



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Marking the default : auxiliary selection in Southern Italian dialects

Torcolacci, G.

Citation

Torcolacci, G. (2015, March 24). *Marking the default : auxiliary selection in Southern Italian dialects. LOT dissertation series*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32580>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/32580>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/32580> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation

Author: Torcolacci, Giuseppe

Title: Marking the default : auxiliary selection in Southern Italian dialects

Issue Date: 2015-03-24

Marking the Default

Auxiliary selection in Southern Italian dialects

Published by
LOT
Trans 10
3512 JK Utrecht
The Netherlands

phone: +31 30 253 6111

e-mail: lot@uu.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

ISBN: 978-94-6093-167-3
NUR: 616

Copyright © 2015: Giuseppe Torcolacci. All rights reserved.

Marking the Default

Auxiliary selection in Southern Italian dialects

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op dinsdag 24 maart 2015
klokke 13.45 uur

door

Giuseppe Torcolacci

geboren op 10 december 1981
te Fossombrone (Italië)

Promotiecommissie

Promotores: Prof. dr. Roberta D'Alessandro
Prof. dr. Marc van Oostendorp

Overige leden: Prof. dr. Adam Ledgeway
Dr. Bert Botma
Dr. Diego Pescarini

This thesis was carried out within the VIDI-project 'Splitting and clustering grammatical information' (subproject 2, the syntax of splits in Southern Italian dialects), funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) and awarded to Prof. dr. Roberta D'Alessandro (project number 276-70-021).

Contents

Acknowledgements	xi
Abbreviations	xiii
Chapter 1 - Introduction.....	1
1. Introduction.....	1
2. The structure of this dissertation	4
2.1 Part one – Chapter 2	5
2.2 Part two – Chapters 3, 4 & 5	6
3. The data.....	6
Chapter 2 - Two types of split(ting): <i>Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico</i> and auxiliary selection in Southern Italian dialects	9
1. Introduction.....	9
2. The theory of RF.....	12
2.1 The nature of RF-triggers	12
2.2 Regular RF.....	14
2.2.1 Secondary stress	17
2.3 Irregular RF	18
2.3.1 Regressive consonant assimilation	18
2.3.2 The moraic analysis.....	21
2.3.3 Syntactic conditioning of RF	23
3. The interaction between RF and auxiliaries: the dimension of variation	24

vi Contents

3.1 BE.....	25
3.1.1 Singular versus plural.....	25
3.1.2 Lack of RF.....	28
3.1.3 RF and the phonological shape of the past participle.....	30
3.1.4 Alternation in Voice: active versus passive BE	31
3.1.5 Summary.....	33
3.2 HAVE.....	34
3.2.1 Summary	37
3.3 RF and auxiliaries: the problems of the phonological approach	37
3.3.1 BE	38
3.3.2 HAVE.....	40
3.3.3 The interplay between RF and BE/HAVE.....	42
4. Auxiliary selection in USIDs	44
4.1 Pattern one: BE with all persons	46
4.1.1 Lack of RF.....	46
4.1.2 Presence of RF	47
4.2 Pattern two: 1 and 2 person BE versus 3 person HAVE.....	48
4.2.1 Lack of RF.....	48
4.2.2 The presence of RF.....	49
4.3 Pattern three: 1 and 2sg BE versus HAVE elsewhere	50
4.4 Pattern four: 1 or 2sg BE versus HAVE elsewhere.....	51
4.5 Pattern five: HAVE with all persons	52
5. Summary and conclusions	54
Chapter 3 – RF and the overt marking of φ features.....	59
1. Introduction.....	59
2. The morphosyntactic nature of φ	61
2.1 The nature and geometry of φ on pronouns	61

