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Chapter 4

The post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking*

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1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the morpho-phonological markedness of φ inflection encoded on present perfect and pluperfect auxiliaries. The dialects under investigation here correspond to a subset of CSIDs, namely those dialects spoken in the geolinguistic area stretching from central Campania and Apulia up to the border with ESIDs.

These dialects, as observed in the previous chapters, generally select HAVE as the only present perfect auxiliary throughout the paradigm. This auxiliary, as (1) illustrates, allows the overt marking of φ for all persons, except that expressing 2sg.

(1) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)

a.	a**ɟɟ**	'fatt/par'lə:t/par'tɯ:t	'H.pr.1sg done/spoken/left'
	a	'fatt/par'lə:t/par'tɯ:t	'H.pr.2sg done/spoken/left'
	(')a	**f**'fatt/**p**par'lə:t/**p**par'tɯ:t	'H.pr.3sg done/spoken/left'
b.	a**m**	'fatt/par'lə:t/par'tɯ:t	'H.pr.1pl done/spoken/left'
	av**et**	'fatt/par'lə:t/par'tɯ:t	'H.pr.2pl done/spoken/left'
	a**n**	'fatt/par'lə:t/par'tɯ:t	'H.pr.3pl done/spoken/left'

The lack of overt marking of 2sg seems to be restricted to the specific case in which HAVE occurs in a present perfect construction. Indeed, in the dialect of Mola di Bari in (1), as well as in many other dialects belonging to the same geolinguistic area, 2sg is overtly marked by means of metaphony when the auxiliary appears in a pluperfect construction. In this type of construction, 1 and 3sg HAVE are not inflected and are overtly represented by means of a syncretic exponent (cf. (2)).

(2) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
a. aˈvɒːv   ˈfatt/parˈləːt/parˈtʉːt   'H.past.1sg done/spoken/left'
    aˈviːv   ˈfatt/parˈləːt/parˈtʉːt   'H.past.2sg done/spoken/left'
    aˈvɒːv   ˈfatt/parˈləːt/parˈtʉːt   'H.past.3sg done/spoken/left'
b. aˈvɛmm   ˈfatt/parˈləːt/parˈtʉːt   'H.past.1pl done/spoken/left'
    aviːvər   ˈfatt/parˈləːt/parˈtʉːt   'H.past.2pl done/spoken/left'
    avɛːvən   ˈfatt/parˈləːt/parˈtʉːt   'H.past.3pl done/spoken/left'

With reference to the paradigms in (1) and (2), these questions will be addressed in what follows:

 i.   What kind of mechanism allows the morphological marking of 2sg on HAVE in (2) versus the lack thereof in (1)?
 ii. Why are 1 and 3sg HAVE overtly marked in (1) and not in (2)?
 iii. Why would all plural HAVE auxiliaries in (1) and (2) have to be morphologically marked?
 iv. Is there a principle governing the morpho-phonological markedness of φ in (1), which opposes that in (2)?

We will answer each of these questions in turn. Put briefly, the approach that will be adopted in this chapter consists in defining the marking strategy of φ observed in (1) and (2) as deriving from the application of a post-syntactic operation called *Default Marking*. According to *Default Marking*, φ features encoded on perfective active auxiliaries get overtly realized at PF only if their grade of markedness matches that expressed by Tense. More concretely, we propose that if Tense expresses a default value, then only default, i.e. unmarked, φ features get overtly marked. On the other hand, if Tense expresses a marked value, then only marked, i.e. non default, φ features get overtly expressed. The term *Default Marking* will be justified by the fact that the uniformity of markedness between Tense and φ gives rise to a default, i.e. unmarked, configuration (based on Holmberg & Roberts, 2010).

The present chapter is organized as follows: we begin with a presentation of the traditional accounts referring to phonological, syntactic and morphological markedness (cf. §2). §3 will focus on the process of

morphological marking of φ realized on perfective active auxiliaries operating both in CSIDs and in other Romance languages. §4 will consider markedness as a linguistic concept driven by acquisitional facts. It will be proposed that features that are learnt early should be considered defaults, whereas those acquired later are marked (cf. Harley & Ritter, 2002). §5 will shed light on the substantive content of Infl°, which will be taken to be the syntactic head on which syntactic auxiliaries are merged. §6 will consider the post-syntactic mechanism of *Default Marking* that applies in the case of present perfect and pluperfect auxiliaries in a subset of CSIDs. From a comparative perspective, §7 will consider those cases in which the post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking* is operative outside CSIDs. §8 summarizes and concludes the chapter.

2. The theory of markedness

2.1 Overview

Markedness as a linguistic concept has gained in popularity since the early works on the topic by Trubetzkoy and Jakobson. It has attracted the attention of many scholars and researchers, mainly phonologists, and the theory has been approached in different ways. A detailed summary of these different approaches appears in Haspelmath (2006) and Hume (2011). In a nutshell, markedness is taken to be a mechanism that serves to *stress* or *single out* one element standing in opposition to another one or more within a set. The stressed/singled out element is generally thought to be the marked one, whereas the element(s) bearing no marked features is/are considered unmarked or *default* (cf. Trubetzkoy, 1939). One of the puzzles that has interested those working on the topic is whether markedness is dictated by a general universal principle (cf. Chomsky, 1965, 1986) or if it is the result of the confluence of external factors that interact with a specific grammar (cf. Lass, 1975; Comrie, 1983; Boersma, 1998; Hume, 2004; a.o.). In the former sense, markedness is understood to be part of Universal Grammar, whereas in the latter it is treated as not obeying any universal guiding principle.
Over the last few decades, the concept of markedness has been captured in the formal distinction between the set of features expressed by marked and unmarked members: marked categories are often said to bear [+marked]

features whereas unmarked or default categories encode [-marked] features. By and large, marked elements are considered complex, not frequent, not optimal and acquired late, whereas unmarked elements are considered simple, normal, predictable and acquired early.

As Chomsky & Halle (1968) point out, natural, thus unmarked, members are statistically more frequent and manifest more easily across languages than their marked counterpart(s). Many definitions have been given in the literature of the properties inherited by marked and unmarked elements. A summary appears in Hume (2011: 80), whose list is given in (3)[1].

(3)

Unmarked	*Marked*
natural	less natural
normal	less normal
general	specialized
simple	complex
inactive	active
more frequent	less frequent
optimal	less optimal
predictable	unpredictable
acquired early	acquired late
more phonetically variable	less phonetically variable
articulatorily simple	articulatorily difficult
perceptually weak	perceptually strong
universal	language-specific
ubiquitous	parochial

Because the theory of markedness has been examined in several fields of linguistics, our aim now is to strictly focus on the general approaches that have been proposed in phonology (cf. §2.1.1), syntax (cf. §2.1.2) and morphology (cf. §2.1.3).

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[1] A similar list for marked/unmarked phonological properties appears in Rice (2007).

2.1.1 Phonological markedness

The concept of markedness in phonology dates back to the Prague School, notably to the work of Nikolai Trubetzkoy and Roman Jakobson. Trubetzkoy (1939) used the term markedness to capture the way sound oppositions are built in a specific language. In his view, a phonological opposition between nasal and non-nasal, for instance, is attributed to the presence versus absence of the feature nasality: an item endowed with the feature nasality is more marked than one which lacks this feature. A similar idea is proposed in Jakobson (1932). With reference to a closed set of consonants such as /m, n, b, d/, he postulates that the first two are considered marked in that they bear the property, or 'mark' of nasality, while the latter do not and are thus not considered marked. In this respect, nasal consonants are treated as more marked than /b, d/ because the 'mark' [+nasal] can be understood as being less frequent, articulatorily more difficult and more complex than the opposing plosives (cf. Jakobson, 1932; Jakobson & Pomorska, 1990; Hume, 2011; a.o.).

Later on, Chomsky & Halle (1968) proposed a different model of markedness, whose main goal was to distinguish between more and less natural segments and rules, as well as to distinguish between phonologically possible and impossible items (cf. Kean, 1975; Cairns & Feinstein, 1982; Mohanan, 1993; Calabrese, 1995; Steriade, 1995; Boersma, 1998). Moreover, Chomsky & Halle treat markedness as a universal principle that guides both the formation of phoneme inventories and the process of language acquisition. In their view, markedness is an evaluation metric that allows the child to select the simplest possible grammar(s) that he is exposed to during the process of language acquisition. Unmarked options are those that do not imply any cost for the child, while marked options are those that are more costly, thus complex, and for this reason they are statistically less frequent. In order to identify which grammatical options are marked or unmarked, the authors make use of the diacritics *m* and *u*, respectively. These diacritics are assigned to phonemes. Those specified for *m* are considered marked whereas those specified for *u* are unmarked.

The notion of complexity, according to Chomsky & Halle, can be further extended to lexical items. They propose that the complexity of a lexical item depends on the number of features that are not left unmarked in its matrix representation. This is to say that the item X is more marked than the item Y

if X bears a higher number of marked features than Y. For this reason, they claim that "adding an item to the lexicon, [...], is a matter of distinguishing the item from the neutral case, and from the other items already incorporated in the lexicon, by a minimal number of marked features" (cf. Chomsky & Halle, 1986: 403):

(4) α [Fu, F$_1u$];   β [Fu, F$_1m$];   γ [Fm, F$_1m$]

Among the items α, β and γ in (4), α is considered the neutral or default case since both F and F1, which are the features in the matrix representation of α, β and γ, are both endowed with an unmarked value. F and F1 of β and γ, on the other hand, are marked, because they are added to the lexicon later than α.

The theory of markedness as a process that guides languages acquisition is also the core idea put forward by Jakobson. Jakobson (1971) claims that marked features are those learnt after unmarked ones. Looking specifically at place of articulation, for instance, he says that coronals are learnt before dorsals. For this reason, they are thought to be unmarked, since they are generally acquired early[2].

In recent years, markedness has been captured as a device that detects how contrast between phonological features is formally expressed (cf. Rice (2007)). Within the model of Modified Contrastive Specification (cf. Avery & Rice, 1989; Rice & Avery, 1991, 1993; Dyck, 1992; Rice, 1993; Walker, 1993; Wu, 1994), features are structurally organized within a geometric representation and the contrast between one feature and another is expressed by means of hierarchical structure. Features that are more embedded in the geometry are considered more marked than those that are less embedded. As far as the plosives /p, t, k/ are concerned, for instance, Avery & Rice (1989) propose that /t/ is underspecified for Place, and is therefore less embedded than /p/ and /k/, which, in turn, are specified for

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[2] Jakobson (1971) claims that sequences of sound acquisition must be seen as tendencies, and not absolutes. This observation is confirmed by the recent study on the acquisition of phonological features in Japanese put forward by Beckman *et al.* (2003). The authors observe that Japanese children tend to learn /k/ before /t/, thus suggesting that dorsals in this language are learnt before coronals. As a last remark, they propose that the term universal should be understood as dependent on frequency, thus relying on numerical tendencies, rather than on absolute rules.

Peripheral and Peripheral and Dorsal, respectively. These facts are represented by the structure in (5).

(5) Structure of Place node
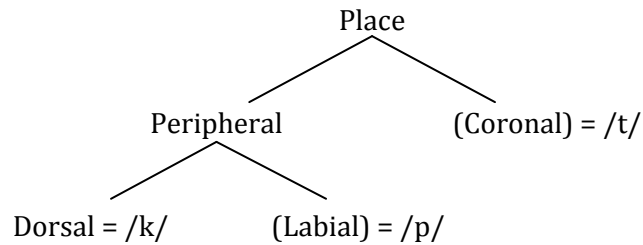
[Adapted from Avery & Rice (1989)]

According to the geometric representation in (5), Coronal and Labial are unmarked nodes. These nodes are present in the underlying representation only if contrast with a marked feature branching below Place must be conveyed. Hence, the contrast between one feature and another in the geometry in (5) is reflected by the grade of markedness they express at a certain level of the representation[3].

2.1.2 Syntactic markedness

The concept of syntactic markedness has not received as much attention as in phonology. Nonetheless, starting from Jakobson, several proposals have been put forward that aim to capture the meaning of markedness in syntax. Jakobson (1932, 1939, 1957) suggests that markedness is a principle that regulates lexical and grammatical meanings. Focusing on aspect in Russian, for instance, he claims that perfective aspect is marked as opposed to imperfective aspect, in that it expresses the absolute completion of an

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[3] The core of the model of Modified Contrastive Specification is that features are organized within constituents. This is to say that Place corresponds to a constituent and features are organized hierarchically within this constituent. Furthermore, Modified Contrastive Specification proposes that constituents can be hierarchically ranked. According to Rice & Avery (1991), place features are dependent on manner features: Air Flow > Sonority > Place.

event. Since imperfective is underspecified, thus non-committal, in terms of the completion of an event, it must be considered as unmarked.

Furthermore, Chomsky & Lasnik (1977) consider markedness as part of a theory of Core Grammar[4]. In their view, systems that fall within Core Grammar are considered to constitute the 'unmarked' case.

In recent years, the notion of markedness in syntax has also been extended to syntactic operations. Roberts & Roussou (2003), for instance, consider *Move* as a marked syntactic operation, while *Merge* is considered as unmarked. More specifically, they propose a markedness hierarchy, which is given in (6).

(6)
$F^*_{Move/Merge} > F^*_{Move} > F^*_{Merge} > F$ (where '>' = 'more marked than')

[Roberts & Roussou, 2003: 210]

The diacritic * indicates that F, a syntactic object, is phonologically realized. Conversely, the lack of the diacritic * simply says that F is not overtly spelled-out. This would correspond to the most unmarked option. F^*_{Merge}, on the other hand, is more marked than F since it implies the overt realization of a syntactic object spelled-out in its base position. Furthermore, F^*_{Move} indicates that F has moved from the position in which it was generated, being overtly spelled-out in the position in which it lands. The most marked solution is the one at the left hand-side of the hierarchy, which is represented by $F^*_{Move/Merge}$. In this case, F moves and attaches to another syntactic head. Both F and the hosting syntactic object are spelled-out, thus allowing the instantiation of two phonological matrices.

