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Marking the default : auxiliary selection in Southern Italian dialects
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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>

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

Issue Date: 2015-03-24

Chapter 2

Two types of split(ting): *Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico* and auxiliary selection in Southern Italian dialects

1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to investigate the distribution of *Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico* (henceforth RF) triggered by present perfect auxiliaries in USIDs.

RF is a phonological sandhi process attested in all SIDs, Sicilian and Sardinian included, as well as in Standard Italian and many CIDs. RF consists in the gemination of word-initial consonants provoked by a specific trigger (cf. (1)) (Fanciullo, 1983, 1986, 1997; Chierchia, 1986; Bertinetto & Loporcaro, 1988; Loporcaro, 1988, 1997a, 1997b; Vincent, 1988; Nespor, 1993; Passino, 2012; a.o.).

(1)

- | | | | |
|----|----------------|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | Parlerà Carlo | [parle'ra k' karlo] | 'Carlo will speak' |
| b. | Andiamo a casa | [an'dja:mo a k' ka:sa] | 'We will go home' |

The examples in (1), taken from Standard Italian, indicate that both the oxytonic verb *parlerà* and the monosyllabic unstressed preposition *a* are able to trigger RF. RF can also be triggered by perfective active auxiliaries, when these occur in present perfect constructions. This is shown by the USID in (2), which illustrates that RF is triggered only by monosyllabic auxiliaries and not by those forms composed of more than one syllable. In (2), as well as in all the other paradigms in the remainder of this thesis, the gloss B refers to BE, whereas the gloss H, conversely, refers to HAVE.

(2) Poggio Imperiale (Apulo-Daunian Appennines)¹

| | | | |
|----|-------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | sə | cca'matə/ pp ar'latə | B.pr.1sg called/spoken |
| | si | cca'matə/ pp ar'latə | B.pr.2sg called/spoken |
| | ε | cca'matə/ pp ar'latə | B.pr.3sg called/spoken |
| b. | simə | ca'matə/par'latə | B.pr.1pl called/spoken |
| | sitə | ca'matə/par'latə | B.pr.2pl called/spoken |
| | sɔnnə | ca'matə/par'latə | B.pr.3pl called/spoken |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 720-721]

Differently from (2), where BE is the only form selected throughout the paradigm, a large number of USIDs opt for a different strategy of auxiliary selection. There, the choice of the auxiliary in the present perfect seems to be dependent on the person feature expressed on the sentential subject. If the subject is 1st and 2nd person (henceforth 1 and 2), BE is chosen, whereas if the subject is 3rd person (henceforth 3), HAVE is selected (cf. Rohlfs, 1969; Giammarco, 1973; Tuttle, 1986; Kayne, 1993; Cocchi, 1995; Manzini & Savoia, 2005; a.o.)². We will refer to this phenomenon as person-driven auxiliary selection (cf. Cocchi, 1995; Ledgeway, 2000; Manzini & Savoia, 2005; D'Alessandro & Roberts, 2010), an example of which is given in (3).

¹ The classification of all the dialects presented in this volume is faithful to the 'Carta dei Dialetti d'Italia' drawn up by Pellegrini (1977).

² As will be discussed in §4, the selection of perfective active auxiliaries in USIDs strongly differs from that found in many Romance languages, i.e. Standard Italian, French, CIDs and NIDs, where the selection of BE or HAVE depends on the verbal class or *Aktionsart* of the past participle.

(3) Amandola (Southern Marchigiano)³

| | | | |
|----|------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | so | cca'mato/ pp ar'lato | B.pr.1sg called/spoken |
| | si | cca'mato/ pp ar'lato | B.pr.2sg called/spoken |
| | a | ca'mato/par'lato | H.pr.3 called/spoken |
| b. | simo | ca'mato/par'lato | B.pr.1pl called/spoken |
| | sete | ca'mato/par'lato | B.pr.2pl called/spoken |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 684]

The paradigm in (3), in contrast to that in (2), indicates that RF is triggered by a subset of monosyllabic auxiliaries. As a matter of fact, (3) shows that monosyllabic BE is able to trigger RF, the realization of which is excluded in the case of monosyllabic HAVE. A similar situation is observed for other USIDs, which do not display the canonical person-driven auxiliary selection of the type in (3). In these varieties, HAVE is the only auxiliary selected for all persons in the paradigm and RF is triggered only by 3sg HAVE and banned elsewhere.

(4) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | |
|----|------|---|---------------------------|
| a. | aʃ | 'fattə/par'lə:tə/par'tʌ:tə | H.pr.1sg done/spoken/left |
| | a | 'fattə/par'lə:tə/par'tʌ:tə | H.pr.2sg done/spoken/left |
| | (')a | f 'fattə/ pp ar'lə:tə/ pp ar'tʌ:tə | H.pr.3sg done/spoken/left |
| b. | am | 'fattə/par'lə:tə/par'tʌ:tə | H.pr.1pl done/spoken/left |
| | avet | 'fattə/par'lə:tə/par'tʌ:tə | H.pr.2pl done/spoken/left |
| | an | 'fattə/par'lə:tə/par'tʌ:tə | H.pr.3pl done/spoken/left |

Given the data illustrated in (2)-(4), these are the questions that will be addressed in the following pages:

³ The dialect of Amandola is an USID, which is spoken at the border with CIDs. The BE/HAVE alternation depending on the person feature of the sentential subject is not restricted to USIDs, but also found in a small group of CIDs spoken in the centre and south of Le Marche, as well as in Eastern Lazio. For the geo-linguistic extension of the phenomenon of person-driven auxiliary selection in USIDs and a subset of CIDs, see §4.

12 Chapter 2

- i. What is the typology of person-driven auxiliary selection in USIDs?
- ii. Is the variation affecting RF in (2)-(4) somehow determined by the type of auxiliary selected?

In order to answer these questions, a large amount of data will be analyzed. Moreover, several geolinguistic maps will be presented that show the microvariation affecting both the phenomenon of person-driven auxiliary selection and that of RF triggered by these items.

This chapter is organized as follows: in §2, the canonical theories referring to RF will be discussed. §3 will present a survey of the typological variation of RF triggered by present perfect auxiliaries in USIDs, while §4 will examine the microvariation affecting the phenomenon of person-driven auxiliary selection found in USIDs. There, some generalizations will be proposed in order to capture the interaction between the BE/HAVE alternation depending on the person feature of the sentential subject on the one hand and the triggering of RF provoked by these elements on the other. The conclusions will be drawn in §5.

2. The theory of RF

2.1 The nature of RF-triggers

As argued by Loporcaro (1997b), RF-triggers in Standard Italian can be of two different types. One class comprises oxytonic triggers, namely polysyllabic words stressed on the final syllable, as well as monosyllabic words perceived as stressed. These elements are thought to function as *regular RF-triggers*. The second type of RF-triggers, conversely, includes words that do not bear stress on the final syllable. Within this group, a subset of unstressed monosyllables and paroxytonic polysyllables are included. These items, also called lexical RF-triggers, are thought to be inherently endowed with the property of triggering gemination of the consonant they precede. Because of this idiosyncratic characteristic, these words are called *irregular RF-triggers*. The classification described here is shown in the table in (5).

(5) Standard Italian

| | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---|---------------------|
| a. | All polysyllabic oxytones | farò bene > [fa'ro bb ene] 'I will do well' | Regular RF |
| b. | All stressed monosyllables | sto bene > [s'to bb ene] 'I am well' | |
| c. | Some unstressed monosyllables | a lui > [a l'lui] 'to him' | Irregular RF |
| d. | Some paroxytonic polysyllables | come te > ['kome t'te] 'like/as you' | |

[Translated from Loporcaro (1997b): 1]

As the table in (5) shows, polysyllabic oxytones in (5a) and stressed monosyllables in (5b) undergo the same mechanism of RF-licensing. There, it is stress that determines the realization of RF. Differently from (5a)-(5b), (5c)-(5d) show that the presence of RF in correspondence with unstressed monosyllables and paroxytonic polysyllables cannot be attributed to the presence of stress on the trigger. Contrary to Loporcaro (1997b), Korzen (1980), Basbøll (1989) and Sluyters (1990) suggest merging the stressed and unstressed monosyllables that trigger RF into a single class. As the authors point out, if the presence of stress corresponds to the requirement for provoking RF, every monosyllable which induces RF must be stressed. In Standard Italian, for instance, the preposition *a*, which consistently triggers RF, must be considered to be stressed. The preposition *di*, instead, which inevitably avoids RF, is defined as unstressed (cf. (6)).

(6)

- a. a casa > ['a **k**'kasa] [a] = stressed monosyllable
at home
- b. di me > [di 'me] [di] = unstressed monosyllable
of me

Along the same lines as Korzen (1980), Basbøll (1989) and Sluyters (1990), Agostiniani (1992) classifies stressed and unstressed monosyllables able to trigger RF in the same group. In addition, the author suggests that monosyllables able to trigger RF are not intrinsically stressed but liable to be stressed in specific circumstances. For instance, the verb *dà* (give.pr.3sg)

in a sentence like *dà fastidio* (give.pr.3sg bother; '(s)he bothers'), differently from the preposition *da* in *da fastidio* ('from/of bother'), triggers RF since stress can be assigned only to the word *da* when it is a verb and not a preposition. Although this analysis has the advantage of considering monosyllables triggering RF as all being endowed with stress, it does not solve the problem of why only the verb *dà*, and not its homophonous preposition, can receive stress.

2.2 Regular RF

Alongside Standard Italian, Tuscan, Roman, Corsican and Sassarese-Gallurese Sardinian are also claimed to display stress-determined RF. In order to explain the existence of this kind of RF, Saltarelli (1970, 1983), Vogel (1978, 1982), Chierchia (1986), Sluyters (1990) and Loporcaro (1997b) postulate that whenever a stressed vowel is present in word-internal or word-final position, a specific process of syllabic readjustment operates that affects the stressed syllable. The authors, focusing on the quantitative value of vowels and consonants in Standard Italian, assume that word-internal stressed vowels in open syllables must be long. As for the consonants which follow, these must be inevitably short⁴. In the opposite situation, namely when the stressed vowel is in a closed syllable and in word-internal position, no lengthening of the stressed vowel is obtained. The difference in quantity between a stressed vowel in open and closed syllables is given in (7a).

⁴ Rohlfs (1966) observes that the lengthening of stressed vowels occurring with open syllables in word-internal position does not systematically apply in the case of proparoxytones. Words like *attimo* 'moment' and *femmina* 'woman' indicate that whenever stress falls on the antepenultimate syllable, it is the first consonant of the next syllable that undergoes lengthening, and not the stressed vowel. The possibility of having 'internal gemination' (cf. Vincent, 1988) is also observed for a group of dialects spoken in the central-northern part of Le Marche, where antepenultimate open-syllables freely allow consonant lengthening, thus banning vowel spreading (cf. Senigallia [Central Marchigiano]: s'tu**pp**id 'stupid', 'mæ**dd**ik 'doctor', 'feggæt 'liver'). These facts show that proparoxytones pattern together with oxytonic words in allowing the lengthening of the consonant, but do not pattern with paroxytones, which only trigger the spreading of the stressed vowel.

