che si trovano sul lato sbagliato della violenza e della disegualianza capitaliste.

Today, rather than speaking of a working **class**, it might be more accurate to speak of the **class at risk**. In this account, a rider in Manhattan, epicenter of the Covid-19 pandemic, describes the conditions in which workers were compelled to live and the strict relations of **class** between the *vulnerable* and the *protected*, to end with an appeal for solidarity among all those who find themselves on the wrong side of violence and of capitalistic inequality.

The following, Example (11), are the words of CovidRider himself. Again, particularly relevant context, to *all’ester+o* ‘abroad’ in this case, has been underlined.

- (11) Mentre scrivo, mi trovo in quarantena forzata al di fuori dagli Stati Uniti. Ho passato marzo a Manhattan, come “lavoratore essenziale,” recapitando cibo ai ricchi mentre la pandemia si diffondeva in città.
...
Ogni giorno, ero tormentato da un pensiero: se fuggire in campagna o provare a tornare presto a casa mia, all’ester+o. Ho dovuto soppesare entrambe le possibilità pensando ai soldi che stavo mettendo da parte e alla prospettiva di un futuro in cui potrebbe essere molto più complicato ottenere un impiego.
...
In luoghi+i come la Russia e Israele, le autorità stanno individuando nuove opportunità attinenti alla cyber-polizia. In luoghi+i come l’Ungheria, i governanti hanno già sfruttato quest’opportunità per passare alla dittatura assoluta. In luoghi+i come Kenya, India e Stati Uniti, li vediamo arginare slum, prigionie e campi profughi in qualità di zone di morte tollerabili. In Grecia, presso l’ospedale Evaggelismos di Atene, durante la Giornata mondiale della salute, la polizia ha

attaccato un gruppo di medici e infermieri che stavano chiedendo maggiori risorse per la sicurezza. Esperimenti sulla legge marziale stanno svolgendosi ovunque, nascosti dietro la scusante del blocco, presumibilmente per tutelarci - ma quelli che sono al potere cercano di proteggere la loro posizione, non di proteggere noi.

...

Non siamo tutti sulla stessa barca – la maggior **part-e** di noi lo è. Tornare alla normalità? Mai più.

Un rider in Cina.

While I write, I am in forced quarantine outside the United States. I spent March in Manhattan as an “essential worker,” delivering food to rich people while the pandemic spread throughout the city.

...

Every day, I was tormented by one thought: whether to flee to the countryside or try to return home, abroad. I had to weigh both possibilities thinking about the money I was putting aside and about the prospect of a future in which it might be much harder to get a job.

...

In places such as Russia and Israel, the authorities are identifying new opportunities for the cyber-police. In places such as Hungary, the governments have already taken advantage of this opportunity to go over into absolute dictatorship. In places such as Kenya, India, and the United States, we see them reducing slums, prisons, and refugee camps to places of sustainable death. In Greece, at the *Evangelismos* Hospital of Athens, on World Health Day, the police attacked a group of doctors and nurses who were asking for greater resources for safety. Experiments in martial law are going on everywhere, disguised behind the pretense of coalition, presumably to protect us, but those who are in power are seeking to protect their own position, not to protect us.

...

We are not “all in the same boat”; the bigger **part** of us is. Return to normality? Never again.

[Signed anonymously:] A rider in China

In CovidRider’s piece, *l’ester+o* ‘the **foreign**,’ is a space outside the United States. It consists of many *luogh-i* ‘**places**,’ several of which are mentioned, but for their noteworthy political events, not that they have any particular geographical significance.

Now, with those two pairs of examples in mind, the analysis of the contributions of the RIA meanings on their own when there is no explicit LI in the text to which they allude:

Recall (Ch. III) that the two RIA meanings very often allude to particular, explicit lenses in texts. For example *l+a* ⇒ ⟨*cas-a*⟩ ← *nuov+a e il* ⇒ ⟨*giardin-o*⟩ ← *vecchi+o* ‘the new house and the old garden.’ In such cases, the communicative benefit of RIA is relatively obvious: RIA functions to link conceptually explicit LIs that are to be interpreted together. The communicative difference between the two RIA meanings when there are instead no explicit lenses, and not even any tacit particular lenses, can perhaps be illustrated graphically as in the diagram below. The paragraph below is commentary on that graphic illustration.

The meaning RIA **MADE** Restricts Identity to an **A-Class** LI, often (as seen in Chapter V) to the tacit super-generic *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ or the generic *part-e* ‘part.’ These LIs, recall, entify; that is all that *cos-a* does, while *part-e* realizes a partitioning. One *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ is definitively not a comparable *cos-a* ‘what/thing.’ And, within a *cos-a*, one *part-e* ‘part’ is definitively not another *part-e* ‘part.’ By contrast, the meaning RIA **NOT MADE**, signaled by *+o/+i*, does **NOT** Restrict Identity to an **A-Class** LI (particularly not to *cos-a* or *part-e*), and so, when there is no explicit lens, each Identity—for instance, each *spazi-o* ‘space’—stands essentially on its own.

It is useful to keep distinct the semantic contributions of the lexical stems (e.g., *intern+*, *ester+*) and the two RIA meanings (**MADE**, **NOT MADE**). Both Examples (8) and (9) above contain the lexical stem *intern+*, and both have the sense that can be glossed as ‘inside.’ That says nothing about the contrasting semantic contributions of the two RIA meanings. And both Examples (10) and (11) above contain the lexical stem *ester+*, and

both have the sense that can be glossed as ‘abroad/foreign.’ That says nothing about the contrasting semantic contributions of the two RIA meanings. That contrast—the very aim of this analysis—is evident in the difference between, on the one hand, Examples (8) and (10) with RIA **MADE** and, on the other hand, Examples (9) and (11) with RIA **NOT MADE**. In Examples (8) and (10) with RIA **MADE**, allusion is **MADE** to the A-Class LIs *cos-a* and *part-e*; in (9) and (11) allusion is **NOT MADE**. As a consequence, interpretively in these examples, *intern+a* and *ester+a* communicate the sense of entitihood, of a systematic partitioning, while *intern+o* and *ester+o* communicate, respectively, the sense of ‘inside’ and ‘foreign / abroad’ on their own terms, without systematic relations to others of their ilk. They are free-floaters, as it were. (Pause here, if you like, to review Exs. 8-11.)

Other attested examples of the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** in the Identification of a conceptual space (as opposed to one part distinct from other parts, or one thing distinct from other things of its ilk) include: *a lung+o* ‘at length’ (lit., ‘at long’), *da lontan+o* ‘from far off,’ *in remot+o* ‘in seclusion’ (lit. ‘in remote’), *al di sopra* ‘above’ (lit. ‘at-the of above’), *al di fuori* ‘outside’ (lit., ‘at-the of out), and *di tutt+o* and *del tutt+o* ‘at all’ (lit., ‘of’ and ‘of-the all’).

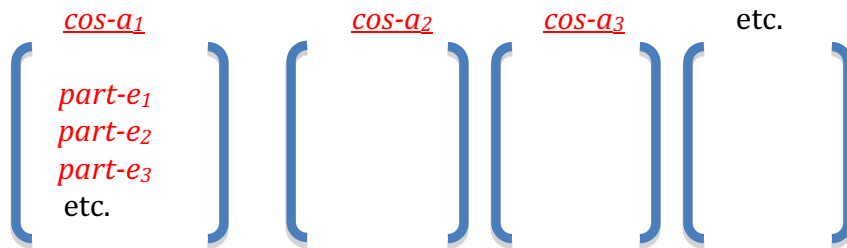
(Diagram on next page; then text continues.)

Diagram:

Allusion by *+a/+e* = RIA **MADE** to LIs *cos-a* 'what/thing' and *part-e* 'part'

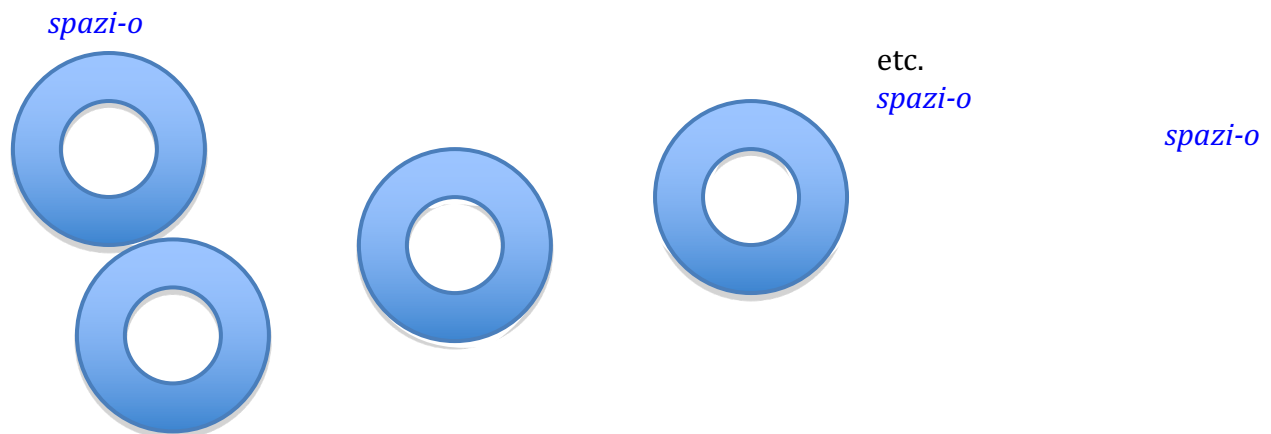
No allusion by *+o/+i* = RIA **NOT MADE**

One *cos-a* 'what/thing' among other *cos-e* 'what/thing's; versus:
a *cos-a* 'what/thing' with multiple *part-i* 'parts' in it



By contrast:

Spazi- 'spaces,' without definitive systematic relations among them



C. Some other stems that, by themselves, Identify

The geometric distinction point-space-other, of course, is not built into the grammar but is being used here—to repeat—purely as a presentational device to show how the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** serves as an instruction **NOT** to look for an **A-Class** lens, because the stem itself to which the RIA signal is attached (e.g., a point, a space), accomplishes that communicative goal on its own in the context. There are other stems, non-geometric in sense, that do the same thing. Among them, *seri+o* ‘serious,’ as in the phrase *sul seri+o* ‘seriously’ (lit. ‘upon-the serious’). In Example (12), CovidRider describes the eery feeling in Manhattan in the early days of the arrival of Covid-19:

- (12) Attraversando i quartieri in bicicletta, potevo sentire che qualcosa di strano aveva iniziato a circolare nell’aria. La maggior parte delle persone che ha preso la situazione *sul seri+o* l’ha dimostrato andando a fare scorte o abbandonando la città. C’è stato chi, in preda al panico, è andato a fare acquisti sfrenati e ci sono stati esodi verso le seconde case o per andare fuori città con la famiglia.

Biking through the neighborhoods, I could feel that something strange had begun to circulate in the air. Most people who had taken the situation *seriously* showed it by stocking up on stuff or leaving the city. There were those who, seized by panic, went on unbridled shopping sprees, and there were exoduses to second homes or to go outside the city with one’s family.

With the phrase *sul seri+o* ‘seriously’ in this context, the writer has no communicative need to allude to any other LI. Nor does the LI *seri+o* itself in this passage allude to any LI. (Indeed—not that the sentence is a boundary for RIA, but just as an indication: All the other invariably classed LIs in the sentence with *seri+o* belong to the **A-Class**). *Seri+o* ‘serious’ speaks for itself; its *+o* suffix signals that it does **NOT** allude to any **A-Class** lens and may not—as indeed turns out to be the case—allude to any lens at all. *Seri+* ‘serious’ identifies a way (a mode) of thinking, a mindset that, in CovidRider’s opinion, was charac-

teristic of all people who appreciated the gravity of the situation of the early days of the pandemic in Manhattan.

Much as in Example (12), above, *seri+o* ‘serious’ alludes to no particular lexical item—not even the generic *cos-a* ‘what/thing,’ with the effect that some appropriate ‘thing’ in the context will fill the bill—so too the RIA meaning NOT MADE signaled by *+o* attached to a LI of variable LC may Identify the quality named by the LI rather than any particular ‘thing’ characterizable by that quality. Identification stops at the quality itself. For example, in Example (13), below, a singer in a tavern in the Azores explains to a *simpatico* Italian visitor his traditional dress:

- (13) Mi tocca vestire questo *balandrau* azzoriano che si usava una volta , perché agli americani piace il *pittoresc+o*, poi tornano nel Texas e raccontano che sono stati in una bettola di un’isola sperduta dove c’era un vecchio vestito con un mantello arcaico che cantava il folclore della sua gente. (Tabucchi p. 78)

I have to wear this Azorian *balandrau* that they used to use, because the Americans like the *picturesque*, and then they go back to Texas and tell about having been in a dive bar on a remote island where there was an old man dressed in an old-fashioned coat that sang about the folklore of the people.

This is the type familiar to speakers of Spanish as the province of the “neuter article” *lo* of Spanish, as in *lo pintoresco*, as opposed to *el pintoresco*. To grasp the function of the Italian meaning RIA NOT MADE, consider this constructed Spanish-Italian triplet:

Spanish: Hay dos vistas. La primera es la fea; la última es la pintoresca.
 Italian: Ci sono due *(vedut-e)*. $\leftarrow L+a \leftarrow prim+a \leftarrow l+a \leftarrow brutt+a; \leftarrow l'ultim+a \leftarrow l+a \leftarrow pittoresc+a$.
 English: ‘There are two *views*. The first is the *ugly one*; the last is the *picturesque one*.’

Spanish: Hay dos panoramas. El primero es el feo; el último es el pintoresco.
 Italian: Ci sono due *(panoram-i)*. $\leftarrow Il \leftarrow prim+o \leftarrow el \leftarrow brutt+o; \leftarrow l'ultim+o \leftarrow el \leftarrow pittoresc+o$.
 English: ‘There are two *panoramas*. The first is the *ugly one*; the last is the *picturesque one*.’

Spanish: A los americanos les gusta lo pintoresco.
 Italian: Agli americani piace il *pittoresc+o*. (Ex. 13)
 English: ‘The Americans like the *picturesque*.’

Italian has nothing like the Spanish *la/el/lo* distinction (cf. Otheguy 1977). Italian cannot encode the distinction captured by the Spanish pair *el pintoresco / lo pintoresco*. Italian has only the one meaning RIA **NOT MADE**, in contrast with RIA **MADE**. In Italian, the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** (signaled twice in the phrase *il pittoresc+o*) instructs the reader that for *il pittoresc+o* Restriction of Identity to **A-Class**—such as to *vedut-a/e* ‘view(s)’— is **NOT MADE**. As a consequence, allusion could be made to an **O-Class LI**—such as to *panoram-a* ‘panorama’ in the middle of the triplet above—or there could be no lens at all, as in the third of the triplet (= Example 13).

The elimination by the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** of an entire class (the **A Class**) of LIs and the consequent possibility that there may in fact be no allusion to any LI at all, of either LC, makes the meaning **NOT MADE** suitable for attachment to variably classed LIs that identify some stretch of discourse larger than—i.e., not confined to—one LI. Such discourse-level characterizations are often accomplished by, for example, phrases such as *Sembra stran+o che . . .* (‘It seems **strange** that . . .’), *È chiar+o come . . .* (‘It’s **clear** how . . .’), and so forth, where the LI to which the suffix *+o* is attached Identifies (and so characterizes) the stretch of discourse corresponding to the ellipses. An attested example, with *ver+o* ‘true’ is Example (14), below. The writer muses on his vision of the imaginary god of Love:

- (14) E a molti e strani effetti si espone chi onora questo dio, perché il suo principio comanda la vita, ma è un principio bizzarro e capriccioso; e se è **ver+o** che esso è l’anima e la concordia degli elementi, può anche produrre illusioni, vaneggiamenti e visioni. (Tabucchi p. 17-18)

And whoever worships this god exposes himself to multiple and strange effects, because his principle governs life, but it is a bizarre and capricious principle; and if it is **true** that this principle is the soul and the harmony of the elements, it can also produce illusions, delirium, and visions.

What is *ver+o* ‘true’ is what comes after the *che* ‘that’: *esso è l’anima e la concordia degli elementi* ‘it [this principle] is the soul and the harmony of the elements,’ a formulation that the writer does not confine to a single LI.¹²⁸ The meaning RIA **NOT MADE** has the communicative effect, in this case, of **NOT** Restricting the Identity of *ver+* ‘true’ to any one LI.

As seen in several examples heretofore in this work, RIA signals get attached too to forms that (presumably) have no lexical content at all but only grammatical, deictic content, directing attention. Thus instances such as *il che* ‘which,’ *so quest+o*: ‘I know **this**,’ and tokens of *quell+o* ‘that,’ as in Example (15), below, the words (translated into Italian by, presumably the sports journalist Pellecchia) of American basketball player Kevin Durant:

- (15) «... **Quell+o** su cui cerco di concentrarmi è essere un ottimo giocatore professionista di pallacanestro, che dà sempre al massimo per sé e per la squadra: è un mio motivo d’orgoglio». (Pellecchia “Cinque cose sulle finals Nba”)

“... What [lit. ‘**That** on which’] I try to concentrate on is to be a great pro(fessional) basketball player who always gives the maximum for himself and for the team. For me it’s a matter of pride.”

Quell+o ‘that’ directs attention onto what Durant believes is worthy of attention, namely, the entire rest of the quotation beginning with *essere un ottimo giocatore professionista di pallacanestro* ‘to be a great pro basketball player.’ The RIA meaning **NOT MADE**, signaled by the *+o* suffix attached to *quell+*, instructs the journalist and his reader **NOT** to look for any **A**-Class LI alluded to and, furthermore, opens the possibility—actually realized in this passage—that no single lexical item at all is alluded to.

¹²⁸ See Ho-Fernández (2019) for a relevant analysis of the Spanish cognate *que*.

That ability of the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** to suggest that an Identity is extra-lexical (bigger than one word) will be relevant again, particularly, below in the examination of certain participles in **+o** and again in the examination, far below, of “neuter” **l+o**.

Other attested (and common) examples of the meaning RIA **NOT MADE**, where the stem itself to which the RIA signal is attached accomplishes the Identification on its own, include: *di solit+o* ‘usually’ (lit. ‘of **usual**’), *senz’altr+o* ‘undoubtedly’ (lit. ‘without **other**’), *di nuov+o* ‘again’ (lit. ‘of **new**’), *all’improvvis+o* ‘suddenly’ (lit. ‘at-the **sudden**’), and *di nascost+o* ‘secretly’ (lit. ‘of **hidden**’).

D. When attention is drawn to an Identity without Lexical Class

Recall that, as a working hypothesis here, forms traditionally called the “definite article” (*l+* ‘the,’ *il, i, gli* ‘**the**’), along with the “demonstratives” (*quest+* ‘this/these’; and *quell+* ‘that / those,’ *quel, quei, quegli* ‘**that / those**’) are held to be signals of meanings of grammatical deixis (or attention) (cf. Ch. III, fn. 17). All of those forms involve the signaling of RIA (either by attachment of a regular suffix **+a/+e/+o/+i** or through morphological fusion). Because the very communicative function of RIA is to Restrict Identity, a RIA signal together with a deictic signal serves to Restrict the Identity of that towards which attention is directed: “What am I supposed to pay attention to here?” When, furthermore, the object of attention is Identified by a term that itself has no Lexical Class (e.g., *qualsiasi* ‘whatever’), then that RIA signal on the deictic item may be the best hint provided as to the Identity of the object of attention (e.g., *l+a qualsiasi* ‘**the** whatever’ vs. *il qualsiasi* ‘**the** whatever’). Such a crucial role for RIA—easily overlooked because no lens is evident and the deictic form itself has no lexical content—can be appreciated in the next pair of examples, (16) and (17).

In Example (16), below, a marketer is trying to sell his expertise on-line to whoever might happen upon the pitch. Each potential client will have his or her own particular skills and interests: One might be a lawyer, another a painter, a third a photographer, and so forth. But the marketer's pitch is that they can all benefit from what he's selling. (All capitals in the original.)

- (16) La soluzione da affrontare per i professionisti è lo stesso che hanno affrontato gli imprenditori nel promuovere i loro prodotti, il **MARKETING!**
- ...
- È chiaro che il concetto può essere transitato al mondo dei professionisti:
- sei un avvocato che fa **l+a** qualsiasi o ti occupi di qualcosa in particolare per cui sei un **VALORE** in quell'ambito?
- Oppure sei un imbianchino che utilizza tutti i sistemi di pittura, o uno in particolare, o il Tuo modo di lavorare ha delle caratteristiche particolari?
- Sei un fotografo? O un fotografo che opera una particolare tipologia di fotografie per soggetto, caratteristica, modalità o funzione?
- Da qui la domanda sei un professionista o **IL PROFESSIONISTA?**
- IL PROFESSIONISTA**, nella accezione che gli voglio dare, è un fuoriclasse di una materia, di una applicazione, di un modo di operare, o di operare in un determinato ambiente, è chi ne ha fatte più di tutti o ne sa più di tutti. Ecco questo è il percorso di cui ti sto parlando!
- (web)¹²⁹

The solution to choose, for professionals, is the same that entrepreneurs have chosen to promote their products: **MARKETING!**

...

It's clear that the concept can be transitioned to the world of professionals:

Are you a lawyer who does [**l+a 'the'**] whatever or is concerned with something in particular for which you are a **VALUE** in that environment?

Or are you a painter who uses all types of painting, or one in particular, or your way of working has particular characteristics?

Are you a photographer? Or a photographer who produces a particular type of photograph by subject, characteristic, manner, or function?

¹²⁹ <https://www.danielvittori.com/2017/01/09/sei-un-professionista-o-il-professionista/>, accessed July 24, 2017.

From there, the question “Are you a professional or THE PROFESSIONAL?”

“THE PROFESSIONAL, in the meaning that I wish to give it, is a standout in material, in an application, in a type of work, or in working in a certain environment. It is who has made more out of it than anybody, or knows more about it than anybody. Look, this is the route I’m talking to you about!

Each ‘lawyer’ has a restricted (*l+a*) specialty (real estate, wills, criminal law, etc.); none is a generalist. But the marketer’s pitch applies to each and every one (*qualsiasi* ‘whatever’).

The RIA meaning **MADE** serves to Restrict the Identity of the object of attention at this point in the communication to ‘whatever’ particular specialty might apply. “If this is you, I’m talking to you! (Did I cover everybody?)”

By contrast, a language-user would **NOT** Restrict attention if the object of attention needs instead to be the generalized, philosophical construct of ‘The Whatever’ (*il qualsiasi*), a concept that presumably applies indifferently to everyone in the human condition.

Example (17):

- (17) L'ipostasi della diade anima-corpo. Laddove il logos si volge. Ad ogni ente in quanto hekaston, **il** qualsiasi, ossia alla determinazione pura del medesimo in ogni ente, trova l'essenza come identità.; Alla molteplicità dell'ente come nascere, mutare e perire, trova l'essenza come divenire. (web)¹³⁰

The hypothesis of the body-soul dyad. In which the logos is centered. To each being as hekaston [‘particularity’], **The** Whatever—that is, in the pure determination of the same in each being—finds essence as identity: In the multiplicity of the being such as being born, changing, and dying finds essence as becoming.

¹³⁰ <http://www.federica.unina.it/lettere-e-filosofia/filosofia-teoretica/l-ipotesi-ontologica-v/>, accessed Sept. 29, 2020.

The RIA meaning NOT MADE of *il* 'the' here serves to direct attention, without Restriction, to the universal philosophical notion identified here as *qualsiasi* 'whatever.'

For another pair of examples showing the contrast between RIA meanings when attention is directed onto something Identified by a LI without LC, see the pair in Ch. V, Examples (10) and (11): *l+a meglio / il meglio* 'the/the best.'

Other attested examples of the meaning RIA NOT MADE in combination with LIs of neither LC include: *nel discendere* 'in-the descent, going down,' *il potere* 'the power' (lit. 'the being-able'), *il potenzial-e* 'the potential,' *del real-e* 'of-the real,' *il comunque* 'the however' ('the no-matter-how'), and *il troppo* 'too much' (lit. 'the too'). The list of words that are used *qua* words is practically limitless: For instance, the ordinary way to identify familiar address is *dare del tu* 'give the tu' and to identify formal speech is *dare del Lei* 'give the Lei' to some addressee. *Il sì* 'the yes,' *il no* 'the no.' And so forth.

E. Contrasting RIA meanings in collaboration (again)

In view of the functionality of the RIA meaning NOT MADE with words utterly lacking LC (e.g., *il sì* 'the yes'), it is hardly surprising that signals of the same meaning, NOT MADE, are found on forms that signal deixis (or attention) (e.g., *il* 'the') followed by stems with the outright contrasting meaning RIA MADE attached, and even by LIs invariably belonging to the A-Class; with the RIA meaning NOT MADE, the classification of the object of attention, really, is irrelevant. The communicative instruction in such cases is to take (conceptually) the Identification that is MADE to A-Class and interpret that, as in examples in the preceding section, as a word *qua* word or a phrase *qua* phrase. Already examples in Chapter III included such cases of apparent mismatch between genders (e.g., *il Sabbie* 'the Sands,' a

casinò ‘casino’); that may be a problem for a rule of syntactic agreement, but it works perfectly well in actual communication.