The hierarchy depicted in (6) is based on the assumptions put forward by Clark & Roberts (1993, 1994) and Roberts (2001), which state that markedness corresponds to a formal device deriving from the application of the simplicity metric in (7).

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[4] Core Grammar is the universal grammar's contribution to the grammar of a specific language and provides a limited set of possible grammars. It merely consists of a well-defined set of devices, amongst which general rules or rule schema (e.g. move α), conditions on the rules (e.g. recoverability condition for deletions) and filters (e.g. *that* [NP e]) are included. See Chomsky & Lasnik (1977), and the references therein, for a thorough survey of this topic.

(7)
"A structural representation R for a substring of input text S is simpler than an alternative representation R' iff R contains fewer formal feature syncretisms than R'".

[Longobardi (2001: 294)]

The notion of feature syncretism in (7) refers to the presence of more than one formal feature encoded in a given structural position. According to the simplicity metric in (7), a syntactic head, say X, is simpler than the syntactic head Y, if the number of formal features contained in X is smaller than the number of features contained in Y. We will return to this point in chapter 5, where the simplicity metric above, together with the notion of movement as a marked syntactic operation, will be crucial in defining the constraints on morphological markedness applicable in the case of lexical verbs in CSIDs.

Markedness, as a syntactic notion, has been used by Holmberg & Roberts (2010) in their investigation of the cross-linguistic variation affecting the word-order parameter. Holmberg & Roberts propose a markedness convention, which is given in (8).

(8) For a class of heads H, uEPP for $H_{[F:-]} \neq v \rightarrow$ {[+EPP]/$v_{[+EPP]}$;}
{[-EPP] elsewhere}
[Holmberg & Roberts (2010): 40]

What (8) says is that the unmarked value of the EPP-feature is [+EPP] or [-EPP], where all heads endowed with movement triggering properties are specified for [+EPP] or [-EPP], respectively[5] (cf. Holmberg & Roberts, 2010: 40). This is to say that if all syntactic heads able to trigger movement are uniform in expressing either a [+EPP] or [-EPP] feature, then an unmarked syntactic configuration is obtained. In the former case, namely when all

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[5] Dryer (1992) suggests that VO versus OV order is the basic determinant ordering among all head-complement pairs. Holmberg & Roberts (2010: 40) propose that this might follow from the fact that v is the category determining the word-order parameter in a particular language. This assumption might be justified by the fact that v is the phase head that determines argument structure, thus corresponding to the locus of the grammar in which the positioning and licensing of arguments is determined.

heads endowed with movement triggering properties are specified for [+EPP], a harmonic head-final syntactic configuration is attested. In the latter case, conversely, all heads endowed with movement triggering properties are specified for [-EPP], whose presence licenses a harmonic head-initial syntactic configuration. The presence of [+EPP] for some heads and [-EPP] for others would instead allow mixed configurations, which, according to Holmberg & Roberts (2010), are considered marked.

2.1.3 Morphological markedness

In morphology, markedness is divided between *formal* and *functional* markedness (cf. Dixon, 1994). This dichotomy has been the subject of some debate in φ theory in recent decades (cf. Silverstein, 1976; Harley, 1994; Bonet, 1995; Ritter, 1995; Noyer, 1998; Cowper, 2005; Nevins, 2007; Sauerland, 2008).

Formal markedness refers to those forms that are overtly marked by means of an inflectional marker conveying specific grammatical information. A typical example often discussed in the literature is the occurrence of *-s* as a marker of plurality for English regular nouns (cf. dog-**Ø** versus dog-**s**). The singular form *dog* is bare, thus not allowing the overt realization of a morpheme expressing singular. Zwicky (1978) defines the opposition between singular and plural as a matter of categorical binary distinction. In his treatment, plural, the marked category, bears a [+Plural] value, as opposed to the unmarked category, namely singular, whose value is [-Plural]. Dual, a non-frequent category found across languages, is thought to bear a [+Dual] value when present, as opposed to Plural, which bears a [-Dual] value.

(9)

```
                    Number
                   /      \
            -Plural   vs   +Plural
         [i.e., singular]    /   \
                      +Dual  vs  -Dual
                   [i.e., dual]  [i.e., plural]
```
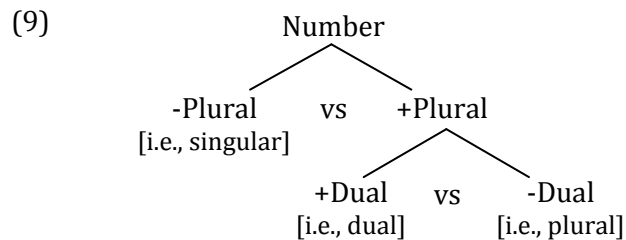
[Zwicky (1978): 5]

The + values of the diagram in (9) are the marked ones, which stand in binary opposition to the – values, taken to be as unmarked.

Functional markedness, on the other hand, identifies the type(s) of categories that are distinguishable from others because of their use in a specific language. Focusing on personal pronouns in a number of languages, Silverstein (1976) observes that, for instance, 3 person is often attested in cases where a generic reference to other persons is intended. From this observation, he concludes that 3 person is functionally unmarked, since it can be selected as a default.

If we look at the agreement system of English lexical verbs in the present indicative, however, we observe that 3sg is marked with an –*s* (cf. I/you speak versus (s)he speak**s**). This means that formally a 3sg agreement marker in English is marked, while a 3p pronoun functionally is not. Furthermore, the overt realization of a φ marker in English is obtained only when the verb, in the present indicative, is valued for 3sg. All other forms in the paradigm, in fact, disallow the overt realization of agreement markers expressing φ. These facts indicate that 3sg agreement markers in English present indicative verbs are formally marked, whereas those expressing 1 and 2 person, both in the singular and in the plural, are not.

3. The morphological markedness of φ on perfective auxiliaries

3.1 The data

This part will focus on the formal markedness of φ attested on perfective active auxiliaries in a selected number of languages, including USIDs, Standard Italian, Spanish and Romanian.

It will be shown that USIDs do not all behave in the same way, as far as the formal markedness of φ realized on present perfect and pluperfect auxiliaries is concerned.

3.2 The Romance scenario

Forchheimer (1953: 6) claims that languages tend to exhibit a mismatch in the morphological marking between 3 and 1/2 person agreement markers. From a cross-linguistic perspective, he observes that verbs tend to mark 1

and 2 person by means of a dedicated φ marker. The overt marking of 3 person on a verb, instead, seems to be infrequent. This behavior is attested in most Romance languages, French excluded, whereby 1 and 2 person, but not 3 person, agreement markers are overtly realized both on lexical and auxiliary verbs. These facts are illustrated by the present perfect constructions shown in (10)-(12).

(10) Standard Italian
a.	h**o**	mangiato/parlato	H.pr.1sg eaten/spoken
	ha**i**	mangiato/parlato	H.pr.2sg eaten/spoken
	ha	mangiato/parlato	H.pr.3sg eaten/spoken
b.	abbia**mo**	mangiato/parlato	H.pr.1pl eaten/spoken
	av**ete**	mangiato/parlato	H.pr.2pl eaten/spoken
	ha**nno**	mangiato/parlato	H.pr.3pl eaten/spoken

(11) Spanish
a.	h**e**	comido/llegado	H.pr.1sg eaten/arrived
	ha**s**	comido/llegado	H.pr.2sg eaten/arrived
	ha	comido/llegado	H.pr.3sg eaten/arrived
b.	h**emos**	comido/llegado	H.pr.1pl eaten/arrived
	hab**éis**	comido/llegado	H.pr.2pl eaten/arrived
	ha**n**	comido/llegado	H.pr.3pl eaten/arrived

(12) Romanian
a.	a**m**	vorbit/plecat	H.pr.1sg spoken/arrived
	a**i**	vorbit/plecat	H.pr.2sg spoken/arrived
	a	vorbit/plecat	H.pr.3sg spoken/arrived
b.	a**m**	vorbit/plecat	H.pr.1pl spoken/arrived
	a**ţi**	vorbit/plecat	H.pr.2pl spoken/arrived
	a**u**	vorbit/plecat	H.pr.3pl spoken/arrived

Before considering the system of φ marking in (10)-(12), a clarification is required: Standard Italian, in contrast to Spanish and Romanian, opts for the selection of HAVE as a perfective auxiliary in the active voice only when it combines with a past participle of the accusative and unergative type. In

the opposite situation, namely when the past participle is unaccusative, the auxiliary selected is BE. In this case, similarly to (10), BE is marked for its φ reference only when it expresses 1 and 2sg, and not, for instance, when it encodes 3sg: s**ono**/ s**ei**/ **è** arrivat(o/a) –BE.pr.1sg/ BE.pr.2sg/ BE.pr.3sg arrived- 'I/you.sg/(s)he has arrived'.

All in all, five out of six forms in the paradigms in (10)-(12) are inflected for their φ information. In the traditional literature, it has been proposed that the richness of agreement encoded on a verb in declarative clauses depends on the application of verb movement, which, in Romance, corresponds to V-to-T (cf. Emonds, 1978; Pollock, 1989). Indeed, the Rich Agreement Hypothesis states that whenever V-to-T occurs, then richly inflected paradigms are obtained (cf. Roberts, 1985, 1993, 1999; Pollock, 1989; Belletti, 1990; Bobalijk, 1995; Thráinsson, 1996; Vikner, 1997; Bobalijk & Thráinsson, 1998; Biberauer & Roberts, 2010; Holmberg & Roberts, 2012). If we were following these assumptions, we would predict that the richness of φ expressed on the perfect auxiliaries in (10)-(12) would depend on the fact that these elements are merged in T°[6].

The overt marking of 1 and 2 person on HAVE is also found in pluperfect auxiliaries in Standard Italian (cf. (13)). There, 3sg HAVE, similarly to (10), does not express its φ reference by means of a dedicated inflectional marker.

(13) Standard Italian

a.	avev**o**	mangiato/parlato	H.past.1sg eaten/spoken
	avev**i**	mangiato/parlato	H.past.2sg eaten/spoken
	aveva	mangiato/parlato	H.past.3sg eaten/spoken
b.	aveva**mo**	mangiato/parlato	H.past.1pl eaten/spoken
	aveva**te**	mangiato/parlato	H.past.2pl eaten/spoken
	aveva**no**	mangiato/parlato	H.past.3pl eaten/spoken

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[6] Schifano (in prep.) shows that the Rich Agreement Hypothesis is too strong since it does not predict the existence of richly inflected paradigms that do not feature V-to-T movement. In her work, she observes that Spanish verbs, although richly inflected, are not spelled-out in T°, but rather in a lower position. This is justified by the fact that Spanish verbs can be preceded by a range of adverbs which, according to Cinque (1999), are merged in a position lower than T°. For this reason, her conclusion is that richly inflected paradigms should not be directly associated with the overt movement of a verb to T°.

A different situation is attested for Spanish, which allows the selection of a syncretic exponent for 1 and 3sg HAVE when the auxiliary is in the pluperfect. In this type of construction, only 2 person is overtly marked in the singular paradigm (cf. (14)).[7]

(14) Spanish
a.   había   comido/llegado   H.past.1sg eaten/arrived
     había**s**   comido/llegado   H.past.2sg eaten/arrived
     había   comido/llegado   H.past.3sg eaten/arrived
b.   había**mos** comido/llegado   H.past.1pl eaten/arrived
     había**is**   comido/llegado   H.past.2pl eaten/arrived
     había**n**   comido/llegado   H.past.3pl eaten/arrived

It is worth noting that the paradigms in (13) and (14), in contrast to those in (10)-(12), opt for the overt expression of a Tense marker encoding past information. In (10)-(12), in fact, no Tense marker is overtly expressed to specify the feature Present encoded on the auxiliaries. Furthermore, if we were to claim that the Rich Agreement Hypothesis was justified by the overt movement of the verb from V-to-T, then we would not understand why the auxiliaries in (14) allow less inflected forms compared to those in (11). Two solutions to this puzzle suggest themselves:

  i.   In (14), the pluperfect auxiliaries do not move to T°, but rather to a lower position;
  ii.   The presence of Past encoded on the pluperfect auxiliaries in (14) allows the overt marking of a smaller set of φ features.

The solution to this problem will be presented in §5 and §6.

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[7] In Romanian, a pluperfect construction is not expressed by means of a periphrasis, but rather by selecting a syncretic verbal form, which is thought to originate from the Latin plusperfect subjunctive: greşisem –mistake.pluperf.1sg- 'I had made a mistake' (Dindelegan, 2013: 226).

3.3 USIDs

USIDs seem not to be homogenous in the way they overtly encode φ information expressed on perfective auxiliaries. NIDs, similarly to Standard Italian, Spanish and Romanian, generally admit the overt marking of 1 and 2 person on both present perfect and pluperfect auxiliaries[8]. This situation is illustrated in the paradigms in (15) and (16), which show a present perfect and pluperfect construction respectively.

