Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali / Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies
n. 5 (2019), pp. 55-105
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.13128/QULSO-2421-7220-25962

Auxiliary Selection in Italian Dialects: Person Split, OCls and *Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico*

Benedetta Baldi and Leonardo M. Savoia
Università di Firenze (<benedetta.baldi@unifi.it>; <lsavoia@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

This article addresses a classical phenomenon of Differential Subject Marking, i.e. the selection of auxiliary in the perfect in relation to person in some Central and Southern Italian dialects. In these systems *be*/ *have* as auxiliaries alternate according to person and, partially, to active, non-active or passive voice. The attested patterns vary but a tendency emerges whereby 3rd person requires *have*, while 1st/2nd person require *be*. In the passive *be* is associated to all persons. We aim at describing the main types of the auxiliary patterns and proposing an analysis of the morpho-syntactic mechanism underlying the distribution of *be* and *have*. We connect the *be/have* alternation with the syntactic representation of the event and its relation with the distinction between deictic import of 1st/2nd person and the argumental reading of 3rd person elements. A core point of our discussion is the sandhi process of Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico in auxiliary contexts that the recent literature considers a cue of the syntactic difference between passive and active voice. Finally, a comparison with the Piedmontese systems selecting *be* as auxiliary regardless of the verbal voice is proposed as far as they can provide further elements for deepening the syntactic nature of auxiliary selection.

Keywords: *Auxiliary selection, Differential Subject Marking, Distribution of OCls, Phases, Phono-syntactic Phenomena*

1. Introduction

The main issue addressed by this work is the auxiliary selection and the phenomenon of Differential Person Marking (DPM) in the perfect in Central and Southern Italian dialects, where *be* and *have* alternate according to person and, partially, to active, non-active or passive voice (Rohlfs 1969 [1954]; Giammarco 1973; Kayne 1993; Cocchi 1995; Manzini and Savoia

ISSN 2421-7220 (online)
www.fupress.com/bsfm-qulso
2019 Firenze University Press

2005, 2011; Ledgeway 2009; D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010; D'Alessandro and Scheer 2015). A person split emerges that separates 3rd person from the deictic persons, 1st and 2nd, in active (transitive, unergative) and in non-active (N-A), namely unaccusative and reflexive. A widespread pattern associates *HABERE* 'have' (H) to the 3rd person and *ESSE* 'be' (E) to 1st and 2nd persons. In some dialects unaccusatives and reflexives select *be* in the 3rd person. The passive extends *be* to all persons. Moreover, there are Central varieties where in addition to the person split between *be* and *have*, a complementary difference emerges in the occurrence of the OCls, because OCls precede *have* but may follow *be.* This distribution recalls the one attested in Piedmontese dialects that extend *be* to all verbal forms, in alternation with *have* in actives. In these systems *have* requires a duplication of the OCl in pre-verbal position, confirming the hypothesis that *have* and *be* involve different morpho-syntactic structures.

DPM and the other phenomena explored may be connected to the different properties of *have* and *be* as lexicalizations of T/v and to the nature of the past participle in Romance varieties. A look to a significant sample of dialects showing the alternation between *be* and *have* according to person and to the contrast between active and non-active voice, highlights a strong micro-variation involving syntactic, morpho-phonological and interpretive properties.[1] Among the other factors that we will consider, the occurrence of *Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico*[2] between auxiliary and participle will be tested as a possible clue of the structural status of the auxiliary (D'Alessandro and Scheer 2015).

The article is organized as follows: Sections 2. *The patterns* E E H E E H *and* E E H/E E E H, 2.1. *The pattern* E E H/E H H H *with morpho-phonologically*

[1] A consistent part of the material discussed and analysed in this work comes from Manzini and Savoia (2005). However, all data have been reviewed and completed on the basis of the original material transcribed during the previous field investigations or by means of new recent investigations, as in the case of Torricella Peligna, Guardiaregia, Monteroduni, Secinaro and San Giorgio del Sannio. Moreover, there are systems illustrated and discussed here for the first time, as the ones of Monte Giberto, Gravina, Corato and Morano.

[2] Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico is a sandhi process, whereby the initial consonant of a word geminates depending on the prosodic or lexical properties of the preceding word. It characterizes Central and Southern Italian dialects, although with differences as to the set of lexical triggers (Rohlfs 1966 [1949]; Loporcaro 1988, 1997). In the dialects that we examine in this work, RF is triggered by a set of monosyllabic words, such as *tre* 'three', *a* 'to, at', etc. RF is generally induced by the forms of *be*, *(j)ɛ* '(s)he is', *sɔ* 'I am', *si* 'you are', *su* 'they are'. Other monosyllables, such as *a* '(s)he has', present a more variable behaviour. We remind that *sɔ, si/fe, semo/femo, sete/fete* are the 1stSG, 2ndSG, 1st PL and 2nd PL of *be*, while *a, ao* are the 3rd person forms, singular and plural, of *have*. In the examples, we have: F=Feminine, M=Masculine, N=Neuter, SG=singular, PL=plural, Refl=reflexive clitic.

driven alternation in 3rd singular, 2.2. *Partial overlapping between* be *and* have, 2.3. *Enclisis on* be, 3. *Piedmontese dialects with* be, illustrate a complex of data coming from different dialects and showing different auxiliary paradigms. A first discussion of specific points concerning the distribution of the auxiliaries is introduced. Sections 4. *Auxiliary and participle,* 4.1. *Auxiliary patterns and person split*, 4.2. *Enclisis on* be *and other phenomena*, 4.3. *Unexpected occurrences*: be *in the 3rd and* have *in the 2nd*, 4.4. *Coincidence between* be *and* have *and incorporation of the 3rd person OCl*, address the main structural properties of the auxiliary-participle constructions, on the base of the relevant current literature. Specifically, we discuss the internal structure of participles and its interpretive properties and the morphosyntactic properties of the auxiliary structures. We also make some proposals as regards the mechanism of selection between *be* and *hav*e and its relation with person split. Finally, Sections 5. *Phases and RF* and 5.1. *Phases, RF and agreement of the participle* are devoted to discuss the notion of Phase in relation to the structural properties of actives, unaccustaives and passives/copular sentences.