The usual way in Italian to express the notion ‘say good-evening’ involves just such a combination of contrasting RIA meanings. Example (18) concerns the hospitality evidenced at an advertised resort:

- (18) Il personale è focalizzato sul benessere di noi clienti, il sorriso sul volto e il buongiorno o il *buon+a* ⇒ *ser-a* non mancano mai.

The personnel is focused on the well-being of our clients. The smile on the face and the good-morning or the good-evening are never missing. (web)¹³¹

The LI *ser-a* ‘evening’ belongs to the A-Class. The RIA signal *+a* attached to *buon+* ‘good’ alludes to that LI as lens. (“What is good?” “Evening.”) Such examples are covered in Chapter III. *Il* ‘the’ then signals that Restriction of Identity to A-Class is NOT MADE. This *il* cannot allude, obviously, to the LI *ser-a*; it must direct attention onto something else. The resulting message is that *buon+a* ⇒ *ser-a* ‘good evening’ is a phrase that is said, and attention should be directed to that saying; the saying of those words by the personnel (as opposed to the actual evening) is an asset of this resort.

A similar calculus involving the RIA meanings accounts for the distribution in the otherwise initially puzzling phrase *il null+a* ‘the nothing.’ *Null+* ‘null’ is a variable stem occurring with all RIA signals *null+a* / *null+e* / *null+o* / *null+i*; these might allude to a lens that is explicit or implicit, nearby or faraway, as with examples in Chapters III and IV. A straightforward illustration would be *testament-o* ⇐ *null+o* ‘invalid will.’ In Chapter V,

¹³¹ https://www.tripadvisor.it/ShowUserReviews-g652044-d17780486-r702293649-Cortina_Family_Resort_SPA-Borca_di_Cadore_Province_of_Belluno_Veneto.html, accessed April 18, 2021.

Examples (17) and (18) showed *null+a* making implied allusion to LI *cos-a* ‘what/thing,’ with the message ‘no thing.’ For convenience, one of those examples is repeated here as Example (19), in which the writer complains about getting *null+a* ‘no thing’ in exchange for his efforts:

- (19) Stava effettuando un ordine di 250 dollari e mi ha chiesto di poter calpestare la mia dignità per non doverne “sprecare” 2.36. Sono certo che se non avessi parlato bene l’inglese, non avrei ricevuto *null+a* per le mie pene. (CovidRider)

She was effecting an order for \$250 and she asks me to trample over my own dignity so as not to have to “waste” \$2.36. I’m sure that if I hadn’t spoken English well, I would have gotten *nothing* for my efforts.

Example (20) now, below, shows *il null+a* identifying the philosophical concept of ‘The Null,’ or Nothingness. Dizionario Garzanti defines this philosophical *il null+a* as “il non essere” ‘the not being.’ (Compare Example 17, above, of *il qualsiasi* ‘the whatever.’)

- (20) *Il null+a* è un concetto filosofico, non una realtà fisica né tanto meno qualcosa di sperimentabile. Deve intendersi come assenza di essere, cioè non esistenza. (web)¹³²

The Null is a philosophical concept, not a physical reality, and even less so anything experimental. It must be understood as the absence of being, that is, non-existence.

In a formula, *il null+a* is *l’essere null+a* ⇒ *⟨cos-a⟩* ‘the [being of] no thing.’ The RIA meaning *NOT MADE* of *il* Identifies that to which attention is to be directed as a state of being, not an Identification that is Restricted to an *A-Class* LI.

¹³² <https://spazio-tempo-luce-energia.it/cos%C3%A8-il-nulla-ead28ed71eb8>, access July 7, 2021.

F. Participial nouns in +o

As seen in Chapter V, the complex of verb morphology in Italian (however that is eventually analyzed) includes forms that are traditionally called “participles,” consisting morphologically of: a (form of a) verb stem, plus (for conjugations #1, 2, 4) a vowel characteristic of the verbal conjugation (*a, u, i*, respectively), plus a voiceless apical obstruent (usually *t*), and finally a RIA signal *+a/+e/+o/+i*. Also as seen in Chapter V there, several of these participles occur routinely in texts without explicit lenses and are even listed in dictionaries under separate entries as *sostantivi* ‘nouns.’ Many of those end in *+a/+e* and implicitly allude usually to the A-Class LI *cos-a* ‘**what/thing**’; that has the effect of instantiating an event so that it can be conceived of in a class with others of its ilk. For example, *un+a traversat+a* ‘**a thing-crossing**’ may identify the transit of a **thing** such as the Atlantic Ocean, placing that action in a class with other actions such as the transit of a Venetian lagoon. Or *un+a scelt+a* ‘**a thing-choosing**’ may identify the selection of a **thing** such as a particular basketball play, placing that action in a class with other actions such as the selection of a hotel for the night. This present section concerns instead participial nouns in *+o*, such as *il fatt+o* ‘**the fact**’ (lit., ‘**the done / made**’), *il significat+o* ‘**the meaning**’ (lit., ‘**the signified**’), *il sorriss+o* ‘**the smile**’ (lit. ‘**the smiled**’), and *l+o scritt+o* ‘**the (piece of) writing**’ (lit ‘**the written**’). These, obviously, cannot be said to allude to *cos-a* ‘**what/thing**’ or to any other A-Class LI. In the examples just below, they do not allude to any LI at all.

F1. Extra-lexical participles in +o

As seen above in Examples (14) (*è ver+o che . . .* ‘it’s **true** that . . .’) and (15) (*Quell+o su cui cerco di concentrarmi è . . .* ‘**That** which I try to concentrate on is . . .’), the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** eliminates the possibility of allusion to any A-Class LI and opens up the possibility

of allusion to no one LI at all. Consequently, variably classed LIs to which RIA signals are attached may Identify (characterize) stretches of discourse that are larger than any one LI, for instance an elaborative phrase beginning with something like *che* ‘that.’

One of the most familiar of these extra-lexical participles in *+o* is *fatt+o*, often glossed ‘**fact**’ and listed as such (as a *sostantivo* ‘noun’) in a separate entry in dictionaries but literally glossable as ‘**done/made**,’ the (“m. sg.”) participle of *fare* ‘do/make.’ In such cases, *fatt+o* is an Identification of something that has been ‘**made**’ (brought into existence in history, through the agency of a human, or physics, of whatever) and may be elaborated by the language-user after a word such as *che* ‘that’ or *di* ‘of.’ One illustrative example of such an instance of *fatt+o* is Example (21), below:

- (21) Grazie **al fatt+o** di essere povero e di aver svolto solo lavori saltuari per anni, non so nemmeno se sono idoneo per l’assegno o per la disoccupazione. (CovidRider)

Thanks **to the fact** of being poor and of having done only occasional work for years, I don’t even know if I am eligible for the benefit of for unemployment.

The ‘**fact**’—what has been *fatt+o* ‘**made**’ real—that CovidRider blames for his possibly being ineligible for the cash benefit or the unemployment payments that he might otherwise have received at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic is his ‘being poor and’ ‘having done only occasional work for years.’ Stating that ‘**fact**’ takes CovidRider more than one LI; thus the meaning RIA **NOT MADE**: Identity is **NOT** Restricted to a single LI.

Another extra-lexical participle in *+o* is *significat+o*, glossed ‘**meaning**’ but more literally ‘**signified**,’ the (“m. sg.”) participle of *significare* ‘mean/signify.’ Often what is ‘**meant** / **signified**’ requires more than a single LI to express, and so the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** provides the communicative instruction called for. Example (22), below, involves a

conversation in one language between a woman and a man who are passengers on a ferry, which conversation is overheard by the ferry's ticket-taker, a local who speaks a different language. The woman to whom the ticket-taker then goes over to speak is bilingual, speaking both the languages of the ticket-taker and of her traveling companion, so she can understand what the ticket-taker says, but her male traveling companion cannot.

- (22) Il bigliettaio si era seduto su una panca vicino al parapetto, aveva finito il suo giro e stava osservando i loro movimenti. Forse intuì *il significat+o* della conversazione, perché si avvicinò sorridendo e parlò alla donna con aria divertita. Lei ascoltò con attenzione e poi esclamò: nooo!, e si portò una mano alla bocca con aria birichina e infantile, come per reprimere una risata. (Tabucchi p. 23)

The ticket-taker had sat down on a bench near the rail. He had finished his rounds and was observing their movements [i.e., of the woman and the man, passengers on the ferry]. Perhaps he guessed *the meaning* of the conversation [between the two], because he came over, smiling, and, with an amused look, spoke to the woman. She listened attentively and then exclaimed "Nooo!" And she raised a hand to her mouth with a mischievous and childish look, as though to repress a laugh.

If *il significat+o* 'the meaning' of a conversation could be expressed in one word, there would be no need, really, for a conversation. The Identification *significat+* 'signified' begs to be elaborated. Again, the meaning RIA *NOT MADE* allows for an extra-lexical elaboration of the Identification (which is provided at length in the text beyond the context quoted above).

In Example (23), below, *dat+o*, often glossed as 'datum,' can be contrasted with *dat+a*, often glossed 'date' and illustrated with Examples (19) and (20) of Chapter IV. *Dat+* is the participle of *dare* 'give.' The passage below concerns American basketball, particularly the extraordinary accomplishments of LeBron James with the otherwise mediocre Cleveland Cavaliers.

- (23) in Ohio [hanno totalmente stravolto il roster](#) nelle ultime ore della *trade deadline* di febbraio . . . [Un dat+o](#) su tutti: LeBron James ha portato alle Finals una squadra in cui, considerando le gare di playoff, nessun altro giocatore è riuscito ad andare oltre quota 18 punti e con il secondo miglior realizzatore che si è attestato sugli 11 punti di media a partita. (Pellecchia “Cinque cose sulle Finals Nba”)

in Ohio [the Cleveland Cavaliers] have completely upset the [NBA Finals] roster in the last hours of the February trade deadline. . . . [One datum](#) above all: LeBron James has carried into the Finals a team in which, considering the playoff contests, no other player has managed to get beyond the level of 18 points and [moreover] with the second-best scorer that has played at 11 points on average per game.

The information is ‘[given](#)’ in the long sentence following the colon.

F2. Existential participles in +o

Similarly, the meaning RIA [NOT MADE](#) applies when the participle—the stem to which the RIA signal is attached—accomplishes Identification on its own, thanks to its own semantic content, with no need for allusion to any other LI, due to the [bringing into existence](#) of some product by the action. These can be thought of as examples of “existential participles in +o.” These participial nouns are different from those analyzed in Chapter V not only morphologically — ending in [+o/+i](#), not [+a/+e](#) — but also semantically: Whereas the participial nouns analyzed in Chapter V, ending in [+a/+e](#), allude implicitly to an A-Class LI, most often to the generic [cos-a](#) ‘[what/thing](#),’ these participial nouns, ending in [+o/+i](#), make no allusion at all. Whereas the allusions discussed in Chapter V are to ‘[things](#)’ that pre-exist the action identified by the participial stem, and so that action is carried out upon those pre-existing ‘[things](#),’ here there are no pre-existing ‘[things](#)’ for the action to apply to; rather, the action itself brings something newly into existence. For instance, l’[ocean-o](#) [←atlantic+o](#) ‘the [Atlantic Ocean](#)’ or [un+a](#)⇒[lagun-a](#) [←venezian+a](#) ‘a [Venetian lagoon](#)’ pre-

exists any *traversat+a* ‘crossing’ of it. (Thus dictionaries have an entry for *traversat+a* ‘crossing’ as a ‘feminine noun.’) By contrast, in some cases the action brings the object newly into existence. In those cases, there is nothing to allude to, no Identity to Restrict beyond that contained within the verbal LI itself. These are the participial nouns in *+o/+i* (listed in dictionaries as ‘masculine nouns’) signaling the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class NOT MADE.

For example, a *sorris+o* ‘smile’ is brought into existence by an action of *sorridere* ‘smiling’; literally, a *sorris+o* is a ‘smiled.’ Example (24), below (a repeat of Ch. V Ex. 29), contains *sorris+o* but also *traversat+a*, so a comparison is facilitated between the “existential” *sorris+o* ‘smile’ and the tacit allusion to generic *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ by *traversat+a* ‘thing-crossing’:

- (24) Breezy ha un viso aperto e molto cordiale, un+o splendid+o sorriss+o e porta un lungo vestito a fiori come se dovesse affrontare un garden-party e non un+a traversat+a oceanic+a. (Tabucchi p. 36)

Breezy has an open and very friendly face and a bright smile, and she is wearing a long flowery dress as if she were facing a garden-party and not an ocean crossing.

While *traversat+a* ‘thing-crossing’ implicitly alludes to A-Class *cos-a* ‘what/thing,’ a type of action instantiated in this context as a particular crossing of an ocean that pre-existed the action of its being ‘crossed,’ by contrast *sorris+o* ‘smile’ (lit. ‘smiled’) is not a pre-existing *cos-a* but is instead brought into existence by the action of *sorridere* ‘smiling.’ Identity in this case is fully established by the LI *sorris+*, with no need for allusion to any pre-existing *cos-a* ‘what/thing,’ and so Restriction of Identity to A-Class is NOT MADE.

Similarly, a *scritt+o*, a ‘piece of writing,’ a literary ‘work,’ or a bit of ‘handwriting,’ is brought into existence by the very action of *scrivere* ‘writing.’ RIA is NOT MADE. Example

(25), below, illustrates. In the prologue to his book *Donna di Porto Pim e altre storie*, the writer Antonio Tabucchi comments serially on the individual pieces in that book, including one titled 'A Whale Sees Men':

- (25) Infine *l+o scritt+o intitolat+o* *Una balena vede gli uomini*, al di là di un mio vecchio vizio di spiare le cose dall'altra parte, si ispira senza dissimulazione a una poesia di Carlos Drummond de Andrade (Tabucchi p. 11)

Finally, *the piece titled* "A Whale Sees Men," besides an old vice of mine to see things from the other side, is inspired without pretence by a poem by Carlos Drummond de Andrade

The literary work "Una balena vede gli uomini" did not exist until Tabucchi did the *scrivere*, the 'writing' of it; it is a *scritt+o*, a 'written.'

In Example (26), below, *cors+o* can be contrasted with *cors+a* (Ch. V). Both are participles of *correre* 'run.' *Cors+a*, which often glosses as 'race,' is a 'thing-running' and, in the collection used for this study, *cors+a* identifies various *cos-e* 'what/things' 'run': a basketball game (which follows by design a pre-existing set of rules), a taxi route (which follows a certain path between Point A and Point B), and the frantic pursuit of a harpooned whale (a routine event in whale-hunting with its trajectory determined entirely by the whale and the cable joining the harpooned whale to the manned boat). By contrast, with *cors+o*, below, CovidRider identifies the uncharted trajectory of the early days of the worst of the Covid-19 pandemic in Manhattan, each temporal point in that trajectory being brought into existence by the progress, the 'running,' of the pandemic itself.

- (26) Diversamente dagli attacchi dell'11 settembre o dall'uragano Sandy . . . , la pandemia non ha colpito tutto d'un tratto in maniera esplicita. È stato un impatto invisibile, in slow motion - era difficile capire cosa stava per succedere o fino a che punto era già in *cors+o*.

Unlike the attacks of September 11 or Hurricane Sandy . . . , the pandemic did not hit all at once in a clear way. It was an invisible

impact, in slow motion. It was hard to know what was about to happen or to what point it was already in *progress*.

The *+o* of *cors+o* signals the meaning RIA *NOT MADE*. In inferring the Identity of *cors+o* (“What was ‘run’?”) there is no allusion to any *A-Class LI*, indeed here to no *LI* at all; the pandemic created its own ‘*course*’ as it unfolded.

Other participial nouns in *+o* in the data used for this analysis include: *risultat+o* ‘result’ (lit., ‘resulted’), *prodott+o* ‘product’ (lit., ‘produced’), *post+o* ‘place’ (lit. ‘placed’) ¹³³, *rifless+o* ‘reflection’ (lit. ‘reflected’), *piant+o* ‘cry’ (lit. ‘cried’), *discors+o* ‘conversation, speech’ (lit. ‘conversed, talked’), *percors+o* ‘journey’ (lit. ‘gone through’), *soccors+o* ‘assistance’ (lit., ‘assisted’), *ritratt+o* ‘portrait’ (lit. ‘portrayed’), *tratt+o* ‘stroke/tract’ (lit. ‘treated’), and *tessut+o* ‘textile’ (lit. ‘woven’).

With participial nouns (i.e., participles without explicit lenses, so they receive separate entries in dictionaries), those in *+o*, as opposed to those in *+a*, do *NOT* Restrict Identity to any lens at all.

G. Detour: Verbal morphology

The following, provided merely to assist readers who do not know Italian, is traditionalist morphemic analysis of Italian verbal morphology, adjusted only to accommodate this RIA analysis. This detour (§G) is related to the two sections that follow it, the first (§H) on the “neuter” clitics *l+o* and *gli* and the second (§I) on the participle in the compound tenses.

¹³³ A ‘place’ is created when something is ‘placed’ there; that is, through the ‘placing’ of something (even an invisible border)—through its placement there—the ‘place’ comes into recognizable existence, as distinct from other ‘places.’ It is not a ‘place’ without something there that defines it.

The conceptual center of a complex of verbal morphology in Italian consists of a LI (a stem form of, e.g., *conficcare* ‘stick,’ *sapere* ‘know,’ *capire* ‘understand,’ *dare* ‘give,’ *essere* ‘be’). Around that satellite center are arranged: clitic morphology (enclitic for finite verbs) including various participants in, and conditions of, the event¹³⁴, and postclitic morphology having to do with tense, mood, and grammatical person and number. To illustrate, the following two (finite) verbal clusters relate a bomb attack on a man, with the consequence that splinters stuck into a man’s body. (The two satellite clusters, the verbal stems, are underlined.)

l+o investì
 him assail-past-indic.-3-sg.
 it knocked him down

gli se ne conficcarono (Indro Montanelli, *Italia in camicia nera*, p. 72)
 to-him self of-them stick-past-indic.-3-pl.
 ‘some of them stuck into him’

The first verbal stem is *invest-* ‘assail, knock down’; its participant clitic is *l+o* ‘him’; and its postclitic *-ì* is a portmanteau morpheme having to do with tense, mood, grammatical person, and number. The second verbal stem is *conficc-* ‘thrust (in), stick (into)’; its participant clitics are *gli se ne* ‘into-him (self) of-them’; and its postclitic *-arono* gives information about tense, etc. Verbal clusters such as these involve the signaling of RIA in several of the participant clitics: acc. *l+a/+o/+e/+i* ‘her/him/it/them’; dat. *gli* ‘to-him/it’¹³⁵; and dat. *le* ‘to-her/it.’

¹³⁴ For analyses of those clitics, see Davis (2017a) and Davis (2017b).

¹³⁵ Regarding this *gli*, variation is considerable: For some speakers and writers, clitic *gli* can also at times be glossed ‘to-them’ and for some also ‘to-her.’

For the compound tenses with forms of *avere* ‘have,’ the finite verbal morphology falls on the form of *avere* as “auxiliary verb,” while the “main verb” takes the form of a participle, which provides a second slot for the signaling of RIA. To illustrate:

l+o hanno ammazz-a-t+o (*ibid.*, modified)
 him have-pres-indic-3-pl. kill-ptcpl+RIA
 ‘they have assassinated him’

The (finite) form of *avere* ‘have’ is *hanno* ‘they have’; the verbal stem is *ammazz-* ‘kill, murder, assassinate’; the following *a* is diagnostic for verbs derived from the Latin first conjugation; the *t* is typical of participial forms; and finally, all participles have an attached RIA ending.

In sum, Italian verbal clusters provide two kinds of opportunities to signal RIA: certain of the participant clitics, and the participle.

H. “Neuter” accusative clitics¹³⁶

This section concerns the signaling of RIA by certain participant clitics.

Examples (14), (15), (21), (22), and (23), above, illustrate how the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** is communicatively useful when the Identity of the stem to which the RIA signal is attached (e.g., *ver+o*, *quell+o*, *fatt+o*, *significat+o*, *dat+o*) is spelled out extra-lexically, in phrases too long, or ideas too complicated, for one word (“What is ‘true’? What is ‘that’? What is ‘factual’? What is ‘meant’? What is ‘given’ as known?). Similarly to those lexical stems, some tokens of accusative clitic *l+o* ‘it’—those traditionally called “neuter” or

¹³⁶ In Italian grammar, the traditionalist term “neuter” refers to the accusative pronominal clitic *lo* ‘it’ to the verb when it appears to be non-referential, not to the homophonous definite article *lo* ‘the.’ The “neuter” *lo* of Italian is thus not comparable to the Spanish “neuter” definite article *lo* (e.g., Sp. *lo bueno* ‘the [general] good’ vs. *el bueno* ‘the good [man]’). Cf. Ex. (13) and ff., above. In addition to such “neuter” *lo*, this section also treats non-referential dative clitic *gli*.

pleonastic or non-referential—have their full Identity spelled out (that idea to which attention is directed by the deictic *l+*) in phrases that are too long, or ideas too complicated, to be contained in one LI. Thus, such tokens of *l+o* are not “idiomatic” at all; they fit right into a general account of the distribution of *+o*. Two authentic examples will suffice.

Example (29), below, again concerns American basketball. The passage below is preceded in the original text by a recitation of several of player Kevin Durant’s extraordinary accomplishments on the court. The passage contains several tokens of this “neuter” type of *l+o*, all directing attention at the same complex idea. (Example 15, above, is the end of this example. It made a similar point about the last *quell+o* here: its direction of attention to the extra-lexical.)

- (29) si tratta della legittimazione definitiva di un talento potenzialmente irripetibile anche nella Nba contemporanea, un’arma totale sui due lati del campo, lo stadio finale di un’evoluzione, cestistica e non, che ha portato ad estendere il concetto di “super-atleta”. *L+o* sa il suo allenatore («È la nostra valvola di sicurezza quando le cose non girano a dovere. Poter contare su un giocatore così è un lusso»), *l+o* sanno i suoi compagni («Ha permesso a me a Steph di prendere una giornata di riposo», Klay Thompson dopo il 7/27 complessivo al tiro degli “Splash Brothers” in gara 3), *l+o* sanno gli avversari («È il più forte contro cui abbia mai giocato», LeBron James). E, adesso, *l+o* sa anche lui: «Tutti quelli che avevano avuto così tanto da ridire sulla mia scelta sanno come gioco, sanno esattamente quello che porto in dote a una squadra, non ho nessun dubbio al riguardo. *L+o* capiscono quando si ritrovano su un campo da basket con me o quando mi guardano giocare. Io so quello che porto al gioco, so qual è l’approccio, so quanto lavoro duro, so quanto ci tengo. Quello su cui cerco di concentrarmi è essere un ottimo giocatore professionista di pallacanestro, che dà sempre al massimo per sé e per la squadra: è un mio motivo d’orgoglio». (Pellecchia “Cinque cose sulle Finals Nba”)

it is a matter of the definitive legitimization of a potentially unrepeatable talent even in the contemporary NBA, an ultimate weapon on both sides of the court, the final stage of an evolution, in basketball and otherwise, that has led to the extension of the concept of the “super-athlete.” His coach knows (*it*) (“He is out safety valve when things don’t turn out the way they should. To be able to count on such

a player is a luxury”). His teammates know (it) (“He has allowed me and Steph [Curry] to take a day off”: Klay Thompson after the 7/27 shooting total of the “Splash Brothers” in Game 3). His opponents know (it) (“He is the strongest I’ve ever played against”: LeBron James). And now even he knows (it): “All those who had so much to object to about my choice know how I play, know exactly what I contribute to a team, I have no doubt about that. They understand (it) when they find themselves on a basketball court with me or when they see me play. I know what I bring to the game, I know the approach [to take], I know how hard I work, I know how much a hang in there. What I try to concentrate on is being a great basketball player who always gives the maximum for himself and the team. It’s a matter of pride for me.”

Each of these tokens of *l+o* draws attention to the multiple talents of Durant, some of which (again) were recited in the text preceding this passage but several of which appear here in the text. The meaning RIA **NOT MADE** instructs the journalist and his readers not to try to infer any one LI (certainly not any one **A-Class LI**) as the lens through which Durant’s talents might be identified.

In addition to such “extra-lexical” allusions (allusions to ideas that are too complex to be contained in one word), the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** is useful too when the Identity involved is not lexical at all but, so to speak, non-lexical.

Consider Example (30), a passage from a novel by the celebrated writer Elio Vittorini, a construction that would be utterly puzzling were it not for an understanding of how the RIA meaning **NOT MADE** collaborates with the deictic *l+* to craft a coherent message. (And made even more puzzling if one is taught that *lo* is “masculine”!)