(15) San Benedetto del Tronto (Southern Marchigiano)

sɔ	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/ve'nutə	B.pr.1sg seen/slept/come
ʃi	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/ve'nutə	B.pr.2sg seen/slept/come
a	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/ve'nutə	H.pr.3 seen/slept/come
ʃemə	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/ve'nutə	B.pr.1pl seen/slept/come
ʃetə	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə/ve'nutə	B.pr.2pl seen/slept/come

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

(16) San Benedetto del Tronto (Southern Marchigiano)

sɔvə	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə	B.pr.1sg.H.past seen/slept
ʃivə	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə	B.pr.2sg.H.past seen/slept
a'vi	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə	H.past.3 seen/slept
ʃavamə	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə	B.pr.H.past.1pl seen/slept
ʃavatə	'viʃtə/dər'mi:tə	B.pr.H.past.2pl seen/slept

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

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[8] As D'Alessandro & Ledgeway (2010) point out, the pluperfect in Eastern Abruzzese is expressed by a Double Auxiliary Construction (DAC). DAC consists in the selection of two finite auxiliaries, whereby the first expresses the canonical BE-HAVE alternation according to φ feature specification of the sentential subject, as well as information for Present, and the second only expresses information for Past. This is true for the singular auxiliaries and 3 person HAVE. 1 and 2pl BE, on the other hand, indicate that the first auxiliary overtly expresses the consonant /s/, or similar, which corresponds to the root of BE. The second auxiliary, instead, is inflected for φ and expresses information for Past. This phenomenon is not limited to Eastern Abruzzese, but is also found in some Southern Marchigiano varieties.

On the other hand, CSIDs do not exhibit the same marking strategies of φ observed in (15) and (16). In these dialects, in fact, present perfect auxiliaries allow the overt marking of all φ features, except for 2sg (cf. (17)-(19)). This is to say that in the singular paradigm, only 1 and 3 person are overtly marked by means of a dedicated φ marker realized in word-final position. A 2sg present perfect auxiliary, on the other hand, is bare.

(17) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
a. aɟɟ/**i**   'fatt/par'tɨ:t   H.pr.1sg done/left
    a   'fatt/par'tɨ:t   H.pr.2sg done/left
    (')a   **f**'fatt/**p**par'tɨ:t   H.pr.3sg done/left
b. a**m**   'fatt/par'tɨ:t   H.pr.1pl done/left
    a'v**et**   'fatt/par'tɨ:t   H.pr.2pl done/left
    a**n**   'fatt/par'tɨ:t   H.pr.3pl done/left

(18) 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. a**m**   'fatt   H.pr.1pl done
    av**et**   'fatt   H.pr.2pl done
    a**n**   'fatt   H.pr.3pl done

(19) Airola (Central Campanian)
a. a**ddʒə**   'vistə/'fattə   H.pr.1sg seen/done
    a   'vistə/'fattə   H.pr.2sg seen/done
    a   **v**'vistə/**f**'fattə   H.pr.3sg seen/done
b. a**mmu**   'vistə/'fattə   H.pr.1pl seen/done
    a**tə**   'vistə/'fattə   H.pr.2pl seen/done
    a**nnə**   'vistə/'fattə   H.pr.3pl seen/done

The overt marking of φ in the case of pluperfect auxiliaries slightly differs from that one observed for present perfect auxiliaries in (17)-(19). In the singular paradigm, in fact, only 2 person gets marked, whereas 1 and 3 person do not. This situation, as shown in (14), is also attested in Spanish,

where a 2sg pluperfect auxiliary is morpho-phonologically more marked than those conveying 1 and 3sg information. In CSIDs, the overt marking of 2sg does not take place via the overt encoding of an inflectional marker in word-final position, but rather through metaphony, which affects the stressed vowel of the auxiliary. It must be noted, however, that plural pluperfect auxiliaries always require the overt marking of φ. These facts are illustrated in (20)-(22)[9].

(20) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)

a.	a'vɛv	man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɽʷt	H.past.1sg	eaten/opened/drunk
	a'**v**i**v	man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɽʷt	H.past.2sg	eaten/opened/drunk
	a'vɛv	man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɽʷt	H.past.3sg	eaten/opened/drunk
b.	a'**v**e**mm	man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɽʷt	H.past.1pl	eaten/opened/drunk
	a'**v**i**vər	man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɽʷt	H.past.2pl	eaten/opened/drunk
	a'**v**e**vən	man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɽʷt	H.past.3pl	eaten/opened/drunk

(21) Conversano (Apulo-Barese)

a.	a've:v	man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt	H.past.1sg	eaten/opened/done
	a'**v**i**:v	man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt	H.past.2sg	eaten/opened/done
	a've:v	man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt	H.past.3sg	eaten/opened/done
b.	a'**v**ɛ**mm	man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt	H.past.1pl	eaten/opened/done
	a'**v**i**stəv	man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt	H.past.2pl	eaten/opened/done
	a'**v**ɛ**vən	man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt	H.past.3pl	eaten/opened/done

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[9] A large number of CSIDs display HAVE as a pluperfect auxiliary for the entire paradigm (cf. Manzini & Savoia, 2005; Cennamo, 2010). A group of CSIDs, instead, seems to choose BE instead of HAVE as the pluperfect auxiliary for all persons in the paradigm. In both cases, 2sg is always overtly marked by means of metaphony, whereas 1 and 3sg forms are not, thus displaying the selection of a syncretic exponent: Martina Franca (Apulo-Barese) ɛrə/ **i**rə/ ɛrə la'vɛtə -BE.past.1sg/ BE.past.2sg/ BE.past.3sg washed- 'I/you.sg/(s)he had washed' (cf. Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 793).

(22) Airola (Central Campanian)
a. aˈleːvə   manˈdʒʒːt/aˈpiːrt/ˈfatt   H.past.1sg eaten/opened/done
    aˈliːvə   manˈdʒʒːt/aˈpiːrt/ˈfatt   H.past.2sg eaten/opened/done
    aˈleːvə   manˈdʒʒːt/aˈpiːrt/ˈfatt   H.past.3sg eaten/opened/done
b. aˈleːvə**mə**   manˈdʒʒːt/aˈpiːrt/ˈfatt   H.past.1pl eaten/opened/done
    aˈlevə**və**   manˈdʒʒːt/aˈpiːrt/ˈfatt   H.past.2pl eaten/opened/done
    aˈlevə**nə**   manˈdʒʒːt/aˈpiːrt/ˈfatt   H.past.3pl eaten/opened/done

The CSIDs documented in (17)-(22) strongly indicate that present and pluperfect auxiliaries do not display the same type of overt marking of φ: a present perfect auxiliary allows the overt marking of 1 and 3sg, but not 2sg. A pluperfect auxiliary, conversely, admits the overt marking of 2sg, with the exclusion of 1 and 3sg.

3.4 Summary

In this section, we have seen that USIDs and other Romance languages, such as Standard Italian, Spanish and Romanian, opt for different mechanisms of φ marking on perfective auxiliaries. As far as present perfect auxiliaries are concerned, we have observed that:

   i.   NSIDs, similarly to Standard Italian, Spanish and Romanian, always allow the overt marking of 1 and 2 person, both in the singular and plural. 3 person, at least in the singular paradigm, is never overtly marked;
   ii. CSIDs, differently from NSIDs, Standard Italian, Spanish and Romanian, always allow the overt marking of plural forms, as well as of 1 and 3sg, and never of 2sg.

Conversely, in the case of pluperfect constructions, we have observed that:

   i.   NSIDs, similarly to Standard Italian, always allow the overt marking of 1 and 2 person in the singular and plural. 3 person, at least in the singular paradigm, is never overtly marked;

ii.   CSIDs, similarly to Spanish, always allow the overt marking of all φ values, except 1 and 3sg.

A summary of these facts is given in the table in (23). The symbol + indicates the contexts in which the overt marking of φ is operative. -, on the other hand, signals that no marking for a given φ value is obtained.

(23)

	Perfective auxiliaries					
	Present perfect aux.			Pluperfect aux.		
φ values Languages	1sg	2sg	3sg	1sg	2sg	3sg
Standard Italian	+	+	-	+	+	-
Spanish	+	+	-	-	+	-
Romanian	+	+	-			
NSIDs	+	+	-	+	+	-
CSIDs	+	-	+	-	+	-

The table in (23) shows that CSIDs differ from all other languages in never allowing the overt realization of 2sg on a present perfect auxiliary. Furthermore, this group of dialects obligatorily induces the overt marking of 3 person by means of RF when the auxiliary occurs in a present perfect construction. The overt marking of 3sg on a present perfect auxiliary is only attested in CSIDs, and not found elsewhere.

It is interesting to note, however, that no language in (23) lacks the overt marking of 1sg on a present perfect auxiliary. This is to say that present perfect auxiliaries in the languages listed in (23) obligatorily admit the overt marking of 1sg by means of a dedicated φ marker.
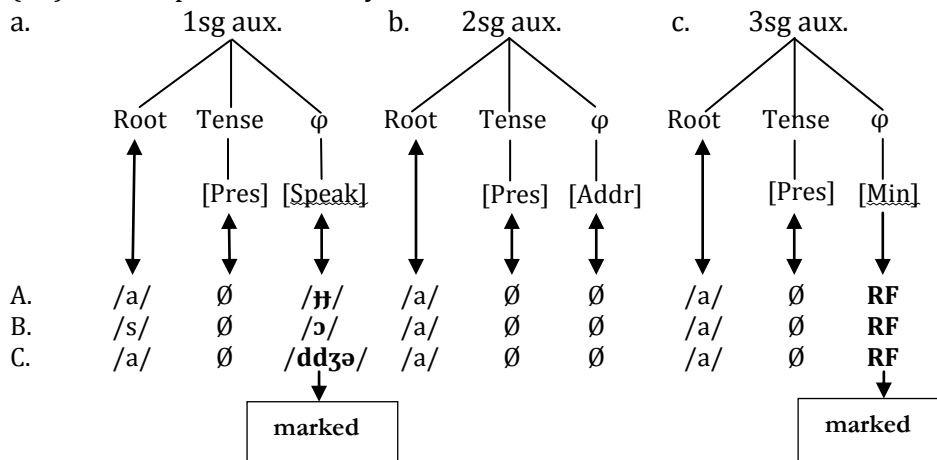
As far as pluperfect auxiliaries are concerned, (23) shows that CSIDs, similarly to Spanish, allow the overt marking of all φ values, except 1 and 3sg.

3.5 Summary of the morphological markedness of φ on perfective auxiliaries in CSIDs
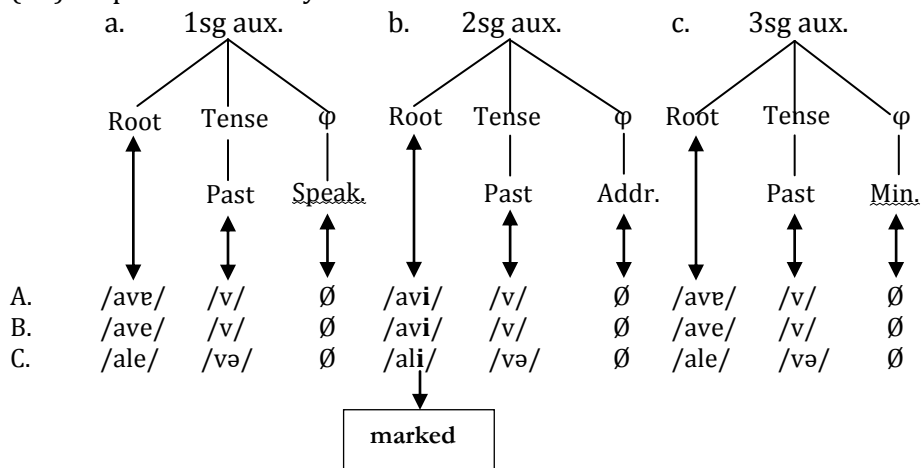
With reference to the dialects of Mola di Bari, Conversano and Airola presented in (17)-(22), a generalization can be proposed: the overt marking of φ on perfective auxiliaries in these dialects is strictly connected to the information expressed by Tense. The diagrams in (24) and (25) summarize these facts, by showing that the overt marking of 1 and 3sg only occurs with an auxiliary specified for Present, whereas the overt marking of 2sg, conversely, occurs when the auxiliary expresses information for Past. We will make use of [Speaker] and [Minimal] to refer to the morphosyntactic features expressing 1 and 3sg, respectively. Conversely, [Addressee] corresponds to the feature expressing 2sg (cf. Harley & Ritter, 2002). Moreover, the morphosyntactic features Present and Past will henceforth be referred to as [Present] and [Past], respectively.

In the diagrams below, A, B and C correspond to the overt realization of the singular present perfect and pluperfect auxiliaries of the dialects of Mola di Bari, Conversano and Airola, respectively.

(24) Present perfect auxiliary

		a. 1sg aux.			b. 2sg aux.			c. 3sg aux.	
	Root	Tense	φ	Root	Tense	φ	Root	Tense	φ
		[Pres]	[Speak]		[Pres]	[Addr]		[Pres]	[Min]
A.	/a/	Ø	**/ɟɟ/**	/a/	Ø	Ø	/a/	Ø	**RF**
B.	/s/	Ø	/ɔ/	/a/	Ø	Ø	/a/	Ø	**RF**
C.	/a/	Ø	**/ddʒə/**	/a/	Ø	Ø	/a/	Ø	**RF**

marked (under /ddʒə/) **marked** (under RF)

(25) Pluperfect auxiliary

		a. 1sg aux.			b. 2sg aux.			c. 3sg aux.	
	Root	Tense	φ	Root	Tense	φ	Root	Tense	φ
		Past	Speak.		Past	Addr.		Past	Min.
A.	/avɐ/	/v/	Ø	/av**i**/	/v/	Ø	/avɐ/	/v/	Ø
B.	/ave/	/v/	Ø	/av**i**/	/v/	Ø	/ave/	/v/	Ø
C.	/ale/	/və/	Ø	/al**i**/	/və/	Ø	/ale/	/və/	Ø

marked (under /avi/–/ali/)

At first glance, it seems that the marking strategies of φ observed in (24) and (25) are complementary. In both cases, in fact, the overt marking of φ seems to be strictly dependent on the value expressed by Tense: if Tense is [Present], then the default morphosyntactic nodes branching below [Participant], e.g. [Speaker] and [Minimal], are overtly marked. On the other

hand, if Tense expresses [Past], the feature which gets overtly marked is [Addressee], which, according to the geometry of morphosyntactic features by Harley & Ritter (2002), corresponds to the marked one branching below [Participant]. Given these facts, we will assume that the morphological markedness of φ in the auxiliaries in (24) and (25) derives from a post-syntactic mechanism that states that the information expressed by Tense, namely its grade of markedness, is able to determine the type of morphosyntactic feature to be overtly expressed on a perfective auxiliary.