(7)

a. In word-internal position

stressed V: (long) + C (short): ['ka:ne] (length of stressed V = ~200 ms), or
 stressed V (short) + C (long): ['kanne] (length of stressed V = ~100 ms);

b. In word-final position

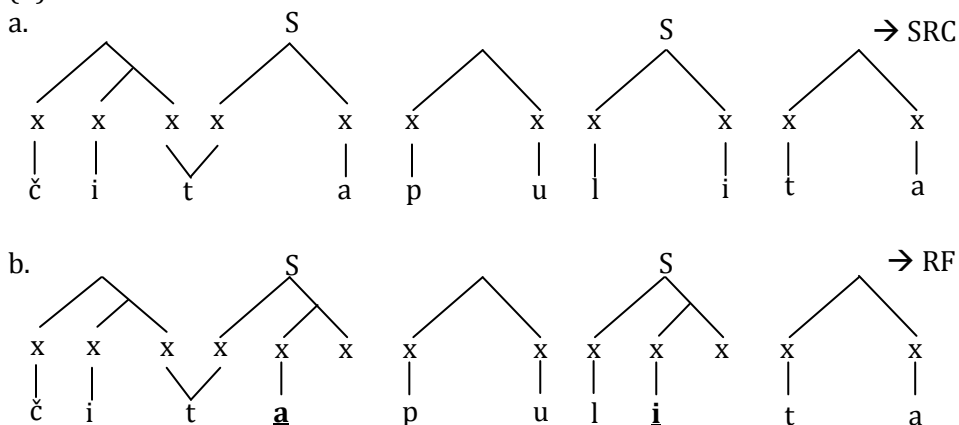
every stressed vowel is short (stressed V = ~100 ms)

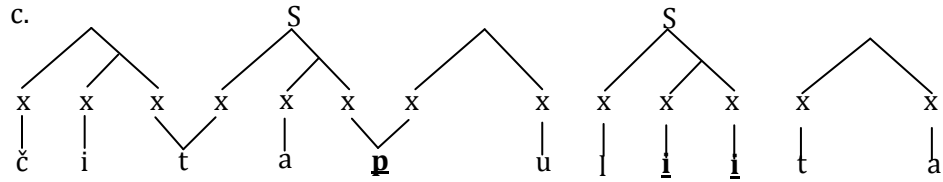
[Translated from Loporcaro (1997b): 9]

(7b) indicates that stressed vowels in word-final position are always short. Moreover, the situation in which a short stressed vowel in word-final position is followed by a short consonant is not tolerated by the phonotactics of syllable formation in Standard Italian. In order to avoid the violation of this phonotactic rule, consonantal doubling occurs and RF is attested.

In order to justify the presence of a long vowel in word-internal position, Chierchia (1986) proposes the *strong rhyme constraint* (SRC). According to this constraint, the rhyme of a tonic open syllable must be fortified, thus consisting of two temporal vocalic units. In the case of tonic final syllables, the mechanism of fortition is also expected to obtain. In this case, regressive lengthening (or spreading) of the consonant following the stressed vowel operates. The explanation of these facts is represented in (8).

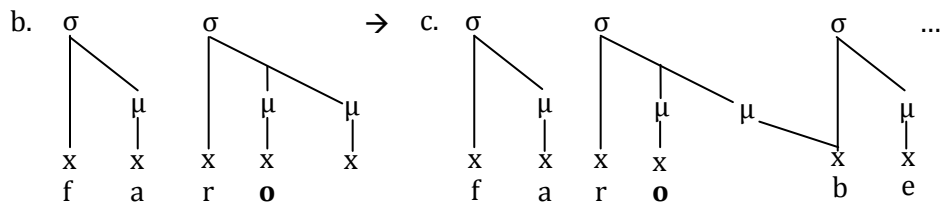
(8)





Hayes (1989), introducing the Moraic Theory, proposes that phonological components are organized on three separate tiers. In his view, the higher tier corresponds to the syllable (=σ), the middle one to the mora (=μ) and the lower one to the segment (=x). According to this theory, the process of RF would be understood as being induced by the realization of an extra moraic unit projected by the stressed syllable in word-final position in order to satisfy the SRC. This mora, being empty, must be filled by melodic material. There, the content of the extra moraic unit is phonetically satisfied by the consonant that follows and hence RF operates. The structure in (9) gives an example of how RF applies under the Moraic Theory approach *à la* Hayes.

(9)
 a. farò bene → [fa'ro bbene] 'I will do well'



The mechanism outlined in (9) would also apply to those monosyllables that are considered to bear stress (cf. Loporcaro, 1997b; Korzen, 1980; Basbøll, 1989; Sluyters, 1990; Agostiniani, 1992). In the case of the monosyllabic preposition *a* (cf. (6a)), for instance, RF would also be understood in the same way as (9), where an extra mora is projected by the stressed syllable.

2.2.1 Secondary stress

Waltereit (2004) observes that in Old Italian texts (specifically in Old Tuscan) RF is also attested after some clitics. (10) exemplifies this situation.

(10)

- a. o.ra. se. **lla.** met.te.va ...
 now ReflC.3sg OC.3sg.f put.3sg.past
 ['Cronaca di anonimo romano' (1357), in Waltereit (2004): 48]
- b. lo. te. **llo.** p(ro).ve.re.i
 I IC.2sg OC.3sg.m prove.pr.cond.
 ['Ingiurie lucchesi' (1349), OVI, in Waltereit (2004): 53]

Waltereit (2004) claims that the presence of secondary stress in a sentence permits RF in Old Tuscan. Given the secondary stress assignment constraint formulated by Vogel & Scalise (1982) and Peperkamp (1998), which states that the first syllable in a sequence must be stressed and that syllables must be stressed alternately, we might expect RF to apply after any word endowed with secondary stress. In (10a), for instance, the first syllable of the string, namely *o*, is stressed. For this reason, the syllable following it cannot be stressed, meaning that the next syllable is alternately stressed. In this case, *se*, a reflexive clitic bearing phrasal secondary stress, can act as an optimal candidate for triggering RF. This analysis, however, seems to pose some problems regarding the presence of RF triggered by clitic elements. In fact, as many northern Tuscan dialects demonstrate, only a small set of subject clitics preceding a lexical verb in the present indicative is able to induce RF. The paradigm in (11) illustrates this situation.

(11) Pieve S. Lorenzo (Lunigiano)

| | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| i | 'ðɔrmə | SC sleep.sg | 'I sleep' |
| tə | 'ðɔrmə | SC.2sg sleep.sg | 'you sleep' |
| i | d'd ɔrmə / la 'ðɔrmə | SC sleep.sg/SC.3f sleep.sg | '(s)he sleeps' |
| | durmi'an | sleep.1pl | 'we sleep' |
| | dur'mitə | sleep.2pl | 'you sleep' |
| i | d'd ɔrmənə / la 'ðɔrmənə | SC sleep.3pl/SC.3f sleep.3pl | 'they sleep' |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), I: 112]

Given the secondary stress assignment rule, the subject clitics /i/ and /tə/ preceding a 1 and 2sg verb would not be able to trigger RF since they precede a syllable, namely /'ðɔ/, endowed with primary stress. Indeed, RF is not found in this case. Crucially, RF is triggered by the subject clitic preceding the lexical verb specified for 3sg, whose primary stress falls on the first syllable. For this reason, we can conclude that the presence of secondary stress is not the only ingredient that allows RF to operate after the subject clitics in (11).

2.3 Irregular RF

Stress-induced RF is attested only in Standard Italian, Tuscan, and some other central dialects, Corsican included. The process of irregular RF is instead found in a larger group of dialects, which stretches from Tuscany down to Sicily, including Sardinia and Corsica. The empirical generalization regarding RF is then that if only one type of RF is attested in a language, it must be the irregular one.

In this section, three different accounts will be explored in order to shed light on the mechanism underlying the realization of RF in those contexts in which it is not driven by stress. In the first place, the mechanism of regressive consonantal assimilation *à la* Schuchardt (1874), Hall (1964), Loporcaro (1997b) and Waltereit (2004), a.o., will be discussed. Then, the phonological approach by Repetti (1991) will be examined. Finally, the prosodic and syntactic conditioning of RF will be taken into account.

2.3.1 Regressive consonant assimilation

Regressive consonant assimilation (henceforth RCA) is a phonological process by which a sound in a consonant cluster influences the preceding one. RCA is often found in word-internal position in Standard Italian and is thought to originate from Vulgar Latin. The geminates in words like *otto* (eight), *letto* (bed) and *sotto* (under), for instance, are the result of the application of RCA word-internally. Indeed, the Latin counterparts of these words are OCTO, LECTUS and SUBTUS (pronounced *suptus*), respectively, where the voiceless stops /k/ and /p/ in the consonant cluster were assimilated to the next segment in the linear string, namely /t/, at a certain

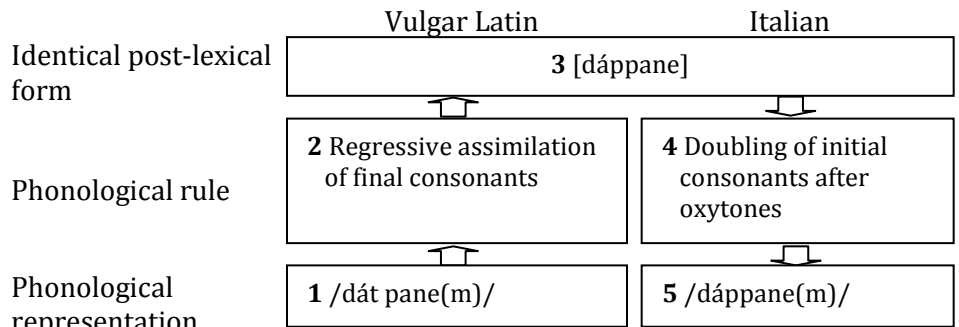
diachronic stage. According to Schuchardt (1874), Hall (1964) and Loporcaro (1997b), RCA also occurs in word-final position, since the interaction of two consonants at word boundaries also yields a geminate (cf. (12)). In the same way as RCA in word-internal position, RCA at word-boundaries is also thought to originate from Vulgar Latin.

(12) Standard Italian

- a. ET VIDET > e [v:]ede
and see.pr.3sg
- b. AD TE > a [t:]e
to you.sg

Waltereit (2004), following Schuchardt and Loporcaro, identifies a diachronic path along which the development of RCA-derived RF in Standard Italian is described (cf. (13)).

(13) From Latin consonant assimilation to Italian raddoppiamento



[Waltereit (2004): 44]

In 1, the word *dát*, ending in a consonant, precedes a word that also starts with a consonant. Given the process of RCA that took place in Vulgar Latin, the last consonant of *dát*, namely *t*, assimilates to the first one of the following word, thus leading to a geminate (stage 2). At the same time as RCA-derived RF starts to be productive, yet another phonological process is at work: the fall of consonants in word-final position (stage 3). For this reason, as suggested by Loporcaro (1997b), since (all) word-final

consonants disappeared, the speakers conceived the presence of RF as being driven by stress present on the trigger (stages 4 and 5)⁵.

Loporcaro (1997b) claims that RF triggered by paroxytonic words can also be analyzed as deriving from RCA at word-boundaries. These facts are illustrated in (14), where the last segments of the RF-trigger are assimilated to the first consonant of the following word.

(14)

- a. *QUOMODO+ET ME > come [m:]e
as and I; 'like myself'
- b. *QUALE+QUID TEMPUS > qualche [t:]empo
every so and so; 'what kind of what time'

[Loporcaro (1997b): 23]

Given these facts, the presence of irregular RF can be explained on the basis of the application of RCA in the context CVC#CVC, which allegedly took place in diachrony⁶. Despite this assumption, Waltereit (2004) observes that many words triggering RF in Standard Italian ended in a vowel in Latin, as (15) shows.

(15)

- a. DE UBI > dove [+RF] = dove [v:]ai
from where; 'where'
- b. INFRA > fra [+RF] = fra [l:]i
below; 'amongst in'

[Adapted from Waltereit (2004): 45]

⁵ The reason why the realization of RF at stage 4 is considered to be determined by stress relies on the assumption that after the loss of final consonants a significant number of RF-triggers were oxytones.

⁶ It must be noted that many words in Latin admitted a consonant in word-final position. Crucially, lexemes licensing RF in SIDs today mostly correspond to functional rather than lexical items: see, for instance, the contrast between the presence versus absence of RF in the case of the adjectival [no:v] (< Lat. NOUDEM) in (i) and the auxiliary [a] (< Lat. *HA(BE)T) in (ii). In the former case, RF is never attested, whereas in the latter case RF can be found: Apulo-Barese i. 'no:v 'ka:sər(ə) 'nine houses'; ii. a f'fatt(ə) '(s)he has done'.

The data in (15) suggest that the analysis proposed by Schuchardt, Hall and Loporcaro, which claims that RCA at word-boundaries is responsible for triggering RF, is incomplete.