- (30) «Riprendimi in canna».
 Egli la riprese sulla canna della bicicletta.
 «Facciamo presto» disse Berta. «Dobbiamo prepararci anche noi da mangiare».
 Era di nuovo come era **stat+a** dinanzi ai morti, la faccia splendente di qualcosa che l’esaltava, e a lui pareva di avere anche piú forza per correre a dover**l+a** portare.
 «Non dovremo piú aspettare?»

«Non dovremo piú aspettare».
 «Sei mia *moglie*, allora?»
 «L+o sono se mi vuoi. Mi vuoi?»
 «Oh! L+o sei sempre stata».
 «L+o sono soltanto da stamattina».
 «L+o sei da sempre. L+o sei sempre stata».
 «Solo da oggi. Da ora». (Vittorini *Uomini e no*, pp. 116-117)

“Take me back on the cross-bar.”
 He put her back on the cross-bar of the bicycle.
 “Let’s hurry,” said Berta. “We have to get ready to eat too.”
 She was again the way she had been (*stat+a*) with the corpses,
 her face glowing with something that intensified it, and it seemed to
 him that he had even more strength to rush to carry her (*l+a*).
 “We don’t have to wait any more?”
 “We don’t have to wait any more.”
 “Are you my wife (*moglie*), then?”
 “I am (*l+o*) if you want me. Do you want me?”
 “Oh! You have always been (*l+o*).”
 “I have only since this morning.”
 “You are (*l+o*) since forever. You have always been (*l+o*).”
 “Only since today. Since now.”

The meaning RIA **NOT MADE** here, in the verbal clusters of the “forms of *essere*” *sono* ‘I-am’ and *sei* ‘you-sg.-are,’ provides the communicative instruction **NOT** to seek to infer Identification with the woman Berta (*l+a*) nor with (the even prototypically female role of) ‘wife’ (A-Class *mogli-e*). (See Ch. VII on the Identification of humans.) Each token of *l+o* here directs attention rather to the status being debated vis-à-vis Berta as someone who plays the role of wife for the male speaker. That is, the object of attention is not lexical at all—not *Berta* and not *mogli-e* ‘wife.’ There is a communicative problem of Identity (“I am what?” “You are what?”), but that problem is not solved by allusion to any LI.

Such non-lexical Identification, involving the meaning RIA **NOT MADE**, is not limited to the “accusative” clitic *l+o* but is also found with the “dative” clitic *gli*. (In such examples, neither of those clitics can easily be glossed.)

Example (31), below, relates the end of the kidnapping of a journalist (the speaker here), when the kidnappers suddenly release him.

- (31) Poi mi hanno puntato una pistola e mi hanno detto: ‘Dagli, ragazzo dagli’. Se ne sono andati. Io ho gridato: ‘Non dovevate uccidermi?’. Ho cercato di correre in avanti ma non ci sono riuscito. Ho visto una luce e ho camminato fino lì. (web)¹³⁷

Then they pointed a gun at me and said to me, “Go on (lit. ‘Give to-it’), boy, go on (‘Give to-it’).” They left. I shouted: “You didn’t have to kill me?” I tried to run forward, but I couldn’t. I saw a light and walked to it.

The “idiomatic” exhortation *dagli* is often glossed ‘Come on! / Go on!’ Morphologically, it is *da-gli* ‘give to-it.’ (Compare English “Give it all you’ve got!”)

The difference in meaning between the *l+o* of Example (30) and the *gli* of (31) is a difference in Degree of Control over the events of ‘being’ and ‘giving.’ In Example (30), the status of being *mogli-e* ‘wife’ to the man has a LOW Degree of Control (signaled by *l+o*) relative to Berta, who has the power to assume or reject that role. In Example (31), the effort of hightailing it away from a gang of murderous kidnappers can be expected to motivate quite strongly the journalist to run as fast as he can, even though he has the power to escape or to sacrifice himself. Thus the energy that the journalist is urged to ‘give’ to the running has a MID Degree of Control (signaled by *gli*) over the ‘giving.’ The status of being wife has a LOW Degree of Control relative to Berta; the desire to run has a MID Degree of Control relative to the kidnapped journalist. Of, to consider the two examples side-by-side: The decision whether or not to take up the status of wife, though no doubt motivating

¹³⁷ <https://www.ilfoglio.it/esteri/2017/11/14/news/parla-il-giornalista-anti-maduro-sequestrato-in-venezuela-163333/>, accessed July 5, 2018.

for Berta, is a less powerful consideration than the journalist’s consideration whether or not to run fast.¹³⁸

What *l+o* in Example (30) and *gli* in Example (31) have in common is the meaning RIA **NOT MADE**. In such cases, Identity is **NOT** Restricted by any one LI at all, certainly not a LI of the **A**-Class but not even a LI of the **O**-Class. Such instances of *l+o* and *gli* cannot be said to “refer” to anything at all. Rather, they provide a clue to the Identity of a controlling participant in an event: Whatever is playing a non-agentive (LOW or MID) role in the event (e.g., *essere*, *dare*)—being a wife, saving one’s life by running—is **NOT** something that will be Identified through a LI of the **A**-Class. In essence, in such examples the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** functions to allow the signaling of meanings related to the verbal complex (meanings in this case of Degree of Control) while **NOT** tying those meanings down to any particular LI. The meaning RIA **NOT MADE** allows the signaling of a semantic substance relating to the event (here the semantic substance of Degree of Control) without there having to be a particular namable thing (a *costellazion-e* ‘constellation’ or a *tempi-o* ‘temple’ or a *donn-a* ‘woman’ or a *uomo* ‘man’) that houses the meaning of that semantic substance. (“This is an instance of LOW Degree of Control, but that meaning cannot be located in one LI.” Or “This is an instance of MID Degree of Control, but that meaning cannot be located in one LI.”)

That type of usefulness within the verbal complex for the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** will be evident too in the next section, on “Participles in compound tenses.”

I. Participles in compound tenses

¹³⁸ This working hypothesis for the semantic difference between *l+o* and *gli* is due to Davis (2017b: 61-70), which in turn is based on Huffman (1997: 30-36, 183-185).

Much as the meaning RIA NOT MADE (signaled by “neuter” *l+o* or *gli*) allows the functioning of meanings of Degree of Control within the verbal complex while NOT Restricting Identity to any single LI outside the verbal complex (§H), so too the meaning RIA NOT MADE (signaled by *+o*) allows the meaning of the participle within a “compound tense” to function in the communication while NOT Restricting the Identity of the participle to a single LI. The occurrence of signals of RIA on participles in compound tenses is the topic of this section.

As examples throughout this chapter have illustrated, the meaning RIA NOT MADE is useful when, in the given context, the information at hand—the LI to which the RIA signal *+o/+i* is attached, or a deictic such as *l+o* or *gli*—is communicatively adequate on its own, with no need for allusion to any other LI. For instance: In Ex. (3), the LI *minim+o* ‘minimum’ by itself Identifies a point on a scale; in Ex. (12) *seri+o* ‘serious’ Identifies the mental state of anyone who appreciates the gravity of a situation; and in Ex. (26), *cors+o* ‘course / progress’ Identifies a trajectory.

In similar fashion, *+o*, the signal of the interlocked meanings RIA NOT MADE and DO NOT ENUMERATE (See the diagram of the hypothesis in Ch. II), attached to a participle that is part of a complex signaling of verbal meanings (i.e., is a grammatical tense), gives the instruction NOT to look outside the verbal complex for any other LI that might have been alluded to. The participle is to be interpreted within the verbal complex, NOT through allusion to a LI outside the verbal complex. The complex signaling of verb-related meanings along with the provision of a certain LI (a verb) with its own sense is the essential communicative task at that point in the text, not the communicative problem of allusion to some other LI.

With participles in compound tenses, Identity is nevertheless an issue; the participle does have a “+” morpheme boundary and so begs the question of Identity. The fact that Identity is even here an issue is most directly made clear when the participle ends not in *+o* but instead in *+a/+e/+i* (see below). But with *+o*, Restriction of Identity is **NOT MADE** at this point in the text. Identity, if it gets Restricted at all, is Restricted elsewhere in the text. In brief, and informally stated: On the *+o*-participle of a compound tense, the *+o* is functioning as part of the complex verbal signaling and is not connecting the participle to some **A**- or even **O**-Class noun that the participle describes. In familiar, traditional terms: A participle in *+o* that is part of the complex signal of a tense such as the *passato prossimo* with auxiliary *avere* (e.g., *ho parlat+o* ‘I-have spoken’) is functioning in that capacity (as part of a tense), **NOT** in the capacity of connecting the participle to some other word somewhere in the text.¹³⁹

The meaning RIA **NOT MADE** can thus avoid the Restriction of Identity to any particular LI, and it does so even while the very presence of a signal of RIA (the existence of a “+” morpheme boundary) begs the question of Identity. That communicative function of the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** is illustrated throughout this chapter but particularly in this and the previous section. This nuance in the analysis is primarily what compels the hypothesis put forward in this study to be stated as it has been: A semantic substance termed Restriction of Identity to **A**-Class and, within that semantic substance, a meaning **NOT MADE**. This is a successful analysis given the full range of data. A faulty analysis might propose a semantic

¹³⁹ As a working hypothesis, this study follows Huffman (1974), a study of French, in treating differently the forms of *essere*, on the one hand, and *avere*, on the other, when these occur with participles: *essere* ‘be’ plus participle is taken to be just *essere* plus participle ($A + B = A + B$), while *avere* ‘have’ plus participle is taken to be a signal of a Time meaning ($A + B = C$).

substance termed simply Restriction of Identity (period) or might propose a meaning such as OTHER (than A-Class) for *+o/+i*, and not contend with examples where Identity is not restricted by a LI. Or a faulty analysis might decree that certain types of examples—maybe adjectives used (lenslessly) as nouns, or “neuter” clitics, or participles in compound tenses—lie beyond the scope of the analysis. Any such exclusion of parts of the full data must necessarily result in a faulty analysis. This analysis, by contrast, is based on a thorough and comprehensive examination of the full range of data, and it turns out not to be necessary to resort to homonymy.¹⁴⁰

Example (32), below, the opening sentence of the literary piece “Esperidi,” describing the writer’s dream about the Azores, contains two instances of compound tenses with *o*-participles.

- (32) Dopo avere *velleggiat+o* per molti giorni e per molte notti, ho *capit+o* che l’Occidente non ha termine ma continua a spostarsi con noi, e che possiamo inseguirlo a nostro piacimento senza raggiungerlo mai.
(Tabucchi p. 13)

After having *sailed* for many days and many nights, I have *learned* that the West has no end but continues to move with us, and that we can follow it as we wish without ever reaching it.

The *+o* on *velleggiat+o* ‘sailed’ and on the *+o* on *capit+o* ‘learned’ signal that Restriction of Identity for those words is NOT MADE to any A-Class LIs. Indeed, given the presence of *avere* ‘having’ and *ho* ‘I have,’ and their functioning alongside participles in a signaling of verbal meanings in Italian grammar (whatever, exactly, those turn out to be), it is reasonable for a reader to infer that allusion is being made here to no other LI at all.

¹⁴⁰ To this analytical rigor—this insistence of accounting for all the data—compare Diver’s radical revision of his Focus-Control hypothesis for Latin, once he took seriously the data provided by the “deponents” in addition to the more canonical “actives” and “passives” (Diver and Davis 2012: 194, 195-245).

Though there is abundant variation in usage (see, e.g., Lepschy & Lepschy 1988: 209-211) and other patterns can easily be found, the pattern in the data used for this analysis is simple. The only time that RIA signals other than *+o*—that is, the RIA signals *+i/+a/+e*—are found attached to participles that are part of such a complex signal of Time (e.g., a *passato prossimo*), is when there is explicit signaling—by accusative clitic *l(+)* ‘it/her/him/them’—right there within the same verbal complex—of participation in that very event by something (the *l(+)*) that can be Identified by a LI alluded to by one of those signals.¹⁴¹ That is, when the clitic *l(+)* ‘it/her/him/them’ is present in the same verbal complex as the RIA signal, the RIA meaning does allude to the Identity of that participant in the event. That is, in the data used for this analysis, instances of *+i* on participles in compound tenses involve the presence of the clitic *l+i* ‘them-m.’; instances of *+e* involve the clitic *l+e* ‘them-f.’; and instances of *+a* involve (for phonological reasons) the (elided) clitic *l’* directing attention to some member of the A-Class (e.g., *fed-e* ‘faith-f.-sg’). (You can think of this *l’* as a contraction of the clitic *l+a* ‘it-f./her.’) Of course, when the *l’* participant is elsewhere Identified by an O-Class LI (e.g., *l’ = fior-e* ‘flower-m.-sg.’), allusion to that LI by *+o* on the participle would be indistinguishable from no allusion at all by *+o*. In familiar traditional terms: *+o* is attached to the participle of a compound tense whether there is a “masculine singular” clitic *l’* ‘it-m.-sg./him’ as part of the verbal complex itself (e.g., *L’ho vist+o* ‘I’ve seen it/him’) or, instead, a lexical “direct object” given outside the verbal

¹⁴¹ To be precise: Even within the data used for this study, a writer can manipulate the signaling of RIA even absent any *l+* clitic (e.g., Calvino *Il visconte dimezzato*, p. 24). Users of a grammar are not bound by “rules.” Users choose meanings that allow them to communicate what they want to communicate. An account of observations, such as this study, is not the same thing as a formulation of rules.

complex (*Ho vist+o l+a*⇒⟨*cas-a*⟩ / *il*⇒⟨*palazz-o*⟩ ‘I’ve seen the house / the palace’), or even no explicit “direct object” at all (*Ho parlat+o* ‘I’ve spoken’).

In traditional grammar, this distribution of *+a/+e/+o/+i* on the participles of a compound tenses is called “agreement of past participles,” but the “rules” for it are so complicated and leaky (e.g., Lepschy and Lepschy 1988: 209-211)—notoriously so—that it can hardly be called “agreement” even by those who subscribe to a rule-based grammar. The “rules” seem complicated and leaky mainly because of pervasive linguistic variation in this regard. Even within one variety, such as prescribed Standard Italian, however, the situation can seem pretty complicated, since, as detailed just above, the RIA meaning **NOT MADE** allows both for allusion to an **O-Class LI** and allusion to no LI at all. That can make the participial ending *+o* seem like the default ending.

An authentic passage from the data used for this study will illustrate the difference between presence and absence of *l(+)* within the verbal complex and the distribution of RIA signals with respect to that difference. In Example (33), below, the two verbal complexes to be considered here are underlined. One has *l(+)* present, and the other does not. The two RIA signals used to illustrate the analysis above are *+i* and *+o* on the participles.

- (33) C’è poi *il*⇒⟨*dio*⟩ della Follia e ←*quell+o* dell’Egoismo: ma io non ←*l+i* *ho* mai ←*visitat+i* e di essi *ho* *udit+o* solo vaghi e fantasiosi *raccont-i*. (Tabucchi p. 16)

There is then the **god** of Madness and **the one** of Selfishness, but I have never **visited (+i) them (l+i)** and about them **I have heard (+o)** only vague and fantastic **tales**.

Within the first underlined verbal complex of (33) (*non li ho mai visitati*), the clitic *l+*, here glossed ‘**them**,’ is **present** (*li ho visitati* [li^ovisitati]), and the signal *+i*, meaning Restriction of Identity to **A-Class NOT MADE** and **ENUMERATE**, alludes to the two **O-Class LIs** *dio* ‘god’ and

quell+o ‘the one.’ In the second underlined verbal complex of (33) (*ho udito* [ɔudito]), there is no clitic *l+*. The LI *raccont-i* ‘tales’ occurs outside the verbal complex that contains the RIA signal—as, for that matter, the LI *Egoism-o* occurs outside that verbal complex. Within that second underlined verbal complex (*ho udit+o*), then, there is no Identity to be Restricted and nothing to be Enumerated; thus, the RIA meaning **NOT MADE** and the Enumeration meaning **DO NOT ENUMERATE**, signaled in interlock by *+o*.¹⁴²

Some readers here may be helped by looking more closely at the morphemic analysis involved. (Other readers may find it too tedious.) In the illustration to follow, the participle *visitat+* ‘visited’ is used to illustrate two types of situations (#I and #II) involving complex tenses with forms of *avere*.

#I. RIA of participle with 3rd-p. clitic *l(+)* present in the verbal complex

Orthographic: *L’ho (. . .) visitata* (where *L’* is, perhaps *l+a* ⇒ *<città>* ‘the city’)
 Coded per this study: *L’ho (. . .) visitat+a*
 Phonetic: [lɔvisitata]
 Morphemicized: l ɔ visit a t+ a
 Signaling: Dx ‘I-have’ ‘visit’ 1st-conj. ζ RIA-MADE
 3rd-sg. 1st-sg.
 FCS-PERIPH FCS-CENTRAL
 Cntl-LOW
 Gloss: *I (have) visited it.*

#II. RIA of participle without 3rd-p. clitic *l(+)* in the verbal complex

Orthographic: *Ho visitato (. . .) {la città, il paese, la chiesa, il palazzo}*.
 Coded per this study: *Ho visitat+o (. . .) {l+a ⇒ <città>, il ⇒ <paes-e>, l+a ⇒ <chies-a>, il ⇒ <palazzo>}*
 Phonetic: [ɔvisitatolacittà] or etc.
 Morphemicized: ɔ visit a t+ o (. . .) { . . . }
 Signaling: ‘I-have’ ‘visit’ 1st-conj. ζ RIA-NOT-MADE (. . .) { . . . }
 1st-sg.
 Gloss: *I (have) visited (. . .) {the city, the town, the church, the palace}.*

Zeroing in on now just the verbal complexes of the two:

#I.
 Orthographic: *L’ho (. . .) visitata*
 Coded per this study: *L’ho (. . .) visitat+a*
 Phonetic: [lɔvisitata]

¹⁴² Evidently not a participle of *udire* ‘hear’ in *+o* but a homophone derived from (with indeed a semantic kinship with *udire*) CL (4th declension) *audītū* is *udit-o* ‘(sense of) hearing.’

The grammatical meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class NOT MADE—the meaning signaled by the suffixes *+o* (interlocked with the meaning DO NOT ENUMERATE) and *+i* (interlocked with the meaning ENUMERATE)—is useful in discourse for blocking any inference that the Identity of a variably classed form (e.g., *minim+o*, *intern+o*, *ver+o*, *dat+o*, *scritt+o*, *avere veleggiat+o*, *l+o sa*, *l+o sono*, *ho udit+o*) might be Restricted through a LI of the A-Class and, consequently, for allowing for the possibility that the Identity of the form will not be established through any LI at all. In such cases, with the grammar providing essentially no help—other than systematically eliminating roughly half the lexicon— inference of Identity is entirely dependent upon context, including the stem to which the RIA signal is attached, and upon the reader’s or listener’s intelligence.

It may be useful to specify how this situation in this chapter—*+o* with no lens at all—is different from the situation examined in Chapter V where *+a* is inferred to allude to the generic A-Class LI *cos-a* ‘what/thing,’ which can take on the more specific Identity of whatever is appropriate in the context (a pandemic, a basketball team, an ocean, . . .). It might be useful to specify how it is that in one case Restriction of Identity to A-Class is MADE and in the other case it is NOT MADE. The two situations might seem to converge in their generality, but actually they are quite distinct.

Recall (Ch. V) that in that former case (the A-Class case), the successful inference will be that the class of *cos-e* ‘things’ that the given LI might Identify in whatever text (whatever is *attes+a* ‘awaited,’ whatever is *sconfitt+a* ‘defeated,’ whatever is *traversat+a* ‘crossed’), is instantiated in a particular fashion in that particular context (the Covid-19 pandemic, the Minnesota Timberwolves basketball team, the Atlantic, . . .). Each token is an

instantiation of that *cos-a*. A given type—a given ‘thing’ (e.g., *traversat+a* ‘thing-crossing’) is instantiated in a particular context (e.g., by the Atlantic Ocean).

By contrast, with the examples covered in the present chapter—*+o* with no lens at all—the successful inference will be that Identity is **NOT** Restricted through the lens of any other LI: certainly not through any **A-Class** LI, but not even through any particular **O-Class** LI, explicit or not. Rather, the Identity being communicated (e.g., the Identity being communicated in Ex. 14’s *ver+o*, or in Ex. 33’s *udit+o*) is communicated not by any other LI but solely by means of the stem (e.g., *ver+* ‘true,’ *udit+* ‘heard’) to which the *+o* is attached, interpreted in the context to which the stem makes its semantic contribution: by the stem in its context. For instance: In Example 14, what is ‘true’ is not captured in any one LI but is instead said, in a phrase, to be that Love is the very soul and the harmony of the elements. In Example 33, what is ‘heard’ is not specified in that verbal complex—that token of the participle *udit+o* abstains from Restricting the Identity of what is ‘heard.’

Throughout this analysis, the RIA meanings are systematically opposed to each other. They stand in an **opposition of value**. They are **mutually exclusive**: One RIA meaning is by definition not what the other RIA meaning is. And the two meanings **exhaustively divide** the **semantic substance**. These have always been the defining characteristics of what have been considered **grammatical hypotheses** within the approach to analysis that was begun by William Diver (1969/2012; works published posthumously as Diver 2012). Moreover, the analysis is *a posteriori*, providing an account of **observed distribution** that is consistent with analytical experience and with the **orientations** provided by the known characteristics of communication, phonetics, and human intelligence. That is a hallmark of Diver’s “Theory” (1995/2012). What is

innovative about this analysis is that the semantic substance that it proposes is defined in terms of the classification of the lexicon; the analysis proposes a semantic substance that systematically links grammar to lexicon. Those two types of semantic organization (grammar and lexicon) do not merely work alongside each other in the creation of discourse; with this hypothesis, they work together in the creation of discourse.

The Communicative Function of Gender in Italian
Joseph Davis

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Ch. VII

The Identification of Human Beings

Like everything else about the organization of this study, the separation of tokens Identifying human beings into one chapter is heuristic. There is actually no clear line between what is human and what is not, what is sexed and what is not. Is a female whale that gives birth (as in Tabucchi pp. 53-54) sexed, as is a female human that gives birth? Is the cadaver of a male soldier (as in Lampedusa's *Il Gattopardo* Parte I) a sexed human being? Is a fanciful half man (such as Calvino's *Divided Viscount*) one? What about the apparition of a woman (Stelio Mattioni's *Il richiamo di Alma*)? This study poses no distinction being made in the grammar or its implementation in communication between humans and nonhumans, between sexed and unsexed, or between male and female. The only distinction actually proposed in this analysis is that between the signaled meanings Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) **MADE** and **NOT MADE**; that is the only hypothesis in this analysis. Everything else is for the purpose of presentation. The way those two meanings serve in the Identification of humans, when they do, is exactly the same as in Identification in general: by **MAKING** or **NOT MAKING** a Restriction of Identity to the **A-Class** of the Italian lexicon.

A. Mixed groups of humans

In order to focus on the exploitation of RIA in the context of human Identification, it is necessary to dispense with a false problem concerning grammatical "gender" and cultural

“gender”: that mixed groups of males and females—even if such a group contains only one male—are always “referred to” as “masculine.” The distribution of RIA signals vis-à-vis groups of mixed LC is not at all peculiar to humans but is observed generally. For instance, picture three houses surrounding a courtyard with a single tree:

L+e⇒ tre ⟨cas-e⟩ e l'⟨alber-o⟩ sono ⇐vecchi+.
 The three houses and the tree are old.

The LIs *cas-e* ‘houses’ and *alber-o* ‘tree’ belong to different LCs. The meaning RIA NOT MADE with respect to the variably classed *vecchi+* ‘old’ does NOT Restrict the Identity of *vecchi+* to an A-Class LI but allows it to include too the *alber-o* ‘tree.’

Compare:

L+e⇒ tre ⟨donn-e⟩ e l'⟨uomo⟩ sono ⇐vecchi+.
 The three women and the man are old.

This inclusive property of the distribution of the meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class NOT MADE (versus MADE) is thus not at all special to humans. Only the meaning MADE accomplishes a Restriction to A-Class. That fact reduces the coverage here of the application of RIA in human Identification to just the singulars *+a* and *+o*.

B. RIA meanings do not definitively Identify human beings

Below, Example (1) is the opening line of an actual poem, analyzed here for Restriction of Identity to A-Class (and with added formalisms consistent with this treatment). Imagine that the words of the poem express the point of view of a lovesick *stell-a* ‘star’ for a *pianet-a* ‘planet’ it sees far away in the sky.

- (1) Stavo **sol+a** da tempo
 I-stood **alone** (**MADE**) from time
 'I was alone for a long time'

Though, at this point, the narrator could be many things Identifiable by a lexical item of the **A-Class** in Italian—besides a **stell-a**, an distant 'star'; a **lun-a**, a solitary 'moon'; a **cas-a**, an isolated 'house,' or a **petuni-a**, a lonely little 'petunia' in an onion patch—imagine that the narrator is instead a **balen-a**, a 'whale.' Indeed, Tabucchi has a chapter titled "Post Scriptum: Una balena vede gli uomini" "Postscript: A whale sees men," detailing the strange form and habits of whalers, as seen from the point of view of the hunted. According to Tabucchi, men, as seen from the point of view of a whale, are thin, cruel, quiet for long times and then suddenly noisy, afraid of water, bereft of females, occasionally singers of sad songs, and tired out in the course of a mere day.