4. The acquisition of pronouns, agreement markers and Tense

In this section, we will focus on the acquisition of pronouns, agreement markers and Tense. This survey will be crucial for our analysis of morphological markedness of φ features encoded on perfective auxiliaries in CSIDs, which will be put forward in §5.

In what follows, we propose that the grade of markedness inherited by a pronoun, agreement marker and Tense is determined by purely acquisitional facts: features that are learnt earlier are considered as defaults, or unmarked, whereas those acquired later are thought to be marked (cf. Jakobson, 1971; Rice & Avery, 1995; Brown, 1997; Harley & Ritter, 2002; a.o.).

4.1 The acquisition hierarchy

4.1.1 The acquisition and markedness of pronouns

According to Jakobson (1971), the process of acquisition determines the set of features that need to be overtly marked in a given language. Building on this proposal, many researchers have focused on the acquisitional path of a given type of feature, trying to capture whether markedness can be understood as a phenomenon that depends on acquisitional facts, and, more specifically, to understand whether acquisitional phenomena are able to determine how markedness should be defined cross-linguistically. Within works in generative phonology, Rice & Avery (1995), for instance, refer to the so-called model of "Global uniformity", which states that children tend to acquire the basic set of sounds in roughly the same order. Once the basic

sound inventory has been stored in a child's brain, other sounds are acquired in different orders, giving rise to "Local variability".

Harley & Ritter (2002), drawing on the models of acquisition by Rice & Avery (1995) and Brown (1997), also propose that Universal Grammar provides a minimal initial structure of morphosyntactic features. According to them, features learnt early in the acquisitional process are considered defaults, whereas those acquired late are considered marked. Harley & Ritter (2002) organize morphosyntactic features within a geometry, which is reproduced in (26).

(26)   **Referring Expression** (=Pronoun)
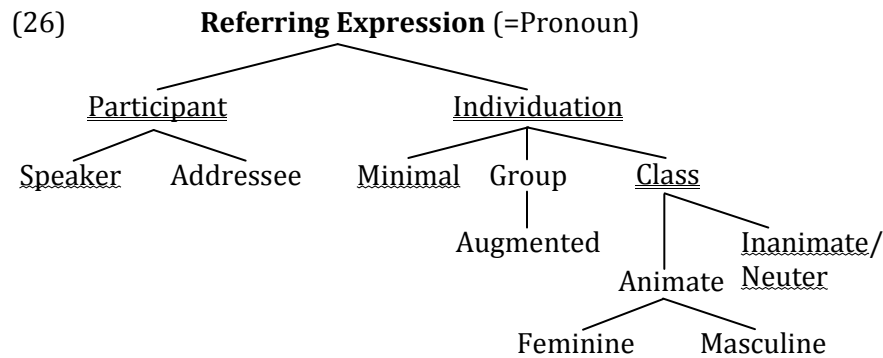
[Harley & Ritter (2002): 8]

In (26), the organizing nodes [Participant], [Individuation] and [Class] are features that allow the branching of other morphosyntactic features within their domains. As the geometry above shows, three of those dependents branching below [Participant], [Individuation] and [Class] are curly underlined. These nodes, namely [Speaker], [Minimal] and [Inanimate/Neuter] correspond to defaults. Default nodes are those learnt before others. For this reason, with reference to the Participant domain, [Speaker], in being a default, is learnt before [Addressee].

A caveat is required at this point. Harley & Ritter claim that a default node must be represented in a feature geometry. A different proposal is put forward by Rice & Avery (1995) and Brown (1997), who claim that defaults

are not represented in underlying representations if they do not enter into contrast with another feature[10].

The sequence of the acquisition of pronouns as put forward by Harley & Ritter (2002) has been also referred to by other researchers and scholars in recent years (cf. Forchheimer, 1953; Benveniste & Meek, 1971; Aikhenvald & Dixon, 1998; Baerman *et al*, 2005; a.o.). Since 3sg is generally acquired before 1sg and 1sg is acquired before 2sg, they propose the following person hierarchy (3 > 1 > 2)[11]. According to this acquisitional hierarchy, 1 person is learnt after 3 person. This means that, making use of the privative feature system *à la* Harley & Ritter, [Minimal] is generally learnt before [Speaker]. As for [Addressee], this is categorically learnt after the two defaults have been acquired. As Harley & Ritter (2002:28) claim "A Speaker default at the Participant node is consistent with the early acquisition of 1st

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[10] With reference to phonological features, Avery & Rice (1989) claim that coronal is the unmarked place of articulation. Their proposal is supported by the fact that all languages have coronal consonants whereas labials and dorsals are marked because they are not found in all languages. For this reason, they claim that coronal is the underspecified node under place, which may be absent from underlying representations, whereas labial and dorsals, which are marked, must be present in the underlying representation. These facts have already been briefly introduced in §2.1.1.

[11] Other hierarchies defining markedness effects have been found to exist in different languages. One of these is the nominal hierarchy proposed by Dixon (1994), which is based on that put forward by Silverstein (1976). According to these studies, 1, 2 and 3sg pronouns and nouns can be arranged on a scale. Those appearing at its left-edge, i.e. 1 and 2 person pronouns, are considered to prototypically confer agentive properties, whereas those appearing at its right, i.e. 3 person pronouns, are thought to embed inherent information for patient. In a group of ergative languages, 1 and 2 person pronouns are marked if they function as objects, while 3 person pronouns are marked if functioning as subjects. This situation is the one found in Dyirbal:

i.

Agent	-Ø	**-ŋgu**	**-ŋgu**	**-ŋgu**
Object	**-na**	Ø	Ø	Ø
	Pronouns 1 & 2	Pronouns 3	Proper names	Common names

[Dixon (1994): 85]

In this language, the **-na** and –**ŋgu** markers are realized on nominals that do not cover the prototypical information they inherit.

person; likewise, a Minimal default at the Individuation node allows us to predict that singular should also emerge early on". This is exemplified in (27).

(27)

RE
|
Participant   →   Participant   1 >> 2
|
RE   Addressee

RE   RE
| |
Individuation   →   Individuation   sing >> plur
|
Group
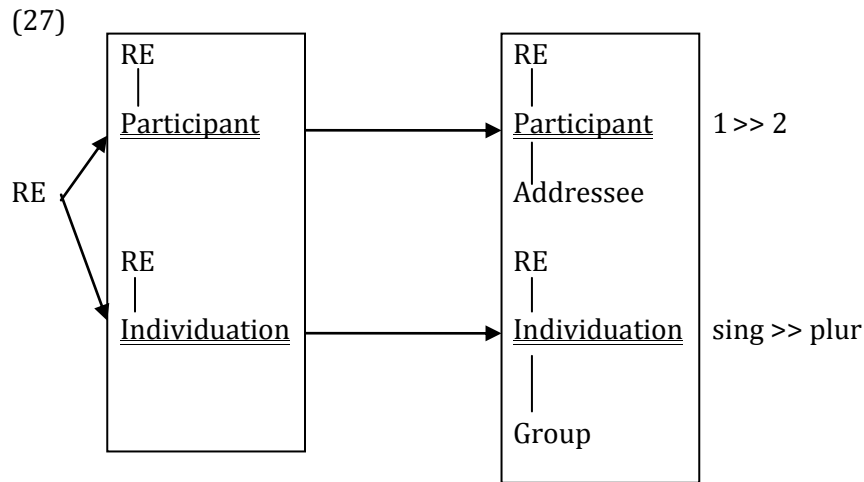
→ where RE is Referring Expression

[Adapted from Harley & Ritter (2002): 28]

The structure in (27) shows that [Participant] and [Individuation] are the dependents of Referring Expression. The acquisition of [Addressee] and [Group] operates after the acquisition of the defaults of [Participant] and [Individuation]. [Addressee] and [Group], in fact, are equally embedded in the geometry and bear the same degree of markedness.

4.1.2 The acquisition and markedness of φ agreement markers

Many studies on the acquisition of agreement markers have revealed that [Minimal] is generally learnt before [Speaker]. As for [Addressee], this is consistently acquired after [Speaker], as the cross-linguistic observation presented in (28) illustrates.

(28)

Language	Reference	Order of acquisition
Basque	Austin 2012	**3** < 1 < 2
Catalan	Grinstead 2000	**1**, **3** < 2
Croatian	Katičić 2003	**3** < 1 < 2
Estonian	Lipp 1977	**3** < 1 < 2
Finnish	Laalo 2003	**3** < 1 < 2
German	Clahsen 1988, Poeppel & Wexler 1993	**1**, **3** < 2
Greek	Christophidou & Stephany 2003	**3** < 1 < 2
Hebrew	Armon-Lotem 2006	**1**, **3** < 2
Italian	Clark 1985	**3** < 1 < 2
Lithuanian	Wójcik 2003	**1**, **3** < 2
Northern East Cree	Terry 2009	**3** < 1 < 2
Spanish	Grinstead 2000, Félix-Brasdefer 2006, Austin 2012	**1**, **3** < 2
	Aguirre 2003	**3** < 1 < 2
Turkish	Özden Ekmekci 1982	**1**, **3** < 2

[Ackema & Neeleman (2012): 7]

Given (28), the acquisition hierarchy observed for pronouns and discussed above (cf. Forchheimer, 1953; Benveniste & Meek, 1971; Aikhenvald & Dixon, 1998; Harley & Ritter, 2002; Baerman *et al*, 2005; a.o.) can also be understood to apply to agreement markers. For this reason, we assume that [Minimal] and [Speaker] correspond to default agreement markers, the former being the default for [Individuation] and the latter being the default for [Participant].

(29)
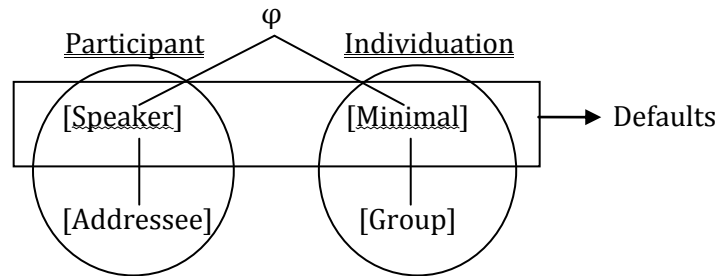
Having presented the notion of default and marked agreement markers, let us focus now on the acquisition and markedness of Tense. More specifically, the next section will consider Tense as a morphosyntactic feature that can express a default or marked value on a par with pronouns and agreement markers.

4.1.3 The acquisition and markedness of Tense

In the traditional literature, the morphosyntactic feature [Present], as opposed to [Past], is generally assumed to be a default (cf. Greenberg, 1966; De Hoop *et al.*, 2004; Nevins, 2007; Aalberse, 2009; a.o.). This feature, in fact, is generally assumed to be acquired before [Past].

Furthermore, the reason why [Present] is considered a default, as opposed to [Past], derives from the observation that finite verbs generally receive a default tense interpretation, i.e. [Present], in those languages in which no tense marker is overtly encoded. This is the case for English, where, for instance, verbs in the present tense lack the overt realization of a Tense marker expressing [Present]. On the other hand, the overt marking of [Past], at least in regular verbs, is expressed by means of –*ed*: walk-Ø versus walk-**ed**.

According to Comrie (1985), [Present] is expressed when the moment of speech coincides with the event time. [Past], instead, is encoded when the event time precedes the moment of speech. Following the markedness convention put forward by Holmberg & Roberts (2010) and discussed in §2.1.2, which assumes that the uniformity of values expressed on features gives rise to unmarked, i.e. default, syntactic configurations, we consider the

morphosyntactic feature [Present] as a default. This is due to the fact that when present tense is expressed, both the event time and the moment of speech share the same reference. On the other hand, [Past] can be considered as marked since it signals that the event time and the moment of speech do not converge.

5. The composition of Infl°

Building on our proposal put forward in chapter 2, we propose that syntactic auxiliaries are merged in Infl°, which, based on Ritter & Wiltschko (2010), is a syntactic head composed of three deictic categories, including Tense and φ. We will observe that the value expressed by Tense, as briefly mentioned above (cf. Comrie 1985), depends on the anchoring mechanism between the event situation and the utterance situation.

5.1 The substantive content of Infl°

Ritter & Wiltschko (2010) show that a group of Amerindian languages spoken on the west coast of North America behaves differently from Indo-European languages in not allowing the selection of a morphological marker expressing Tense. In some languages belonging to this group, however, an overt marker expressing Tense is attested, although it is not obligatory. One example is provided by Halkomelem, a Central Coast Salish language that has an overt marker expressing past tense, the interpretation of which is that the event is not ongoing. The absence of that morphological marker does not mean that the event described takes place at the utterance time, i.e., the lack of a Tense marker does not imply that the event and utterance situations coincide.