2.2 Perfective auxiliaries in USIDs: φ feature geometry and syntactic nature	64
3. The morphosyntactic nature of RF.....	67
4. The triggering of RF by 1 and 2sg BE	69
4.1 The data.....	69
4.2 1-2 person BE and the Participant feature.....	71
4.3 The post-syntactic encoding of Participant.....	75
4.3.1 Phonological restrictions on the overt marking of Participant....	77
4.4 The non-triggering of RF by 1 and 2pl BE.....	79
5. The triggering of RF by 3sg HAVE	82
5.1 HAVE and the Individuation feature.....	82
5.2 The post-syntactic encoding of Minimal.....	83
6. Summary and conclusions	87
Chapter 4 – The post-syntactic operation of <i>Default Marking</i>	89
1. Introduction.....	89
2. The theory of markedness	91
2.1 Overview.....	91
2.1.1 Phonological markedness	93
2.1.2 Syntactic markedness	95
2.1.3 Morphological markedness.....	98
3. The morphological markedness of φ on perfective auxiliaries.....	99
3.1 The data.....	99
3.2 The Romance scenario	99
3.3 USIDs	103
3.4 Summary.....	106
3.5 Summary of the morphological markedness of φ on perfective auxiliaries in CSIDs	108

4. The acquisition of pronouns, agreement markers and Tense	110
4.1 The acquisition hierarchy.....	110
4.1.1 The acquisition and markedness of pronouns	110
4.1.2 The acquisition and markedness of φ agreement markers	113
4.1.3 The acquisition and markedness of Tense.....	115
5. The composition of Infl°	116
5.1 The substantive content of Infl°	116
5.1.1 Event and utterance situations: the anchoring of [ucoin]	119
5.2 Perfective auxiliaries in CSIDs: the anchoring of [ucoin] in Tense	122
6. The post-syntactic operation of <i>Default Marking</i>	123
6.1 <i>Default Marking</i> and present perfect auxiliaries.....	124
6.1.1 The singular paradigm	124
6.1.2 The plural paradigm.....	126
6.2 <i>Default Marking</i> and pluperfect auxiliaries.....	130
6.2.1 The singular paradigm	130
6.2.2 The plural paradigm.....	132
6.3 Preliminary conclusion.....	136
7. Cross-linguistic evidence.....	138
7.1 <i>Default Marking</i> outside CSIDs	139
7.1.1 Present Tense.....	139
7.1.2 Past Tense.....	142
8. Summary and conclusions	144
Chapter 5 – Domains of application of <i>Default Marking</i>	147
1. Introduction.....	147
2. Modals in CSIDs	148
2.1 The syntax	148

2.2 The morphological marking of φ	152
2.2.1 Present tense.....	152
2.2.3 Past tense.....	155
2.3 Modals and <i>Default Marking</i>	157
2.3.1 Present Tense.....	158
2.3.2 Past Tense.....	159
2.4 Summary.....	161
3. Lexical versus modal.....	161
3.1 Data.....	161
3.2 Analysis	165
3.3 Interim summary	169
4. Determiners in CSIDs.....	170
4.1 The syntax of DP	170
4.2 <i>Agree</i> within the DP.....	173
4.3 Neuter D in USIDs.....	177
4.3.1 RF and neuter D.....	180
4.3.1.1 Diachronic versus typological observations.....	180
4.4 Nominal periphrases and <i>Default Marking</i>	184
4.4.1 D° and the feature Definiteness.....	184
4.4.2 Neuter D and <i>Default Marking</i>	187
4.4.3 Plural feminine D and <i>Default Marking</i>	189
4.5 The geography of <i>Default Marking</i> in D	195
5. Conclusions	197
Chapter 6 – Conclusions and questions for future research	201
6.1 Summary of the core findings of this dissertation	201
6.2 Questions for future research	205

x Contents

Bibliography.....	207
Summary in Dutch (Samenvatting in het Nederlands).....	227
Curriculum Vitae.....	233

Acknowledgements

This dissertation might not have existed if I hadn't grown up in a multilingual environment. For this reason, my biggest debt of gratitude goes to my family who, since my earliest childhood, gave me the possibility of understanding that more than one language can be learnt at the same time by a child.

My sincerest thanks go to my supervisors Roberta D'Alessandro and Marc van Oostendorp. Their steadfast intellectual support over the years of my doctoral studies made the achievement of this dissertation possible. I also thank Caterina Donati and Gloria Cocchi, whose teachings awoke my interests in Linguistics during my Master studies at the University of Urbino. I also thank Adam Ledgeway who, during my visit at the University of Cambridge, strongly influenced me in the passion for linguistic data. A special thanks goes to all those linguists who have advised me during my years as a Ph.D. student, and have given me important feedback on my work: Artemis Alexiadou, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Theresa Biberauer, Lisa Cheng, Jenny Doetjes, Irene Franco, Anikó Lipták, Maria Rita Manzini, Guido Mensching, Andrew Nevins, Diana Passino, Claudia Peverini, Cecilia Poletto, Ian Roberts, Johan Rooryck, Jason Rothman, Leonardo Maria Savoia, Michelle Sheehan and Jenneke van der Wal.