The line below, Example (2), rules out none of those possibilities: a lovesick **star**, **moon**, **house**, **petunia**, or **whale**.

- (2) Eri **entrat+o ne+i**⇒ **mie+i**⇒ ⟨**pensier-i**⟩
 You-were **entered** (**NOT MADE**) **into-the** (**NOT MADE**) **my** (**NOT MADE**) **thoughts**
 'You came into my thoughts'

Perhaps the thoughtful **star** or **moon** or **house** or **petunia** or **whale** is addressing a **pianet-a**, a 'planet'; a **paes-e**, a 'town'; a **cipollott-o**, a 'spring onion'; or a whaler, a **uomo**, a human whaler, a 'man' in the generic sense. After all, those things come and go: **planets** reach perigee and apogee from their **moons**, **towns** both develop and then disappear in flood or volcanic ash, **spring onions** emerge from the soil and then get harvested or else dry up, and **men** go to sea and then return to port.

All those possibilities remain in play even if the reader skips down to the last two lines of the poem, Example (3), which is there revealed to be a poem of regret for a lost

love—perhaps then a poem that personifies the **star**, the **moon**, the **house**, the lonely little **petunia**, or the **whale**.

(3) e quando ho **capit+o** d'amarti
and when I-have **realized** (NOT MADE) of love-you
'and when I realized I loved you'

tu te ne sei **andat+o**.
you-subj. you-obj. away are **gone** (NOT MADE)
'you went away.'

Anything with the capacity to reason and to love can have **capit+o** 'realized' the fact of having fallen in love with a being that is characterizable as **andat+o** 'gone.' The fact that in those two words Restriction of Identity to A-Class is NOT MADE says nothing about the Identity of the narrator.

Even the context of the full poem, given below, is not entirely enlightening as to the Identity of the narrator, though, with the help of the phrase *in un angolo* 'in a corner,' perhaps the reader can eliminate the possibilities of **star** or **moon** in the sky, **house** in the countryside, or **whale** in the sea, but less reliably the possibility of a **petunia** in a rectangular garden. Perhaps—but who knows, given the range of human imagination as often instantiated in poems and prose, writing and speech—the line *ho visto i tuoi occhi* 'I saw your eyes' suggests animals with the sense of vision. (Here, to minimize distraction, only the clues to the Identities of the narrator and the addressee are analyzed and given font colors.)

Stavo **sol+a** da tempo
in un angolo
non volevo sentire,
ascoltare aspettavo soltanto.
In un attimo un giorno
ho visto i tuoi occhi
un grande prato verde, immenso
dove io non avevo camminato mai.

Eri **entrat+o** nei miei pensieri
 nei miei sogni
 cominciando a far parte di me
 e quando ho capito d'amarti
 tu te ne sei **andat+o**.

I was **alone** (→ **A**) for a long time
 in a corner
 I didn't want to hear,
 to listen I just waited.
 One day in an instant
 I saw your eyes
 a wide green meadow, immense
 where I had never before walked
 You **entered** (→ **~A**) into my thoughts
 into my dreams
 becoming part of me
 and when I realized I loved you
 you **went** (→ **~A**) away.'

Even having read the whole poem, a reader cannot definitively state the Identity of the narrator but can know only that the poet has Identified the narrator as being a member of the **A**-Class of lexical items and addressing a member of the **O**-Class. The entire text contains no explicit lens of identity for either the narrator or the addressee.

The poet is Margherita Fantozzi, a **donn-a**, a '**woman**.' And so perhaps the narrator is a **woman**, even the poet herself. Perhaps that **+a** of **sol+a** '**alone**' in the first line of the poem identifies not a **star**, a **moon**, a **house**, a **petunia**, or a **whale**, but a **woman**. Perhaps the **woman** is addressing a **man** from her past. If so, then the implicit lens for **sol+a** might be **A**-Class **<donn-a>** '**woman**,' and the implicit lens for **entrat+o** and **andat+o** might be **O**-Class **<uomo>** '**man**.'¹⁴³

¹⁴³ By the morphological analysis used in this chapter, the final *a* of *donn-a* (pl. *donn-e*) is separable, while the final *o* of *uomo* (pl. *uomini*) is not. That decision, of course, is immaterial to this analysis, given the heterogeneity of form of lexical items of the two

C. What this study is about and what it is not about (reprise)

The confusion between, on the one hand, (what are widely known as) “grammatical gender” and “cultural gender” and, on the other hand, (what is termed in this study) the Identification of human beings lies at the root of much of the perplexity in the human world about the relationship between language and culture. That confusion is responsible for the fact that people say and believe statements such as

- ❖ In Spanish (or, say, Italian) a pencil is a little boy and a pen is a little girl. (Said by bilingual schoolteacher and graduate student)
- ❖ Languages that have grammatical gender are even more sexist than languages that don't. (A professional in the field of education and a political activist)
- ❖ “All Italian nouns have a gender and they can be masculine or feminine.” (web)¹⁴⁴
- ❖ “[Spanish] *vieja* and *viejo* [‘old’] (and *bueno* and *buena* [‘good’]) . . . [have] the same meaning.” (Reid 2018: 113).

Such statements and beliefs, however well-intentioned, are uninformed, but they are also widespread and harmful. As any schoolchild knows, pencils and pens do not have genitalia. As any adult knows, languages do not have brains and, thus, attitudes. As anyone who dares to give advice about language should know, the terms “gender,” “masculine,” and “feminine” are misleading. And, as any linguist should suspect, words such as (Italian) *vecchi+a* and *vecchi+o* do not have the same meaning, even if they often receive the same gloss (‘old’) into English.

Furthermore, the (widespread) cultural man-woman dichotomy hardly matches up with the (in Italian) binary lexical classification. *Person-a* ‘person’ can be a man or a

groups with invariant lexical class. What matters here is only that *donn-a* belongs to the A-Class and *uomo* belongs to the O-Class.

¹⁴⁴ <https://connex-ita.com/how-to-guess-the-gender-of-a-word-in-italian/>, accessed July 13, 2021.

woman. Likewise, a *guardi-a* ‘guard,’ *spi-a* ‘spy,’ or a *cap-o di stato* ‘head of state.’¹⁴⁵ *Uomo* ‘human / man’ can be used generically or not; i.e., *uomo* can identify a human being of unspecified gender or specifically a male.¹⁴⁶ *Resident-e* ‘resident’ is indifferent to sex. Groups of humans can be called *gent-e* or *popol-o*. The confusion between “cultural gender” and “linguistic gender” is a mess.

Recall (Chapter I) that, in this study, cultural gender is distinguished from linguistic facts. To study linguistic distribution is not to study cultural attitudes and practices. Recall too that, even within the realm of linguistics, it is not the goal of this study to explain why, say, *person-a* ‘person’ is A-Class or why *popol-o* ‘people’ is O-Class—any more than it has been the goal of this study to explain why, say, *stell-a* ‘star’ is A-Class and *pianet-a* ‘planet’ is O-Class, or why *radic-e* ‘root’ is A-Class and *fior-e* ‘flower’ is O-Class, or why *crisi* ‘crisis’ is A-Class and *ragù* ‘ragout’ is O-Class. Rather, this study has distinguished **variable** from **invariable lexical class** (LC). It has been the goal of this study to offer an account of the observed distribution of the morphological suffixes *+a/+e/+o/+i* when they function communicatively as **signals** of **meanings**, as in, say, *luminos+a / luminos+e / luminos+o / luminos+i* ‘bright.’ Making that distinction should help to clear up the confusion and lead to a **problem** that can be solved. Chapters III through VI have presented analysis of attested examples that should contribute to such a solution, and this chapter, on the Identification of humans, is intended to complete that picture.

¹⁴⁵ The LIs *guardi-a* and *cap-o* are by no means limited in sense to the Identification of human beings (nor the LI, e.g., *guid-a*, cf. Tabucchi p. 76).

¹⁴⁶ *Uomo* < CL *homo* ‘man’ in the generic sense, distinct from *vir* ‘man’ in the particularly male sense, which in turn was distinct from *femina* ‘woman.’ In modern Italian, the root *vir* survives only in morphologically complex forms such as *viril-e* ‘masculine, manly, virile.’

D. Pragmatic frequency and the Identification of humans

Recall (Chapter V) that pragmatic studies have described the frequencies of usage of Italian lexical items (LIs) in selected pieces of discourse.¹⁴⁷ For instance, in those reports, the LI *cos-a* ‘what/thing’ shows up over three times as often as the second most frequent LI with invariable LC. Excepting the (pragmatically and morphologically) exceptional *cos(-a)*, the most frequent LI of the A-Class is *part-e* ‘part.’ For comparison, the LIs *serie* ‘series’ and *termin-e* ‘end’—just to pick two—are relatively infrequent in those texts. And (evidently), in those texts, the LIs *pallacanestro* ‘basketball’ and *capodogli-o* ‘sperm whale’ and do not occur at all, though they do in texts used for this study.

As mentioned above, a human being, Identified or Identifying with either cultural gender, may be “referred to”—as is widely believed, thus ignoring the distinction made in this study and in Davis 2020 between **Identification** and reference—by a LI belonging to either LC. For instance, either a man or a woman may be Identified as a *guardi-a* ‘guard’ or as a *cap-o di stato* ‘head of state.’ And, as mentioned above, several LIs in Italian are indifferent to the cultural gender of any individual human being they might on occasion Identity; for instance, *person-a* ‘person,’ *uomo* ‘human / man,’ and *resident-e* ‘resident.’ And so, to repeat, stereotypical cultural gender and the classification of the Italian lexicon should not be confused.

¹⁴⁷ Among the studies, *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano parlato* (<http://badip.uni-graz.at/it/>) and *Lessico di frequenza dell'italiano scritto* (<https://people.unica.it/mauriziotrifone/files/2020/04/Linguistica1.-Lessico-e-dizionari.pdf>) accessed July 22, 2020, and “Lista dei primi 333 sostantivi italiani che non possono mancare nel vocabolario attivo di uno studente di livello elementare” (http://www.scudit.net/md333nomi_3.htm), accessed Sept. 10, 2019.

Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that, in the pragmatic studies used as resources in this analysis, all of the most frequently used invariably classed LIs that are, in their lexical sense, specific to one or the other cultural gender line up with the binary classification of the Italian lexicon. Such invariably classed LIs will stand ready to be alluded to (explicitly or not) by a RIA signal. The most straightforward of these LIs are only two pairs that have, in sense, specifically to do with cultural and biological roles in procreation. These are, then, by no means exhaustive of male and female human beings:

<u>A-Class</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>O-Class</u>	<u>gloss</u>
madr-e	'mother'	padr-e	'father'
mogli-e	'wife'	marit-o	'husband' ¹⁴⁸

Less common in the texts used for those particular pragmatic studies but noteworthy for this chapter is *femmin-a* 'female.' There is in Italian no comparable invariably classed LI glossing as 'male.'¹⁴⁹ Thus the three LIs *madr-e* 'mother,' *mogli-e* 'wife,' and *femmin-a* 'female' lend themselves perfectly to functioning as lenses, explicit or not, for RIA *+a*.

Other terms whose senses effectively restrict them to one cultural gender or another are in some way idiosyncratic. *Pret-e* 'priest' is restricted by the Roman Catholic Church (historically dominant in Italy) to males, a restriction that could, of course, change. *Re* 'king' is unambiguously a man, but *regin-a* 'queen' is related by complex morphology (and by diachrony) to *re*. In modern Italian, *sorell-a* 'sister' is specifically a woman in an intra-generational familial relationship with the speaker, as distinct from *suor-a* 'sister' in the ecclesiastical sense, but *sorell-a* is also morphologically complex, having as it does the

¹⁴⁸ The stem *marit-* also occurs in forms such as *maritare* 'marry off' and so should perhaps be glossed something like 'husbandize.' There is no **marit-a* 'wife' and no **marit+* 'spousal.'

¹⁴⁹ The stem *maschi+* 'male' is variably classed, as seen in, e.g., *(società) ←maschi+a* 'men's club.'

derivational suffix *-ell+* (lit. 'little'). Similarly for the pair *fratell-o* and *frat-e*, both 'brother.' The pair of terms *mamm-a* 'mommy' and *papà* 'daddy' are infantile or, by extension, intimate nicknames. Even the highly frequent *donn-a* 'woman / lady' is idiosyncratic in its way; there is also *don(n-o)*, an obsolete term that could be glossed 'sir' and is found now mostly in literary usages as *Don*, an honorific for male members of the nobility.

The very frequent terms *ragazz+* 'child' and *amic+* 'friend,' plus the somewhat less frequent *nemic+* 'enemy' are, obviously, variably classed, with RIA suffixes attached. Thus, these must be folded into the analysis here of all such variably classed terms. In particular, if *ragazz+a* is glossed into English as 'girl' and *ragazz+o* as 'boy,' and if *amic+a* and *amic+o*, though both glossed into English as 'friend,' are often taken as sex-specific, that fact must have to do with the properties of RIA. Indeed, that is the position taken here. By hypothesis, with *+a*, Restriction of Identity is being MADE to A-Class, and with *+o* it is NOT.

In sum, there is scant justification for positing for Italian, as Diver (perhaps speculatively) did for Latin, a "base group" of LIs for which the conceptual (sex) and the morphological (LC) converge.

The observation made above bears repeating: Although individuals of both cultural genders get Identified by LIs of both LCs, and both LCs include LIs that can Identify individuals of either or both cultural genders, nevertheless: The invariably classed LIs that are, in their lexical sense, specific to one or the other cultural gender line up perfectly with the binary classification (A-Class and O-Class) of the Italian lexicon. In the lexicon, there is a clear relationship between specificity to the Identification of cultural gender, on the one hand, and Lexical Class on the other.

E. Consequences of the pragmatic facts for this linguistic analysis

Recall now, as shown extensively in Chapters III through VI, that the communicative function of the RIA signals is, by hypothesis, to Restrict the Identity of variably classed lexical stems (e.g., *luminos+* 'bright') by either **MAKING** or **NOT MAKING** allusion to a LI of the **A**-Class (the **lens** for that token of that variably classed lexical stem).

With that analysis accomplished, therefore, it should hardly be surprising that, in contexts that by subject-matter lend themselves at various points to the Identification of a human being, and in a culture that overwhelmingly (often even legally) has associated human individuals with a binary cultural classification (call it woman / man, feminine / masculine, whatever), it will overwhelmingly be the case in usage that the suffix *+a* is associated with a *femmin-a* 'female' or *donn-a* 'woman' and the suffix *+o* is associated either with either a generic **human** or with a **man**, that is, with a *uomo*, or at least certainly **NOT** a *femmin-a*. It is not surprising, for instance, that a person reading the love poem at the beginning of this chapter will assume that its words are those of a **woman** addressing a **man**. For contrast, it would likely not be assumed by a reader that, in a physics text, a token of *subatomic+a* 'subatomic' would Identify a woman or a token of *subatomic+o* 'subatomic' would Identify a man, nor would such terms likely be used, by a writer, with that communicative intent. Human beings are not special in regard to this particular aspect of linguistic structure.

It is a goal of this chapter to demonstrate that human beings require no special treatment in this linguistic analysis, in particular do not justify the positing of any special linguistic construct (*pace* Otheguy & Stern 2000 and Reid 2018). The hypothesis of a grammatical system with the semantic substance Restriction of Identity to **A**-Class (RIA), with its meanings and signals, suffices.

F. The lens *donn-a* ‘woman’ or *uomo* ‘man’ is near or far, explicit or not

As seen above, the alignment is tight between, on the one hand, stereotypical binary cultural gender (the feminine and the masculine) and, on the other hand, the lexical classification (A or O) of those very few LIs that are semantically specialized according to cultural gender (*madr-e* ‘mother,’ *mogli-e* ‘wife,’ *femmin-a* ‘female,’ *padr-e* ‘father,’ *marit-o* ‘husband’).

Therefore, pragmatically, in an appropriate context, a given token of *+a* (RIA MADE, DO NOT ENUMERATE) is likely to be attached to a stem Identifying a woman and a given token of *+o* (RIA NOT MADE, DO NOT ENUMERATE) is likely to be attached to a stem Identifying either a generic human or a man. A given token of *+e* (RIA MADE, ENUMERATE) is likely to be attached to a stem the Identity of which is Restricted to women, and a given token of *+i* (RIA NOT MADE, ENUMERATE) is likely to be attached to a stem the Identity of which is NOT Restricted to women, that is, to mixed groups or to groups of all men. For instance: In an appropriate context, a given token of article *l+a* ‘the,’ of clitic *l+a* ‘her/it,’ or of *vecchi+a* ‘old’ is likely to Identify a woman. A given token of article *l+o* or *il* ‘the,’ of clitic *l+o* ‘him/it,’ or of *vecchi+o* ‘old’ is likely to Identify a man. A given token of article *l+e* ‘the,’ of clitic *l+e* ‘them,’ or of *vecchi+e* ‘old’ is likely to Identify a group of women. And a given token of article *i* or *gli* ‘the,’ of clitic *l+i* ‘them,’ or of *vecchi+* ‘old’ is likely to Identify a mixed group or a group of men.

Those associations between linguistic form and cultural gender are likely to be made (by writer, speaker, reader, or listener) regardless of whether a lens such as *donn-a* ‘woman,’ *uomo* ‘man,’ *mogli-e* ‘wife,’ or *marit-o* ‘husband’ is nearby or far away in the text, or even whether such a lens is explicit or not in the text. For instance, in the love poem at

the beginning of this chapter, the token of *sol+a* in *Stavo sol+a da tempo* ‘I was alone for a long time’ is likely to be associated with a woman, even though the LI *donn-a* ‘woman’ does not occur in the text. And the token of *entrat+o* in *Eri entrat+o nei miei pensieri* ‘You had (lit. ‘were’) entered into my thoughts’ is likely to be associated with a man, even though the word *uomo* ‘man’ does not occur in the text. Such examples are plentiful in contexts having to do with people.

Consider how the RIA signals help to Identify (in various ways, through various LIs and grammatical signals) the ‘child’ in the following news story, Example (4), as a girl. (Bold type, in the original, is the headline.)

- (4) **Mors+a da un⇒ <pipistrell-o> a Milano, curat+a in Toscana . . .**
 L+a **piccol+a** ha 7 **ann-i** è svedes-e ed è **stat+a dimess+a** dall'**ospedal-e**
 di Livorno

...

Quando ieri è <arrivat+a al pront+o soccors+o . . . non aveva alcun⇒
 <sintom-o>. Ma quel mors+o di pipistrell-o, . . . , ha indott+o i⇒
 <genitor-i> a <portarl+a per precauzion-e in ospedal-e. E subito per
 <un+a <bambin+a svedes-e di 7 ann-i, . . . i sanitar+i hanno
 provvedut+o a <farle il vaccin+o. (web)¹⁵⁰

Bitten by a bat in Milan, treated in Tuscany . . .

The little girl is seven years old, is Swedish, and has been discharged
 from the hospital in Livorno

...

When she arrived yesterday in the emergency room . . . she did not
 have any symptom. But that bat bite, . . . , led the parents to take her,
 as a precaution, to the hospital. And immediately, for a Swedish girl of
 7 years, . . . , the doctors took steps to give her the vaccine.

Attached to *mors+* ‘bitten,’ *curat+* ‘treated,’ *l+* ‘the,’ *piccol+* ‘little,’ *stat+* ‘been,’ *dimess+*
 ‘discharged,’ *arrivat+* ‘arrived,’ clitic *l+* ‘her/it,’ *un+* ‘a/one,’ and *bambin+* ‘child,’ the signals

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https://firenze.repubblica.it/cronaca/2020/07/01/news/bambina_di_7_anni_morsa_da_un_pipistrello_a_milano_curata_in_toscana-260694975/, accessed July 8, 2020.

suffix *+a* and clitic *le* ‘her-dat.,’ both meaning Restriction of Identity to A-Class **MADE**, in the context of a news story about an emergency trip to a hospital because of a bat bite, provide strong clues, over and over, that the victim is a girl.

Or consider, in Example (5), how the RIA signals help to identify the journalist in the following news story as male (again, bold type in the original).

- (5) **Parla il giornalista-a anti-Maduro sequestrat+o in Venezuela.**
 Mi hanno fatt+o sdraiare a terr-a nud+o, mi hanno mess+o un⇒ <fucile> sull+a⇒ <test-a>. (web)¹⁵¹

The anti-Maduro journalist kidnapped in Venezuela speaks.
 They made me stretch out on the ground, naked. They put a gun to my head.

The suffix *+o*, attached to *sequestrat+* ‘kidnapped,’ *fatt+* ‘made,’ and *nud+* ‘naked,’ plus the article *il* ‘the,’ both meaning RIA **NOT MADE**, provide repeated clues that the journalist is **NOT** a woman. In particular, notice how the signal *+o* attached to *nud+* ‘naked,’ resulting in *nud+o*, suggests that that Identifier applies to the man and not to the *terr-a* ‘ground,’ even though the LI *terr-a* sits precisely in a position to encourage such an inference, and even though *terr-a* ‘ground’ can certainly be described as ‘naked/bare,’ and even though the context contains no LI that is specialized for the Identification of a male.

And consider this passage, Example (6), from CovidRider’s text:

- (6) un altr+o amic+o l+a cui partner è mort+a per il⇒ <virus> (CovidRider)
 another friend the partner of whom is dead on account of the virus

¹⁵¹ <https://www.ilfoglio.it/esteri/2017/11/14/news/parla-il-giornalista-anti-maduro-sequestrato-in-venezuela-163333/>, accessed July 5, 2018.

The passage clearly suggests that CovidRider’s friend is a male heterosexual! Though a person’s grammar may be finite, within the boundaries of human experience and imagination, the powers of inference know no bounds.

G. RIA signals attached to lexical stems specialized to Identify humans

Above are two examples of RIA signals attached to lexical stems whose senses are specialized for the Identification of human beings. Such stems are quite likely to be chosen and interpreted as Identifiers of females and males. Particularly, *bambin+* ‘child’ in Example (4) above, for which *bambin+a* is specifically a ‘little girl’ and *bambin+o* is possibly a ‘little boy.’ And *amic+* ‘friend’ in Example (6), for which *amic+a* is specifically a female friend and *amic+o* is likely a male friend. Others include *nemic+* ‘enemy,’ *cugin+* ‘cousin,’ *zi+* ‘sibling, or spouse of a sibling, of a parent,’ *nonn+* ‘grandparent,’ and *maestr+* ‘teacher.’

Keep in mind that the meaning of *+o* is RIA NOT MADE, not MALE. Even attached to a lexical stem whose sense is specialized for the Identification of humans, for instance, the stem *amic+* ‘friend,’ an *+o* does not specify reference to a man; it merely precludes specific Identification of a woman. Example (7) comes from a web site where people write in for advice regarding marriage:

- (7) A *mi+a* ⇒ *⟨mogli-e⟩* è stato chiesto da un *amic+o* di essere un *surrogat+o* per lei e *su+o* ⇒ *⟨marit-o⟩*. L’*amic+o* ha detto “scherzosamente”. Mi sento *scoraggiat+o*. Sono troppo sensibil-e? (web)¹⁵²

My wife was asked by a *friend* to be a *surrogate* for her and *her husband*. The *friend* said “jokingly.” But I feel *downhearted*. Am I too sensitive?

¹⁵² <https://marriage.baaty.com/14192/a-mia-moglie-e-stato-chiesto-da-un-amico-di-essere-un-surrogato-per-lei-e-suo-marito-lamico-ha-detto-scherzosamente-mi-sento-scoraggiato-sono-troppo-sensibile.html>, accessed August 8, 2020.

In Example (7) the male writer's wife is asked by a **female friend** (*lei* 'her') to serve as a surrogate parent for the **female friend** and her husband. Yet the **female friend** appears to be referred to by O-Class *un amic+o* 'a (male) friend.' What gives? The hypothesis in the study mandates a different reading: The wife was asked by a 'friend,' and that 'friend' could have been a female or a male. It would not have mattered to the writer whether his wife had been asked by a female friend or a male friend to serve as a surrogate parent; the writer would have been offended if his wife had been asked by either person. (*Surrogat+o* works the same way: Being asked to be a 'surrogate' parent is momentous whether one is a woman or a man.) As always, here too *+o* signals the meaning RIA **NOT MADE**: Identification is **NOT** Restricted to a female.

Such avoidance of Restricting Identity to A-Class is a general property of the meaning RIA **NOT MADE**, not peculiar to LIs with human sense. Consider *seguit+o*¹⁵³ 'followed' in Example (8) below:

- (8) Lei camminava **legger+a**, senza voltarsi, come chi non si preoccupa di essere *seguit+o* (Tabucchi p. 83).

She walked **nimbly**, without turning around, like someone who is not worried about being **followed**.