(30)
a. í-**lh**   qw'eyílex   tú-tl'ò
    aux.**past** dance   he
    'he was dancing'
b. í   qw'eyílex   tú-tl'ò
    aux   dance   he
    'he is/was dancing'

[Ritter & Wiltschko (2010): 1-2]

The auxiliary *í* in the examples in (30a) and (30b) is a locative auxiliary, the morphological shape of which changes according to spatial factors. In other words, if the location of the reported event coincides with that of the utterance, then auxiliary *í* is selected. If the location of the reported event does not coincide with that of the utterance situation, a distal auxiliary is selected, with the form *lí*:

(31)
a. í   qw'eyílex   tú-tl'ò
    aux.**prox** dance   he
    'he is/was dancing [here]'
b. **lí**   qw'eyílex   tú-tl'ò
    aux.**dist** dance   he
    'he is/was dancing [there]'

[Ritter & Wiltschko (2010): 8-9]

A similar situation is observed in Blackfoot, an Algonquian language (cf. (32)), where the morphological marking of person signals whether at least one participant of the reported event coincides with at least one of those involved in the utterance situation. The lack of overt realization of a person marker indicates that none of the utterance participants coincides with the set of participants present in the event situation.

(32)

a.   Kitsinóóhpoaawa
     kit-ino-o-**hp**-oaawa
     2.see.1:2.**local**.2pl
     'I saw you.pl'

b.   Ana póókaawa inoyííwa ani imitááyi
     an-(wa)   pookaa-wa ino-yii-**Ø**-wa   an-(y)i   imitaa-ya
     dem.prox child.prox   see.dir.**3**.prox.   dem.obv.   dog-obv.
     'The child saw the dog'

   [Ritter & Wiltschko (2010): 9-10]

Ritter & Wiltschko (2010), building on Ritter & Wiltschko (2009), claim that there is a universal category where Tense is marked in Indo-European languages and that this category corresponds to INFL[12]. In languages like Halkomelem and Blackfoot, no overt realization of a morpheme specifying tense information is found. In these languages, other deictic elements conveying information for Location and Person are present. If Tense, as proposed by Chomsky (1995), were the category provided by Universal Grammar where tense functions are displayed, languages like Halkomelem and Blackfoot would be understood as lacking this universal category altogether (cf. Wiltschko, 2002; Ritter & Wiltschko, 2004; Shaer, 2003; Bittner, 2005). All in all, the data provided in this section suggest that a category other than Tense, namely INFL, corresponds to the universal category where information for Tense, Location and Person are encoded.

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[12] The same proposal was put forward by Chomsky (1981), who claimed that tense features, along with subject-verb agreement, constitute the content of an abstract category called INFL. Differently from Chomsky (1981), Pollock (1989), in his seminal paper, provides a different analysis related to the content of INFL. Firstly, he provides a different label to this category, which he calls Tense. Moreover, he proposes that the content of Tense should be split, thus postulating the presence of two different syntactic categories, one called Tense and the other called Agr. The Agr category, the content of which is supposed to host φ features, has been criticized by Chomsky (1995) since its contribution only consists in mediating an Agree relation between this category and, say, the subject. Furthermore, other scholars have cited empirical evidence for postulating that Agr, merging lower than Tense, might correspond to Aspect (cf. Zagona, 1993; Stowell, 1996).

Building on some studies on the syntax-semantics interface (cf. Enç, 1987; Zagona, 1990, 1995; Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria, 1997, 2000), which define Tense as a category that serves to relate event to utterance time, Ritter & Wiltschko (2009) identify INFL as the category whose function is that of anchoring the event with the utterance situation.

In their view, the morphological marking of Tense displayed by a large number of Indo-European languages corresponds to one of the choices offered by Universal Grammar. Thus, Indo-European languages make use of the overt marking of tense morphemes encoded on INFL in order to anchor the event time to the utterance time. Some other languages might make use of other types of elements, which, according to Ritter & Wiltschko, correspond to Person and Location:

(33)[13]

        INFL

  Tense Person Location
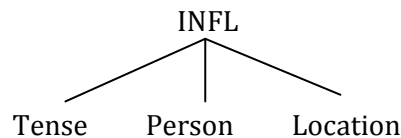
Differently from a language like English, Halkomelem uses Location to express whether the location of the reported event is the same as the location of the utterance. In Blackfoot, a person marker is selected to express whether the set of participants in the event situation is the same or a subset of those present in the utterance situation.

5.1.1 Event and utterance situations: the anchoring of [*u*coin]

Ritter & Wiltschko (2010) argue that the anchoring mechanism linking the event to the utterance situation is obtained by means of a feature intrinsically associated to INFL, which they call [*u*coin(cidence)]. This feature is unvalued and must be checked according to the information provided by the event situation. The structure they propose is the one in

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[13] Gruber (2013) proposes a similar analysis with reference to 1 and 2 person pronouns. Her account claims that Person, Location and Time are non-atomic entities. She argues that Person is a category dependent on Time and Location (Gruber, 2003: 2).

(34), where the utterance situation is encoded in the specifier of INFL and the event situation is expressed in the specifier of VP.

(34)
    UG   IP [Utt-sit INFL [*u*coin] VP [Ev-sit V]]

                                    [Ritter & Wiltschko (2010): 12]

[*u*coin] must be valued during the derivation of indicative clauses. The morphological marking of this feature serves as a way of expressing its value. When the event situation coincides with the utterance situation, [*u*coin] bears a + value. If the two times do not coincide, then the value encoded on that feature is -.

In a language like English, for instance, [*u*coin] is valued as + only if the event situation coincides in time with the utterance situation. This is to say, [*u*coin] in English is + only if the event situation is present. If the event situation is past, and thus does not coincide with the utterance situation, [*u*coin] bears a – value.

In Halkomelem, on the other hand, [*u*coin] gets a + value when the location of the event is the same as that of the utterance situation, meaning that [+coin] in this language indicates that the event location is where the sentence is uttered. If the location of the event and that of the utterance situation are not the same, [*u*coin] gets a – value.

Finally, the + value of [*u*coin] in Blackfoot indicates that the event participants are the same as or a subset of those of the utterance situation, thus coinciding with either 1 and/or 2 person, or both. If the event participant is 3 person, for instance, [*u*coin] is valued as -. In every language, the feature [*u*coin] must be associated with one of the three categories within INFL. In English, [*u*coin] is expressed in Tense, whereas in Halkomelem and Blackfoot this feature is encoded in Location and Person, respectively.

(35)
a.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [+coin] VP [Ev-sit V {present}]]   English
b.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [-coin] VP [Ev-sit V {past}]]

(36)
a.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [+coin] VP [Ev-sit V {proximate}]]   Halkomelem
b.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [-coin] VP [Ev-sit V {distal}]]

(37)
a.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [+coin] VP [Ev-sit V {local}]]   Blackfoot
b.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [-coin] VP [Ev-sit V {other}]]
                                              [Ritter & Wiltschko (2010): 12]

At this point, we might wonder whether languages can opt for the morphological marking of more than one grammatical category within INFL. Moreover, it might be useful to investigate whether, for instance, the value expressed by [$u$coin] encoded on a given category influences the type of marking of other categories. An example was provided above in (30), where the occurrence of a morphological marker expressing information for [Past] can combine with the auxiliary *í*, which expresses information for proximity, thus morphologically marking [+coin] for Location. Furthermore, if we observe how the + and – values of [$u$coin] are morphologically marked in the languages in (38)-(40), we see that [$u$coin], when valued for a + value, is not always more morphologically marked than when expressing a – value. Blackfoot shows that the presence of [+coin] for the category Person is signaled by means of a morphological marker, the presence of which is excluded when this category is [-coin] (cf. (38)). In Halkomelem, conversely, a more marked auxiliary, namely *lí*, is realized when [$u$coin] is valued for – with regard to Location. In the reverse case, namely when [$u$coin] bears a + value, a less marked auxiliary, namely *í*, is selected (cf. (39)).

(38) Blackfoot
a.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [+coin] VP [Ev-sit V {local}]]   ↔ **hp**
b.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [-coin] VP [Ev-sit V {other}]]   ↔ Ø

(39) Halkomelem
a.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [+coin] VP [Ev-sit V {proximate}]]   ↔ í
b.   IP [Utt-sit INFL [-coin] VP [Ev-sit V {other}]]   ↔ **lí**

From (38) and (39), it seems that there is no general rule which states that the type of value present on [*u*coin] categorically activates a specific marking strategy. Indeed, [-coin] in Halkomelem is morphologically more marked than [+coin]. The opposite applies in Blackfoot. Similarly to Halkomelem, English also allows the morphological marking of Tense when this bears a [-coin] valuation. In the presence of present tense, on the other hand, no overt marker is selected to express this information:

(40) English
a. IP [Utt-sit INFL [+coin] VP [Ev-sit V {present}]]   ↔ Ø
b. IP [Utt-sit INFL [-coin] VP [Ev-sit V {past}]]   ↔ **-ed**

In addition, English allows the overt realization of a person marker, namely 3sg *-s*, when [*u*coin] is valued as + for the category Tense. When [*u*coin] bears a – value, no person marker is selected, thus suggesting that the value expressed on [*u*coin] determines the type of person feature to be morphologically marked in indicative clauses.

5.2 Perfective auxiliaries in CSIDs: the anchoring of [*u*coin] in Tense

Here, we argue that perfective active auxiliaries in CSIDs, similarly to English and other Indo-European languages, encode a [*u*coin] feature in the category Tense.
In the case of periphrastic constructions composed of perfective auxiliaries followed by past participles, we claim that Asp° corresponds to the syntactic head where participles are merged. The specifier of Asp° is thought to encode the event situation. It is assumed that Infl°, merging right above Asp°, hosts the auxiliary and the utterance situation is encoded in its specifier. If the event situation in Spec,AspP and the utterance situation in Spec,InflP coincide, namely if the event has direct consequences on the utterance situation, [*u*coin] encoded in Tense bears a + value. On the other hand, if the event situation in Spec,AspP does not have direct consequences on the utterance situation, [*u*coin] in Tense is valued as -. The anchoring between the event and the utterance situations in perfective auxiliaries in CSIDs is illustrated in (41).

(41)

InflP

utterance situation

Infl'

Infl°

AspP

Tense [±coin]

φ

event situation

Asp'

Asp°

anchoring
valuation
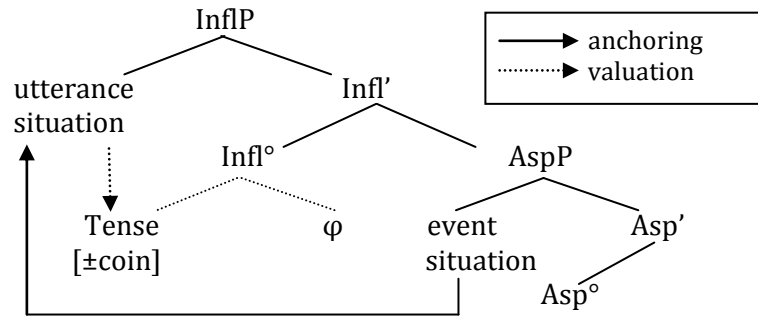
Based on the markedness convention proposed by Holmberg & Roberts (2010), we consider + expressed on [*u*coin] as a default value. This relies on the fact that the event and utterance situation in this case share the same value, the uniformity of which licenses a default configuration. On the other hand, if the event and utterance situation do not share the same value, namely when [*u*coin] is valued as -, then a marked configuration is obtained.

6. The post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking*

In this section, we propose that the overt marking of φ realized on perfective auxiliaries in a group of CSIDs derives from the application of a post-syntactic mechanism, which we call *Default Marking*. The definition of *Default Marking* is given in (42):

(42) *Default Marking*
The morphological marking of a φ feature can only take place if all features bear the same markedness on the functional head that hosts them.

According to the *Default Marking* mechanism in (42), φ features encoded on perfective auxiliaries get overtly spelled out only if their grade of markedness is the same as that expressed by [*u*coin], which we assume is encoded in Tense in CSIDs. More explicitly, we predict that if [*u*coin] is valued as +, which in our account corresponds to a default, then only default φ features, i.e. [Speaker] and [Minimal], get overtly marked at PF.

Conversely, if [*u*coin] is valued as –, which in our model corresponds to a marked value, then only marked φ features, i.e. [Addressee], get overtly marked. In our account, φ features are encoded in the deictic category embedded within Infl° that corresponds to Person according to Ritter & Wiltschko (2010).

The uniformity of markedness expressed by [*u*coin] and φ gives rise to a default configuration (based on Holmberg & Roberts, 2010) that is responsible for licensing the post-syntactic application of *Default Marking*. We assume that this takes place in the morphological component.

In §6.1, we examine the mechanism of *Default Marking* with reference to present perfect auxiliaries. §6.2, on the other hand, will consider the application of *Default Marking* with pluperfect auxiliaries.

6.1 *Default Marking* and present perfect auxiliaries

In this part, we consider the post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking* operating in the case of present perfect auxiliaries in a subset of CSIDs. We will focus on the application of *Default Marking* in the singular paradigm (cf. §6.1.1) before turning to the plural paradigm (cf. §6.1.2).

6.1.1 The singular paradigm

We reproduce in (43)-(45) the singular paradigm of the present perfect auxiliaries first given in (17)-(19).

(43) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)

aɟɟ/**i**	'fatt/par'tʉːt	H.pr.1sg done/left
a	'fatt/par'tʉːt	H.pr.2sg done/left
(')a	**f'**fatt/**p**par'tʉːt	H.pr.3sg done/left

(44) Conversano (Apulo-Barese)

sɔ	**f'**fatt	B.pr.1sg done
a	'fatt	H.pr.2sg done
a	**f'**fatt	H.pr.3sg done

(45) Airola (Central Campanian)

a**ddʒə**	'vistə/'fattə	H.pr.1sg seen/done
a	'vistə/'fattə	H.pr.2sg seen/done
a	**v**'vistə/**f**'fattə	H.pr.3sg seen/done

All the present perfect auxiliaries in (43)-(45) are endowed with [+coin], because the time of the event and utterance situations coincide. In the morphological component, [+coin] selects the set of φ features to be overtly spelled out. Since the value + specified on [*u*coin] corresponds to a default value, then the φ features that will get overtly marked at PF correspond to those that also bear a default interpretation. The application of *Default Marking* (cf. (42)) to the paradigms in (43)-(45) is given in (46).