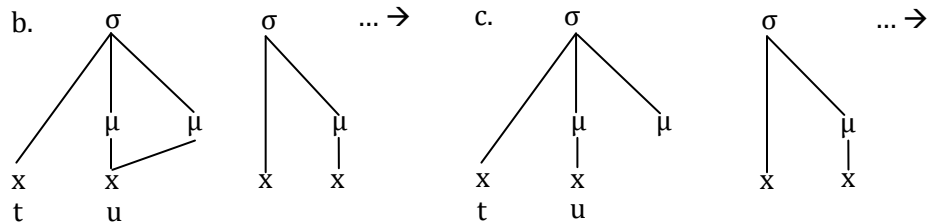
2.3.2 The moraic analysis

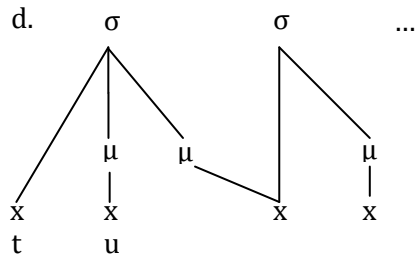
Repetti (1991) turns to Hayes' (1989) Moraic Theory and gives an account according to which the presence of regular and irregular RF derives from purely phonological facts. In both cases, an extra mora in word-final position, originally linked to a segmental unit, becomes free and thus available to trigger regressive spreading of the following consonant. This phonological process is claimed to have been active in the period of transition from Vulgar Latin to Standard Italian.

In Standard Italian, a stressed monosyllable such as *tu* 'you.sg' derives from the Latin form *TŪ*, where the vowel *u* was long (cf. (16)). According to Repetti, the segment *u* in coda position delinks from its original mora in the period of transition from Vulgar Latin to Standard Italian. For this reason, this mora remains free and regressive spreading of the next consonant applies in order to fill its content. As a result, RF takes place.

(16)

a. Latin: *TŪ* → Standard Italian: *tu*

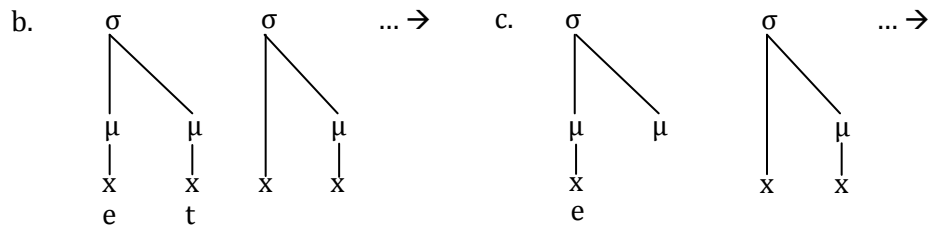




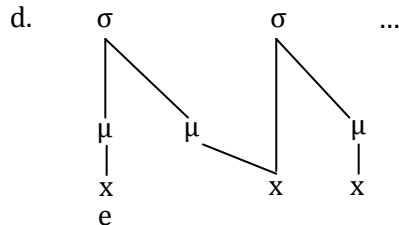
An irregular RF-trigger, according to Repetti, was also endowed with a strong rhyme in Latin since it admitted a consonant in coda position. This consonant was deleted in diachrony, thus leaving the mora with which it was originally associated empty. Because of the deletion of this segment, the free mora must be filled by another segment. At this point, regressive spreading of the following consonant applies, and RF is triggered (cf. (17))⁷.

(17)

a. Latin: ET → Standard Italian: *e*



⁷ Similarly to Repetti (1991), Passino (2012) proposes that irregular RF derives from the presence of an empty CV on the trigger. With reference to the preposition *a*, she claims that this word is endowed with an empty syllable, which in Latin hosted a consonant, namely [d]. The loss of melody that occurred during the transition from Latin to Southern Italo-Romance did not correspond to the loss of structural space (cf. Bafile, 2003): after [d] was lost, the final CV was not deleted. For this reason, regressive spreading of the following consonant in the linear string takes place and RF is attested.



All in all, the phonological representations in (16) and (17) suggest that a strict parallelism between regular and irregular RF-triggers holds: both elements are characterized by a strong rhyme.

2.3.3 Syntactic conditioning of RF

If the diachronic explanations outlined above were satisfactory, RF should always apply after an oxytonic word, as well as in the presence of a Latin etymon ending in a consonant (cf. Loporcaro, 1997b). On the contrary, on the basis of some Abruzzese data, Fanciullo (1983-1986) observes that irregular RF-triggers do not consistently force regressive spreading of the consonant that follows. An example is given below where the oxytonic adverb [c'cu] 'more', deriving from Latin PLUS, behaves as an RF-trigger in (18a) and not in (18b).

(18)

- a. [jess e c'cu ffɔrtə də te] 'he is stronger than you'
 he BE.pr.3sg more strong than you
- b. [jess e ffɔrt ccu də te] 'he is strong more than you'
 he BE.pr.3sg strong more than you

[Fanciullo (1983-1986): 88-90]

In (18a), when [c'cu] precedes the adjective, RF applies. In (18b), conversely, RF does not appear. Observe however that the copula BE is consistent in triggering RF both in (18a) and (18b). The difference in the distribution of RF in correspondence with BE and the adverb [c'cu] suggests that the mechanism underlying RF is not exclusively determined by the phonological structure of the trigger. In fact, as Fanciullo (1986) suggests, a

syntactic conditioning of the process is observed in (18). Furthermore, with reference to Standard Italian, it has been observed that the minimal pair in (19) admits RF only in the former case and not in the latter.

(19)

- a. (mangerò [p:]anini)Φ 'I will eat sandwiches'
will eat.1sg sandwiches
- b. (mangerò)Φ (panini col salame)Φ 'I will eat salami sandwiches'
will eat.1sg sandwiches with salami

[Nespor (1993): 204]

The data in (18), as well as those in (19), suggest that RF should be considered to be a process that relies on both phonological and syntactic ingredients. Within the framework of Prosodic Phonology (cf. Nespor & Vogel, 1986; Selkirk, 1984), it has been assumed that RF applies within prosodic constituents. Nespor (1993) asserts that in the case of a noun branching with the verb (cf. (19a)), one phonological phrase is instantiated. Within a phonological phrase, RF can freely apply. In (19b.), conversely, the NP 'panini' branches independently of the verb, thus leading to the realization of two different phonological phrases. In this environment, RF cannot be triggered.

This last consideration, together with the examples in (18), serves to highlight that a theory that defines RF as a phenomenon strictly dependent on phonological requirements specified on the trigger is incomplete. With regard to RF triggered by monosyllabic southern Italian present perfect auxiliaries, the next section (cf. §3) will present a thorough investigation of what determines whether these elements trigger RF or not, and specifically whether these factors are exclusively phonological in nature.

3. The interaction between RF and auxiliaries: the dimension of variation

This section presents the variation affecting the distribution of RF triggered by present perfect BE/HAVE auxiliaries in USIDs, beginning with the variation affecting BE. In particular, it will be shown that:

- i. Auxiliary BE allows the realization of RF only for some forms in the paradigm (cf. §3.1.1);
- ii. The presence of RF triggered by the auxiliary BE is categorically disallowed in some dialects (cf. §3.1.2);
- iii. In some USIDs, the auxiliary BE triggers RF only when it combines with a specific type of past participle (cf. §3.1.3);
- iv. In some USIDs, passive BE induces RF, whereas active BE disallows this mechanism (cf. §3.1.4).

With regard to the variation affecting RF in the case of auxiliary HAVE, it will be observed that:

- i. A group of USIDs categorically disallows the presence of RF with auxiliary HAVE (cf. §3.2);
- ii. RF in a subset of USIDs is triggered only if auxiliary HAVE bears a specific φ interpretation (cf. §3.2).

Throughout what follows, we will consider whether the phonological approaches to RF examined in the previous section are sufficient to do justice to the huge variation affecting RF triggered by present perfect auxiliaries in USIDs.

3.1 BE

3.1.1 Singular versus plural

In (almost all) USIDs, monosyllabic auxiliary BE in the active voice allows RF⁸. The examples in (20) and (21) below illustrate this situation. (20) reproduces the paradigm already given in (2).

⁸ As already mentioned in §1, auxiliary selection in USIDs does not function in the same way as Standard Italian, where the selection of the auxiliary is dictated by the semantico-syntactic properties of the past participle. This topic will be tackled in §4.

(20) Poggio Imperiale (Apulo-Daunian Appennines)

| | | | |
|----|-------|--------------------|------------------------|
| a. | sə | cca'matə/ppar'latə | B.pr.1sg called/spoken |
| | si | cca'matə/ppar'latə | B.pr.2sg called/spoken |
| | ε | cca'matə/ppar'latə | B.pr.3sg called/spoken |
| b. | simə | ca'matə/par'latə | B.pr.1pl called/spoken |
| | sitə | ca'matə/par'latə | B.pr.2pl called/spoken |
| | sɔnnə | ca'matə/par'latə | B.pr.3pl called/spoken |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 720-721]

(21) Bitonto (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | |
|----|-------|--------------------|--------------------|
| a. | sə | f'fattə/m'mu(ə)rtə | B.pr.1sg done/died |
| | si | f'fattə/m'mu(ə)rtə | B.pr.2sg done/died |
| | je | f'fattə/m'mu(ə)rtə | B.pr.3sg done/died |
| b. | simə | 'fattə/'mu(ə)rtə | B.pr.1pl done/died |
| | sitə | 'fattə/'mu(ə)rtə | B.pr.2pl done/died |
| | jɔnnə | 'fattə/'mu(ə)rtə | H.pr.3pl done/died |

(20) and (21) clearly show that the presence of RF is limited to the singular paradigm. In fact, no plural BE auxiliary features RF. One might think that paroxytonic auxiliaries in the Apulian dialects observed above do not have the phonological requirement for triggering RF. In fact, the paroxytonic adverb *come* in these dialects does not license RF, as (22) shows.

(22) Bitonto (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|--------|-----|--------|-----------------------------|
| 'si:m | 'ku:m | 'kwə:n | e | g'gatt | 'we don't stand each other' |
| BE.pr.1pl | like | dogs | and | cats | |

Despite this first tentative generalization, a further observation is required at this point. In most Apulian dialects, as well as in many other USIDs, paroxytonic demonstratives preceding mass nouns (cf. Rohlfs, 1969; a.o.) obligatorily trigger RF. This situation is illustrated in (23) with reference to the variety of Bitonto.

(23) Bitonto (Apulo-Barese)

kuss/ ku:r p'pə:n 'this/that bread'
 this.neut./ that.neut. bread

The fact that RF is triggered by a paroxytonic demonstrative preceding a mass noun in the dialect of Bitonto, and is excluded in those cases in which BE is in the plural paradigm, leads to the following generalization, which is given in (24).

(24) *Generalization I* (tentative version)

- In USIDs, present perfect auxiliary BE in the active voice possesses the property of triggering RF in the singular paradigm;
- In USIDs, present perfect auxiliary BE in the active voice does not possess the property of triggering RF in the plural paradigm⁹.

⁹ This generalization also holds for the case in which RF is triggered by copulas in predicative constructions. In USIDs, as well as in all other Romance varieties, the morphological form of the copula corresponds to BE. In the singular paradigm, this element is able to trigger RF in a large number of USIDs: San Benedetto del Tronto [Southern Marchigiano] **sɔ/ ʃi/ jɛ kkun'tintə** (BE.cop.pr.1sg/ BE.cop.pr.2sg/ BE.cop.pr.3sg happy) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 683]. Crucially, a number of dialects show that the triggering of RF by a copula is active only with some forms in the singular paradigm. Indeed, in the dialect of Castelvecchio Subequo [Western Abruzzese] RF is triggered by a 1 and 2sg copula, and not by a 3sg copula: **sɔ/ ʃi kkun'tientə** (BE.cop.pr.1sg/ BE.cop.pr.2sg happy) versus **e kun'tientə** (BE.cop.pr.3sg happy) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 692]. Moreover, in some Southern Marchigiano dialects, on a par with some Central Apulian and Campanian dialects, RF is triggered only by a 1 and 3sg copula: Amandola [Southern Marchigiano] **so/ ɛ kkon'tentu** (BE.cop.pr.1sg/ BE.cop.pr.3sg happy) versus **si kon'tentu** (BE.cop.pr.2sg) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 684]; Santa Maria a Vico [Central Campanian] **so/ ɛ kkun'tentə** (BE.cop.pr.1sg/ BE.cop.pr.3sg happy) versus **si kun'tentə** (BE.cop.pr.2sg happy) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 780]. In a handful of USIDs, however, RF is never found after a copula, as in the case of the variety of Torricella Peligna [Eastern Abruzzese]: **sɔ/ ʃi/ ʏe 'ɣrɔssə** (BE.cop.pr.1sg/ BE.cop.pr.2sg/ BE.cop.pr.3sg fat) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 697], or is restricted to the 3sg copula only: Montenerodomo [Eastern Abruzzese] **sɔ/ ʃi 'ɣrɔssə** (BE.cop.pr.1sg/ BE.cop.pr.2sg fat) versus **ʏe g'gruəssə** (BE.cop.pr.3sg fat) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 694]. This empirical evidence suggests that there is significant

3.1.2 Lack of RF

Although some USIDs allow the triggering of RF after BE in the singular paradigm (cf. (20) and (21)), there is one particular group of USIDs, exemplified in (25)-(27), in which this mechanism is disallowed.