In *seguit+o*, the meaning RIA **NOT MADE** is an instruction **NOT** to Restrict the Identity of *seguit+* 'followed' to just the woman who is currently walking; this *seguit+* could apply to anyone.

¹⁵³ [se'guito] 'followed' and ['seguito] 'retinue' are both written with the homograph *seguito*.

Of course, different lexicons make different distinctions. The English lexicon, for instance, specifies *nephew* and *niece*, but not *cousin*, for cultural gender. The Italian lexicon does not specify the cultural gender of *nipot-e* ‘child of a sibling.’ But again, humans are not special. For nonhumans too lexicons differ. The Italian lexicon makes a distinction between *sapere* and *conoscere* that is not made by the English *know*. And the English *hickory* and *pecan* make a distinction that is not made by the Italian *noc-e*.

H. RIA suggesting cultural gender despite the LC of a nearby term

As was seen in Chapter III, sometimes a RIA signal appears very close in the vicinity of its lens, even adjacent to that lens, sometimes within what traditional and grammar would consider the “noun phrase” or what Diver (1995/2012: 518 *et passim*) calls the **satellite cluster** of that LI. This is the phenomenon that gives rise to the traditional notion of a syntactic rule of agreement. Illustrative examples might be *un+a* ⇒ ⟨*radic-e*⟩ ⇐ *lung+a* ‘a long root’ and *il* ⇒ ⟨*fior-e*⟩ ⇐ *bianc+o* ‘the white flower.’

When, however, a RIA signal has a lens of a different LC from that of this “head noun,” the appearance, to the tradition, is of a lack of agreement or, perhaps, a special semantic use (such as for human sex) that overrides the syntactic agreement rule.

Illustrative examples might be *l+a mi+a nuov+a San* ⇒ ⟨*Marco*⟩ ‘(the) my new Saint Mark’ and *un rinovat+o Sant+a* ⇒ ⟨*Mari-a*⟩ *universitari+o* ‘a renovated university-based Saint Mary.’ In such cases, the lens to which the problematic gender suffixes allude is a LI that is farther away or not even explicitly present in the text, a LI such as *macchin-a* ‘machine’ for *l+a mi+a nuov+a* ‘(the) my new’ and *ospedal-e* ‘hospital’ for *un rinovat+o universitari+o* ‘a renovated university-based.’ What the two cases—presence of agreement and absence of

agreement—actually have in common is the distribution of signals of meanings. That was demonstrated in Chapter III.

The same thing happens with LIs that Identify human beings. In baseball one can have $l+a \Rightarrow prim+a \Rightarrow \langle bas-e \rangle$ ‘the first base’ Identifying, say, a bag on a baseball field, and in music one can have $il \Rightarrow prim+o \Rightarrow \langle violin-o \rangle$ ‘the first violin’ Identifying a particular musical instrument in an orchestra. Such tokens would not challenge one’s belief in a syntactic rule of gender agreement. But the following examples, (9) and (10), would challenge such a belief:

- (9) Nel gioco del [baseball](#), $il \Rightarrow Prim+a \Rightarrow \langle bas-e \rangle$ (1B) è $il \Rightarrow \langle giocator-e \rangle$ che in fase difensiva si occupa di difendere l’omonima base. (web)¹⁵⁴

In the game of baseball, **the first base** (1B) is **the player** who on defense occupies the base of that name, to defend it.

- (10) **Giada** Broz . . . è attualmente $\Leftarrow l+a prim+o \Rightarrow \langle violin-o \rangle$ dell’Orchestra delle Alpi. (web)¹⁵⁵

Giada Broz [a **woman**] . . . is currently **the first violin** at the Orchestra of the Alps.

What is really going on in all examples is meaning. While $l+a \Rightarrow prim+a \Rightarrow \langle bas-e \rangle$ ‘the first base’ Identifies perhaps a bag on the ground at a baseball game, and $il \Rightarrow prim+o \Rightarrow \langle violin-o \rangle$ ‘the first violin’ Identifies perhaps a leading musical instrument in an orchestra, *il* in Example (9) Identifies a *giocator-e*, a male player of the game, a *uomo* ‘man,’ and *l+a* in Example (10) Identifies *Giada*, a *donn-a* ‘woman.’

¹⁵⁴ https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prima_base, accessed July 18, 2018.

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.accademiadelviolino.it/pagine/italiano/docenti.html>, accessed July 18, 2018.

The Identification of human beings works exactly the same way as the Identification of anything else: signaled meaning.

Given that the allusion made by a RIA meaning is a matter of inference and not of syntactic agreement, even cases that superficially look like agreement may in fact, on occasion, involve allusion to a lens that is farther away or not present in the text at all. For instance:

l+a prim+a ⇒ ⟨base⟩
the first base

could identify a *donn-a* ‘woman’ who plays that position on a women’s or a mixed baseball team. And:

il prim+o ⇒ ⟨violin-o⟩
the first violin

could identify a *uomo* ‘man’ who plays leading violin in an orchestra, as in Example (11):

- (11) Il nostro caro concittadino Salvatore Cicero [un uomo] nasce a Cefalù l’11 agosto 1940 . . .
Nel 1959 a soli 19 anni, all’ottavo anno di violino con il “collegium musicum elveticum” va in tournèe nelle Americhe e in alcuni paesi dell’Europa. A soli 25 anni diventa \Leftarrow il prim+o \Rightarrow ⟨violino⟩ dell’orchestra. (web)¹⁵⁶

Our dear hometown boy Salvatore Cicero was born in Cefalù on August 11, 1940. . . .
In 1959, at just 19 years old, in his eighth year of violin with the “Collegium Musicum Elveticum,” he went on tour in the Americas and in certain European countries. At just 25 years old, he became the first violin of the orchestra.

Syntactic agreement is a mirage.

¹⁵⁶ <https://cefalunews.org/2019/01/31/salvatore-cicero-il-giovane-violinista-cefaludese-diventato-famoso-in-tutto-il-mondo/>, accessed July 21, 2020.

I. RIA by satellite center, despite cultural gender

It is not particularly unusual for a man to be Identified by a LI of the A-Class or for a woman to be identified by a LI of the O-Class. Such Identification may be key to a language-user's achievement of a communicative goal. Here are two, examples with the proper names of humans in font colors too, for convenience.

In Example (12), the beautiful young woman Angelica appears at a ball. Angelica has been discovered, as it were, by the prince Don Fabrizio (the title character of the novel), who, while certainly admiring her beauty for himself, has brought her into his circle for the purpose of finding a suitable fiancée for his beloved nephew Tancredi. Don Fabrizio thinks of Angelica as a *tesor-o* 'treasure.'

- (12) Don Fabrizio pregustava l'effetto che la bellezza di Angelica avrebbe fatto su tutta quella gente se egli [Don Fabrizio] aveva rinvenuto lí quel⇒ <tesor-o> e l'aveva ⇐passat+o all'amat+o⇒ <Tancredi> non si poteva rammaricarsene (Lampedusa, *Il gattopardo*, pp. 144, 147-148).

Don Fabrizio looked forward to the effect that Angelica's beauty would have on all those people if he [Don Fabrizio] has brought there that treasure [i.e., Angelica] and had passed it [i.e., Angelica] to his beloved [nephew] Tancredi, one could not regret that.

O-Class *tesor-o* 'treasure' (along with the RIA-signalized *quel* 'that' and *passat+o* 'passed')

Identifies the woman Angelica in those terms.

In Example (13), the male basketball player Kawhi Leonard is Identified by a sports journalist as a 'superstar' and an 'ultimate weapon.'

- (13) ci sarà un+a⇒ sol+a⇒ <superstar> in grado di «essere l'unic+o⇒ e sol+o⇒ <protagonist-a> in una squadra da più di 55 vittorie»: quel⇒ <giocator-e> sarà Kawhi Leonard, arm-a total-e sui due lati del campo (Pellecchia)

there will be **only one superstar** good enough “to be the **one** and **only hero** on a team with more than 55 wins”: **that player** will be **Kawhi Leonard**, ultimate **weapon** on both sides of the court

The English word *superstar*, which evidently, like the Italian word *stell-a* ‘**star**,’ is treated in Italian sports writing as a member of the **A-Class**,¹⁵⁷ and the **A-Class** *arm-a* ‘**weapon**’ (along with the RIA-signalized *un+a* ‘**one**’ and *sol+a* ‘**lone**’) Identify the man **Kawhi** in those terms.

Other attested examples of a LI of one LC Identifying a woman or a man of the apparently (but only apparently!) mismatched LC include: *cap-o di stato* ‘**head** of state’ for Queen Elizabeth II of the United Kingdom and for Cristina Fernández de Kirchner of Argentina, *governator-e* \leftarrow *suprem+o* ‘**Supreme Governor**’ for Queen Elizabeth as head of the Anglican Church, *il president-e* ‘**the** president’ for Fernández de Kirchner, *prim+o* \Rightarrow *ministr-o* ‘**Prime Minister**’ for Margaret Thatcher of the United Kingdom, *il mi+o ben* ‘(the) **my** good’ for the mythological woman Euridice in the libretto to the opera *Orfeo ed Euridice* by Ranieri de’ Calzabigi, *Eccellenz-a* ‘**Excellency**’ for Lampedusa’s prince Don Fabrizio, *guardi-a* ‘**guard**’ for the male basketball player Stephen Curry, and (Example 14, below) *l+a* \Rightarrow *piccol+a* \Rightarrow *vedett-a* \leftarrow *lombard+a* ‘**the little Lombard sentry**’ for a boy in a battle:

Example (14) is a (complete) news story about the recent identification of the actual **boy** who served as ‘**the** (previously anonymous) **little Lombard sentry**’ in a historic battle between the allied Piedmontese and French, on one side, and the Austrians, on the other.

- (14) **Si chiamava <Giovanni> l+a \Rightarrow piccol+a \Rightarrow vedett-a \leftarrow lombard+a Era \leftarrow un dodicenne \leftarrow orfan+o. Morì dopo 6 mesi d' agonia**
 MONTEBELLO (Pavia) - Nelle campagne di Montebello gli eserciti austriaco e franco- piemontese erano schierati da giorni e pronti allo scontro frontale. Il 20 maggio del 1859 l' epilogo: la battaglia si accende a colpi di fucili e palle di cannone dai fronti. Non lontano dalla prima linea, *arrampicat+o* \Rightarrow su un frassino tra Campoferro e

¹⁵⁷ See Lepschy & Lepschy (1988: 111) on the “gender” of “foreign” words.

Montebello, in Oltrepò Pavese, **un**⇒ **bambin+o**⇒ di 12 anni, **arruolat+o**⇒ come **vedett-a** dai soldati francesi e italiani per segnalare i movimenti dei nemici, viene **colpit+o** in pieno petto da una palla di fucile. Diventa **un**⇒ **<ero-e>**. A 150 anni di distanza **l+a**⇒ **piccol+a**⇒ **<vedett-a>** **←lombard+a**, la cui storia è stata raccontata nel libro *Cuore*, ha finalmente un nome. Secondo due storici, Daniele Salarno e Fabrizio Bernini, **il**⇒ **bambin+o**⇒ di 12 anni, **orfan+o**⇒ e **contadin-o**⇒, raccontato da Edmondo De Amicis, sarebbe **<Giovanni>** Minoli, **←nat+o** il 23 luglio del 1847. A lui si è arrivati incrociando gli atti di nascita e morte delle parrocchie di Campoferro e Montebello, confrontati con i nomi dei ricoverati in ospedale nei giorni della battaglia (web)¹⁵⁸

The little Lombard sentry was named Giovanni. He was a twelve-year-old orphan. He died following six months of sickness

MONTEBELLO (Pavia) – On the fields of Montebello, the Austrian and Franco-Piedmontese armies had been arrayed for days and ready for the frontal assault. On May 20, 1859, the epilogue: The battle ignites in gunfire and cannonballs from the fronts. Not far from the front line, **perched** in an ash tree between Campoferro and Montebello, in Oltrepò Pavese, **a boy** 12 years old, **enlisted** as **sentry** by French and Italian soldiers to signal the enemies' movements, is **wounded** head-on in the chest by a bullet. He becomes **a hero**. After the span of 150 years, **the little Lombard sentry**, whose story was told in the book *Cuore*, finally has a name. According to two historians, Daniele Salarno and Fabrizio Bernini, **the 12-year-old boy, orphan and peasant**, as told by Edmondo De Amicis, was **Giovanni Minoli, born** July 23, 1847. He was found by cross-referencing the birth and death records of the parishes of Campoferro and Montebello, compared with the names of those treated in the hospital during the days of the battle.

Carefully distinguish now the **A-Class** Identification from the **O-Class** Identifications.

A-Class Identification

l+a⇒ **piccol+a**⇒ **<vedett-a>** **←lombard+a** 'the little Lombard sentry'

O-Class Identifications

<Giovanni> **←un** **←orfan+o** 'Giovanni, an orphan'
arrampicat+o 'perched'

¹⁵⁸ <http://www.cavarzereinfiera.it/GreggioMariaRita2/Corriere.pdf>, accessed July 25,

un bambin+o 'a boy'
 arruolat+o 'enlisted'
 colpito 'wounded'
 un⇒ <ero-e> 'a hero'
 contadin+o 'peasant'
 nat+o 'born'

The one A-Class Identification concerns the **attention-worthy** (*l+a*) military role in that battle: **sentry** (*vedett-a*) for the **Lombard** (*lombard+a*) side, too **small** (*piccol+a*) to use a gun but not too **small** for military purposes. By contrast, the O-Class Identifications all concern **Giovanni** in aspects that have to do with his humanity rather than just with his military role: He was just **a peasant orphan boy** who was **born** on a certain date, **drafted** so young into a battle, where he was dangerously **perched** up a tree and there pitifully **wounded**, thus becoming legendary as **a hero**, his personal characteristics so strikingly at odds with his military significance..

In Example (14), as always, RIA is **MADE** with the signal *+a*, here to *vedett-a* 'sentry.' And, as always, RIA is **NOT MADE** with the signal *+o*, in this case then, **NOT** Restricted to Giovanni's role as **sentry** but inclusive of his Identity as a **boy**.

J. Italianx

The existence of the term *italianx* [italianiks] attests to the refusal by some language-users to Identify people in exclusionary terms, as one might Identify, say, a *colazion-e* 'lunch' as *italian+a* or a *vin-o* 'wine' as *italian+o*. (The term *italianx* appears to be applied only to humans.) While, as the data used in this analysis have abundantly shown, Italian's Lexical Classification (into A- and O- Classes) and its grammatical system of RIA (with its meanings **MADE** and **NOT MADE**) do not function primarily or essentially in the Identification of human

beings, nevertheless it is true that both are exclusionary, and human beings cannot be accurately fit into such a classification.

For the sake of the argument, suppose it was believed that the Italian LCs and their corresponding grammatical system correlated not with cultural gender norms like “feminine” and “masculine” but with “left-handed” and “right-handed.” The impossibility of accurately classifying human beings under such a system would not at all disappear: Some people are ambidextrous; some prefer one hand for some tasks and the other hand for other tasks; some people change handedness over the course of a lifetime; some people have been socially pressured to use one hand instead of the other; some people have one hand, not two; and some people have no hands.

The difficulty, moreover, does not arise from the fact that the Italian set-up is binary. Expanding the number of categories would not solve the problem of classifying individual human beings. (Witness the proliferation of categories represented by *LGBTQ+*.) For instance, if the classification of the lexicon were trinary—say, **A**-Class, **O**-Class, and **U**-Class—rather than binary, there would still be LIs whose function is to Identify, and individual human beings would still hardly be accurately Identified by those three labels. And, correspondingly, a trinary grammatical system—with, say, signals *+a*, *+o*, *+u*—would have meanings that allude, unhelpfully, to those inadequate LIs.

Even the existence in the grammatical system of a **residual member** (Diver 1995/2012: 494-497) such as *OTHER* would not fully solve the problem, since that residual member would represent a rejection (hence, an implied acceptance) of the other member(s), and some human beings might not wish to reject one category or the other for themselves. Indeed, the RIA meaning **NOT MADE** could be viewed as essentially a residual

member, one **NOT** Restricting Identity to one of the two LCs. Yet even the meaning **NOT MADE** represents a rejection of the meaning **MADE**, and, even if no one thought of the O-Class as particularly “masculine,” language-users would still be rejecting the other category, the one that includes LIs such as *femmin-a* ‘female,’ and some individuals might not wish to reject that category. Furthermore, the specialization of one LC or the other to common LIs that do correspond with sex (such as *femmin-a* ‘female’¹⁵⁹ or, say, **vir-o* ‘human male’) is inherently exclusionary, so the fact that one class is noncommittal does not solve the problem either.

Speculatively, perhaps the existence of an **including member** (Diver 1995/2012: 497-500) in a grammatical system would smoothe the Identification of individual human beings, but perhaps not: Would choosing a meaning that systematically includes two opposing meanings imply acceptance of the opposition represented by the two included meanings?

Of course, the language system, whatever it may be, is not responsible for societal attitudes. For instance, laws and corporate policies in the United States are typically written in a language (English) that does not even have a lexical classification (English does have *he* and *she*, and that categorization causes problems), but that absence of a lexical classification in no way prevents society from prescribing roles along the lines of cultural gender. No, the problem for a language system is not any responsibility for societal stereotypes; rather, the challenge is that system’s role in communicating about individual members of society.

¹⁵⁹ The LI *femmin-a* ‘female’ is not limited to human beings (e.g., Tabucchi p. 55).

The impossibility of accurately Identifying people arises not—despite what some may believe—from any association between the LCs and RIA, on the one hand, and the norms of cultural gender on the other—because there is no such association—but from the exclusionary nature of the Italian language’s LC and RIA. The term *italianx* [italianiks] represents a refusal to communicate about individual human beings in exclusionary terms (It’s a non-committal *x*, not an exclusionary *u*).¹⁶⁰ An understanding of the mechanisms of the grammar and lexicon should benefit—though it won’t resolve—the debate over how best to Identify human beings using grammar and lexicon.

The Identification of human beings is accomplished exactly like the Identification of anything. As shown in Davis (2020), a language-user can Identify anything in any way that suits that person’s communicative purpose (“One man’s ‘treasure’ is another man’s ‘trash’”). A language-user (Ch. III) can Identify a piece of jewelry as a **constellation** that in turn is Identified as the animal ‘**crab**,’ or can advertise a **casino** as the famous city ‘**Venice**.’ And (the present chapter) a language-user can identify a **woman** as a ‘**treasure**’ or a **man** as an ‘**ultimate weapon**,’ or a **boy** as a ‘**sentry**.’ In all those, the LC of the lens is irrelevant; it is what it is. Based on the data from this study, there is no reason to believe that the members of one LC or the other are descriptively better suited to Identify any particular type of thing. (There is no reason advanced here to support the view that in Italian LC has signaled meaning.) Rather, it appears that the classification of the lexicon (viz., **A-Class** and **O-Class**) facilitates communication by collaborating with the meanings of the grammatical system of

¹⁶⁰ The term *italianx* does represent an acceptance of the Identity *italian*, but that’s another problem.

RIA (viz., **MADE** and **NOT MADE**) to connect parts of a text that are to be interpreted together. Together, Lexical Classification and grammatical RIA in effect weave a text into a coherent fabric (See the pervasive font colors in the files in the Appendix).

Whether or not a human is getting Identified at a certain moment is irrelevant so far as RIA is concerned. It may well be true that individual human beings harbor attitudes about what they consider the proper roles for males and females in society. Those attitudes may even get institutionalized (e.g., a church's exclusively male priesthood, or a state's outlawing of same-sex marriage). It may even be true that the Lexical Items that serve as lenses onto human beings often reflect those attitudes as people choose those lenses and apply them (Who can be a national president?). It may even be true that a particular lexicon (e.g., the Italian one), a product of usage, makes no distinction between a human being who is specifically male and a generic human being (e.g., *uomo* 'man / human'), thus, in that way at least, building into the language an asymmetry in attitudes between women and men. All that may be true about human beings and how they use their tools. It certainly is true that the gender identities of human beings are not binary, while the Lexical Classification of Italian is binary. But the grammatical system of RIA functions no differently at all with regards to human beings than it does with regards to anything else. People may have attitudes about cultural gender, and even the structure of the lexicon may be at odds with human identities. But Italian grammar is indifferent to cultural gender.

The Communicative Function of Gender in Italian
Joseph Davis

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Chapter VIII

Conclusion

The hypothesis of a grammatical system of Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA) accounts for the observed distribution, in attested discourse, of forms that are proposed as signals of the meanings of that system. The meanings are two: RIA **MADE** and **NOT MADE**. The two meanings of RIA interlock with two meanings of Enumeration, **ENUMERATE** and **DO NOT ENUMERATE**. (Thus the notational distinction used here between the two-way “-“ and the four-way “+” morpheme boundaries.) The signals of those interlocked meanings are specifically defined in this analysis and include the entirely regular morphemic suffixes *+a* / *+e* / *+o* / *+i*. These signals attach to variably classed lexical stems (e.g., *luminos+* ‘bright’). Their communicative function is to **MAKE** or **NOT MAKE** allusion to a lexical item (LI) that invariably belongs to one of two lexical classes (LCs) of Italian, the **A-Class** and the **O-Class**. (This study does not analyze the membership of those two LCs.) That LI functions as a **lens** through which an **Identity** can be communicated by a language-user who chooses that LI on that occasion (e.g., *stell-a* ‘**star**,’ *pianet-a* ‘**planet**,’ *luminos+* ‘luminous / bright,’ *splendent-e* ‘shining / bright’). The LI to which a token of RIA alludes may be explicit—distant or even adjacent in the text—or the LI may be tacit, existing only in the lexicon. Throughout usage, context plays a role in choice and interpretation.

As a consequence, contexts favoring the mention of human beings (e.g., novels or gossip, as opposed to physics texts or guides to the identification of trees) will encourage the RIA meanings to be chosen—and the RIA signals to be interpreted—with cultural gender in mind. That is especially the case in texts used for this study, since the most frequently used LIs in the Italian lexicon that have a sense that is specialized to a particular cultural gender (e.g., *mogli-e* ‘wife,’ *marit-o* ‘husband’) line up very much with LC (respectively, the A-Class and the O-Class). Thus, for instance, in the right context, a token of *sol+a* ‘alone’ is likely to be interpreted as an Identification of a woman, while a token of *sol+o* ‘alone’ is likely to be interpreted as an Identification of a man. By contrast, a token of O-Class *sol-e* ‘sun’ in a treatise on astronomy is unlikely to be interpreted as the Identification of a man, but a token of phonetic [sole] may well be chosen for—and interpreted as—the Identification of a man or a woman, particularly in a popular song using the metaphor of the *sol-e* ‘sun’ for a beloved, or else interpreted as *sol+e* ‘alone’ in a story mentioning unaccompanied women.

The exigencies of practical “communicative problems” (Diver 1995/2012: 484-485) should not be confused with the “analytical problem” of linguistics (Diver 1995/2012: 462). Though the one type of problem is relevant to the other, if the two are confused, the latter undertaking will not be successful.

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Appendix

The three full texts that constitute the basis of data for this study are here appended, analyzed for lexical class (LC) and Restriction of Identity to A-Class (RIA). The texts, in order, are:

Antonio Tabucchi's "Esperidi. Sogno in forma di lettera" (Tabucchi);

Claudio Pillecchia's "Dieci previsioni sulla nuova Nba" (Pillecchia);

and an anonymous text (CovidRider) titled "Noi siamo tutto ciò che abbiamo: un appello di un rider di Manhattan per una solidarietà di condizione e posizione."

From: Antonio Tabucchi, 1983, *Donna di Porto Pim e altre storie*, pp. 13-18. Palermo: Sellerio.

Esperid-i: Sogn-o in form-a di letter-a

Dopo avere **velleggiat+o** per **molt+i**⇒ <giorn-i> e per **molt+e**⇒ <nott-i>, ho **capit+o** che l'<Occident-e> non ha **termin-e** ma continua a spostarsi con noi, e che possiamo <inseguirl+o a nostr+o>⇒ <piaciment-o> senza <raggiungerl+o mai>. Così è **il**⇒ <mar-e> <ignot+o> che sta oltre **l+e**⇒ <Colonn-e>, senza fin-e e sempre ugual-e, <dal qual-e emergono>, come **l+a**⇒ **piccol+a**⇒ <spin-a> dorsal-e di **un**⇒ <coloss-o> <scompars+o>, **piccol+e**⇒ <crest-e> di **isol-e**, <nod-i> di **rocci-a** <perdut+i nel> celest-e.