(46)

	Speaker	Addressee	Minimal
Mola di Bari (cf. (43))	/a+ɟɟ/~/i/	/a+Ø/	/a+RF/
Conversano (cf. (44))	/sɔ/	/a+Ø/	/a+RF/
Airola (cf. (45))	/a+ddʒə/	/a+Ø/	/a+RF/
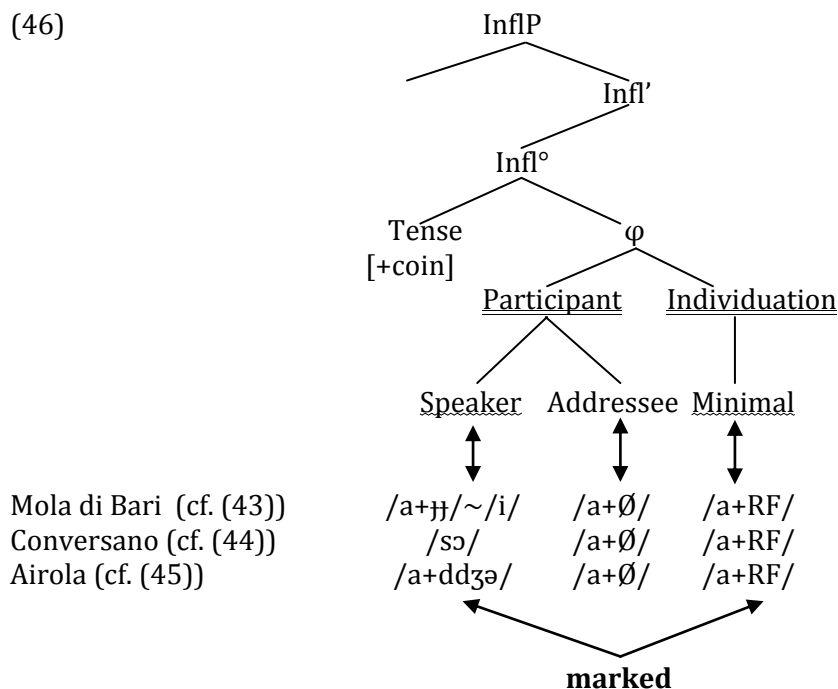
In (46), we observe that φ is overtly encoded only if the auxiliary is valued for [Speaker] and [Minimal]. In the case of [Speaker], an exponent is always

overtly realized, whereas in the case of [Minimal], RF is applicable. It must be noted, however, that the overt marking of [Speaker] is obtained either by means of selection of BE, as in (44), or HAVE, as in (43) and (45). The dialect of Mola di Bari shows that 1sg HAVE can be overtly expressed by the forms /aɟɟ/ and /i/. In the former case, [Individuation] and [Speaker] are overtly expressed by means of dedicated exponents, whereas in the latter case, crucially, a fusional form is selected.

The overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal] is attributed to the fact that these two features share the same type of markedness with [+coin] expressed on Tense: Tense and φ are uniform in their grade of markedness, meaning that *Default Marking* operates post-syntactically (cf. (42)).

As far as [Addressee] in concerned, however, no φ marker is overtly expressed on the auxiliary. In fact, 2sg HAVE in (46) is bare, and no morpho-phonological marker expressing [Addressee] is realized in word-final position. This might be due to the fact that [Addressee] is a marked morphosyntactic feature (cf. Harley & Ritter (2002)), which does not share the same grade of markedness with the feature [+coin]. The mismatch of markedness between [Addressee] and [+coin] gives rise to a marked configuration, which, in our account, blocks the post-syntactic application of the *Default Marking* operation.

6.1.2 The plural paradigm

Similarly to the singular paradigm, in the dialects of Mola di Bari, Conversano and Airola in (17)-(19), on a par with many other CSIDs, post-syntactic *Default Marking* (cf. (42)) also applies in the presence of plural present perfect auxiliaries. Before considering whether this assumption might be on the right track or not, let us observe the plural paradigms of present perfect auxiliaries of the dialects of Mola di Bari, Conversano and Airola, which are reproduced in (47)-(49), respectively.

(47) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)

a**m**	'fatt/par'tʉ:t	H.pr.1pl done/left
a'v**et**	'fatt/par'tʉ:t	H.pr.2pl done/left
a**n**	'fatt/par'tʉ:t	H.pr.3pl done/left

(48) Conversano (Apulo-Barese)

a**m**	'fatt	H.pr.1pl done
av**et**	'fatt	H.pr.2pl done
a**n**	'fatt	H.pr.3pl done

(49) Airola (Central Campanian)

a**mmu**	'vistə/'fattə	H.pr.1pl seen/done
a**tə**	'vistə/'fattə	H.pr.2pl seen/done
a**nnə**	'vistə/'fattə	H.pr.3pl seen/done

All present perfect auxiliaries in (47)-(49) correspond to HAVE. These forms, unlike the singular paradigms in (43)-(45), allow the overt realization of an agreement marker realized in word-final position.

If we focus on the inflectional suffix of the plural auxiliaries above, however, it is clear that 1 and 3pl forms cluster together in allowing a nasal consonant. In contrast, the inflectional suffix that expresses 2pl selects a voiceless plosive. As argued previously (cf. §2.1.1), nasal segments are considered to be more marked than plosives (cf. Jakobson, 1932; Avery & Rice, 1989; Jakobson & Pomorska, 1990; Hume, 2011; a.o.). Moreover, /m/ and /n/ are phonologically more marked than /t/ in encoding the feature [+sonorant], which is absent in /t/ (Selkirk, 1984). Since /m/ and /n/ are specified for [+nasal] and [+sonorant], as opposed to /t/, which does not bear this type of specification, we are forced to argue that 2pl present perfect auxiliaries are less morpho-phonologically marked than those expressing 1 and 3pl.

This analysis makes the following prediction: the presence of [Addressee] in a plural auxiliary inevitably allows the selection of the voiceless plosive /t/, whose place of articulation corresponds to Coronal, thus to a default phonological feature for Place (cf. Avery & Rice, 1989). Nasal consonants, in being more marked than /t/, are selected by 1 and 3pl HAVE.

Plural auxiliaries, according to the morphosyntactic feature geometric *à la* Harley & Ritter, must activate the node [Group], which is considered a marked node within [Individuation]. As far as 3pl auxiliaries are concerned, however, these are specified for [Group] only since the [Participant] feature encoded on these elements remains underspecified. In the case of a 1 and

2pl auxiliary, conversely, both [Group] and [Speaker]/[Addressee] are expressed, as (50) indicates.

(50)

a.	3pl HAVE	[Participant: __; Individuation: Group]
b.	1pl HAVE	[Participant: Speaker; Individuation: Group]
c.	2pl HAVE	[Participant: Addressee; Individuation: Group]

From (50), it clearly emerges that only 2pl auxiliaries bear the highest number of marked morphosyntactic features. In this case, both [Participant] and [Individuation] are specified for [Addressee] and [Group]; according to the analysis presented above, both of these correspond to marked values. As for the other forms, 1pl HAVE is more marked than 3pl HAVE in expressing [Speaker]. 3pl HAVE, on the other hand, is the least marked since [Participant] is fully underspecified. Given these facts, we propose that a nasal consonant is selected as an agreement marker by those plural auxiliaries that are either underspecified for [Participant], or that bear a default specification for this feature. In the presence of a fully specified value for [Participant], i.e. [Addressee], a non-nasal voiceless segment is selected, namely /t/, which in our account corresponds to a non-marked inflectional marker. These facts are summarized in (51).

(51)

```
                          InflP
                         /    \
                               Infl'
                                 |
                               Infl°
                              /     \
                          Tense      φ
                         [+coin]    /  \
                          Participant  Individuation
                           /     \         \
                      Speaker  Addressee  Group
                       Group     Group      ↕
                         ↕         ↕
```

Mola di Bari (cf. (47))	/a+**m**/	/ave+**t**/	/a+**n**/
Conversano (cf. (48))	/a+**m**/	/ave+**t**/	/a+**n**/
Airola (cf. (49))	/a+**mmu**/	/a+**tə**/	/a+**nnə**/
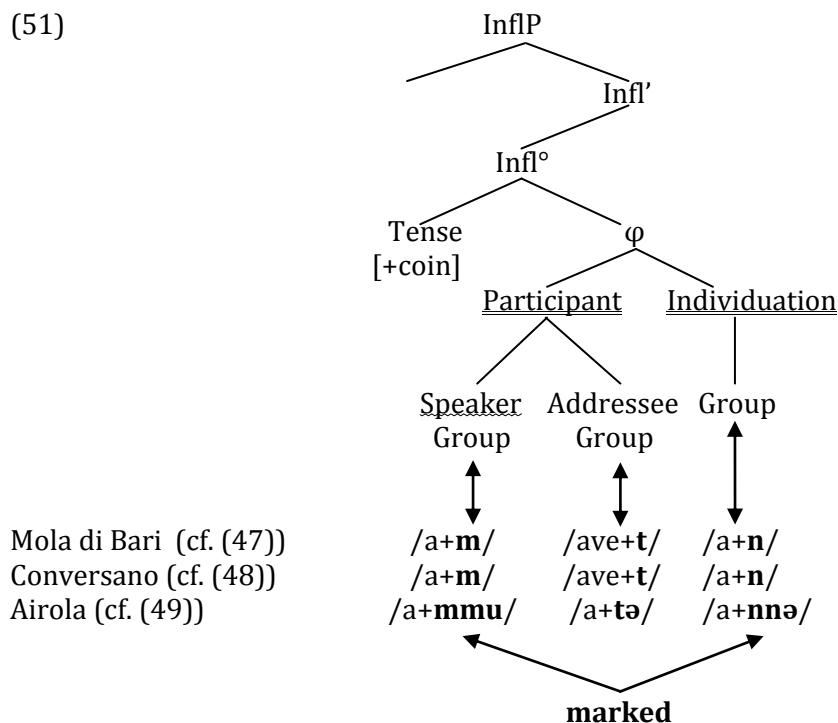
marked

In the same fashion as in the singular paradigm, 1pl HAVE is morpho-phonologically more marked than the auxiliary expressing 3pl information. In fact, the nasal feature expressed on 1pl HAVE is specified as [+labial], while 3pl HAVE selects an alveolar nasal consonant, which, according to the geometry in (5), is considered to be underspecified for place of articulation (cf. Avery & Rice, 1989).

The empirical facts presented above are intended to demonstrate that *Default Marking* (cf. (42)) also operates post-syntactically with plural present perfect auxiliaries. This is due to the fact that 1 and 3pl present perfect HAVE are endowed with default interpretation for [Participant], which, in sharing the same grade of markedness with [+coin], licenses the post-syntactic application of the *Default Marking* operation.

6.2 *Default Marking* and pluperfect auxiliaries

This part looks at the application of the *Default Marking* operation with pluperfect auxiliaries in a subset of CSIDs. §6.2.1 focuses on the application of *Default Marking* in the singular paradigm, whereas §6.2.2 considers the application of *Default Marking* in the plural paradigm.

6.2.1 The singular paradigm

Here we examine the overt marking of φ realized on pluperfect auxiliaries in a large group of CSIDs. More specifically, we focus on those forms that were presented in the paradigms in (20)-(22), and are reproduced in the singular paradigm in (52)-(54).

(52) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)

a'vɛv	man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɚʷt	H.past.1sg	eaten/opened/drunk
a'v**i**v	man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɚʷt	H.past.2sg	eaten/opened/drunk
a'vɛv	man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɚʷt	H.past.3sg	eaten/opened/drunk

(53) Conversano (Apulo-Barese)

a'vev	man'dʒɜːt/a'piːrt/'fatt	H.past.1sg	eaten/opened/done
a'v**i**v	man'dʒɜːt/a'piːrt/'fatt	H.past.2sg	eaten/opened/done
a'vev	man'dʒɜːt/a'piːrt/'fatt	H.past.3sg	eaten/opened/done

(54) Airola (Central Campanian)

a'levə	man'dʒɜːt/a'piːrt/'fatt	H.past.1sg	eaten/opened/done
a'l**i**və	man'dʒɜːt/a'piːrt/'fatt	H.past.2sg	eaten/opened/done
a'levə	man'dʒɜːt/a'piːrt/'fatt	H.past.3sg	eaten/opened/done

In the paradigms in (52)-(54), only a 2sg pluperfect auxiliary, which encodes [Addressee], is morpho-phonologically marked by means of metaphony. 1 and 3sg pluperfect auxiliaries, on the other hand, are syncretic and no metaphony is attested there. The auxiliaries in (52)-(54) are endowed with a [-coin] feature. The presence of [-coin] is supported by

the fact that the event situation, encoded in Spec,AspP, and the utterance situation, in Spec,InflP, do not coincide in time. In the case of a 2sg pluperfect auxiliary, a default configuration is obtained: both [-coin] and [Addressee] share the same grade of markedness, which, in the morphological component, allows *Default Marking* (cf. (42)) to apply. Conversely, the presence of [Speaker] and [Minimal] on a pluperfect auxiliary would trigger a marked configuration, which does not allow the application of *Default Marking*. These facts are shown in the diagram in (55).