(25) San Benedetto del Tronto (Southern Marchigiano)

| | | |
|----|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| sɔ | 'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/ve'nutə | B.pr.1sg seen/slept/come |
| si | 'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/ve'nutə | B.pr.2sg seen/slept/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 682]

(26) San Vittore del Lazio (Southern Laziale)

| | | |
|-------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| sɔŋgə | la'va:tə/rum'mitə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.1sg washed/slept/come |
| ʃi | la'va:tə/rum'mitə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.2sg washed/slept/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 703]

(27) Canosa Sannita (Eastern Abruzzese)

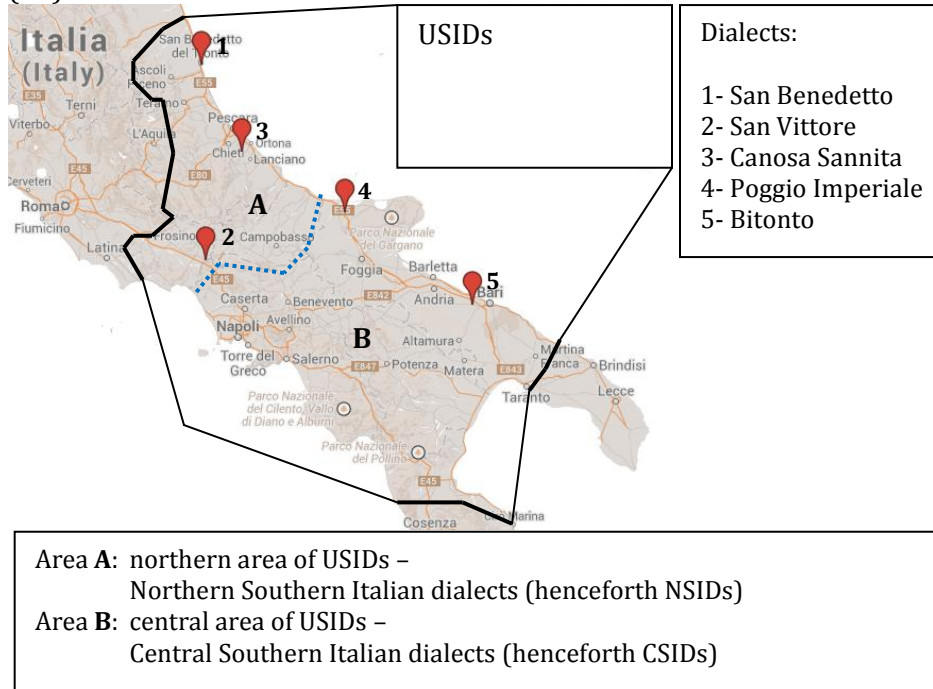
| | | |
|----|--------------------|----------------------------|
| sɔ | maŋ'na:tə/mi'nu:tə | B.pr.1sg washed.sg/come.sg |
| si | maŋ'na:tə/mi'nu:tə | B.pr.2sg washed.sg/come.sg |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 687]

As the map in (28) shows, the varieties of San Benedetto del Tronto (cf. (25)), San Vittore del Lazio (cf. (26)) and Canosa Sannita (cf. (27)) are spoken within the same geolinguistic area, which corresponds to the most northern area in which USIDs are spoken. The dialects of Poggio Imperiale (cf. (20)) and Bitonto (cf. (21)), on the other hand, are spoken in the central USIDs area.

variation in the distribution of RF triggered by a copula in predicative constructions.

(28)



The map in (28) proposes a geolinguistic division of USIDs based on the RF triggering properties of auxiliary BE. NSIDs are those varieties where active auxiliary BE is generally not able to trigger gemination, whereas CSIDs correspond to those varieties where RF is triggered by present perfect auxiliary BE, when this is a monosyllabic form in the singular paradigm¹⁰.

¹⁰ RF triggered by present perfect auxiliary BE in the singular paradigm is also attested for some NSIDs. More specifically, a group of varieties spoken around the area of transition between NSIDs and CIDs shows that active auxiliary BE in the singular paradigm is able to trigger RF: Amandola [Southern Marchigiano] **so/ si cca'mato/ ppar'lato/ vvi'nuto** (B.pr.1sg/ B.pr.2sg called/ spoken/ come) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 684]; Popoli [Western Abruzzese] **so/ fi ddur'moitə** (B.pr.1st/ B.pr.2sg slept) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 688]. Moreover, in a set of dialects belonging to this transitional area, RF can be found with either 1 or 2sg BE. For instance, in the dialect of Sonnino, spoken in southern Lazio, 1sg BE is able to trigger RF, the realization of which is banned with 2sg BE: **so lla'vato/ ppar'lato**

The distinction between NSIDs and CSIDs will be maintained throughout this dissertation, since these two groups of dialects display different properties with regard to the morphosyntax of perfective auxiliiation, as the following chapters will show.

3.1.3 RF and the phonological shape of the past participle

In one group of CSIDs, RF triggered by active auxiliary BE is generally found in those contexts in which this form precedes a past participle stressed on the first syllable. This is shown in (29) and (30), where (29) indicates that the presence of a past participle stressed on the first syllable allows RF and (30), on the other hand, shows that RF is banned in the context in which the stressed vowel of the participle is not adjacent to BE.

(29) Bisceglie (Apulo-Barese)

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------|---------------|
| sɔ | *(f)'fattə | B.pr.1sg done |
| si | *(f)'fattə | B.pr.2sg done |

(30) Bisceglie (Apulo-Barese)

| | | |
|----|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| sɔ | ca'maitə/drəm'mi:tə/və'ni:tə | B.pr.1sg called/slept/come |
| si | ca'maitə/drəm'mi:tə/və'ni:tə | B.pr.2sg called/slept/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 721]

However, in some dialects spoken in Central Apulia, RF can be triggered by BE in the singular paradigm when the auxiliary combines with a past participle not stressed on the first syllable and is obligatory when the participle is stressed on the first syllable.

(B.pr.1sg washed/ spoken) versus si la'vato/ par'lato (B.pr.2sg washed/ spoken) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 701]. Conversely, in the dialect of Secinaro, spoken in Western Abruzzo, the form triggering RF is 2sg BE and not 1sg BE: sɔ par'la:tə/ mə'nutə (B.pr.1sg spoken/ come) versus **fi ppar'**la:tə/ **mmə'**nutə (B.pr.2sg spoken/ come) [Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 691].

(31) Conversano (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | |
|----|----|----------------------|----------------|
| a. | sɔ | (m) man'dʒe:t | B.pr.1sg eaten |
| | si | (m) man'dʒe:t | B.pr.2sg eaten |
| b. | sɔ | * (f) 'fatt | B.pr.1sg done |
| | si | * (f) 'fatt | B.pr.2sg done |

Based on the empirical facts illustrated here, we propose the following generalization:

(32) *Generalization II* (tentative version)

- In a subset of CSIDs, present perfect auxiliary BE in the active voice obligatorily triggers RF in the singular paradigm only if the past participle that follows is stressed on the first syllable;
- In a subset of CSIDs, present perfect auxiliary BE in the active voice optionally triggers RF in the singular paradigm when followed by a past participle not endowed with stress on the first syllable.

3.1.4 Alternation in Voice: active versus passive BE

Biberauer & D'Alessandro (2006), looking at the Eastern Abruzzese dialect of Arielli, observe that the difference between active and passive voice in this dialect is signaled by means of RF, which is present only when BE is passive. In the case of active BE, conversely, RF is banned. (33) illustrates this situation.

(33) Arielli (Eastern Abruzzese)

| | | | |
|----|---------------|---------|---------------|
| a. | sɔ | 'vistə | 'I have seen' |
| | B.act.pr.1sg | seen | |
| b. | sɔ | v'vistə | 'I am seen' |
| | B.pass.pr.1sg | seen | |

[Biberauer & D'Alessandro (2006): 87-88]

Following Chomsky (2001 *ff.*), the difference between defective and non-defective *v* derives from the PIC (Phase Impenetrability Condition) operating in the latter case and not in the former. The application of the PIC

determines the set of elements which are sent to Spell-Out together. In the presence of a non-defective *v*, the complement of *v* is sent to Spell-Out independently of *v*. In this situation, two phonological phrases are computed. This blocks the application of the RF phonological rule between the auxiliary, which, according to Biberauer & D'Alessandro, merges in T° , and the participle, which merges in V° . In the case of defective *v*, conversely, only one phonological phrase is computed as both *v* and its complement are sent to Spell-Out together. In this way, RF can apply between the passive auxiliary in T° and the participle in V° , as they belong to the same chunk (i.e. phonological phrase)¹¹. The two syntactic structures discussed here are given in (34).

(34)¹²

a. [_{TP} *so* [_{VP} [_{VP} *viste*]]] (active): *viste* sent to PF independently of *so* → no RF

b. [_{TP} *so* [_{VP} ~~*so*~~ [_{VP} *viste*]]] (passive): *so viste* sent to PF together → RF

[Biberauer & D'Alessandro 2006: 92]

A similar approach is proposed by D'Alessandro & Scheer (2012) & (2013). In their view, the phase skeleton computed by syntax (i.e. presence of defective/non-defective *v*) might or might not be reflected by a mirror PIC operating at PF.

The facts observed with reference to the Eastern Abruzzese dialect of Arielli suggest that RF results from a series of mechanisms that are not exclusively phonological in nature.

¹¹ Biberauer & D'Alessandro (2006) claim that it is inappropriate to assume the existence of a pair of homophonous BE auxiliaries in the lexicon of Ariellese. If this were true, then two types of BE auxiliaries would exist: one endowed with RF triggering properties and the other one not.

¹² Evidence that passive *so* externally merges in a lower position than active *so* derives from the fact that only active BE, and not passive BE, can be followed by the *v*P-adverbial *ggià* (cf. *Ggià so (???)ggià* [*v*]*viste da tutti quinde* 'I am already seen by anyone' versus *Ggià li so (ggià) viste cullù* 'I have already seen him') [Biberauer & D'Alessandro (2006): 92].

3.1.5 Summary

The table in (35) presents a summary of the distribution of RF in the presence of the BE auxiliaries analyzed above. + indicates the presence of RF, whereas – signals the absence thereof.

(35)¹³

| | Context | Dialect | | BE | | | | | |
|-----------|--|---------|----------------------|-----------|----------|---|--------|---|---|
| | | | | Singular | | | Plural | | |
| | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Auxiliary | singular vs plural | (20) | Poggio Imperiale | + | + | + | - | - | - |
| | | (21) | Bitonto | + | + | + | - | - | - |
| | | (25) | San Benedetto d. T. | - | - | | | | |
| | | (26) | San Vittore d. Lazio | - | - | | | | |
| | | (27) | Canosa Sannita | - | - | | | | |
| | stress on part: 1 st (1.σ) vs non 1 st syllable (-1.σ) | (29) | Bisceglie (-1.σ) | + | + | | | | |
| | | (30) | Bisceglie (1.σ) | - | - | | | | |
| | | (31a) | Conversano (-1.σ) | ± | ± | | | | |
| | | (31b) | Conversano(1.σ) | + | + | | | | |
| | active vs passive | (33) | Arielli | Pass + | Act - | | | | |

The table in (35) demonstrates that RF can never be found in the plural paradigm, but is restricted to the singular, where it is subject to microvariation.

¹³ BE, as an active auxiliary, is also attested in the 1 and 2pl in (25)-(27) and (33). In these dialects, 3p auxiliaries select HAVE. The dialects in (29)-(31), instead, exhibit the choice of HAVE for all persons in the plural paradigm. These facts are made explicit in the table in (73) below.