It goes without saying that the writing of this thesis has been highly influenced by the interaction with fellow Ph.D. students at LUCL. I thank my office-mate Laura Migliori, with whom I shared every single day of my doctoral studies. Our conversations about life and linguistics will never be forgotten! I also thank my neighbor office-mates Enrico Boone and Sara Lusini, who have been great colleagues over the years at LUCL. Sara helped me to acclimatize to life in The Netherlands, provided cheerful moral support and always made me feel at home. I thank Enrico particularly for being always ready to discuss even the most intricate linguistic issues. Likewise, I thank Linda Badan, Edoardo Cavigrani, Claudio Di Felice and Marieke Meelen for the many happy moments we shared. I am also extremely grateful to Luigi Andriani and Norma Schifano for making me feel at home during my visit at the University of Cambridge. Last but not least, I thank Vicki Sunter for taking care of the proofreading of this dissertation, as

xii Acknowledgements

well as Kim Groothuis, who helped me to write the summary in Dutch (samenvatting in het Nederlands).

Finally, I would like to thank Athina Ioanna Leivadara, who has been an invaluable help throughout the last years of my doctoral studies. I will never forget her endless patience in discussing the ups and downs of this dissertation.

To the many other students, researchers and friends who have helped me on this journey, a heartfelt ‘thank you’!

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
act	active voice
Asp	Aspect
AspP	Aspect Phrase
aux	auxiliary
B	Be
CVC	Consonant-Vowel-Consonant
CIDs	Central Italian dialects
CN	Count Noun
coin	coincidence
cond	conditional mood
cop	copula
CSIDs	Central Southern Italian dialects
D	Determiner
DAC	Double Auxiliary Construction
Def/def	Definiteness
dem	demonstrative
dir	directional
DM	Distributed Morphology
DP	Determiner Phrase
EPP	Extended Projection Principle
ESIDs	Extreme Southern Italian dialects
Ev-sit	Event situation
expl	expletive
F	Feature
f(em)	feminine
G	Goal
H	Have
IC	Indirect object Clitic
Indiv	Individuation

xiv Abbreviations

inf	infinitive
INFL/Infl	Inflection
InflP	Inflectional Phrase
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
LF	Logic Form
<i>m</i>	marked
masc	masculine
MN	Mass Noun
ms	millisecond
neut	neuter
NIDs	Northern Italian dialects
<i>n</i>	little- <i>n</i>
<i>nP</i>	little- <i>n</i> Phrase
NP	Noun Phrase
NSIDs	Northern Southern Italian dialects
NumberP	Number Phrase
O	Object
obv	obviate
OC	Object Clitic
P	Phrase
Part	Participant
pass	passive voice
PF	Phonological Form
PIC	Phase Impenetrability Condition
pl	plural
PP	Prepositional Phrase
pr	present tense
Pr	Probe
prox	proximate
Q	Quantity
QP	Quantity Phrase
RCA	Regressive Consonant Assimilation
RE	Referring Expression
ref	reference
ReflC	Reflexive Clitic
RF	Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico
S/σ	Syllable

SC	Subject Clitic
sg	singular
SIDs	Southern Italian dialects
Spec	Specifier
SRC	Strong Rhyme Constraint
Subj	Subject
<i>v</i>	little- <i>v</i>
V	Verb
<i>val</i>	value
Vow	Vowel
<i>vP</i>	little- <i>v</i> Phrase
VP	Verb Phrase
T	Tense
TP	Tense Phrase
<i>u</i>	unmarked
<i>ucoin</i>	<i>u</i> coincidence
UG	Universal Grammar
USIDs	Upper Southern Italian dialects
Utt-sit	Utterance situation
φ	person-number-gender
μ	mora