(55)

```
                              InflP
                             /    \
                                   Infl'
                                  /
                            Infl°
                           /     \
                      Tense        φ
                      [-coin]      /  \
                            Participant  Individuation
                              /    \         |
                        Speaker  Addressee  Minimal
                           ↕        ↕        ↕

Mola di Bari  (cf. (52))  /aˈvɐv/   /aˈviv/   /aˈvɐv/
Conversano (cf. (53))     /aˈvev/   /aˈviv/   /aˈvev/
Airola (cf. (54))         /aˈlevə/  /aˈlivə/  /aˈlevə/
                                       ↑
                                    marked
```
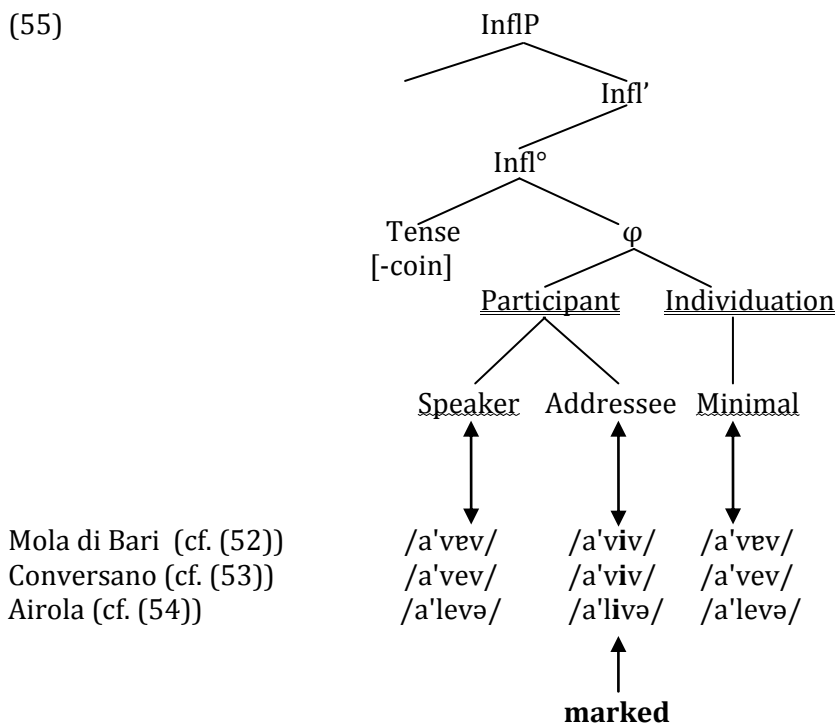
The overt marking of [Addressee] is uniquely obtained by means of metaphony on the stressed vowel of the auxiliary. This is attested in all the dialects documented in (52)-(54), as well as in other varieties belonging to the same group of dialects (see Manzini & Savoia, 2005, II).

At this point, we should investigate whether the presence of metaphony in the case of a 2sg pluperfect auxiliary is due to the application of *Default Marking* in morphology or, crucially, if it is fed by phonological processes of a different nature.

According to Maiden (1991) and Calabrese (1998), (2009), metaphony is a process whereby a stressed vowel is raised when the following syllable contains a high vowel. In CSIDs, the phenomenon of metaphony is not restricted to pluperfect auxiliaries valued for 2sg, but is also found on 2sg lexical verbs in the present indicative. 2sg HAVE in the pluperfect, as well as 2sg lexical verbs, were historically endowed with the vowel /i/ in word-final position. This vowel, although deleted in diachrony, is still held to cause metaphony in today's dialects. Crucially, in the lexical verbs of the dialects of Mola di Bari, Conversano and Airola, metaphony is not always attested in the presence of present indicative lexical verbs specified for 2sg. In these varieties, in fact, the 2sg lexical verbs that do allow metaphony are those that display a stressed vowel endowed with a mid-high/low feature. In the presence of a low vowel in stressed position, namely /a/, metaphony is not obtained: Mola di Bari: 'mandʒ/ 'mandʒ/ 'mandʒ -eat.pr.1sg/ eat.pr.2sg/ eat.pr.3sg- 'I/you/(s)he eat(s)' versus 'dorm/ 'd**u**rm/ 'dorm – sleep.pr.1sg/ sleep.pr.2sg/ sleep.pr.3sg- 'I/you/(s)he sleep(s)'. The dialect of Mola di Bari in (52) shows that metaphony on a 2sg pluperfect auxiliary is attested even though the underlying form of the auxiliary is endowed with a low vowel in stressed position. This observation leads us to the conclusion that the application of metaphony in 2sg pluperfect auxiliaries in the dialect of Mola di Bari, as well as in many other CSIDs, does not depend on the presence of a high vowel in word-final position, but rather on the application of a markedness constraint stating that [Addressee] encoded on this auxiliary must be marked. The problem of metaphony realized on lexical verbs in CSIDs, as well as in NSIDs, will be addressed in chapter 5.

In the next subsection, we will see how the post-syntactic mechanism of *Default Marking* operates in the plural paradigm.

6.2.2 The plural paradigm

Similarly to the singular paradigms in (52)-(54), the – value expressed on [*u*coin] determines the overt marking of φ on pluperfect auxiliaries. The

plural paradigm of pluperfect auxiliaries, presented earlier (20)-(22), is given in (56)-(58).

(56) Mola di Bari (Apulo-Barese)
    a'v**emm**   man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɤʷt   H.past.1pl eaten/opened/drunk
    a'v**ivər**   man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɤʷt   H.past.2pl eaten/opened/drunk
    a'v**evən**   man'dʒət/a'pirt/ʋə'vɤʷt   H.past.3pl eaten/opened/drunk

(57) Conversano (Apulo-Barese)
    a'v**ɛmm**   man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt   H.past.1pl eaten/opened/done
    a'v**istəv**   man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt   H.past.2pl eaten/opened/done
    a'v**ɛvən**   man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt   H.past.3pl eaten/opened/done

(58) Airola (Central Campanian)
    a'levə**mə**   man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt   H.past.1pl eaten/opened/done
    a'levə**və**   man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt   H.past.2pl eaten/opened/done
    a'levə**nə**   man'dʒɜ:t/a'pi:rt/'fatt   H.past.3pl eaten/opened/done

As observed in the previous subsection, the morpho-phonological marking of [Addressee] in the singular paradigm is signaled by means of metaphony affecting the stressed vowel of the auxiliary. The 2pl forms of HAVE in (56) and (57) also feature metaphony. In this case, the stressed vowels of the pluperfect auxiliaries correspond to /i/, and are thus in opposition to those occurring in 1 and 3pl HAVE, which select /e/ or /ɛ/. This operation, crucially, is not attested in the dialect of Airola in (58), where metaphony is not found on the stressed vowel of 2pl HAVE.

It is worth noting that the paradigms in (56)-(58), differently from their singular counterparts, allow the overt realization of an inflectional marker in word-final position. The same situation has been observed for the plural paradigm of present perfect auxiliaries in §6.1.2. In (56)-(58), this φ marker corresponds to a nasal consonant in 1 and 3pl HAVE. In 2pl HAVE, a different consonant is selected. In the dialect in (56), the alveolar trill /r/ is chosen. In (57) and (58), the consonant /v/ is found to mark 2pl. In §6.1.2, we observed that /t/ is the consonant selected as the inflectional marker for 2pl HAVE in the present perfect. We propose that the consonant /t/ is less

marked than the consonants /v/ and /r/. In fact, the former is specified for the feature [-voice], whereas the latter express the feature [+voice]. The fact that /v/ and /r/ are more marked than /t/ is also supported by the universal Sonority Hierarchy in (59).

(59)[14]

Voiceless stop	e.g.	/p, t, k/
Voiced stop		/b, d, g/
Voiceless fricative		/f, s, x/
Voiced fricative		/v, z, ~/
Nasal stops		/n, m/
Liquids		/l, r/

[Adapted from Gnanadesikan, 1995: 13]

Voiceless stops, which are at the top of the hierarchy, are considered as the most unmarked consonants in terms of sonority, whereas liquids, which are located at the bottom of the hierarchy, are thought to be highly marked. Given the hierarchy in (59), the consonants /v/ and /r/ must be considered as more marked than /t/, which, together with /p/ and /k/, is the most unmarked consonant for sonority.

Given these facts, we propose that the consonants /v/ and /r/, which are the inflectional markers found on 2pl pluperfect HAVE in (56)-(58), are more marked than /t/, which is the consonant selected by 2pl present perfect HAVE in the dialects of Mola di Bari, Conversano and Airola. 1 and 3pl pluperfect HAVE in (56)-(58), instead, are consistent in selecting a nasal consonant both in the present perfect and in the pluperfect. These facts are summarized in (60).
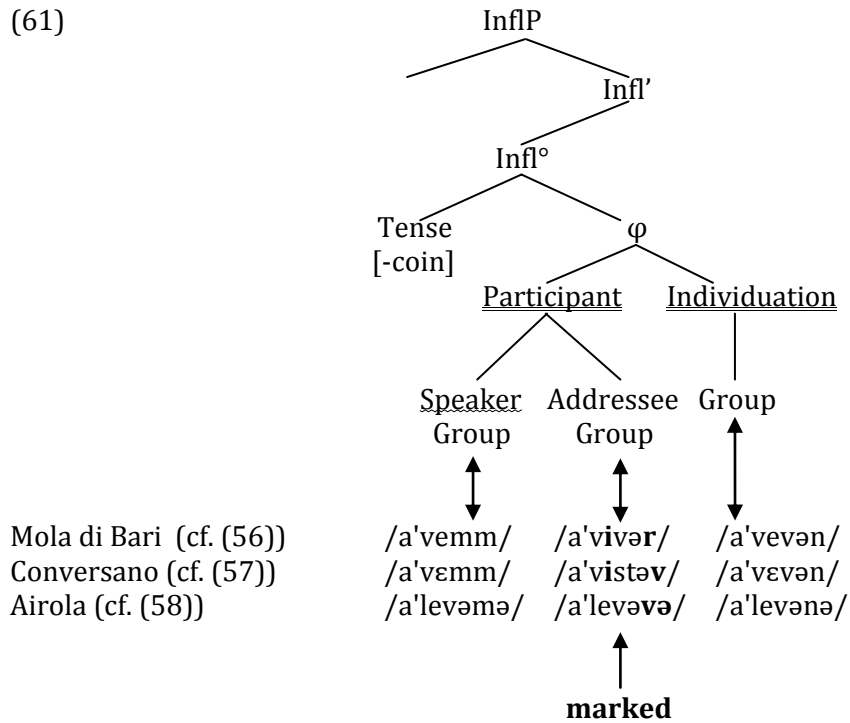
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[14] For further references on the Sonority Hierarchy, see Sievers (1881), Jespersen (1904), De Saussure (1916), Zwicky (1972), Hankamer & Aissen (1974), Hooper (1976), Steriade (1982), and Selkirk (1984), a.o.

(60)

	Present perfect HAVE	Pluperfect HAVE
1pl	/m/ ·············▶	/m/
2pl	/t/ ───────▶	**/v/ ~ /r/**
3pl	/n/ ·············▶	/n/
where: ·········▶ = do not mark! ───▶ = mark!		

Given (60), we argue that the presence of [Addressee] in the plural paradigm of a pluperfect auxiliary must be marked by selecting either /v/ or /r/, which, according to what proposed before, are more marked than /t/. We propose that the selection of a marked consonant by 2pl pluperfect HAVE derives from the application of the *Default Marking* operation (cf. (42)). Indeed, [Addressee], in being a marked feature, shares the same grade of markedness with [-coin]. The uniformity of markedness between [Addressee] and [-coin] gives rise to a default syntactic configuration, which allows *Default Marking* to apply in the morphological component (cf. (42)). This operation does not take place when [Speaker], or underspecification for [Participant], is encoded on a pluperfect auxiliary. These facts are explained in the diagram in (61).

(61)

```
                              InflP
                             /    \
                                   Infl'
                                   /
                              Infl°
                             /     \
                        Tense        φ
                        [-coin]     /  \
                            Participant   Individuation
                             /      \          |
                        Speaker   Addressee   Group
                         Group      Group      ↕
                           ↕          ↕
```

	Speaker Group	Addressee Group	Group
Mola di Bari (cf. (56))	/a'vemm/	/a'**vi**və**r**/	/a've**v**ən/
Conversano (cf. (57))	/a'vɛmm/	/a'**vi**stə**v**/	/a'vɛvən/
Airola (cf. (58))	/a'levəmə/	/a'levə**v**ə/	/a'levənə/

↑

marked

The operation of *Default Marking* illustrated in (61) differs from that in (51) in that it allows the morphological markedness of [Addressee] both in the root and in the agreement marker. This situation is attested only for the Apulian dialects in (56) and (57), and is not applicable in the Campanian dialect of Airola in (58), which overtly expresses the morphological markedness of [Addressee] in the agreement suffix only.

6.3 Preliminary conclusion

In the previous sections, we have claimed that perfective auxiliaries in CSIDs are merged in Infl°, which, according to Ritter & Wiltschko (2009), is a syntactic head composed of a series of deictic categories, including Tense and Person. We have assumed that Person corresponds to a φ agreement category.

Following Ritter & Wiltschko (2010), we have treated Infl° in perfective auxiliaries in CSIDs as a syntactic head endowed with a [*u*coin] feature. It has been argued that this feature is encoded in the category Tense. The function of [*u*coin] is that of anchoring the utterance time encoded in Spec,InflP with the event time specified in Spec,AspP. This feature must be valued and its valuation depends on the relation between the event and the utterance time. When the event time coincides with the utterance time, namely in the present tense, then [*u*coin] is valued as +, which in our analysis corresponds to a default value. On the other hand, if the event and utterance time do not coincide, namely in the past tense, then [*u*coin] is valued as -, which in our model corresponds to a marked value.

With regard to the φ category, we have advocated the presence of default and marked φ features. Default φ features are those acquired early through the acquisitional process, and merely correspond to [Speaker] and [Minimal]. On the other hand, [Addressee] and [Group], which are learnt after the default features, have been considered as marked (cf. Harley & Ritter, 2002).