3.2 HAVE

In the same fashion as the BE paradigms in (20) and (21) (cf. §3.1.1.), RF triggered by auxiliary HAVE in USIDs is attested only in the singular paradigm and is absent in the plural. More specifically, only a subset of HAVE auxiliaries in the singular paradigm licenses RF. This mechanism is attested for a large number of CSIDs (cf. (36)-(38)).

(36) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | |
|----|-------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | aʝ/i | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.1sg done/left |
| | a | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.2sg done/left |
| | (')a | f'fatt/ppar'tu:t | H.pr.3sg done/left |
| b. | am | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.1pl done/left |
| | a'vet | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.2pl done/left |
| | an | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.3pl done/left |

(37) Airola (Central Campanian)

| | | | |
|----|----------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | addʒə | 'vistə/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.1sg seen/come |
| | a | 'vistə/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.2sg seen/come |
| | a | v'vistə/vve'nu:tə | H.pr.3sg seen/come |
| b. | ammu | 'vistə/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.1pl seen/come |
| | atə | 'fatt/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.2pl seen/come |
| | annə | 'fatt/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.3pl seen/come |

(38) Albidona (Northern Calabrian)

| | | | |
|----|----------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | dʒə | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.1sg washed/come |
| | ε | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.2sg washed/come |
| | ε | gga'βa:tə/bbə'nu:tə | H.pr.3sg washed/come |
| b. | mə | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.1pl washed/come |
| | a'βəsə | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.2pl washed/come |
| | nə | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.3pl washed/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 784]

The paradigms in (36)-(38) show that RF is triggered by 3sg HAVE in these dialects, and is never attested in the case of 2sg HAVE. Moreover, in the

dialect of Mola di Bari in (36) RF is never attested when the auxiliary HAVE in the 1sg is /i/. It is important to remember, however, that 2 and 3sg HAVE in (36)-(38) share the same root. In contrast to many CSIDs, such as the dialects in (36)-(38), a large number of NSIDs, alongside a small group of CSIDs, do not display RF after 3sg HAVE, as shown in (39)-(42).

(39) San Benedetto del Tronto (Southern Marchigiano)

a 'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/və'nutə H.pr.3sg seen/slept/come
[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 682-683]

(40) San Vittore del Lazio (Southern Laziale)

a la'va:tə/rum'mitə/mə'nu:tə H.pr.3sg washed/slept/come
[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 703]

(41) Canosa Sannita (Eastern Abruzzese)

a maŋ'ja:tə/mi'nu:tə H.pr.3sg eaten/come
[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 687]

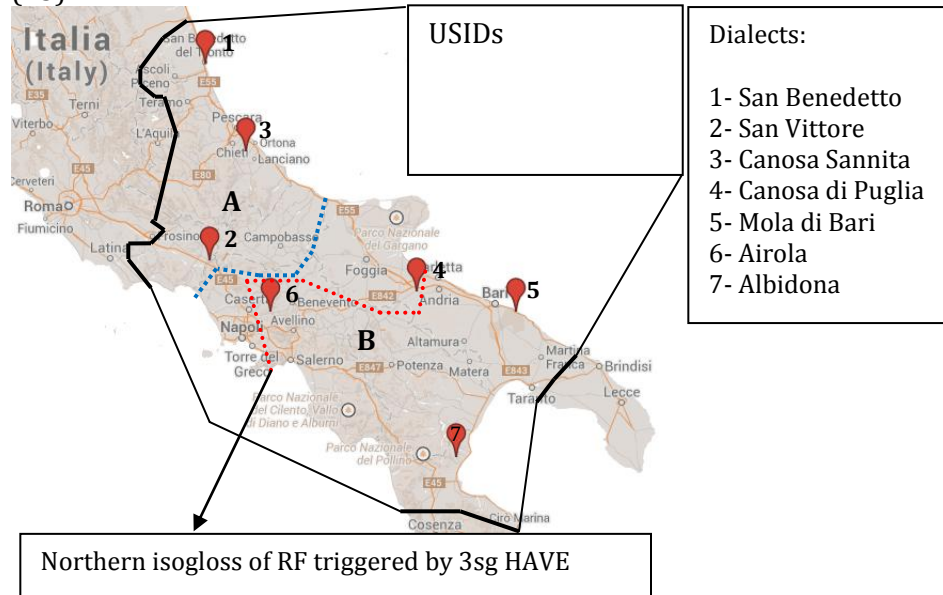
(42) Canosa di Puglia (Apulo-Barese)

ɔ ca'mɛ:tə/dərmeutə/və'neutə H.pr.3sg called/slept/come
[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 791]

The map in (43) illustrates the geolinguistic distribution of the dialects that allow RF triggered by 3sg HAVE. This group is made up of a large number of CSIDs, stretching from central/northern Apulia, in the east, and central Campania, in the west, up to the border with ESIDs. These dialects, as shown in the map in (28), are included in geolinguistic area B. Conversely, NSIDs, marked in (28) as part of geolinguistic area A, pattern together with a group of northern CSIDs in consistently never triggering RF in the case of 3sg HAVE¹⁴.

¹⁴ A caveat is required at this point. 3sg HAVE in CSIDs always allows RF, the occurrence of which is never restricted by the phonological properties of the past participle. In other words, whenever 1 and 2sg BE in CSIDs optionally trigger RF

(43)¹⁵



Given these facts, we propose the following generalization:

(44) *Generalization III* (tentative version)

- In a large number of CSIDs, 3sg HAVE is the only form in the paradigm that triggers RF;
- In (all) NSIDs, as well as in a group of CSIDs spoken in the area of transition with NSIDs, no HAVE auxiliaries trigger RF.

depending on the presence or absence of stress on the first syllable of the past participle, 3sg HAVE in CSIDs obligatorily allows RF, independently of stress.

¹⁵ The isogloss of RF triggered by 3sg HAVE is based on data collected by the author and documented in Manzini & Savoia (2005). Moreover, it must be noted that Melillo (1976), focusing on a several morphosyntactic properties of Apulian dialects, identifies a small number of dialects spoken in the province of Foggia in which RF is triggered by 3sg HAVE (Melillo (1976), map 43). These facts are not shown in the map in (43).

3.2.1 Summary

The table in (45) illustrates a summary of the distribution of RF in the presence of present perfect HAVE in USIDs. As in (35), + signals the presence of RF triggered by HAVE, whereas - signals the absence of RF triggered by this form.

(45)¹⁶

| | Context | Dialect | | HAVE | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|---------------------|----------|---|---|--------|---|---|
| | | | | Singular | | | Plural | | |
| | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Auxiliary | CSIDs | (36) | Mola di Bari | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| | | (37) | Airola | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| | | (38) | Albidona | - | - | + | - | - | - |
| | NSIDs & area of transition | (39) | San Benedetto d. T. | | | - | | | |
| | | (40) | San Vittore d. L. | | | - | | | |
| | | (41) | Canosa Sannita | | | - | | | |
| | | (42) | Canosa di Puglia | | | - | | | |

It is notable that RF can only be triggered by 3sg HAVE. This mechanism, however, is restricted to a specific geolinguistic area, and is not found in all USIDs.

3.3 RF and auxiliaries: the problems of the phonological approach

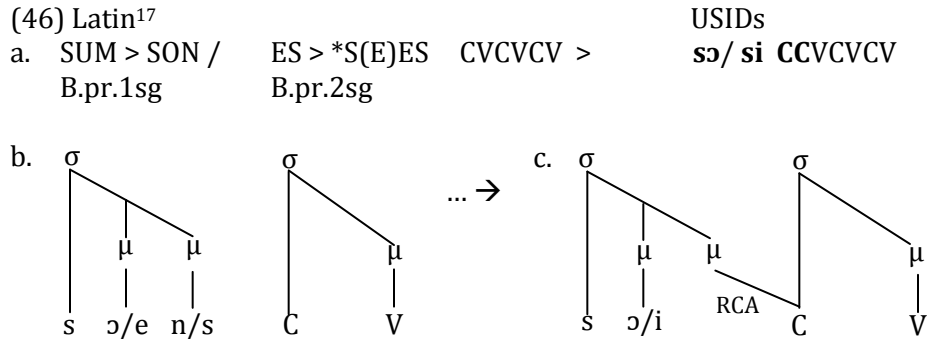
In this section, we consider whether the phonological approaches examined in §2.3 are sufficient for identifying the distribution of RF triggered by present perfect BE/HAVE auxiliaries in USIDs (cf. §3.3.1 and §3.3.2). Throughout the following discussion, it will be shown that these approaches

¹⁶ In the dialects in (39)-(42), HAVE is the form found in the 3pl and BE is attested in the 1 and 2 person, both in the singular and in the plural paradigm. These facts are reported in the table in (73) below.

are unable to explain the ‘accidental’ distribution of RF observed in the tables in (35) and (45).

3.3.1 BE

Latin BE formatives in the present indicative all admitted a consonant in word-final position (cf. SUM, ES, EST, SUMUS, ESTIS, SUNT). Following Schuchardt (1874), Hall (1964) and Loporcaro (1997), we might assume that the presence of a consonant in word-final position of Latin BE would have favored the application of RCA in the diachronic evolution of this form from Latin to Southern Italo-Romance. For this reason, RF would be expected to result in all these cases.



Crucially, as extensively discussed above, RF in USIDs is triggered only by a subset of BE auxiliaries, namely by those of the singular paradigm (SUM >

¹⁷ The nasal -M in SUM is assumed to have turned into an -N in spoken Latin (cf. Tekavčić (1980)). Moreover, Meyer-Lübke (1894), Rohlfs (1969) and Tekavčić (1980) claim that 2sg BE in the evolution from Latin to Italo-Romance admitted an *s*, or the syllable *se*, before the Latin root *e* of ES. The authors claim that occurrence of *s* in this case is the result of an extension of *s* from SON to ES, due to a process of analogy. The same mechanism has been thought to apply in the case of 2pl BE, where the extension of *s* from SUMUS to ESTIS has led to the form *SETIS. According to Vincent (1982), 2sg BE in the present indicative derives from the Latin present subjunctive *SIS.

SON > **sɔ + RF** versus SUMUS/SIMUS > **səmə - RF**)¹⁸. One would postulate that the absence of RF in the case of plural BE is to be attributed to the type of phonological feature(s) expressed on the *ultima*. This is to say that the presence of a voiceless alveolar fricative consonant, namely an [s], in word-final position would not have led to RF. However, the phonological representation in (46b) suggests that this is far from being true, since 2sg BE, which derives from *S(E)ES, inevitably triggers RF regardless of the phonological features expressed on the *ultima*.

Furthermore, the triggering of RF by a word that allowed an *s* in word-final position is widely attested in Southern Italo-Romance, as shown in (47).

| | | |
|------|-----------------------------|--|
| (47) | Latin | Apulo-Barese |
| a. | PLUS more | > ccu l'ɪ(o/u)ŋg(ə) more long |
| b. | NOS/VOS we/you.pl | > nu/vu (p)par'lə:m(ə)/ (p)par'lə:t(ə) we/you.pl speak.pr.1pl/speak.pr.2pl |

As Loporcaro (1988) points out, RF triggered by final *s* is not as widespread as that triggered by final *t*. While RF triggered by –T seems to be found in many USIDs and has a consistent geographic distribution, RF triggered by –S occurs sporadically in USIDs and is mostly attested in Sardinian dialects. Contini (1986: 531), with reference to the dialect of Nughedo, spoken in north-western Logudoro, documents cases like [sɔ p'pɔxxɔzɔ] (the.pl.masc. pigs) and [sa d'dɛntɛzɛ] (the.pl.fem. teeth), where the phonological representation of the plural determiners corresponds to [sɔs] and [sas], respectively. In Sardinian dialects, RF triggered by –S can also occur after paroxytones, as in the case of ['tempu m'malu] ('bad weather') (cf. Loporcaro (1988): 358), where the noun *tempu* possesses the requirement for licensing RF. Given these facts, it is natural to think that the triggering of RF is not strictly conditioned by the type of phonological feature expressed on the *ultima*. In fact, the occurrence of –S is not an obstacle for the

¹⁸ Recall that RF in USIDs can be triggered by paroxytonic words (cf. (23): Bitonto [Apulo-Barese] **kuss/ku:r p'pə:n**). For this reason, the absence of RF in the case of a plural BE auxiliary would not hinge on the fact that RCA operated only with monosyllabic words ending in a consonant, but also with paroxytonic words that allow a consonant in final position.

application of RCA in Sardinian, and for this reason RF is found in this context¹⁹.