L+a⇒ **prim+a**⇒ <isol-a> che s'incontra, <vist+a dal>⇒ <mar-e> è **un+a distes+a** di verd-e e **nel mezz+o** vi brillano <frutt-i> come **gemm-e**, e a **volt-e stran+i**⇒ <uccell-i> **dall+e**⇒ <pium-e> <purpure+e> si confondono con <ess+i>. **L+e**⇒ <cost-e> sono <impervi+e>, di **ner+a**⇒ <rocci-a> <abitat+a da> <falch-i> <marin+i> che piangono quando cala **il**⇒ <crepuscol-o> e che svolazzano <inquiet+i> con **ari-a** di <pen-a> <sinistr+a>. **L+e**⇒ <piogg-e> sono abbondant-i e **il**⇒ <sol-e> <impetuoso+o>: e per **quest+o**⇒ <clim-a> e per **l+a**⇒ <terr-a> <ner+a> <ricc+a gli>⇒ <alber-i> sono <altissim+i>, **i**⇒ <bosch-i> lussureggiant-i e **i**⇒ <fior-i> abbondano: grand-i <fior-i> <azzurri+e> e rosa, <carnos+i> come **frutt-i**, che non ho mai **vist+o** in nessun **altr+o**⇒ <luog-o>. **L+e**⇒ **altr+e**⇒ <isol-e> sono più <roccios+e>, ma sempre <ricch+e> di **fior-i** e di **frutt-i**; e gran **part-e del**⇒ loro <sostentament-o> gli abitant-i <l+o> traggono **dai**⇒ <bosch-i>: e **il**⇒ <rest-o> **dal**⇒ <mar-e>, che ha <acqu-e> <tiepid+e> e <ricch+e> di **pesc-i**.

Gli⇒ <uomini> sono <chiar+i>, con **gli**⇒ <occhi> <attonit+i> come se vi aleggiasse **l+o**⇒ <stupor-e> di **un+o**⇒ <spettacol-o> <vist+o> e <dimenticat+o>, sono <silenzios+i> e <solitari+e>, ma non trist-i, e ridono spesso e di niente come **fanciull+i**. **L+e**⇒ <donn-e> sono <belle+e> e <alter+e>, con **gli**⇒ <zigom-i> prominent-i e **l+a**⇒ <front-e> <ampi+a>, camminando con **l+e**⇒ <broccch-e> **sull+a**⇒ <test-a> e **nel** discendere **l+e** **ripid+e** **scalinat+e** che portano all'**acqu-a** niente **del**⇒ loro <corp-o> si muove, sì che sembrano **statu-e** cui qualche **dio** abbia **donat+o** l'andare. **Quest+a**⇒ <gent-e> non ha **re**, e non conosce **l+e**⇒ <cast-e>. Non esistono **i guerrier+i** perché non hanno **necessità** di fare **guerr-e**, non avendo vicinant-i; hanno **sacerdot-i**, ma in **form-a** molto special-e che avanti ti dirò, e **ciascun+o** può diventarl+o, anche **il** più umil-e **contadin+o** e **il** mendicant-e. **Il**⇒ loro <panteon> non è <abitat+o> da **dèi** come **i nostr+i** che presiedono **al**⇒ <ciel-o>, **all+a**⇒ <terr-a>, **al**⇒ <mar-e>, **agli**⇒ <infer-i>, **ai**⇒ <bosch-i>, **all+e**⇒ <mess-e>, **all+a**⇒ <guerr-a> e **all+a**⇒ <pac-e> e **all+e**⇒ <cos-e> **degli**⇒ <uomini>. Sono invece **dèi** dell'**anim-o**, **del**⇒ <sentiment-o> e **dell+e**⇒ <passion-i>; **i** principal-i sono in **numer-o** di nove, come **l+e**⇒ <isol-e>, e **ciascun+o** ha **il**⇒ **su+o**⇒ <tempi-o> in un'**isol-a** different-e.

Il⇒ <dio> **del**⇒ <Rimpiant-o> e **dell+a**⇒ <Nostalgia> è un **bambin+o** **dal**⇒ <volt-o> di **vecchi+o**. **Il**⇒ **su+o**⇒ <tempi-o> sorge nell'**isol-a** più <lontan+a>, in **un+a**⇒ <vall-e> <difes+a> da <mont-i> <impervi+e>, <vicin+o a un>⇒ <lag-o>, in **un+a**⇒ <zon-a> <desolat+a> e <selvaggi+a>. **L+a**⇒ <vall-e> è sempre <copert+a> da **un+a**⇒ <brum-a> liev-e come **un**⇒ <vel-o>, ci sono **alt+i**⇒ <faggi-i> che **il**⇒ <vent-o> fa mormorare ed è **un**⇒ <luog-o> di **un+a**⇒ grand-e <malincon-i-a>. Per arrivare **al**⇒ <tempi-o> è **necessari+o** percorrere **un**⇒ <sentier-

o) ←scavat+o nell+a⇒ <rocci-a> che assomiglia al⇒ <lett-o> di un⇒ <torrent-e>
 ←scompars+o: e cammin facendo si incontrano stran+i⇒ <scheletr-i> di enorm+i⇒ e
 ignot+i⇒ <animal-i>, forse pesc-i o forse uccell-i; e conchigli-e; e <pietr-e> ←rosat+e come
 l+a⇒ <madreperl-a>. Ho chiamat+o tempi-o un+a⇒ <costruzion-e> che dovrei piuttosto
 chiamare tuguri-o: perché il⇒ <dio> del⇒ <Rimpiant-o> e dell+a⇒ <Nostalgia-a> non può
 abitare in un⇒ <palazz-o> o in un+a⇒ <cas-a> ←sfarzosa, ma in un+a⇒ <dimor-a>
 ←pover+a come un⇒ <singhiozz-o> che sta fra l+e⇒ <cos-e> di quest+o⇒ <mond-o> con
 l+a⇒ <stess+a>⇒ <vergogn-a> con cui un+a⇒ <pen-a> ←segret+a sta nel⇒ nostr+o⇒ <anim-
 o>. Perché quest+o⇒ <dio> non concerne solo il⇒ <Rimpiant-o> e l+a⇒ <Nostalgia-a>, ma
 l+a⇒ <su+a>⇒ <deità> si estende a un+a⇒ <zon-a> dell'anim-o che ospita il⇒ <Rimors-o>,
 l+a⇒ <pen-a> per ciò che fu e che non dà più pen-a ma solo l+a⇒ <memori-a> dell+a⇒ <pen-
 a>, e l+a⇒ <pen-a> per ciò che non fu e che avrebbe potut+o essere, che è l+a⇒ <pen-a> più
 struggent-e. Gli⇒ <uomini> vanno da lui ←vestit+i di miser+i⇒ <sacch-i> e l+e⇒ <donn-e>
 ←copert+e da scur+i⇒ <mantell-i>; e tutt+i sono in silenzi-o e a volt-e si sente piangere,
 nell+a⇒ <nott-e>, quando l+a⇒ <lun-a> illumina d'argent-o l+a⇒ <vall-e> e i pellegrin+i
 distes+i sull'erba che cullano il⇒ <rimpiant-o> dell+a⇒ loro <vit-a>.

Il⇒ <dio> dell'Odi-o è un⇒ <piccol+o>⇒ <can-e> ←giallo dall'aspett-o) ←macilent+o,
 e il⇒ <su+o>⇒ <tempi-o> sorge in un+a⇒ <minuscol+a>⇒ <isol-a> che ha form-a di con-o: e per
 ←raggiungerl+a sono necessari+⇒ molt+i⇒ <giorn-i> e molt+e⇒ <nott-i> di viaggi-o; e solo
 l'odi-o) ←ver+o, ←quell+o che gonfia il⇒ <cuor-e> in mod-o intollerabil-e e che comprende
 l'invidi-a e l+a⇒ <gelosi-a>, può indurre gli infelic-i a un+a traversat+a così disagiata. C'è
 poi il⇒ <dio> dell+a⇒ <Folli-a> e ←quell+o dell'Egoism-o: ma io non ←l+i ho mai ←visitat+i
 e di ←ess+i ho udit+o solo vaghi+i e fantasios+i⇒ <raccont-i>.

Del⇒ loro <dio> più important-e, che mi pare padr-e di tutt+i⇒ gli⇒ <dèi> e del⇒
 <ciel-o> e dell+a⇒ <terr-a>, ho avut+o <raccont-i> molto ←divers+i e non ho potut+o vedere
 il⇒ <su+o>⇒ <tempi-o> né accostarmi all+a⇒ <su+a>⇒ <isol-a>; non perché gli stranier+i non vi
 siano tollerati, ma perché anche i cittadin+i di quest+a⇒ <repubblic-a> possono accedervi
 solo dopo aver raggiunt+o un+a⇒ <disposizion-e> dell'anim-o che si consegue raramente —
 e poi non fanno più ritorn-o. Nell+a⇒ <su+a>⇒ <isol-a> sorge un⇒ <tempi-o> che gli abitanti-
 di quest+i⇒ <luogh-i> denominano in un⇒ <mod-o> che potrei tradurre « L+e⇒ Mirabil-i
 <Dimor-e> », ed ←ess+o consiste in un+a⇒ <città> ←tutt+a virtual-e, nel⇒ <sens-o> che non
 esistono gli⇒ <edifici-)> ma solo l+a⇒ loro <piant-a> ←tracciat+a sul⇒ <terren-o>. Tal-e città
 ha l+a⇒ <form-a> di un+a⇒ <scacchier-a> circolar-e e si estende per miglia e miglia: e ogni
 giorn-o i pellegrin+i con un⇒ <semplic-e> <gess-o> muovono gli⇒ <edifici-)> a loro piaciment-o
 come se fossero scacchi-, così che l+a⇒ <città> è mobil-e e variabil-e, e l+a⇒ <su+a>⇒
 <fisionomi-a> muta continuamente. Al⇒ <centr-o> dell+a⇒ <scacchier-a> sorge un+a⇒
 <torr-e> in <cim-a> ←all+a qual-e posa un'enorm-e <sfer-a> ←dorata, che ricorda
 vagamente il⇒ <frutt-o> che abbonda nei⇒ <giardin-i> di quest+e⇒ <isol-e>. E quest+a⇒
 <sfer-a> è il⇒ <dio>. Non mi è stat+o possibil-e scoprire chi sia esattamente quest+o⇒ <dio>:
 l+e⇒ <definizion-i> che mi sono ←stat+e ←dat+e finora sono ←imprecis+e e reticenti, e
 forse poco comprensibil-i per l+o stranier+o. Arguisco che ←ess+o abbia relazion-e con
 l'ide-a dell+a⇒ <completezz-a>, dell+a⇒ <pienitudin-e> e dell+a⇒ <perfezion-e>: un'ide-a
 altamente ←astratt+a e poco comprensibil-e dall'intellett-o) ←uman+o. Ed è per quest+o

che io ho pensat+o trattarsi del⇒ <dio> dell+a⇒ <Felicità>: ma l+a⇒ <felicità> di chi ha compres+o così pienamente il⇒ <sens-o> dell+a⇒ <vit-a> che per lui l+a⇒ <mort-e> non ha più nessun+a⇒ <importanz-a>; ed è per quest+o che i poch+i elett+i che vanno a <onorarl+o> non fanno più ritorn-o. A vegli-a di quest+o⇒ <dio> è post+o un idiota dal⇒ <volt-o> ebet-e e dall+a⇒ <favell-a> <sconness+a>, che forse col⇒ <dio> è in contatt-o per misterios+e⇒ <vi-e> <ignot+e> all+a⇒ <ragion-e>. Quando io ho manifestat+o il⇒ <desideri-o> di <rendergli omaggi-o> l+a⇒ <gent-e> ha sorris+o di me, e con ari-a di profond+o⇒ <affett-o> che forse conteneva un+a⇒ <punt-a> di compatiment-o mi ha baciato sull+e⇒ <guanc-e>.

Invece ho res+o omaggi-o anch'io al⇒ <dio> dell'Amor-e, il⇒ cui <tempi-o> sorge su un'isol-a che ha <spiagg-e> <biond+e> e <arcuat+e>, sull+a⇒ <ren-a> <chiar+a> <lambit+a> dal⇒ <mar-e>. E l'immagin-e del⇒ <dio> non è un⇒ <idol-o> né qualcosa di visibil-e, ma un⇒ <suon-o>, il⇒ pur+o⇒ <suon-o> dell'acqu-a <marin+a> che viene <fatt+a> entrare nel⇒ <tempi-o> attraverso un⇒ <canal-e> <scavat+o> nell+a⇒ <rocci-a> e che si frange in un+a⇒ <vasc-a> <segret+a>: e quivi, per l+a⇒ <form-a> dell+e⇒ <paret-i> e l'ampiezz-a dell+a⇒ <costruzion-e>, il⇒ <suon-o> si riproduce in un'ec-o <infinitt+a> che rapisce chi <l+o> sente e dà un+a⇒ <sort-a> di ebbrezza o di intontiment-o. E a molt+i⇒ e stran+i⇒ <effett-i> si espone chi onora quest+o⇒ <dio>, perché il⇒ su+o⇒ <principi-o> comanda l+a⇒ <vit-a>, ma è un⇒ <principi-o> <bizzarr+o> e <capriccios+o>; e se è ver+o che <ess+o> è l'anim-a e l+a⇒ <concordi-a> degli <element-i>, può anche produrre illusion-i, vaneggiament-i e vision-i. E io ho assistit+o in quest'isol-a a spettacol-i che mi hanno turbat+o per l+a⇒ loro <verità> innocent-e: tanto che ho avut+o il⇒ <dubbi-o> se tal-i cos-e esistessero davvero o se non fossero piuttosto fantasmi del⇒ mi+o⇒ <sentiment-o> che uscivano da me e prendevano parvenza real-e nell'ari-a perché mi ero espost+o al⇒ <suon-o> <stregat+o> del⇒ <dio>: e così pensando ho imboccat+o un⇒ <sentier-o> che porta al⇒ <punt-o> più <alt+o> dell'isol-a, da dove si può vedere il⇒ <mar-e> da ogni lat-o. E allora mi sono accort+o che l'isol-a era <desert+a>, che non c'era nessun⇒ <tempi-o> sull+a⇒ <spiaggi-a> e che l+e⇒ <figur-e> e i⇒ vari+⇒ <volt-i> dell'amor-e che io avevo vist+o come quadr-i vivent-i e che comprendono molteplici gradizion-i dell'anim-o come l'amicizi-a, l+a⇒ <tenerezz-a>, l+a⇒ <gratitudin-e>, l'orgogli-o e l+a⇒ <vanità>; tutt+i⇒ quest+i⇒ <volt-i>, che io credevo di aver vist+o in <form-e> <uman+e>, erano solo <miraggi-> <provocat+i> in me da chissà qual-e sortilegi-o. E così sono arrivat+o proprio sull+a⇒ <cim-a> del⇒ <promontori-o> e mentre, osservando il⇒ <mar-e> <infinitt+o>, già stavo abbandonandomi all+o⇒ <sconfort-o> che provoca il⇒ <disingann-o>, un+a⇒ <nub-e> <azzurra> è <calat+a> su di me e mi ha rapit+o in un⇒ <sogn-o>: e io ho sognat+o che ti scrivevo quest+a⇒ <letter-a>, e che io non ero il grec+o che scalpò a cercare l'Occident-e e non fece più ritorn-o, ma che l+o stavo solo sognando.

Dieci **prevision-i** sull+a⇒ **nuov+a**⇒ ⟨Nba⟩:

I⇒ ⟨giocator-i⟩ che faranno parlare di sé, **l+e**⇒ ⟨squadr-e⟩ che avranno **success-o** (e ←quell+e che non ci riusciranno), più **alcun+i**⇒ important-i ⟨scenari-⟩

Di *Claudio Pellegrina*

Milos Teodosic farà dimenticare Chris Paul

«Non capisco **metà** di **quell+o** che dice quando parla, ma giocare con ⟨lui⟩ è incredibile. È ←un+o dei⇒ miglior-i ⟨playmaker⟩ con cui abbia mai **giocat+o**». DeAndre Jordan ha **intuit+o** subito che ⟨Milos Teodosic⟩ sarà **il**⇒ **su+o**⇒ **nuov+o**⇒ miglior-e **amic+o** e che c'è **vit-a** oltre Chris Paul. L'attraversament-o dell'Ocean-o a 30 **ann-i** del⇒ ⟨mag-o⟩ di Valjevo somiglia tanto a **quei**⇒ ⟨ritorn-i⟩ a **cas-a** ←rimandat+i troppo a **lung+o**. **Il**⇒ ⟨rest-o⟩ ←l+o faranno il natural-e appartenere a **un**⇒ ⟨mond-o⟩ che è sempre ←stat+o anche ←su+o, **il**⇒ ⟨look⟩ da ←benzinai+o **dell+a**⇒ ⟨Interstate⟩ 80 che fa tanto *Clipper Nation*, l'essere ←un+o dei⇒ **pochissim+i** che ancora consulta **l+o**⇒ ⟨scouting report⟩ degli avversari+ per capire dove e come sfruttare **l+a**⇒ **su+a**⇒ ⟨pallacanestro⟩ di **vision-e**. Non è **question-e** di “se” raggiungerà **i**⇒ dieci ⟨assist⟩ di **medi+a** a **ser-a** ma di “quando” **l+o** farà. A **nas-o**, non dovrebbe metterci **molt+o**.

[photo]

Giannis Antetokounmpo disputerà **un+a**⇒ ⟨partit-a⟩ in cui ricopre **tutt+i**⇒ **i**⇒ ⟨ruol-i⟩ del⇒ ⟨system-a⟩

Prim+o⇒ e **unic+o**⇒ ⟨giocator-e⟩ **nell+a**⇒ ⟨stori-a⟩ ad aver **conclus+o** **l+a**⇒ ⟨regular season⟩ tra i **prim+i** 20 **classificat+i** **dell+e**⇒ cinque principal-i ⟨categori-e⟩ ←statistich+e (22.9 punti, 8.7 rimbalzi, 5.4 assist, 1.9 **stoppat+e** e 1.6 recuperi, tirando con oltre **il**⇒ ⟨50%⟩ **dal**⇒ ⟨camp-o⟩), ⟨Giannis Antetokounmpo⟩ si candida a diventare l'**epitom-e** **dell+a**⇒ ⟨superstar⟩ Nba **del+o**⇒ **terz+o**⇒ ⟨millenni-o⟩ oltre **il**⇒ «**il**⇒ [sic] miglior ⟨giocator-e⟩ che sia mai ←sces+o su **un+o**⇒ ⟨camp-o⟩ da basket», per dir**l+a** all+o Kevin Durant. E **vist+o** che non può vincere sempre lui **il**⇒ ⟨Most Improved Player Award⟩, **il**⇒ ⟨2017/18⟩ sarà **l+a**⇒ ⟨stagion-e⟩ in cui ←**il** ←**grec+o** estremizzerà **il** **su+o** essere l'*all around player* per **eccellenz-a**, disputando **un+a**⇒ o più ⟨partit-e⟩ in cui ricoprirà **tutt+i**⇒ e cinque **i**⇒ ⟨ruol-i⟩ del⇒ ⟨system-a⟩. Realizzando, ovviamente, **un+a** **quintupl+a** **doppi+a**.

[photo]

⟨Joel Embiid⟩ disputerà più di 60 **partit-e** e trascinerà **i**⇒ ⟨Philadelphia 76ers⟩ **ai**⇒ ⟨playoff⟩

Dopo tre ⟨stagion-i⟩ ←**passat+e** a lottare con **gli**⇒ ⟨infortuni-⟩, ←**il** camerunens-e riuscirà finalmente a dare **seguit-o** all'*hype* che ←**l+o** ha sempre ←**circondat+o**, riscrivendo **l+e** **modern+e** **caratteristich+e** del⇒ ⟨centr-o⟩ Nba (in **grad-o** di attaccare **dal**⇒ ⟨palleggi-o⟩) e con **un**⇒ ⟨range⟩ di **tir-o** che sia ←**comprensiv+o** dei⇒ ⟨long two⟩) e concretizzando **quel**⇒

⟨Process⟩ per ◀il qual-e ⟨Sam Hinkie⟩ «non è ◀mort+o invano». L+e⇒ oltre 60 ⟨partit-e⟩ ◀disputat+e in regular season e i trentacinque minut+i di impieg-o di medi+a garantiranno a Embiid il⇒ ⟨primat-o⟩ nell+a⇒ ⟨classific-a⟩ dell+e doppi+e doppi+e e ai⇒ ⟨Sixers⟩ l’ottav+o post-o a Est valevol-e per i⇒ ⟨playoff⟩ che mancano dal⇒ ⟨2012⟩.

Anthony tornerà “FIBA-Melo” (ma non basterà)

Liber+o⇒ dall+e⇒ ⟨consequenz-e⟩ dell+e scelt+e sbagliat+e e dal dover essere ad ogni costo il⇒ salvator-e dell+a⇒ ⟨patri-a⟩ New York, ⟨Carmelo Anthony⟩ tornerà a giocare “◀sol+o” a basket in un⇒ ⟨sistem-a⟩, ◀quell+o di OKC, che gli consente di non doversi sobbarcare tutt+o⇒ il⇒ ⟨pes-o⟩ dell’attacc-o per 40’ (con tutt+e⇒ l+e⇒ ⟨forzatur-e⟩ del⇒ ⟨cas-o⟩), ◀lasciandol+o ◀liber+o di trovarsi da sé i cinque minut+i in cui incidere con il⇒ su+o⇒ spaventos+o⇒ ⟨talent-o⟩ ◀offensiv+o. Sull+a⇒ ⟨scen-a⟩ riapparirà “FIBA Melo”, natural-e prolungament-o di “Hoodie Melo”, il⇒ ⟨giocator-e⟩ in grad-o di indirizzare a piaciment-o ogni singol+a⇒ ⟨partit-a⟩, attaccando senza sost-a l+e⇒ malcapitat+e⇒ ⟨second unit⟩ ◀avversari+e dividendosi ordinatamente il⇒ ⟨camp-o⟩ con George e aumentando il⇒ ⟨numer-o⟩ di ⟨assist⟩ ◀mandat+i a refert-o da Westbrook. L+a⇒ ⟨chimic-a⟩ tra i nuov+i ⟨big three⟩ diventerà l+a⇒ ⟨chiav-e⟩ di volt-a di un+a⇒ ⟨stagion-e⟩ che porterà i⇒ ⟨Thunder⟩ fino all+e⇒ ⟨sogli-e⟩ dell+a⇒ ⟨glori-a⟩, prima di arrestarsi al⇒ ⟨cospett-o⟩ dell+e⇒ real-i ⟨superpotenz-e⟩ dell’Ovest.

[photo]

I⇒ ⟨Timberwolves⟩ mancheranno l’access-o ai⇒ ⟨playoff⟩. Ancora

«Se ti fermi ad aspettare il potenzial-e in realtà stai solo aspettando l+a sconfitt+a. Non possiamo assolutamente puntare ancora a lung+o sul potenzial-e». Coach Thibodeau probabilmente ha già vist+o e capit+o tutt+o: sull+a⇒ ⟨cart-a⟩ i Minnesota Timberwolves hanno fatt+o tutt+o quel+ che era necessari+o per puntare ai⇒ ⟨playoff⟩, alzando l’età ◀medi+a del⇒ ⟨roster⟩ e ◀puntellandol+o nei⇒ ⟨punt-i⟩ ◀giust+i (Brooks, Butler, Crawford su tutt+i); in pratic-a il⇒ ⟨rischi-o⟩ di restare ◀risucchiat+i nel⇒ ⟨gruppon-e⟩ che punta all+a⇒ ⟨conquist-a⟩ degli ultim+i due post+i util-i nell+a⇒ ⟨Western Conference⟩, per poi farsi beffare dai⇒ ⟨Grizzlies⟩ o Jazz di turn-o, è molto più fort-e dell’⟨hype⟩ ◀generat+o da un+a⇒ ⟨squadr-a⟩ che deve ancora mantenere il tanto che promette da temp-o. Nonostante Karl-Anthony Towns.

Vlade Divac vincerà l’ “Executive of the Year”

A Sacramento, dopo ⟨ann-i⟩ ◀passat+i a sfogliare senza success-o il “Manual-e del⇒ perfett+o⇒ ⟨General Manager⟩ Nba”, ⟨Vlade Divac⟩ è ◀riuscit+o finalmente ad assemblare un⇒ ⟨roster⟩ coerent-e e con ottim+i⇒ ⟨margin-i⟩ di futuribilità, rendendosi cont-o che bastava applicare l+a⇒ ⟨ricett-a⟩ ◀buon+a per tutt+e⇒ l+e⇒ ⟨stagion-i⟩: giovan-i di talent-o da crescere all’ombr-a di veteran+i in grad-o di dare ancora qualcosa nel+ declinare dell+a⇒ propri+a⇒ ⟨carrier-a⟩. E quindi i⇒ vari+⇒ ⟨Bogdanovic, Fox, Jackson, Gilles, Mason III, Labissiere, Hield e Cauley-Stein⟩ a studiare da George Hill, Vince Carter e Zach Randolph, con il⇒ ⟨proprietari-o⟩ Vivek Ranadivé che limita i⇒ suo+i⇒ consuet+i⇒ e nefast+i⇒ ⟨intervent-i⟩

in **cors+o** d'**oper-a**. **I**⇒ **⟨Kings⟩** sembrano finalmente **←pront+i** a dimenticare **il**⇒ **⟨tir-o⟩** di Stojakovic e **il**⇒ **⟨limb-o⟩** di **sfacel-i** e **indeterminatezz-e** **←successiv+o**, e a ricominciare davvero **sull+a**⇒ **⟨strad-a⟩** di **un nuov+o cors+o**: **il**⇒ **⟨flirt⟩** con **il**⇒ **⟨50%⟩** di **vittori-e** e **un+a**⇒ **⟨bas-e⟩** **←solid+a** su cui continuare a costruire **nel**⇒ **⟨temp-o⟩** saranno **i**⇒ **⟨motiv-i⟩** che porteranno Divac a ritirare **il**⇒ **⟨premi-o⟩** di *Executive of the Year* **all+a**⇒ **⟨serat-a⟩** di **gal-a** di **fin-e stagion-e**.