Based on the markedness convention put forward by Holmberg & Roberts (2010), we have argued that the uniformity of markedness between φ and [*u*coin] feeds the application of the post-syntactic operation called *Default Marking*. *Default Marking* simply states that φ features encoded on perfective auxiliaries get overtly marked only if their grade of markedness is the same as that expressed by [*u*coin] (cf. (42)). In more specific terms, *Default Marking* predicts that:

    i.   [Speaker] and [Minimal], which are default φ features, get overtly marked at PF only if [*u*coin] is valued as +, which, in our account, corresponds to a default value;

    ii.   [Addressee], which is a marked φ feature, gets overtly marked at PF only if [*u*coin] is valued as -, which, in our account, corresponds to a marked value.

These facts are summarized in (62).

(62)

		[+coin]	[-coin]
Singular	[Speaker]	**+**	-
	[Addressee]	-	**+**
	[Minimal]	**+**	-
Plural	[Speaker], [Group]	**+**	-
	[Addressee], [Group]	-	**+**
	[Group]	**+**	-

In the next section, it will be shown that *Default Marking* operates post-syntactically not only in CSIDs, but also in other Italo-Romance dialects and Romance languages.

7. Cross-linguistic evidence

This section will show that *Default Marking* (cf. (42)) is also found outside CSIDs, specifically in certain Italo-Romance dialects and Romance languages[15]. In §7.1, we will consider the application of *Default Marking* in present tense modals, as well as present perfect auxiliaries. §7.2, on the other hand, will consider the application of *Default Marking* in modals expressing past information, as well as pluperfect auxiliaries.

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[15] *Default Marking* seems to be also attested in English, which allows the overt marking of [Minimal] only in the presence of lexical verbs and auxiliary HAVE in the present indicative: I/you speak/have versus (s)he speak**s**/ha**s**. The overt encoding of [Minimal] by means of a dedicated φ marker is obtained only when the verb is in the present indicative and not, for instance, when it expresses [Past]. Roberts (to appear) claims that the presence of –*s* as a 3sg agreement marker must be taken as a result of the presence of an underspecified tense and φ feature on the verb. It is crucial to observe, however, that English does not opt for the overt marking of [Speaker]. This is to say that English, differently from CSIDs, opts for the overt marking of a subset of default morphosyntactic features, namely [Minimal], when the verb is in the present indicative.

7.1 *Default Marking* outside CSIDs

7.1.1 Present Tense

The post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking* (cf. (42)) appears to be attested in a group of NIDs spoken in the northern Marche. In these dialects, *Default Marking* is not operative in present perfect auxiliaries, but is found in present tense modals. This is illustrated by the singular paradigm in (63), where [Speaker] and [Minimal] get overtly marked when encoded on modals expressing information for present.

(63) Fano (Northern Marchigiano)
    pɔ**ss** 'fa   can.pr.1sg do
    pɔ 'fa   can.pr.2sg do
    pɔ**l** 'fa   can.pr.3sg do

(63) shows that an inflectional marker is realized in word-final position only if it encodes [Speaker] and [Minimal]. It is worth noting, however, that no subject clitics are instantiated in (63). In general, NIDs display subject clitics in preverbal position in declarative clauses (cf. Brandi, 1981; Brandi & Cordin, 1981, 1989; Benincà, 1983, Rizzi, 1986; Poletto, 1993, 2000; Manzini & Savoia, 2005, a.o.), but these are not attested in this group of Northern Marchigiano dialects. Instead, verbal paradigms are richly inflected, as shown by the singular paradigm in (64).

(64) Fano (Northern Marchigiano)
    'parl   speak.pr.1sg
    'parl**i**   speak.pr.2sg
    'parla   speak.pr.3sg

The difference between the verbal forms in (63) and those in (64) is that in (63) only [Speaker] and [Minimal] get spelled-out through the selection of a dedicated φ marker. In (64), on the other hand, only [Addressee] is overtly marked through the selection of /i/ as an inflectional φ marker realized in word-final position. The 1sg verbal form is bare, thus not allowing the overt

marking of [Speaker]. Furthermore, the 3sg form only allows the overt expression of the theme vowel /a/.

The evidence given above clearly shows that the dialect of Fano, a NID spoken in the northern Marche, allows the application of *Default Marking* with modal verbs expressing present information. In other words, similarly to what was observed in the previous section, the feature [+coin] encoded on modals allows the overt marking of the features [Speaker] and [Minimal]. This is due to the fact that [+coin] and the features [Speaker] and [Minimal] are defaults, thus sharing the same grade of markedness. In our account, the uniformity of markedness between [*u*coin] and φ is what is required for the application of *Default Marking* (cf. (42)).

On the other side of the Apennines, roughly at the same latitude, the phenomenon of *Default Marking* is attested both with modal verbs in the present indicative and with present perfect auxiliaries. The paradigms in (65a) and (65b), from the dialect of Siena, illustrate these facts.

(65) Siena (Central Tuscan)
a.   pɔ**ssɔ** 'fa   can.pr.1sg do
       pɔ 'fa   can.pr.2sg do
       pɔ **f**'fa   can.pr.3sg do

b.   **ɔ** f'fatto   H.pr.1sg done
       a 'fatto   H.pr.2sg done
       a **f**'fatto   H.pr.3sg done

In (65a), similarly to the dialect of Fano in (63), [Speaker] and [Minimal] get overtly marked. Similarly to what was observed for CSIDs, 3sg *can* licenses RF, the occurrence of which is banned with 2sg *can*. The presence of RF in (65a) can be justified from the presence of a mora at PF, whose content corresponds to [Minimal].

The marking strategy observed in (65a) is also at play in the case of present perfect auxiliaries in (65b), where the exponent /ɔ/ is selected when the present perfect auxiliary expresses [Speaker]. 3sg HAVE, on the other hand, licenses RF. RF triggered by 3sg HAVE, in the same fashion as RF triggered by 3sg *can*, derives from the presence of an empty mora, whose content is [Minimal].

Similarly to the dialect of Fano in (64), the application of *Default Marking* is excluded in the presence of lexical verbs in the present indicative, as the singular paradigm in (66) illustrates.

(66) Siena (Central Tuscan)

'ɸarl**o**	speak.pr.1sg
'ɸarl**i**	speak.pr.2sg
'ɸarla	speak.pr.3sg

In (66), differently from (63) and (65), /i/ is spelled-out in the case of a lexical verb endowed with [Addressee].

Similarly to the dialect of Fano, the dialect of Siena allows the overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal] in the presence of modals and perfective auxiliaries only if [*u*coin] is valued as +. In this situation, both φ and [*u*coin] share the same type of markedness, which allows the application of *Default Marking* post-syntactically (cf. (42)).

The empirical facts shown in this subsection demonstrate that *Default Marking* also occurs outside CSIDs, namely in a group of dialects spoken in the northern Marche and central Tuscany. In Northern Marchigiano, *Default Marking* is attested only with modals in the present indicative, whereas in the dialect of Siena it is found both with modals in the present tense and with present perfect auxiliaries. It should be noted that the dialects of Fano and Siena are spoken in the transitional geolinguistic area between CIDs and NIDs. The geographic location of these two dialects is given in (67).

(67)[16]
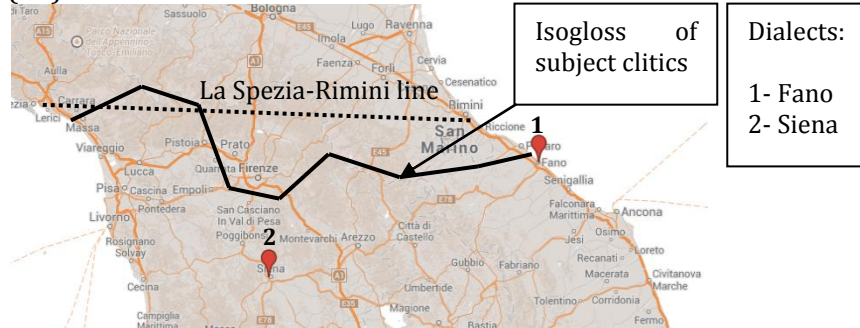
The map in (67) indicates that the post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking* is attested in those dialects spoken in a transitional corridor between NIDs and CIDs.

7.1.2 Past Tense

Let us turn to the modal *can* in the dialect of Fano. This verb, when expressing past tense, only allows the overt marking of [Addressee], and never of [Speaker] and [Minimal]. The overt marking of [Addressee] operates through the insertion of /i/ in word-final position. The singular paradigm in (68) illustrates these facts.

(68) Fano (Northern Marchigiano)
    po'de:va   can.past.1sg do
    po'de:v**i**   can.past.2sg do
    po'de:va   can.past.3sg do

---

[16] The La Spezia-Rimini isogloss corresponds to the border between NIDs and CIDs. In recent years, it has been proposed that the isogloss delimiting NIDs from CIDs is located further south, coinciding with the Massa-Senigallia line. The isogloss of subject clitics is drawn based on Torcolacci (2006) for Northern Marchigiano, and on Manzini & Savoia (2005) for the Tyrrhenian side.

In (68), 1 and 3sg *can* are syncretic. This is to say that these forms do not allow the overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal]. The overt marking of [Addressee], but not [Speaker] and [Minimal], has been observed to be operative in Spanish (cf.§3.1) in the case of a pluperfect auxiliary. (69) shows the paradigmatic instantiation of Spanish pluperfect auxiliaries in the singular paradigm.

(69) Spanish
    había   H.past.1sg
    había**s**   H.past.2sg
    había   H.past.3sg

In (68) and (69), the overt marking of [Addressee] is obtained when past information is specified either on the modal, as in (68), or on a perfective auxiliary, as in (69).

The overt marking of [Addressee] in these cases can be attributed to the operation of *Default Marking* applying in the morphological component (cf. (42)). In (68) and (69), [*u*coin] is valued as – and [Addressee] is specified on the auxiliary. [-coin] and [Addressee] are uniformly marked. For this reason, a default syntactic configuration is obtained and the overt marking of [Addressee], resulting from the *Default Marking* operation, can freely apply.

It must be noted, however, that Spanish does not allow the application of *Default Marking* on the occurrence of HAVE in the present perfect. This is to say that if [*u*coin] is specified for + on a perfective auxiliary, *Default Marking* does not apply: he/ has/ ha comido –H.pr.1sg/ H.pr.2sg/ H.pr.3sg eaten- 'I/you/(s)he has eaten'.

The opposite situation is attested for the dialect of Siena. In this dialect, in fact, the post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking* takes place only if a perfective auxiliary, as well as a modal, is specified for present information and not, crucially, when these verbs express [Past]: po'θe:vo / po'θe:vi / po'θe:va –can.past.1sg/ can.past.2sg/ can.past.3sg- 'I/you/(s)he could'. This is to say that *Default Marking* in the dialect of Siena, differently from Spanish, applies only if [*u*coin] is valued as +.

8. Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, we have focused on the morpho-phonological markedness of φ encoded on present perfect and pluperfect auxiliaries in a group of CSIDs.

In the geolinguistic area stretching from central Campania and Apulia up to the border with ESIDs, present perfect and pluperfect auxiliaries exhibit different marking strategies with regard to φ features. Present perfect auxiliaries, for instance, feature the overt marking of [Speaker] and [Minimal] only, and not of [Addressee]. The overt marking of [Speaker] is obtained by inserting an exponent at the word-boundary of the auxiliary, whereas the overt marking of [Minimal] is expressed by means of RF.

On the other hand, we have observed that pluperfect auxiliaries opt for the reverse marking strategy, whereby only [Addressee], and not [Speaker] and [Minimal], is overtly marked. The overt marking of [Addressee] is signaled by means of metaphony on the stressed vowel of the auxiliary.

Following Harley & Ritter (2002), we have considered [Speaker] and [Minimal] as default morphosyntactic features. [Addressee], conversely, has been treated as a marked feature. Following Ritter & Wiltschko (2010), we have treated perfective auxiliaries as syntactic objects directly merged in Infl°. Infl° corresponds to a syntactic head composed of a set of deictic categories, including Tense and Person. In our account, Person corresponds to an agreement category which hosts φ features. Furthermore, based on Ritter & Wiltschko (2010), we have argued for the presence of the feature [$u$coin] on Tense, whose function is to express the anchoring between the event time encoded in Spec,VP and the utterance time in Spec,InflP. If the event and the utterance time coincide in their reference, then [$u$coin] is valued as +. In our model, the value + specified on [$u$coin] corresponds to a default. On the other hand, if the utterance and the event time do not coincide, as in the case of past tense, then [$u$coin] bears a marked value, which, in our analysis, corresponds to -.

Based on the markedness convention proposed by Holmberg & Roberts (2010), we have claimed that the value expressed by [$u$coin] determines the set of φ features to be overtly spelled-out at PF. More specifically, we have claimed that if [$u$coin] and φ share the same grade of markedness, then an unmarked, i.e. default, configuration is obtained. In this case, the *Default Marking* operation applies post-syntactically. The definition of *Default Marking* given in (42) is reproduced in (70).

(70) *Default Marking*
The morphological marking of a φ feature can only take place if all features bear the same markedness on the functional head that hosts them.

With reference to present perfect auxiliaries, we have claimed that [Speaker] and [Minimal] get overtly marked at PF since their grade of markedness is uniform with [+coin]. On the other hand, the overt marking of [Addressee] has been attributed to the uniformity of markedness with [-coin].

In the last part of this chapter, we have observed that the post-syntactic operation of *Default Marking* is also attested outside the domain of CSIDs. More specifically, we have observed that Northern Marchigiano and Central Tuscan allow the application of *Default Marking* not only with perfective auxiliaries, but also with modals. In addition, we have seen that lexical verbs categorically exclude the application of this post-syntactic operation.

The fact that *Default Marking* is observed with perfective auxiliaries and modals, and excluded in the case of lexical verbs in a number of NIDs and CIDs, poses interesting questions with regard to its domains of application. These investigations will be tackled in the next chapter.