Repetti's (2001) Moraic Theory is also unable to account for the absence of RF after plural BE. Under that theory, it is unclear why both the segment *s* in word-final position and the mora originally associated with it were deleted in the case of plural BE, when after 2sg BE, only the segment was deleted, with the mora remaining active and triggering RF.

3.3.2 HAVE

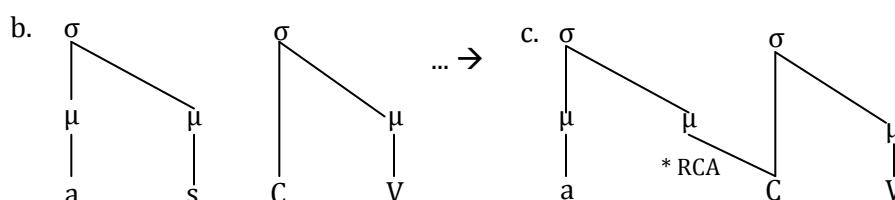
Present indicative HAVE in Latin, in the same way as BE, allowed a consonant in word-final position, both in the singular and in the plural paradigm, with the exception of 1sg HAVE (Lat. HABEO). Crucially, one group of CSIDs, as observed in §3.2, displays a pattern whereby RF is triggered only by 3sg HAVE and is not found elsewhere²⁰. This situation is

¹⁹ RF in some Sardinian dialects is also attested for words that allowed an *r* in final position: ['battɔ **k'kanɛzɛ**] (four dogs.pl), where *batto* derives from Latin QUATTUOR. Furthermore, Rindler-Schjerve (1984) observes that Sardinian is moving towards a system where total assimilation of final *s* is spreading among the younger generations.

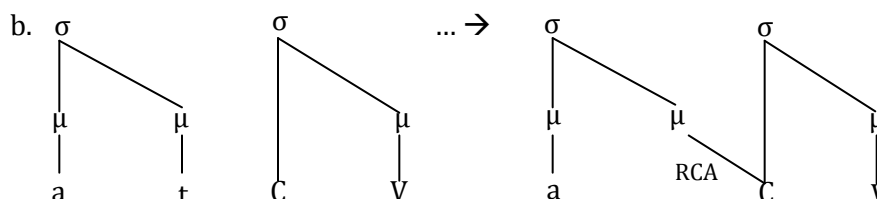
²⁰ At this point, we propose that a comparison is required between the occurrence of RF triggered by 3sg HAVE on the one hand, and RF triggered by lexical verbs on the other. In fact, as Lausberg (1939) observes, the presence of RF after 3sg lexical verbs is attested in a group of dialects spoken in northern Calabria-southern Lucania (Lausberg area): Colobraro [Southern Lucano] i. *kándətə na kandzōn* ~ ii. *kándə nna kandzón* -sing.pr.3sg a song- '(s)he sings a song' (cf. Fanciullo, 1997). The same phenomenon is also found in Sardinian: iii. *'kantað una ɣan'tɔne* -sing.pr.3sg a song- '(s)he sings a song' ~ iv. *'kanta t'torra* -sing.pr.3sg again- '(s)he sings again' (cf. Molinu, 1992). As the minimal pairs in i.-iv. illustrate, RF is absent when the 3sg lexical verb displays a full form, and present when the ending expressing 3sg is absent. Moreover, Silvestri (2007) observes that in the variety of Verbicaro, spoken in northern Calabria, the alternation between a 3sg lexical verbs with a [ðə] ending and one without, thus allowing RF, is connected to a different interpretation of the sentence (cf. 'trɛ:məðə ðu 'frwiddə versus 'trɛma **ddu** 'frwiddə -tremble.3sg from cold '(s)he trembles because of the cold'). In the former case, namely when the ending [ðə] is realized, the verb is emphasized, whereas in the latter case, namely when RF is found, the emphasis is on the PP-adjunct.

given in (48) and (49), where the triggering versus non-triggering of RF is shown by means of 2 and 3sg HAVE, respectively.

- (48) Latin CVCVCV > USIDs
 a. *HA(BE)S *a CCVCVCV
 HAVE.pr.2sg



- (49) Latin CVCVCV > USIDs
 a. *HA(BE)T a CCVCVCV
 HAVE.pr.3sg



Following Schuchardt, Hall and Loporcaro, we might expect to find RF both in the case of 2 and 3sg HAVE. In fact, both auxiliaries stem from their Latin counterparts *HA(BE)S and *HA(BE)T, respectively, and RF is realized only in the latter case and not in the former.

In the previous subsection (cf. §3.3.1), we observed that RF can be triggered by those words that allowed the consonant *s* in word-final position (cf. (47)). This evidence suggests that the presence versus absence of RF in (48) and (49), respectively, cannot be attributed to the type of phonological feature expressed on the *ultima*. Furthermore, the occurrence of RF with 3sg HAVE cannot be exclusively linked to the presence of segment *t* realized at word-final position. In fact, in a large number of CSIDs, neither

monosyllabic and paroxytonic 3sg verbs trigger RF (cf. Mola di Bari: ('kudd) na m 'də nudd a m'mε -(he) not IC.1sg give.pr.3sg nothing to me 'he doesn't give me anything', where ['də] < Lat. DAT; ('kudd) 'kand tutt 'kaus -(he) sing.pr.3sg every thing 'he sings everything', where ['kand] < Lat. CANTAT). The absence of RF after a 3sg lexical verb versus its presence after 3sg HAVE suggests that the phonological approach attributing RF exclusively to the RCA rule is inappropriate.

Moreover, the Moraic Theory *à la* Repetti also cannot explain why in the case of 2sg HAVE both the segment -S and the mora originally associated with it were deleted at a certain stage in the diachronic evolution of the language, whereas in the case of 3sg HAVE, conversely, this mechanism was not at play.

3.3.3 The interplay between RF and BE/HAVE

In some NSIDs, specifically those spoken in the transitional corridor between USIDs and CIDs, RF is found with 1 and 2sg BE, but is absent after 3sg HAVE. This is the case of the Amandola dialect in (50), previously illustrated in (3).

(50) Amandola (Southern Marchigiano)

| | | | |
|----|-----------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | so | cca'mato/ppar'lato | B.pr.1sg called/spoken |
| | si | cca'mato/ppar'lato | B.pr.2sg called/spoken |
| | a | ca'mato/par'lato | H.pr.3 called/spoken |
| b. | simo | ca'mato/par'lato | B.pr.1pl called/spoken |
| | sete | ca'mato/par'lato | B.pr.2pl called/spoken |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 684]

In contrast, in the Apulo-Barese variety of Locorotondo, spoken in the Itria valley, 1sg BE does not function as an RF-trigger. In this dialect, RF is found only after 3sg HAVE, as the paradigm in (51) shows.

(51) Locorotondo (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | |
|----|----------|----------------|---------------|
| a. | sɔ | 'dittə | B.pr.1sg said |
| | a | 'dittə | H.pr.2sg said |
| | a | d'dittə | H.pr.3sg said |
| b. | ɛmə | 'dittə | H.pr.1pl said |
| | ɛte | 'dittə | H.pr.2pl said |
| | ɔ:nə | 'dittə | H.pr.2pl said |

If we were to consider RCA as the phonological rule feeding RF, we would claim that:

- i. In (50), only the segments -M/-N and -S on 1 and 2sg BE, respectively, are assimilated to the next consonant. -T on 3sg HAVE, on the other hand, does not undergo this process;
- ii. In (51), only the segment -T on 3sg HAVE is assimilated to the next consonant. On the other hand, -M/-N on 1sg BE and -S on 2sg HAVE, respectively, do not undergo this process.

The historical grammars of Italo-Romance attest that -T and -M were lost earlier than -S (cf. Tekavčić (1980), I: 200). While -M, which is claimed to have become -N, was maintained in some prepositions and 1sg BE (cf. CUM > CON (with), SUM > SON), the fall of -T applied in all cases and no traces of -T are found after 79 A.D. (cf. Tekavčić (1980), I: 207). After the loss of -T and -M/-N, -S was also lost, or turned into -J (cf. Standard Italian/Romanian *(h)ai* (HAVE.pr.2sg)), although it was maintained in some cases (cf. Spanish/NIDs *(h)as* (HAVE.pr.2sg)).

Taking these facts into account, the absence of RF after 3sg HAVE in the dialect of Amandola might be claimed to derive from the absence of the application of RCA at word-boundaries during the period in which -T was lost. It could further be assumed that RCA was productive during the period in which -M/-N and -S were susceptible to loss, and the presence of RF in this case might be attributed to this fact.

If this were true, we would not be able to explain why 3sg HAVE in (45), which derives from *HA(BE)T, inevitably triggers RF, whereas 2sg HAVE, as well as 1sg BE, does not undergo this process.

With this in mind, we propose an alternative solution to capture the mechanism of RF triggered by present perfect auxiliaries in USIDs. More concretely, we propose that a strict phonological account, which relies on the reorganization of segmental units in word-final position triggering RF in the case of present perfect auxiliaries in modern USIDs, should be disregarded.

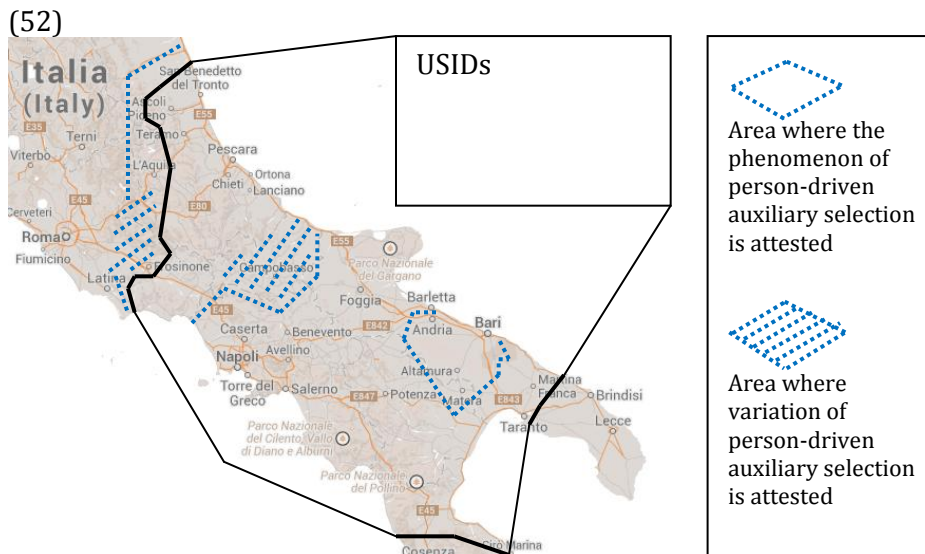
Our hypothesis, instead, consists in considering RF as a phonological device activated only in restricted circumstances, namely when a particular form of auxiliary, i.e. BE or HAVE, is endowed with a particular person feature specification. As the next section will show, USIDs are affected by a specific mechanism of auxiliary selection, whereby the choice of BE/HAVE in the present perfect is determined by the person feature specification encoded on the sentential subject. We will see that the type of auxiliary selected for a specific person in the paradigm determines the application of RF.

4. Auxiliary selection in USIDs

In contrast to other Romance languages, such as Standard Italian and French, where the selection of active BE/HAVE in compound tenses depends on the argument structure or *Aktionsart* of the participle (cf. Perlmutter, 1978; Burzio, 1986; Hubert & Rindler-Schjerve, 1987; Chierchia, 1989; Legendre, 1989; Van Valin, 1990; Loporcaro, 1998; Sorace, 2000; a.o.), a subset of USIDs, together with a group of dialects spoken in central Italy, display a special strategy for selecting present perfect auxiliaries. In the linguistic area which stretches from the central-southern Marche up to the province of Bari, in the east, and from central-southern Lazio up to Sannio and Lucania, in the west²¹, BE/HAVE auxiliary alternation seems to hinge upon the person feature specification encoded on the sentential subject. In these dialects, the selection of the auxiliary

²¹ 'This area mainly stretches along the Adriatic coast, from the southern Marche (the province of Ascoli) up to Abruzzo, and shrinks in the Peligna region and Molise, before irregularly reemerging in northern Apulia, more specifically in the province of Bari. The phenomenon also spreads west through the Aquilano-Reatino area, narrowing and excluding Umbria and Campania (except northern Campania). Moreover, the phenomenon is found in southern Lazio, including the provinces of Latina and Frosinone' (Translated from Cocchi 1995: 118).

patterns in such a way that BE is generally selected by 1 and 2 person subjects and HAVE by 3 person subjects. This very well studied phenomenon, which many linguists and dialectologists have referred to in recent years as person-driven auxiliary selection (cf. Cocchi, 1995; Ledgeway, 2000; Manzini & Savoia, 2005; D'Alessandro & Roberts, 2010; Legendre, 2010; Loporcaro, 2010; a.o.), seems to be attested only in these Romance dialects and is unattested elsewhere (cf. D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010: 46-47))²².