[photo]

Kyle Kuzma diventerà Rookie Of the Year

Da carneade **al**⇒ **prim+o**⇒ **⟨gir-o⟩** **del**⇒ **⟨Draft⟩** (**scelt+a numer-o** 27) a **nuov+a**⇒ **⟨speranz-a⟩** per **il**⇒ **futur+o**⇒ **⟨gialloviola⟩**, **il**⇒ **⟨pass-o⟩** è **←stat+o** brev-e. Talmente brev-e da convincere coach Luke Walton a sovvertire **l+e**⇒ **⟨gerarchi-e⟩** di **squadr-a** e a ridisegnare **i**⇒ **⟨possess-i⟩** **←offensiv+i** dei **suoi+i**⇒ **⟨Lakers⟩** per dare più **spazi-o** e **tir-i** a **⟨Kyle Kuzma⟩**. **←Il** qual-e, dopo un' **adolescenz-a** **←passat+a** a sentirsi dire di non essere **←brav+o** abbastanza e a lavorare duramente **sui**⇒ **propri+**⇒ **⟨limit-i⟩**, si ritrova **nel**⇒ **⟨ruol-o⟩** di *go to guy dell+a*⇒ **⟨squadr-a⟩** più **←famos+a** **del**⇒ **⟨mond-o⟩**: chiuderà **l+a**⇒ **⟨regular season⟩** a oltre 16 **punt-i** di **medi+a** con **il**⇒ **⟨40%⟩** **dal**⇒ **⟨camp-o⟩**, trascinando **i**⇒ **⟨Lakers⟩** **ai**⇒ **⟨limit-i⟩** **dell+a**⇒ **⟨zon-a⟩** playoff e risultando a **sorpres+a** **il**⇒ **⟨Rookie of the Year⟩** davanti a Dennis Smith Jr. e Jayson Tatum, relegando a **un**⇒ **⟨ruol-o⟩** marginal-e **il**⇒ **⟨compagn-o⟩** di **squadr-a** Lonzo Ball. Che, intanto, ha **decis+o** di liberarsi dell' **ombr-a** ingombrant-e **del**⇒ **⟨padr-e⟩** LaVar, **←re+o** di aver **polemizzat+o** con **l+e scelt+e** di Walton in un' **improvvisat+a**⇒ **⟨conferenz-a stamp-a⟩** poco prima dell' *All Star weekend*.

[photo]

⟨Kawhi Leonard⟩ verrà ←elett+o Mvp

Stephen Curry e Kevin Durant si ruberanno **l+a**⇒ **⟨scen-a⟩** a **vicend-a** **all+a**⇒ **⟨ricerc-a⟩** **dell+a**⇒ **⟨stagion-e⟩** da 50-40-90 (50% **dal**⇒ **⟨camp-o⟩**, 40% da tre e 90% **ai liber+i**); LeBron James andrà con **l+e**⇒ **⟨marc-e⟩** **←alt+e** solo da aprile in poi; James Harden e Russell Westbrook non saranno in **grad-o** di replicare **i**⇒ **⟨numer-i⟩** **←spaventos+i** **dell+a**⇒ **scors+a**⇒ **⟨stagion-e⟩**; **i**⇒ **⟨Bucks⟩** non potranno garantire ad Antetokounmpo **un**⇒ **⟨rapport-o⟩** **vittori-e/sconfitt+e** **←adeguat+o** **al**⇒ **su+o**⇒ **⟨status⟩**. Come scrive Zach Lowe, ci sarà **un+a**⇒ **sol+a**⇒ **⟨superstar⟩** in **grad-o** di «essere l' **unic+o**⇒ e **sol+o**⇒ **⟨protagonist-a⟩** in **un+a**⇒ **⟨squadr-a⟩** da più di 55 **vittori-e**»: **quel**⇒ **⟨giocator-e⟩** sarà Kawhi Leonard, **arm-a** total-e **su+i**⇒ due **⟨lat-i⟩** **del**⇒ **⟨camp-o⟩** grazie a **un**⇒ **⟨gioc-o⟩** versatil-e e multidimensional-e come **poch+i** e miglior-e personificazion-e possibil-e **del**⇒ **⟨concett-o⟩** di *Most Valuable Player*.

[photo]

I⇒ **⟨Boston Celtics⟩** andranno **all+e**⇒ **⟨Finals⟩** (e perderanno)

I⇒ ⟨Celtics⟩ sono ⇐diventat+i un+a⇒ ⟨contender⟩ nel⇒ ⟨moment-o⟩ in cui ⟨Danny Ainge⟩ è ⇐riuscit+o a scambiare un⇒ ⟨playmaker⟩ ⇐rott+o, dai⇒ ⟨temp-i⟩ di recuper-o ⇐incert+i e con poch+i⇒ ⟨margin-i⟩ per ripetere i⇒ ⟨fast-i⟩ dell'ultim+a⇒ ⟨stagion-e⟩, con ⇐un+o più giovan-e, ⇐motivat+o nell+a cors+a a franchise player e all'apic-e dell+a⇒ ⟨carrier-a⟩. Tanto più che il⇒ ⟨sistem-a⟩ di Brad Stevens, ⇐rimodulat+o dall'arriv-o di Gordon Hayward, sembra essere ⇐fatt+o apposta per esaltare i⇒ ⟨pregi-⟩ e mascherare i⇒ ⟨difett-i⟩ di Kyrie Irving, aumentandone l'efficaci-a nei⇒ ⟨moviment-i⟩ off the ball, limitando i⇒ ⟨moment-i⟩ in cui l+a⇒ ⟨pall-a⟩ ⇐stess+a risulti ⇐ferm+a nell+e⇒ su+e⇒ ⟨man-i⟩ e concedendogli un⇒ ⟨numer-o⟩ di tir-i minor-e ma a più alt+a⇒ percentual-e, magari giocando in pick and roll con Al Horford. Il⇒ ⟨redde rationem⟩ in final-e di Conference con i⇒ ⟨Cavs⟩ è ⇐scontat+o, meno del⇒ ⟨cambi-o⟩ dell+a⇒ ⟨guardi-a⟩ ad Est che dovrebbe comunque essere l+a⇒ natural-e ⇐consequenz-a dell+o⇒ ⟨scontr-o⟩ tra un⇒ ⟨grupp-o⟩ ⇐logor+o e a fin-e ⇐cors+a (per quanto ⇐innervat+o da Crowder e dall+a⇒ ritrovat+a⇒ ⟨ven-a⟩ ⇐competitiv+a di Rose e Wade) e ⇐il ⇐nuov+o che avanza, ⇐desideros+o di tornare sul⇒ ⟨palcoscenic-o⟩ più important-e: ⇐quell+o dell+e⇒ ⟨Finals⟩, comunque ⇐dominat+e dai⇒ ⟨Golden State Warriors⟩. Perché, come ha scritt+o Jonathan Tjarks su *The Ringer*, «Davide aveva bisogn-o di un+⇒ ⟨miracol-o⟩ per battere Golia, vist+o che tutt+o ciò che aveva era un+a⇒ ⟨fiond-a⟩. Quest+a⇒ ⟨volt-a⟩ Golia è Stephen Curry. E Stephen Curry ha un⇒ ⟨cannon-e⟩».

[photo]

The Decision 2.0

Il⇒ mancat+o⇒ ⟨approd-o⟩ all+e⇒ ⟨Finals⟩ per l'ottav+o⇒ ⟨ann-o⟩ ⇐consecutiv+o sarà il⇒ ⟨colp-o⟩ di grazi-a all+e⇒ ⟨speranz-e⟩ di permanenz-a di LeBron James a Cleveland. Del⇒ ⟨rest-o⟩ i⇒ ⟨cont-i⟩ con il⇒ ⟨destin-o⟩ e l+a⇒ ⟨città⟩ sono già ⇐stat+i abbondantemente ⇐saldat+i nel⇒ ⟨2016⟩ e lui avrebbe bisogn-o di almeno un altr+o⇒ ⟨titol-o⟩ per proseguire nell+a faustian+a rincors+a «al⇒ ⟨fantasm-a⟩ che ha giocat+o a Chicago». Ce n'è abbastanza per prendere bagagli- (e naturalmente Dwyane Wade) e “portare il⇒ su+o⇒ ⟨talent-o⟩ altrove”. Dove, non l+o sa nessuno, e non l+o saprà nemmeno lui fino al⇒ ⟨termin-e⟩ di un'⟨estat-e⟩ ⇐passat+a a sfogliare livorosamente l+a⇒ ⟨margherit-a⟩: come ribadisce Lowe, «LeBron è talmente dominant-e da andare ovunque voglia e chiedere ed ottenere che vengano firmat+i⇒ il⇒ ⟨giocator-e⟩ X e il⇒ ⟨giocator-e⟩ Y».

rivistaundici.com, accessed July 4, 2018.

Noi siamo **tutt+o** ciò che abbiamo: **un**⇒ **⟨appell-o⟩** di **un**⇒ **⟨rider⟩** di Manhattan
 Per **un+a**⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩** di condizione e posizione

Oggi, anziché parlare di **⟨class-e⟩** ⇐ **operai+a**, potrebbe essere più **accurat+o** parlare **dell+a**⇒ **⟨class-e⟩ a rischi-o**. In **quest+o** **⟨resocont-o⟩**, un **⟨rider⟩** di Manhattan, epicentro **dell+a**⇒ **⟨pandemi-a⟩** di COVID-19, descrive **l+e**⇒ **⟨condizion-i⟩** in cui sono **costrett+i**⇒ a vivere **i**⇒ **⟨lavorator-i⟩** e **l+e**⇒ **rigid+e**⇒ **⟨relazion-i⟩** di classe tra **vulnerabil-i** e **tutelat+i**, per concludere con **un**⇒ **⟨appell-o⟩** **all+a**⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩** tra **tutt+i** coloro che si trovano sul⇒ **⟨lat-o⟩** ⇐ **sbagliat+o** **dell+⇒a** **⟨violenz-a⟩** e **dell+a**⇒ **⟨diseguaglianz-a⟩** ⇐ **capitalist+e**.

Per **un+a** **⟨solidarietà⟩** di condizion-e e posizion-e

Con **tutt+i**⇒ **quest+i**⇒ **⟨appell-i⟩** per **l+a**⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩** tra **tutt+i** **gli** **esser-i** **uman+i** per contrastare **l+a**⇒ **⟨pandemi-a⟩** di COVID-19, mi piacerebbe essere **precis+o** nell+o specificare dove risiede **l+a**⇒ **mi+a**⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩** e nell'incoraggiare **gli altr+i** a fare altrettanto. Laddove **alcun+i** di noi stanno rischiando **l+a**⇒ **propri+a**⇒ **⟨vit-a⟩**, **altr+i** stanno tirando **i**⇒ **⟨fil-i⟩** dall'**alt+o** mentre vivono **quest+a**⇒ **⟨pandemi-a⟩** **immers+i** nei⇒ **⟨comfort⟩**. Mentre “siamo **tutt+i** sull+⇒ **stess+a**⇒ **⟨barca⟩**,” non **tutt+i** stiamo patendo **l+e**⇒ **stess+e**⇒ **⟨situazion-i⟩** o affrontando **gli**⇒ **stess+i**⇒ **⟨rischi-⟩**.

l+a⇒ **⟨realità⟩** ⇐ **all+a** qual-e siamo **stat+i** indifferent-i così a **lung+o** sta diventando più ⇐ **nitid+a**. È **diventat+o** impossibil-e nascondere **il**⇒ **⟨mod-o⟩** incongruent-e con cui viene **valutat+o**⇒ **il**⇒ **nostr+o**⇒ **⟨lavor-o⟩**, ignorare **tutt+i**⇒ **i**⇒ **⟨mod-i⟩** in cui siamo **all+a**⇒ **⟨mercé⟩** di coloro che si trovano **al** di sopra di noi nell+⇒ **⟨scal-a⟩** ⇐ **gerarchic+a**. Hanno **fatt+o** **tutt+o** ciò che era in loro poter-e perché ci sentissimo in **colp-a**, per noi e per **gli**⇒ **altr+i**, per **l+a**⇒ **⟨situazion-e⟩** in cui ci troviamo, ma **quest+o** non è più possibile.

Mentre scrivo, mi trovo in **⟨quaranten-a⟩** ⇐ **forzat+a** **al** di fuori dagli⇒ **⟨Stat-i⟩** ⇐ **Unit+i**. Ho **passat+o** marzo a Manhattan, come “**lavorator-e** **essenzial-e**,” recapitando **cib-o** ai **ricch+i** mentre **l+a**⇒ **⟨pandemi-a⟩** si diffondeva in **città**. Come **molt+e**⇒ **⟨person-e⟩** nell+⇒ **mi+a**⇒ **⟨posizion-e⟩**, sospetto che, **al**⇒ **⟨moment-o⟩**, io debba già essere **stat+o** **espost+o** **al**⇒ **⟨virus⟩**. Se l'ho ⇐ **contratt+o**, ho **avut+o** **l+a**⇒ **⟨fortun-a⟩** di non avere **alcun**⇒ **⟨sintom-o⟩**. Come resident-e di **bass+a**⇒ **⟨estrazion-e⟩** sociale **negli**⇒ **⟨Stat-i⟩** ⇐ **Unit+i**, ovviamente, non ho mai **avut+o** accesso a **un**⇒ **⟨test⟩**, quindi **l+a**⇒ **mi+a**⇒ è solo **un+a**⇒ **⟨speculazion-e⟩**.

Non sono felic-e di poter dire “Te l'avevo **dett+o**” per quanto riguarda **l+a**⇒ **⟨situazion-e⟩** in cui ci troviamo oggi. All'**inizi-o** di **marzo**, **molt+e**⇒ **⟨person-e⟩** stavano ancora liquidandomi sostenendo che ero **paranoic+o**. Non che avessi **paur-a** di ammalarmi. Per **settiman-e**, ho **cercat+o** di spiegare **agli amic+i** che devono capire **il**⇒ **⟨mod-o⟩** in cui **il**⇒ **⟨cib-o⟩** che mangiano raggiunge **l+a**⇒ loro **⟨tavol-a⟩**, dove vengono **prodott+i**⇒ **i**⇒ loro **⟨farmac-i⟩** e come **l+a**⇒ **⟨division-e⟩** di **un**⇒ **⟨mond-o⟩** ⇐ **globalizzat+o** in **nazion-i** consumatric-i e **nazion-i** produttric-i potrebbe causare **seri**⇒ **⟨problem-i⟩** quando toccherà a noi avere **access-o** ai **mezz+i** di **sussistenz-a** di **bas-e**. **Or-a** **tutt+i** parlano di **quest+e**⇒ **⟨cos-e⟩**.

Nell+e⇒ prim+e⇒ <settiman-e> di marzo, trovarsi a New York è stat+o come trovarsi su dell+e⇒ <montagn-e> ←russ+e che arrivano al⇒ <punt-o> più ←alt+o prima di tuffarsi verso un+a disces+a ripid+a. L+a⇒ <tension-e> continuava a crescere. Ogni giorn-o, ero tormentat+o da un⇒ <pensier-o>: se fuggire in campagn-a o provare a tornare presto a <cas-a> ←mi+a, all'ester+o. Ho dovut+o soppesare entrambe l+e⇒ <possibilità> pensando ai⇒ <sold-i> che stavo mettendo da part-e e all+a⇒ <prospettiv-a> di un futur+o in cui potrebbe essere molto più complicat+o ottenere un⇒ <impieg-o>.

Attraversando i⇒ <quartier-i> in biciclett-a, potevo sentire che qualcosa di stran+o aveva iniziat+o a circolare nell'ari-a. L+a⇒ maggior <part-e> dell+e⇒ <person-e> che ha pres+o l+a⇒ <situazion-e> sul seri+o l'ha dimostrat+o andando a fare scort-e o abbandonando l+a⇒ <città>. C'è stat+o chi, in pred-a al⇒ <panic-o>, è andat+o a fare <acquist-i> ←sfrenat+i e ci sono stat+i⇒ <esod-i> verso l+e⇒ second+e⇒ <cas-e> o per andare fuori città con l+a⇒ <famigli-a>. Vicin+o all+e⇒ <cas-e> ←popolari+e nei⇒ <quartier-i> più ←pover+i, ho potut+o ancora trovare <cart-a> ←igienic+a e disinfettant-e, dat+o che, lì, in poch+i potevano permettersi di fare incett-a di scort-e. Molt+i diffidavano del⇒ <Govern-o>; a molt+i non importava; molt+i avevano assistit+o a cos-e persino peggior-i di un+a⇒ <pandemi-a>; e molt+i si sono sentit+i impotent-i di front-e all+a⇒ <confusion-e> e all+a⇒ <paur-a> ←sopraggiunt+e in <mod-i> mai ←provat+i prima. Coloro che indossavano mascherin-e e quant-i sono stat+i considerat+i eccentric+i fino all+a⇒ terz+a⇒ <settiman-a> di marzo. L+a⇒ <gent-e> ha continuat+o a far baldori-a fino all'ultim+o⇒ <giorn-o> in cui è stat+o possibile farl+o. Chi poteva praticare l+o⇒ <smart working> è stat+o mandat+o a cas-a per prim+o, mentre tutt+i gli altr+i hanno continuat+o ad andare a lavor-o. Subito dopo, sono stat+e⇒ chius+e⇒ alcun+e⇒ dell+e⇒ <scuol-e> ←privat+e dei più ricch+i. Poi, il⇒ <sobborg-o> di New Rochelle è ←stat+o ←mess+o in isolament-o, mentre tutt+i gli altr+i hanno continuat+o ad andare avanti come se niente fosse. Quando, all+a⇒ <fin-e>, il⇒ <sindac-o> de Blasio ha chius+o l+e⇒ <scuol-e> e ha costrett+o ristoranti-i e bar a non aprire, l+a⇒ <realtà> dell+a⇒ <situazion-e> è ←diventat+a ←chiar+a. Tutt+e⇒ l+e⇒ <discussion-i> sugli⇒ <affitt-i> ←elevat+i, tutt+e⇒ l+e⇒ <preoccupazion-i> per l+o⇒ <stress>, tutt+e⇒ l+e⇒ <razionalizzazion-i> erano ←sparit+e all'improvvis+o. L'ignoranz-a non era più un'opzion-e. Il⇒ <temp-o> è ←stat+o ←incert+o come l+o è sempre ←stat+o negli⇒ ultim+i⇒ <ann-i>, provocando <comment-i> ←cinic+i sui⇒ <cambiament-i> ←climatic+i, ma tutt+o mi sembrava depriment-e. Gli⇒ <abbracci> sono ←diventat+i sempre più ←goff+i. In brev-e temp-o, ←l+i ho ←riservat+i solo a person-e che non ero sicur+o che avrei rivist+o. Alloggiavo con un amic+o risultat+o positiv+o al⇒ <COVID-19> e che, da allora, si è ripres+o. Sono andat+o a cas-a di un altr+o amic+o l+a cui partner è mort+a per il⇒ <virus>.

Con l'aumentare dell+a⇒ <tension-e>, <Manhattan> si è ←svuotat+a sempre più ed è ←diventat+a sempre più ←spaventos+a. Diversamente dagli⇒ <attacch-i> dell'11 settembre o dall'uragan-o Sandy - quando, l+a⇒ <ser-a> di Halloween, a Manhattan, assistemmo a un⇒ <blackout> che non potrò mai dimenticare -, l+a⇒ <pandemi-a> non ha colpìt+o tutt+o d'un tratt+o in <manier-a> ←esplicit+a. È stat+o⇒ un <impatt-o> invisibile, in slow motion - era difficil-e capire cos-a stava per succedere o fino a che punt-o era già in cors+o. È stat+o agghiacciante vedere amic+i - che di recente mi avevo [misprint for avevano?] accusat+o di essere paranoic+o - venire da me in cerc-a di consigli-. Mi ha fatt+o gelare il⇒ <sangu-e> vedere quell+e⇒ <person-e> che avevo [ditto avevano] sempre cercat+o di tranquillizzarmi

diventare ogni **giorn-o** più \leftarrow impaurit+e mentre $i \Rightarrow$ loro **mezz+i** di **sostentament-o** diminuivano sempre più. **L+a** \Rightarrow più grand-e e **trafficat+a** \Rightarrow \langle città \rangle degli \Rightarrow \langle Stat-i \rangle \leftarrow Unit+i è \leftarrow stat+a \leftarrow fatt+a chiudere da **un+a** \Rightarrow \langle forz-a \rangle invisibil-e. **All+a** \Rightarrow \langle fin-e \rangle , sono **fuggit+o**, lasciando **molt+e** \Rightarrow \langle person-e \rangle che amo in **attes+a** dell'ignot+o.

Durante **l+e** \Rightarrow **mi+e** \Rightarrow **ultim+e** \Rightarrow \langle settiman-e \rangle a New York, sono **stat+o** **considerat+o** un “lavorator-e essenzial-e” perché ho **portat+o** **il** \Rightarrow \langle cib-o \rangle direttamente a **cas-a** dei **ricch+i** per evitar loro **il** \Rightarrow \langle rischi-o \rangle di **esposizione-e**. Vedo **gent-e** postare su Instagram meme “restate a **cas-a**,” senza che si fermino un **attim-o** per riflettere su come sia possibil-e che riescano ancora a pubblicare **l+e** \Rightarrow loro \langle foto \rangle mentre mangiano **piatt-i** fusion.

È difficil-e non schernire **gli** \Rightarrow \langle applaus-i \rangle dei **ricch+i** che vedo nei \Rightarrow \langle video \rangle \leftarrow fatt+i di recent-e a Manhattan. Apparentemente, **quell+i** che non sono **fuggit+i** nell'**l+e** \Rightarrow loro \langle cas-e \rangle \leftarrow estiv+e si prendono **un** \Rightarrow \langle moment-o \rangle ogni **giorn-o** per apprezzare $i \Rightarrow$ \langle rider \rangle e **gli** \Rightarrow **altr+i** \Rightarrow \langle lavorator-i \rangle che, durante **quest+a** \Rightarrow \langle pandemi-a \rangle , stanno correndo $i \Rightarrow$ \langle rischi- \rangle per loro. Guardo **quest+e** \Rightarrow \langle clip \rangle e **l+a** \Rightarrow loro \langle gratitudin-e \rangle \leftarrow meschin+a mi lascia indifferent-e. Mi ricordo quando mi hanno **mancat+o** di **rispett-o**, **umiliat+o** e **sottopagat+o**, e **quest+i** \Rightarrow \langle moment-i \rangle in cui mi adulano mentre si trovano **immers+i** negli \Rightarrow \langle agi- \rangle dei loro **lussuos+i** \Rightarrow \langle appartamento-i \rangle di Manhattan non bastano per farmi dimenticare **tutt+e** \Rightarrow **quell+e** \Rightarrow \langle angheri-e \rangle . Non ci meritiamo soltanto **un** \Rightarrow **miser+o** \Rightarrow \langle applaus-o \rangle .

Ho **lavorat+o** nel \Rightarrow \langle mond-o \rangle **dell+e** \Rightarrow \langle consegn-e \rangle fino al \Rightarrow \langle giorn-o \rangle in cui ho **pensat+o** potesse essere **l+a** \Rightarrow **mi+a** \Rightarrow **ultim+a** \Rightarrow \langle chance \rangle per tornare dalla **mi+a** partner e vivere **un+a** \Rightarrow \langle vit-a \rangle più accessibil-e all'**ester+o**. Ero consapevol-e dei \Rightarrow \langle rischi- \rangle \leftarrow legat+i al \Rightarrow \langle viaggi-o \rangle , ma ero più **preoccupat+o** per ciò che **il futur+o** mi avrebbe **riservat+o** e di qual-e sarebbe **stat+a** \Rightarrow **l+a** \Rightarrow **mi+a** \Rightarrow \langle situazion-e \rangle \leftarrow economic+a. **L+a** \Rightarrow maggior \langle part-e \rangle dei **mie+i** **amic+i** a New York lavora **nel** \Rightarrow \langle settor-e \rangle dei \Rightarrow \langle servizi- \rangle e in \leftarrow quell+o \leftarrow alberghier+o - o lavoravano. Dopo che ogni \langle lavor-o \rangle che ero **intenzionat+o** a fare era \leftarrow stat+o \leftarrow cancellat+o, **l+e** \Rightarrow \langle consegn-e \rangle a **domicili-o** via app \leftarrow alle qual-i mi ero **appoggiat+o** come **ultim+a** \Rightarrow \langle spiaggi-a \rangle erano praticamente **tutt+o** ciò che rimaneva per **quell+i** di noi che non avevano **il** \Rightarrow \langle privilegi-o \rangle di lavorare in **remot+o**. Ricevo ancora **notifich-e** che m'informano **dell+e** \Rightarrow \langle opportunità \rangle di **lavor-o** una tantum [*una tantum* a Latin phrase]. Mi capita di pensare che se \leftarrow ognun+a di \leftarrow quell+e cui rinuncio è **un** \Rightarrow \langle past-o \rangle , in **futur+o** non sarò in **grad-o** di mangiare.