A large number of USIDs, however, are characterized by a mixed system of auxiliary selection, whereby the canonical BE/HAVE alternation thought to depend on the person feature specification of the sentential subject is attested only with accusative and unergative participles. With an unaccusative participle BE is the form selected for the whole paradigm.

²² Ledgeway (2012) observes that the phenomenon of person-driven auxiliary selection is also found in a set of dialects spoken in and around Olot, in the province of Girona, in northern Catalonia. Moreover, as Manzini & Savoia (2005) and D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010) point out, the person-based auxiliary selection is also attested for some dialects spoken in north-eastern Piedmont.

In the literature (cf. Manzini & Savoia, 2005; Legendre, 2010; a.o.), it has been pointed out that the selection of present perfect auxiliaries in USIDs is subject to substantial microvariation²³. In what follows, we will offer an overview of this phenomenon.

4.1 Pattern one: BE with all persons

A small number of dialects spoken in the southern Marche, as well as many dialects spoken in and around Sannio, disallow the canonical BE-HAVE alternation sensitive to the person feature specification encoded on the sentential subject. Here, BE is the only form attested in the paradigm.

4.1.1 Lack of RF

A large number of dialects selecting BE throughout the paradigm never allow RF, as (53) and (54) demonstrate²⁴.

²³ The BE-HAVE alternation dependent on the type of person information expressed on the sentential subject is generally found with present perfect auxiliaries and excluded in the case of pluperfect auxiliaries. In the latter case, USIDs tend to choose only one form of auxiliary, either BE or HAVE, and no alternation of these two forms is attested within the same paradigm. The same situation is found with auxiliaries in the counterfactual. Only in some Abruzzese dialects, spoken along the Adriatic coast, does the person feature of the sentential subject influence the choice of the auxiliary in the pluperfect (Arielli [Eastern Abruzzese] *so' ve/ si' ve* -B.pr.1sg H.past/ B.pr.2sg H.past- 'I/you had seen' versus *a' ve viste* -H.pr.3 H.past- '(s)he had seen' (cf. D'Alessandro & Ledgeway (2010): 205-206). For an overview of these data, see Manzini & Savoia (2005), II.

²⁴ Giammarco (1973) argues that BE combining with transitive and unergative participles stems from the perfect of Latin deponent verbs. These verbs, which possess passive morphosyntax, required BE as a perfective auxiliary (cf. *proficiscor* 'I set out' versus *profectus sum* 'I have set out'). The presence of BE is also found in resultative constructions (*cenatus est* 'he has dined (and therefore he is full)'). Vincent (1982), on the other hand, claims that BE, which was the auxiliary with deponents in Latin, became restricted to deponents with patient/theme subjects in Late Latin and then to all unaccusatives. At the same time, Latin possessive constructions composed of HAVE followed by an NP and modified by a past participle were then reanalyzed as perfective constructions. Following Giammarco,

(53) Pescolanciano (Molisano)

| | | | |
|----|----------|-------------------|---------------------|
| a. | sɔŋgə | maŋ'ɲætə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.1sg eaten/come |
| | si | maŋ'ɲætə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.2sg eaten/come |
| | ɛ | maŋ'ɲætə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.3sg eaten/come |
| b. | semə | maŋ'ɲætə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.1pl eaten/come |
| | setə | maŋ'ɲætə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.2pl eaten/come |
| | suə(nnə) | maŋ'ɲætə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.3pl eaten/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 759]

(54) Offida (Southern Marchigiano)

| | | | |
|----|------|-------------------|---------------------|
| a. | sɔ | dər'mitə/və'nu:tə | B.pr.1sg slept/come |
| | je | dər'mitə/və'nu:tə | B.pr.2sg slept/come |
| | ɛ | dər'mitə/və'nu:tə | B.pr.3 slept/come |
| b. | semə | dər'mitə/və'nu:tə | B.pr.1pl slept/come |
| | setə | dər'mitə/və'nu:tə | B.pr.2pl slept/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 760]

4.1.2 Presence of RF

Differently from (53) and (54), the dialect in (55) displays RF triggered by those BE formatives that occur in the singular paradigm. (55) corresponds to the paradigms in (2) and (20).

(55)

Poggio Imperiale (Apulo-Daunian Appennines)

| | | | |
|----|-------|--------------------|------------------------|
| a. | sɔ | cca'matə/ppar'latə | B.pr.1sg called/spoken |
| | si | cca'matə/ppar'latə | B.pr.2sg called/spoken |
| | ɛ | cca'matə/ppar'latə | B.pr.3sg called/spoken |
| b. | simə | ca'matə/par'latə | B.pr.1pl called/spoken |
| | sitə | ca'matə/par'latə | B.pr.2pl called/spoken |
| | sɔnnə | ca'matə/par'latə | B.pr.3pl called/spoken |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 720-721]

Tuttle (1986) claims that 1 and 2sg BE used with transitive and unergative participles derive from deponent verbs, and that later the auxiliary came to be the marker of person.

4.2 Pattern two: 1 and 2 person BE versus 3 person HAVE

The situation in which BE is the auxiliary selected with a 1 and 2 person subject, and HAVE with a 3 person subject is the most common pattern attested in Southern Marchigiano, Eastern Abruzzese and Southern Laziale.

4.2.1 Lack of RF

Most dialects belonging to this group feature the absence of RF in the singular paradigm. This situation is shown in (56)-(58).

(56) San Benedetto del Tronto (Southern Marchigiano)

| | | | |
|----|------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | sɔ | 'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/və'nu:tə | B.pr.1sg seen/slept/come |
| | si | 'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/və'nu:tə | B.pr.2sg seen/slept/come |
| | femə | 'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/və'nu:tə | B.pr.1pl seen/slept/come |
| | fetə | 'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/və'nu:tə | B.pr.2pl seen/slept/come |
| b. | a | 'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/və'nu:tə | H.pr.3 seen/slept/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 682-683]

(57) San Vittore del Lazio (Southern Laziale)

| | | | |
|----|-------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. | sɔŋgə | la'va:tə/rum'mitə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.1sg washed/slept/come |
| | ʃi | la'va:tə/rum'mitə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.2sg washed/slept/come |
| | semmə | la'va:tə/rum'mitə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.1pl washed/slept/come |
| | se:tə | la'va:tə/rum'mitə/mə'nu:tə | B.pr.2pl washed/slept/come |
| b. | a | la'va:tə/rum'mitə/mə'nu:tə | H.pr.3.sg washed/slept/come |
| | annə | la'va:tə/rum'mitə/mə'nu:tə | H.pr.3.pl washed/slept/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 703]

(58) Canosa Sannita (Eastern Abruzzese)

| | | | |
|----|------|------------------|---------------------|
| a. | sɔ | maŋ'natə/mi'nutə | B.pr.1sg eaten/come |
| | si | maŋ'natə/mi'nutə | B.pr.2sg eaten/come |
| | semə | maŋ'natə/mi'nutə | B.pr.1pl eaten/come |
| | setə | maŋ'natə/mi'nutə | B.pr.2pl eaten/come |
| b. | a | maŋ'natə/mi'nutə | H.pr.3. eaten/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 687]

Given the data in (56)-(58), we can propose the following generalization:

(59) *Generalization IV* (tentative version)

- A 1 and 2 person (singular and plural) subject is responsible for the selection of BE as an active auxiliary in the present perfect in a large number of USIDs. In these dialects, BE is the prototypical 1 and 2 person (singular and plural) auxiliary combining with a past participle of any kind;
- A 3 person (singular and plural) subject is responsible for the selection of HAVE as an active auxiliary in the present perfect in a large number of USIDs. In these dialects, HAVE is the prototypical 3 person (singular and plural) auxiliary combining with a past participle of any kind.

4.2.2 The presence of RF

Although many dialects selecting BE and HAVE as 1-2 and 3 person auxiliary, respectively, do not allow any instances of RF, a small number of dialects, mostly spoken at the border between NSIDs and CIDs, as well as some Apulo-Barese dialects, display RF that is triggered by (a subset of) auxiliaries in the singular. This situation is given in (60) and (61), where (60) is paradigm from the Amandola dialect previously presented in (3) and (50).

(60) Amandola (Southern Marchigiano)

| | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| a. | so | cca'mato/ ppar' lato | B.pr.1sg called/spoken |
| | si | cca'mato/ ppar' lato | B.pr.2sg called/spoken |
| | a | ca'mato/par'lato | H.pr.3 called/spoken |
| b. | simo | ca'mato/par'lato | B.pr.1pl called/spoken |
| | sete | ca'mato/par'lato | B.pr.2pl called/spoken |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 684]

(61) Bari Vecchia (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | |
|----|-----------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| a. | sə | v'veistə/ddər'mɾ:tə | B.pr.1sg seen/slept |
| | si | v'veistə/ddər'mɾ:tə | B.pr.2sg seen/slept |
| | a | v'veistə/ddər'mɾ:tə | H.pr.3sg seen/slept |
| b. | səmə | 'veistə/dər'mɾ:tə | B.pr.1pl seen/slept |
| | sətə | 'veistə/dər'mɾ:tə | B.pr.2pl seen/slept |
| | an(n)ə | 'veistə/dər'mɾ:tə | H.pr.3pl seen/slept |

In (60), we see that RF is triggered exclusively by 1 and 2sg BE, whereas 3sg HAVE does not trigger RF. In (61), conversely, the triggering of RF is restricted to both BE and HAVE in the singular paradigm. It should be noted that the dialects in (60) and (61) are spoken in geographically distinct areas: the dialect of Amandola is spoken in the transitional area between NSIDs and CIDs, whereas the dialect of Bari Vecchia is spoken in central Apulia. From this observation, the following generalization can be proposed:

(62) *Generalization V* (tentative version)

- RF can be triggered by 1 and 2sg BE, and not by 3sg HAVE, in those transitional dialects spoken in the northern USID region.
- RF can be triggered by 1 and 2sg BE, as well as by 3sg HAVE, in those transitional dialects spoken in the southern USID region.

4.3 Pattern three: 1 and 2sg BE versus HAVE elsewhere

The choice of BE as 1 and 2sg auxiliary and HAVE elsewhere is attested in many dialects spoken in western Abruzzo, northern Campania and central Apulia. In these dialects, 1 and 2sg BE commonly trigger RF.

(63) Popoli (Western Abruzzese)

| | | | |
|----|-----------|--------------------|----------------|
| a. | so | ddur 'moitə | B.pr.1sg slept |
| | si | ddur 'moitə | B.pr.2sg slept |
| | a | dur'moitə | H.pr.3sg slept |
| b. | (a'v)emmə | dur'moitə | H.pr.1pl slept |
| | ave:tə | dur'moitə | H.pr.2pl slept |
| | annə | dur'moitə | H.pr.3pl slept |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 688-689]

(64) Bisceglie (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | |
|----|-----------|---------------|---------------|
| a. | sɔ | f'fatt | B.pr.1sg done |
| | si | f'fatt | B.pr.2sg done |
| | a | f'fatt | H.pr.3sg done |
| b. | emm | 'fatt | H.pr.1pl done |
| | avət | 'fatt | H.pr.2pl done |
| | 'onnə | 'fatt | H.pr.3pl done |

In the dialect of Popoli, RF is triggered only by 1 and 2sg BE, and not by 3sg HAVE. Like the dialect of Amandola in (60), this dialect is spoken in the transitional area between NSIDs and CIDs. Conversely, the Apulian dialect spoken in Bisceglie, like that of Bari Vecchia in (61), displays a pattern whereby RF is always triggered in the singular paradigm. The dialect of Bari Vecchia and Bisceglie are spoken in the same geolinguistic area.

4.4 Pattern four: 1 or 2sg BE versus HAVE elsewhere

A large number of dialects spoken in Molise, northern Campania, central/northern Apulia and Lucania generally select BE with either 1 or 2 singular subjects. In these dialects, the 3 person auxiliary is generally HAVE, which is also found throughout the plural paradigm²⁵. The dialects in (65) and (66) illustrate this pattern.

²⁵ In many dialects spoken in Sannio, as well as in Central Apulia and Campania, the 3sg auxiliary is not HAVE, but BE: Bitetto [Apulo-Barese] aʃə/ a/ ε ca'mitə - H.pr.1sg/ H.pr.2sg/ B.pr.3sg called (Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 725); Rutigliano [Apulo-Barese] sɔ/ a/ ε (c)ca'mə:tə -H.pr.1sg/ H.pr.2sg/ B.pr.3sg called. In

(65) Guardiaregia (Molisano)

| | | | |
|----|------|-------------------|------------------------|
| a. | εjə | ca'ma:tə/par'latə | H.pr.1sg called/spoken |
| | si | ca'ma:tə/par'latə | B.pr.2sg called/spoken |
| | a | ca'ma:tə/par'latə | H.pr.3sg called/spoken |
| b. | emə | ca'ma:tə/par'latə | H.pr.1pl called/spoken |
| | etə | ca'ma:tə/par'latə | H.pr.2pl called/spoken |
| | annə | ca'ma:tə/par'latə | H.pr.3pl called/spoken |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 714]

(66) Conversano (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | |
|----|------|--------|---------------|
| a. | sɔ | f'fatt | B.pr.1sg done |
| | a | 'fatt | H.pr.2sg done |
| | a | f'fatt | H.pr.3sg done |
| b. | am | 'fatt | H.pr.1pl done |
| | avet | 'fatt | H.pr.2pl done |
| | an | 'fatt | H.pr.3pl done |

In (65), RF is never attested. In (66), on the other hand, RF is triggered only by 1sg BE and 3sg HAVE. 2sg HAVE is bare and no RF is triggered by this element.

4.5 Pattern five: HAVE with all persons

In a large number of CSIDs, including dialects spoken in central Apulia, central and lower Campania and Lucania, as well as in northern Calabria, RF is triggered by 3sg HAVE²⁶. In these dialects, 2sg HAVE is bare and never

Torcolacci (2013), it is argued that the selection of BE as a 3sg auxiliary derives from the fact that 3p subjects, differently from 1 and 2p subjects, are semantically non-agentive (cf. Silverstein, 1976; Dixon, 1994). The lack of an agentive feature on these subjects would require the auxiliary HAVE, which is the prototypical 3sg auxiliary in USIDs, to be marked by means of BE.

²⁶ According to Bentley & Eythórsson (2001), HAVE was the only auxiliary in the present perfect in the older stages of southern Italo-Romance. At a certain point in diachrony, the spread of BE occurred, triggered by a phonological factor, namely the presence of a syncretic exponent selected for 2sg and 3sg HAVE (cf. Rohlfs,

triggers RF²⁷. The dialects in (67)-(69), given in (36)-(38), illustrate this situation.

(67) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)

| | | | |
|----|-------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | aʃ/i | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.1sg done/left |
| | a | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.2sg done/left |
| | (')a | f'fatt/ppar'tu:t | H.pr.3sg done/left |
| b. | am | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.1pl done/left |
| | a'vet | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.2pl done/left |
| | an | 'fatt/par'tu:t | H.pr.3pl done/left |

(68) Airola (Central Campanian)

| | | | |
|----|----------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | addʒə | 'vistə/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.1sg seen/come |
| | a | 'vistə/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.2sg seen/come |
| | a | v'vistə/vve'nu:tə | H.pr.3sg seen/come |
| b. | ammu | 'vistə/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.1pl seen/come |
| | atə | 'fatt/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.2pl seen/come |
| | annə | 'fatt/ve'nu:tə | H.pr.3pl seen/come |

(69) Albidona (Northern Calabrian)

| | | | |
|----|----------|----------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | ɟə | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.1sg washed/come |
| | ε | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.2sg washed/come |
| | ε | gga'βa:tə/bbə'nu:tə | H.pr.3sg washed/come |
| b. | mə | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.1pl washed/come |
| | a'βəsə | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.2pl washed/come |
| | nə | ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə | H.pr.3pl washed/come |

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 784]

1969). In the light of this, the authors claim that BE was introduced as an auxiliary for 2sg (cf. Hastings, 1996: 34), before spreading to both 1sg and 1 and 2pl, being thus reanalyzed as a verbal form marking person feature.

²⁷ RF triggered by 3sg HAVE is also attested for all ESIDs, including Salentino, central and southern Calabrian and Sicilian. 3sg HAVE also triggers RF in Sardinian and Corsican. In these dialects, however, 2sg HAVE is not bare, but rather expresses reference to 2sg by means of a morpho-phonological marker realized at word-final position: Rocca Imperiale [Northern Calabria]: εjə la'va:tə -H.pr.2sg washed versus ε lla'va:tə -H.pr.3sg washed (Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 790).

Given the paradigms in (67)-(69), the following generalization can be obtained:

(70) *Generalization VI* (tentative version)

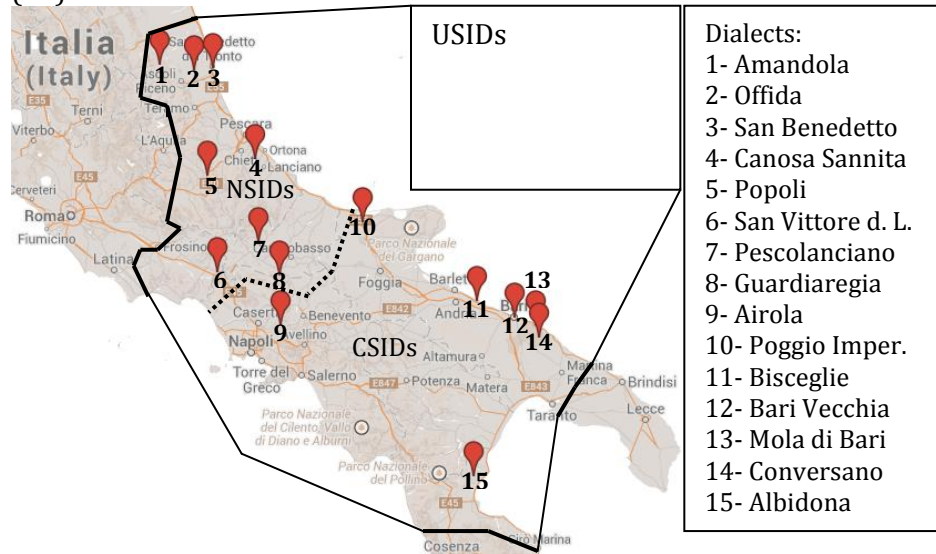
- RF is triggered exclusively by 3sg HAVE, and not by 2sg HAVE, in a group of CSIDs.

The generalization in (70) can be also extended to dialects that pattern in the same way as (66), where BE is selected as 1sg auxiliary and HAVE is the auxiliary selected with a 2 and 3sg subject.

5. Summary and conclusions

The map in (71) shows the geographic location of the dialects presented in the previous section.

(71)



So far in this chapter, we have observed that USIDs show a huge microvariation with regard to both the selection of present perfect auxiliaries and the distribution of RF triggered by these items. The typology of auxiliary selection in the present perfect within USIDs (cf. §4.1.-§4.5.) is summarized in the table in (72).

(72)

| Dialect | BE | HAVE |
|--|---|---|
| Pattern I (cf. (53)-(55)) | All persons | |
| Pattern II (cf. (56)-(58) & (60)-(61)) | 1 st and 2 nd (sg and pl) | 3 rd (sg and pl) |
| Pattern III (cf. (63) & (64)) | 1 st and 2 nd (sg) | 3 rd (sg and pl), 1 st and 2 nd (pl) |
| Pattern IV (cf. (65) & (66)) | Either 1 st or 2 nd (sg) | Either 1 st or 2 nd (sg), 3 rd (sg and pl), 1 st and 2 nd (pl) |
| Pattern V (cf. (67)-(69)) | | All persons |

[Adapted from Torcolacci (2011); Migliori & Torcolacci (2012)]

Furthermore, (73) shows how BE/HAVE forms are distributed in the present perfect paradigms of the dialects presented in section 4. The occurrences of RF triggered by these auxiliaries are marked in grey.

(73)

| Dialect | Singular | | | Plural | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|------|------|
| Pescolanciano (53) | BE | BE | BE | BE | BE | BE |
| Offida (54) | BE | BE | BE | BE | BE | BE |
| Poggio Imper. (55) | BE | BE | BE | BE | BE | BE |
| S. Benedetto (56) | BE | BE | HAVE | BE | BE | HAVE |
| S. Vittore d. L. (57) | BE | BE | HAVE | BE | BE | HAVE |
| Canosa San. (58) | BE | BE | HAVE | BE | BE | HAVE |
| Amandola (60) | BE | BE | HAVE | BE | BE | HAVE |
| Bari Vecchia (61) | BE | BE | HAVE | BE | BE | HAVE |
| Popoli (63) | BE | BE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE |
| Bisceglie (64) | BE | BE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE |
| Guardiaregia (65) | HAVE | BE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE |
| Conservano (66) | BE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE |
| Mola di Bari (67) | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE |
| Airola (68) | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE |
| Albidona (69) | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE | HAVE |

On the basis of the empirical evidence summarized in the table in (73), we have proposed some generalizations (tentative versions), which are given below:

A. *Generalization I* (cf. (24))

- In USIDs, present perfect auxiliary BE in the active voice possesses the property of triggering RF in the singular paradigm;
- In USIDs, present perfect auxiliary BE in the active voice does not possess the property of triggering RF in the plural paradigm.

B. *Generalization II* (cf. (32))

- In a subset of CSIDs, present perfect auxiliary BE in the active voice obligatorily triggers RF in the singular paradigm only if the past participle that follows is stressed on the first syllable;
- In a subset of CSIDs, present perfect auxiliary BE in the active voice optionally triggers RF in the singular paradigm when followed by a past participle not endowed with stress on the first syllable.

C. *Generalization III* (cf. (44))

- In a large number of CSIDs, 3sg HAVE is the only form in the paradigm that triggers RF;
- In (all) NSIDs, as well as in a group of CSIDs spoken in the area of transition with NSIDs, no HAVE auxiliaries trigger RF.

D. *Generalization IV* (cf. (59))

- A 1 and 2 person (singular and plural) subject is responsible for the selection of BE as an active auxiliary in the present perfect in a large number of USIDs. In these dialects, BE is the prototypical 1 and 2 person (singular and plural) auxiliary combining with a past participle of any kind;
- A 3 person (singular and plural) subject is responsible for the selection of HAVE as an active auxiliary in the present perfect in a large number of USIDs. In these dialects, HAVE is the prototypical 3 person (singular and plural) auxiliary combining with a past participle of any kind.

E. *Generalization V* (cf. (62))

- RF can be triggered by 1 and 2sg BE, and not by 3sg HAVE, in those transitional dialects spoken in the northern USID region;
- RF can be triggered by 1 and 2sg BE, as well as by 3sg HAVE, in those transitional dialects spoken in the southern USID region.

F. *Generalization VI* (cf. (70))

- RF is triggered exclusively by 3sg HAVE, and not by 2sg HAVE, in a group of CSIDs.

The list of generalizations above has led us to conclude that RF triggered by present perfect auxiliaries in USIDs is a phonological mechanism that is bound to the phenomenon of person-driven auxiliary selection. More specifically, we have observed that the triggering of RF by present perfect BE and HAVE is highly influenced by the type of person (and number) feature encoded on these two auxiliaries. For this reason, we have

considered the strictly phonological approaches outlined in §2 as untenable in any explanation of the ‘free’ distribution of RF triggered by present perfect BE and HAVE. In fact, these auxiliaries can trigger RF only if they bear a specific person feature specification and not if they are endowed with a given phonological representation that enables RF to be instantiated. In the next chapter, we will provide an analysis that can explain why RF can be triggered only by those BE/HAVE auxiliaries endowed with a specific type of person feature.