Quindi, **gli** \Rightarrow \langle applaus-i \rangle dei **ricch+i** m'infastidiscono. Vorrei poter pubblicare $i \Rightarrow$ \langle nom-i \rangle e **gli** \Rightarrow \langle indirizz-i \rangle di **tutt+i** coloro ai qual-i dovevo recapitare **un+a** \Rightarrow \langle consegn-a \rangle , insieme agli \Rightarrow \langle import-i \rangle \leftarrow esatt+i **dell+e** \Rightarrow \langle manc-e \rangle che mi hanno **dat+o**. Vorrei conoscere **il** \Rightarrow \langle reddit-o \rangle \leftarrow nett+o di ogni **person-a** cui ho **consegnat+o** in **mod-o** da poter calcolare con **precision-e** **l+a** \Rightarrow **mi+a** \Rightarrow \langle rabbi-a \rangle .

Ho **consegnat+o** presso \langle grattaciel-i \rangle \leftarrow spars+i in **tutt+a** \Rightarrow \langle Manhattan \rangle . All'**inizi-o**, quando comparivo, **gli** \Rightarrow \langle uscier-i \rangle mi salutavano con **un** **sorris+o**, dando per **scontat+o** che fossi **un** \Rightarrow

⟨visitator-e⟩ o un resident-e a caus-a dell+a⇒ mi+a⇒ ⟨pell-e⟩ ⇐chiar+a. Non appena è venut+o fuori che ero un⇒ ⟨rider⟩, hanno improvvisamente cambiat+o ton-o. Il⇒ ⟨passaggi-o⟩ è ⇐stat+o ⇐intens+o. Ti viene da chiederti come scelgono quest+i⇒ ⟨tizi-⟩.

Altr+e⇒ ⟨volt-e⟩, sono stat+o costrett+o a passare attraverso disgustos+e⇒ “⟨port-e⟩ ⇐pover+e” ⇐ricopert+e di pisci-o - ⟨ingress-i⟩ ⇐secondari+ per gli addett+i ai⇒ ⟨servizi-⟩ e per gli⇒ ⟨inquilin-i⟩ a bass+o⇒ ⟨reddit-o⟩. Quest+o mi ha fatt+o raddoppiare il⇒ ⟨temp-o⟩ che impiegavo per entrare e uscire dagli⇒ ⟨edifici-⟩. Mi ha anche costrett+o ad avere contatt-i con un⇒ maggior ⟨numer-o⟩ di personal-e dei⇒ ⟨palazz-i⟩, aumentando il⇒ mi+o⇒ ⟨rischi-o⟩ di esposizion-e.

Altri [typo for Altr+e⇒] ⟨struttur-e⟩, a seguit-o dell+e richiest+e degli⇒ ⟨inquilin-i⟩, hanno vietat+o l+e⇒ ⟨consegn-e⟩. Presumo che ci considerassero più sporchi dell+e⇒ ⟨bors-e⟩ che abbiamo in dotazion-e. Per quanto umiliant-e, era anche un⇒ ⟨solliev-o⟩.

Ho consegnat+o presso attic-i al settantatreesim+o pian+o solo per non ricevere alcun+a⇒ ⟨manci-a⟩. Di solit+o, l+e⇒ ⟨manc-e⟩ erano un+a⇒ ⟨merd-a⟩. Forse quest+o perché i ricch+i sono nervos+i per ciò che il futur+o avrà in serb-o per loro. (Il⇒ ⟨New York Post⟩ ha riferit+o di client-i che fingevano di offrire ⟨manc-e⟩ important-i per poi ⇐cancellarl+e). L+e⇒ ⟨manc-e⟩ facevano così schif-o che avevo paura a chiedere consegn-e senza contatt-o, poiché alcun+i client-i si sono fatt+i beff-e dell+e mi+e richiest+e. In quanto lavoratore di servizi-o, come oso volermi proteggere?

Non posso dimenticare un+a⇒ dell+e⇒ mi+e⇒ ultim+e⇒ ⟨nott-i⟩ di lavor-o. Ho fatt+o del mi+o meglio per rifiutare l+e richiest+e di consegn-a presso l+e ⟨farmaci-e⟩ Walgreens e Duane Read, in part-e perché era troppo mortificant-e accettare lavor-i in cui l+a⇒ mi+a⇒ unic+a⇒ ⟨funzion-e⟩ era di ridurre il⇒ ⟨rischi-o⟩ che ⟨gent-e⟩ più ⇐ricc+a di me avrebbe dovut+o affrontare, in part-e perché sapevo che i prodott+i che l+e⇒ ⟨person-e⟩ cercavano di ordinare erano già esaurit+i.

Quest+e⇒ ⟨app⟩ ti costringono a essere l+a⇒ ⟨person-a⟩ che deve affrontare l+e⇒ ⟨consequenz-e⟩ quando qualcuno richiede un prodott+o e quest+o è finit+o. Non ti danno l+a⇒ ⟨possibilità⟩ di annullare il⇒ ⟨lavor-o⟩ quando l+a ⟨merc-e⟩ non è disponibil-e - devi dire di non essere in grad-o di completare l'ordin-e. Di conseguenz-a, non solo perdi il⇒ ⟨rimbors-o⟩ per essere andat+o in bicicletta fino all+a⇒ ⟨location⟩, puoi anche perdere l+e⇒ ⟨consegn-e⟩ per il⇒ ⟨rest-o⟩ del⇒ tu+o⇒ ⟨turn-o⟩.

Quell+a⇒ ⟨nott-e⟩, invece di termometr-i e ⟨carta⟩ ⇐igienic+a, qualcuno ordinò 50 ⟨confezion-i⟩ di lassativ+i, un⇒ ⟨acquist-o⟩ di 250 dollar-i. Ho ingoiat+o il⇒ ⟨rosp-o⟩ e accettat+o l'ordin-e. Ho pedalat+o lungo l+e⇒ ⟨strad-e⟩ ⇐silenzios+e dell'Upper West Side di Manhattan. Anche nell'inquietant-e assenz-a di traffic-o, dovevo rispettare i⇒ ⟨semafor-i⟩ per paura che l+a⇒ ⟨polizi-a⟩ mi multasse perché stavo fornendo servizi- “essenzial-i.” Mi mancano i⇒ vecchi⇒ ⟨temp-i⟩ in cui a NY non c'era il⇒ ⟨controll-o⟩ della⇒ “⟨qualità⟩ dell+a⇒ ⟨vit-a⟩” quando, in sell-a a un+a⇒ ⟨bici⟩, ti sentivi inarrestabil-e.

Sono andat+o in farmaci-a e sono entrat+o. Mi sembrava di trovarmi all'intern+o di un+a⇒ gigantesc+a⇒ ⟨capsul-a⟩ di Petri brulicant-e di COVID-19. Ovviamente, come in ogni farmaci-a

di Manhattan, tutt+o era esaurit+o, compres+e⇒ l+e⇒ 50 <scatol-e> di purgant-e. Ho chiamat+o l+a client-e per chiederle di annullare l'ordin-e – l+a⇒ mi+a⇒ unic+a⇒ <chance> per conservare i⇒ patetic+i⇒ 2.36 <dollar-i> che ottengo per l+a⇒ <part-e> del⇒ “<pick up>” dell+a <procedur-a> di consegn-a. Ma, ancor più important-e, quest+o era anche l'unic+o⇒ <mod-o> per evitare di dover annullare l'ordin-e da sol+o e rischiare di perdere l+a⇒ mi+a⇒ <posizion-e> nell'onnipotent-e algoritm-o dell'app.

“Ovvi+o che sono finit+i, ugh!” mi ha rispost+o quando l'ho informat+a. Recitando il canonic+o “È il⇒ tu+o⇒ <lavor-o>, non è <colp-a> ←mi+a,” ha chiest+o che fossi io ad annullare perché sapeva che avrebbe pers+o i⇒ suo+i⇒ 2.36 <dollar-i>. Mi aveva usat+o per confermare ciò che già sapeva in mod-o da non dover entrare in un+a⇒ <farmaci-a> nell'epicentr-o dell'epidemi-a, ma aveva il⇒ <coraggi-o> di chiedermi che fossi io a cancellare in mod-o da non dovermi dare i⇒ <sold-i>. All+a⇒ <fin-e> l'ho implorat+a, cercando di spiegarle che avevo pedalat+o attraverso un+a⇒ <pandemi-a> per cercare il prodott+o al post+o su+o. Mi sono offert+o di inviarle un+a⇒ <foto> per confermare che ero entrat+o nel⇒ <negozi-o> ma che l'<articolo> non era disponibil-e. Lei ha rispost+o che quell+o non era un⇒ su+o⇒ <problem-a>. Passai al⇒ <lavor-o> ←successiv+o, ossessionat+o dal⇒ su+o⇒ <egoism-o> e dai⇒ <benefic-i> di cui godeva. Dopo 30 minut+i, ha annullat+o.

Stava effettuando un⇒ <ordin-e> di 250 dollar-i e mi ha chiest+o di poter calpestare l+a⇒ mi+a⇒ <dignità> per non doverne “sprecare” 2.36. Sono cert+o che se non avessi parlat+o bene l'ingles-e, non avrei ricevut+o null+a per l+e⇒ mi+e⇒ <pen-e>. Tra l+e⇒ innumerevol-i <stori-e> che ho vissut+o, ←quest+a è ←l+a più ←vivid+a nell+a⇒ mi+a⇒ <memori-a>, poiché si è ←svolt+a l'ultim+a⇒ <nott-e> che ho lavorat+o a New York.

Quest+o è il⇒ <motiv-o> per qui [typo for cui?], quando i ricch+i e i potent-i parlano di solidarietà, rimango indifferent-e. Riservo il⇒ mi+o⇒ <amor-e> e l+a⇒ mi+a⇒ <stim-a> a coloro che in quest+o⇒ <moment-o> non solo hanno paur-a di ammalarsi, ma che sono costrett+i a rischiare di essere infettat+i per sopravvivere – quell+i che stanno lottando per capire come mangiare, come mantenere un⇒ <tett-o> sopra l+e⇒ loro <test-e>, come fare a prepararsi per un+a⇒ <vit-a> ancora più ←precari+a nell+a⇒ <recession-e> ←economic+a che verrà. Riservo il⇒ mi+o⇒ <amor-e> e l+a⇒ mi+a⇒ <stim-a> a coloro che sono sempre stat+i sottopagat+i e sostituibil-i, che sono in prim+a⇒ <line-a> nell+a⇒ <pandemi-a>. Ora siamo essenzial-i? Ora siamo degli⇒ <ero-i>? Cos'eravamo prima? Cos-a saremo quando tutt+o quest+o finirà? È sconvolgent-e come l+a⇒ <gent-e> continui a giustificare il⇒ <valor-e> di leader e istituzion-i che non hanno fatt+o assolutamente null+a per aiutarci a sopravvivere a quest+a⇒ <catastrof-e>. Com'è possibil-e che gli⇒ <agent-i> di polizi-a siano ancora ←rispettat+i come “soccorritor-i” quando vanno in gir-o senza indossare l+e⇒ <mascherin-e>, infettano l+e⇒ <person-e> in tutt+a⇒ l+a⇒ <città>, attaccando i bambin+i in metropolitan+a? Come possono essere ←paragonat+i agli⇒ <infermier-i> e ai commess+i nei⇒ <negozi-)> di alimentar-i, che stanno morendo come mosch-e per permetterci di mangiare? Il⇒ <ruol-o> ←ricopert+o dall+a⇒ <Polizi-a> nell+o⇒ <spettacol-o> dell+a⇒ <fin-e> del⇒ <mond-o> non mostra chiaramente qual è su+o ver+o obiettiv+o, se non fosse già abbastanza ovvi+o?

Gli⇒ ⟨agent-i⟩ dell'ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement – **Immigrazion-e** e **controll-o** doganal-e) hanno **indossat+o mascherin-e** N-95 per proteggersi mentre continuano a far scomparire ⟨**person-e**⟩ ←**priv+e** di **document-i**, diffondendo l'⟨**infezion-e**⟩ mentre terrorizzano **I+e⇒** ⟨comunità⟩ e separano i **bambin+i** da⇒ loro ⟨genitor-i⟩. **L+e⇒** ⟨guardi-e⟩ ←**carcerari+e** stanno diffondendo **il⇒** ⟨virus⟩ ai **prigionier+i** il cui **unic+o mezz+o** di protesta è, pur correndo grav-i **rischi-**, l'⟨**attuazion-e**⟩ di **rivolt+e**.

A Manhattan, con l'aumentare **dell+e⇒** ⟨consegn-e⟩ in **rispost+a al⇒** ⟨virus⟩, ho **vist+o i⇒** ⟨poliziott-i⟩ fermare **dei⇒** ⟨rider⟩ perchè avevano **violat+o il⇒** ⟨traffico-o⟩ ←**ciclistic+o**.

Quest+a⇒ ⟨strategi-a⟩ è ←**tipic+a del⇒** ⟨Dipartiment-o⟩ di **Polizi-a** di New York quando vuole incassare **I+a⇒** ⟨quot-a⟩ mensil-e di **mult-e**. **Commess+i**, ⟨bracciant-i⟩ ←**agricol+i**, chi lavora **nei⇒** ⟨trasport-i⟩, rider, **paramedic+i**, il personal-e **ospedalier+o** che ci aiuta a restare in **vit-a** sotto l'equivalent-e **dell+a⇒** ⟨legg-e⟩ marzial-e – **tutt+e⇒** **quest+e⇒** ⟨person-e⟩ meritano davvero **I+a⇒** **mi+a⇒** ⟨gratitudin-e⟩. Com'è possibil-e che qualcuno faccia rientrare **i⇒** ⟨poliziott-i⟩ **nel⇒** ⟨nover-o⟩ di **quest+i⇒** ⟨individu-i⟩ ←**coraggios+i**? **Cos-a** fanno per sostenerci e prendersi **cur-a** di noi?

Gli⇒ ⟨Stat-i⟩ ←**Unit+i** hanno **approvat+o un pian+o** di **aiut-i** da 2.000 **miliard-i** di **dollar-i**.

Grazi-e al **fatt+o** di essere **pover+o** e di aver **svolt+o** solo ⟨lavor-i⟩ ←**saltuari-** per **ann-i**, non so nemmeno se sono **idone+o** per l'assegn-o o per **I+a⇒** ⟨disoccupazione-e⟩. **Il⇒** ⟨sit-o⟩ dice che **i⇒** ⟨contribuent-i⟩ a **bass+o⇒** ⟨reddit-o⟩ dovranno aspettare - immagino fino a quando **gli altr+i** non saranno **stat+i pagat+i** per **prim+i**. Ho **lett+o** che solo **il⇒** 30(%) **degli⇒** ⟨aiut-i⟩ va agli⇒ ⟨individu-i⟩ (602,7 **miliard-i**). **Il⇒** restante 70(%) è ←**suddivis+o** tra grand-i **società** (500 **miliard-i**), **piccol+e impres+e** (377 **miliard-i**), **ent-i** statal-i e local-i (339.8 **miliard-i**) e ⟨servizi-⟩ ←**pubblic+i** (179.5 **miliard-i**). Da **quel** che capisco - considerando che **I+e⇒** **sol+e⇒** ⟨compagnie-⟩ ←**aere+e** stanno ricevendo oltre **il⇒** 10(%) **dei⇒** ⟨salvataggi-⟩ aziendali mentre io sto ancora combattendo per ottenere **un⇒** ⟨rimbors-o⟩ **dei⇒** ⟨vol-i⟩ che mi hanno **annullat+o** – **quest+o** è un enorm-e **vaffancul-o** a me e a **tutt+i quell+i** come me. Solo **un⇒** **altr+o⇒** ⟨mement-o⟩ per ricordarmi che in **quest+a⇒** ⟨società⟩, **il⇒** **mi+o⇒** ⟨valor-e⟩ è, **nella⇒** miglior-e **dell+e⇒** ⟨ipotes-i⟩, ←**subordinat+o**, ←**determinat+o dall+a⇒** ⟨logic-a⟩ di **mercat-o** e **dall+e⇒** ⟨priorità⟩ **dell+a⇒** ⟨class-e⟩ dominant-e.

Se **il⇒** ⟨mod-o⟩ in cui **il⇒** ⟨pacchett-o⟩ di **aiut-i** è ←**distribuit+o** non esemplifica in ⟨mod-o⟩ abbastanza ←**chiar+o I+e⇒** ⟨priorità⟩, **i⇒** ⟨Govern-i⟩ si stanno affrettando a mantenere, ricostruire e usurpare **il** poter-e contemporaneamente.

In **luogh-i** come **I+a⇒** ⟨Russia⟩ e Israele, **I+e⇒** ⟨autorità⟩ stanno individuando **nuov+e⇒** ⟨opportunità⟩ attinent-i all+a⇒ **cyber-⟨polizi-a⟩**. In **luogh-i** come l'Ungheria, i **governant-i** hanno già **sfruttat+o** quest'opportunità per passare all+a⇒ ⟨dittatur-a⟩ ←**assolut+a**. In **luogh-i** come Kenya, India e ⟨Stat-i⟩ ←**Unit+i**, **I+i** vediamo arginare slum, **prigion-i** e ⟨camp-i⟩ ←**profugh+i** in qualità di **zon-e** di **mort-e** tollerabil-i. In Grecia, presso l'ospedal-e Evangelismos di Atene, durante **I+a⇒** ⟨Giornat-a⟩ mondial-e **dell+a⇒** ⟨salut-e⟩, **I+a⇒** ⟨polizi-a⟩ ha **attaccat+o un⇒** ⟨gruppo-o⟩ di **medic+i** e infermier-i che stavano chiedendo maggior-i **risors-e** per **I+a⇒** ⟨sicurezza-⟩. ⟨Esperiment-i⟩ sull+a⇒ ⟨legg-e⟩ marzial-e stanno svolgendosi ovunque, ←**nascost+i** dietro **I+a⇒** ⟨scusant-e⟩ **del⇒** ⟨blocc-o⟩, presumibilmente per tutelarci - ma **quell+i** che sono al poter-e cercano di proteggere **I+a⇒** loro ⟨posizion-e⟩, non di proteggere noi. Nazionalist-i e fascist-i stanno sfruttando ciò che accade come **opportunità** per sostenere **mur-i** di **confin-e** e **prigion-i** più

imponent-i. Abbiamo **vist+o** anche qualche **scienziat+o** lanciare **appell-i** ai⇒ **⟨Govern-i⟩** di **tutt+o**⇒ **il**⇒ **⟨mond-o⟩** per andare in Africa, o presso **altr+e**⇒ **⟨popolazion-i⟩** meno **⇐prezios+e** per l'**economi-a** mondial-e, per condurre **degl-i**⇒ **⟨esperiment-i⟩** attraverso **⇐i** qual-i sperano di creare **dei vaccin+i**.

Segnal-i di **vit-a**: **un**⇒ **⟨quartier-e⟩** di Brooklyn che canta “Juicy” di Biggie Smalls mentre si trova **⇐bloccat+o dal**⇒ **⟨Coronavirus⟩**.

Voglio ora chiedere **un**⇒ **altr+o**⇒ **⟨tip-o⟩** di **solidarietà**. **Un+a**⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩** tra coloro che hanno molto più di cui preoccuparsi rispetto **al**⇒ **sol+o**⇒ **⟨virus⟩**. **Un+a**⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩** tra **tutt+i** coloro che devono temere ciò che **i**⇒ **⟨Govern-i⟩** e **l+e**⇒ loro **⟨Polizi-e⟩** faranno a **tutt+i** noi.

Un+a⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩** tra **tutt+i** coloro che attendono **terrorizzat+i** l'**arriv-o** di **⟨condizion-i⟩** ancora più **⇐precar+i** mentre **i ricch+i** sgomitano per entrare **nel**⇒ **⟨mond-o⟩** post-**pandemi-a**, rimanendo ancora **sul**⇒ **⟨groppon-e⟩** di noi che siamo sacrificabil-i. **Un+a**⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩** che includa **rifugiat+i** e **altr+i** che hanno **pers+o** **l+a**⇒ **⟨cas-a⟩**. Voglio condividere **l+a**⇒ **mi+a**⇒ **⟨gratitudin-e⟩** con coloro che se **l+o** meritano, con **quell+i** con cui condivido **condizion-e** e **posizion-e**.

Quando **nel cors+o** dell'**l+a**⇒ **nostr+a**⇒ **⟨vit-a⟩** **il**⇒ **nostr+o**⇒ **⟨valor-e⟩** è **⇐stat+o** **⇐mostrat+o** in **mod-o** più evident-e? **Politic+i**, **Polizi-a** e **miliardari+** stanno lottando per giustificare **i**⇒ loro **⟨agi-⟩** e **i**⇒ loro **⟨privilegi-⟩**; **negli**⇒ **⟨Stat-i⟩** **⇐Unit+i**, sono più che mai **onest+i** su ciò che conta davvero per loro.

Abbiamo **bisogn-o** di **un+a**⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩** che non abbia **null+a** a che fare con **politic+i** e **plutocrat-i**, né con **l+a**⇒ **⟨Polizi-a⟩** che **l+i** protegge. Guardiamo a **quell+i** accanto a noi con **amor-e** e impegnamoci **tutt+i** a preservare **l+a**⇒ **nostr+a**⇒ **⟨umanità⟩**, così come consideriamo **nostr+i** **nemic+i** **quell+i** sopra di noi. Coloro che saccheggiano **nel**⇒ **⟨sud⟩** Italia stanno esprimendo **l+a**⇒ **stess+a**⇒ **⟨passion-e⟩** per **l+a**⇒ **⟨vit-a⟩** di **quell+i** che, dopo l'**uragan-o** Katrina, razziarono New Orleans per nutrire **i vicin+i**. **Quest+e**⇒ sono **l+e**⇒ **⟨person-e⟩** che stanno dando **il**⇒ **buon**⇒ **⟨esempi-o⟩**, non **l+a**⇒ **⟨Polizi-a⟩**, non **il**⇒ **⟨governator-e⟩** Cuomo.

Oggi, **il**⇒ **mi+o**⇒ **⟨period-o⟩** di **quaranten-a** sta per finire. Ma **mi+a**⇒ **⟨madr-e⟩**, che ha quasi 70 **ann-i**, lavora in **un**⇒ **⟨negozi-o⟩** di alimentar-i, mentre **mi+o**⇒ **⟨padr-e⟩**, **⇐immunodepress+o** e **⇐ricoverat+o** in **ospedal-e**, è **⇐risultat+o** **⇐positiv+o** al⇒ **⟨Coronavirus⟩**. Se l'**⟨interess-e⟩** per **il**⇒ **⟨mercat-o⟩** non fosse **⇐stat+o** **⇐prioritari+o** rispetto a **⇐quell+o** per **l+a**⇒ **⟨vit-a⟩**, sono **cert+o** che a **mi+o**⇒ **⟨padr-e⟩** sarebbe **stat+o**⇒ **risparmiat+o**⇒ **quest+o**⇒ **⟨virus⟩** poiché, dall'**inizi-o** di marzo, è **⇐stat+o** **⇐mess+o** in **isolament-o** in **un+a**⇒ **⟨cas-a⟩** di **cur-a**. **Mi+a**⇒ **⟨madr-e⟩** non può allontanarsi. **Mi+o**⇒ **⟨padr-e⟩** non ha **potut+o** allontanarsi. Ma **molt+i** possono permettersi di evitare **quest+i**⇒ **⟨rischi-⟩**. Non stanno affrontando **l+a**⇒ **stess+a**⇒ **⟨pandemi-a⟩**. Non meritano **l+a**⇒ **mi+a**⇒ **⟨solidarietà⟩**.

Non siamo **tutt+i** sull'**l+a**⇒ **stess+a**⇒ **⟨barc-a⟩** – **l+a**⇒ maggior **⟨part-e⟩** di noi **l+o** è.

Tornare all'**l+a**⇒ **⟨normalità⟩**? Mai più.

Un⇒ **⟨rider⟩** in Cina.

<https://crimethinc.com/2020/04/13/noi-siamo-tutto-cio-che-abbiamo-un-appello-di-un-rider-di-manhattan-per-una-solidarieta-di-condizione+e-posizione>, accessed July 1, 2020.

The Communicative Function of Gender in Italian
Joseph Davis

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