2. *The patterns* E E H E E H *and* E E H/E E E H

The pattern **E E H E E H,** illustrated in (1) for the dialect of Sonnino (Lazio),[3] is characterized by an uniform distribution of the auxiliaries in the perfect in all verbal classes and the event types (active, non-active and reflexive), except in passive, where *be* occurs, as in (1b). The auxiliary is indicated by E (*be*), or H (*have*) in conjunction with each person and, in the case of the monosyllabic forms, the presence / absence of RF is specified. We introduce the glosses only where it is necessary for the sake of clarity. (1a) illustrates the active forms, (1a') the non-active forms, (1b) the passive forms, and, when present, (1b') the copular contexts. It is of note that the indication +/ RF will be inserted only in relevant contexts, specifically the monosyllabic forms of *be* and *have*.

(1) a. *active*

l-o/ l-a	sɔ	llavat-o/llavat-a	E	+RF
it-N/FSG	be.1stSG	washed-MSG/FSG		
l-o/ l-a	si	llavat-o/ lavat-a	E	+RF
it-N/FSG	be.2ndSG	washed-MSG/FSG		
l	a	lavat-o/lavat-a	H	-RF
it-N/FSG	have.3rdSG	washed-MSG/FSG		
l-o/ l-a	semo	lavat-o/lavat-a	E	
it-N/FSG	be.1stPL	washed-MSG/FSG		

[3] This pattern coincides with the one discussed for Arielli (Abruzzo) in D'Alessandro and Scheer (2015; cf. below).

l-o/ l-a	sete	lavat-o/lavat-a	E
it-N/FSG	be.2nd PL	washed-MSG/FSG	
l	ao	lavat-o/lavat-a	H
it-N/FSG	have.3rd PL	washed-MSG/FSG	

'I have washed it/ her, you have washed it/ her, etc.'

sɔ	pparlat-o	E	+RF
be.1st SG	spoken		
si	pparlat-o	E	+RF
a	parlat-o	H	-RF
semo	parlat-o	E	
sete	parlat-o	E	
a	opa'lat-o	H	

'I have spoken, you have spoken, etc.'

a'. *non-active*

sɔ	mmenut-o/mmenut-a	E	+RF
be.1st SG	come-MSG/FSG		
si	mmenut-o/mmenut-a	E	+RF
a	menut-o/ menut-a	H	-RF
semo	mmenut-e	E	
sete	menut-e	E	
ao	menut-e	H	

'I have come, you have come, etc.'

me	sɔ	llavat-o	E	+RF
me	be.1st SG	washed-MSG		
te	si	llavat-o	E	+RF
s	a	lavat-o	H	-RF
tʃe	semo	lavat-e	E	
ve	sete	lavat-e m	E	
s	ao	lavat-e	H	

'I have washed myself, you have washed yourself, etc.'

b. *passive and copular contexts*

ɛ	ccamat-o	da	tutt-e	E	+RF
be.3rd SG	called-msg	by	all-pl		

'he is called by everyone'

Sonnino

In other varieties the pattern E E H E E H is restricted to transitive and unergative forms, alternating with a pattern extending *be* to all persons in non-active forms, unaccusatives and reflexives, in addition naturally to the passive. So, in this type of systems, the selection according to the

eventive class of the verb overlaps the one based on the person split. This pattern is exemplified in (2) for Torricella Peligna (Abruzzo) and in (3) for Monte Giberto (Southern Marche). (2a,a') and (3a,a') illustrate active and non-active/ passive forms respectively. (2b,b') and (3b, b') illustrates passive and copular clauses.

(2) a. *active*

lə	sɔ	camæ:t-ə	E	-RF
him	be.1st SG	called-INFL		
lə	ʃi	camæ:t-ə	E	-RF
him	be.2nd SG	called-INFL		
l	a	camæ:t-ə	H	-RF
him	have.3rd	called-INFL		
lə	semə	camæ:t-ə	E	
him	be.1st PL	called-INFL		
lə	setə	camæ:t-ə	E	
him	be.2nd PL	called-INFL		
l	a (nomə)	camæ:t-ə	H	-RF
him	have.3rd PL	called-INFL		

'I have called him, you have called him, etc.'

so	maɲɲɑ:t-ə	E	-RF
be.1st SG	eaten.SG-INFL		
ʃi	ma:t-ə	E	-RF
a	maɲɲɑ:t-ə	H	-RF
semə	maɲɲiət-ə	E	
be.1stpl	eaten.PL-INFL		
setə	maɲɲiət-ə	E	
a (nomə)	maɲɲiət-ə	H	-RF

'I have eaten, you have eaten, etc.'

a'. *non-active*

so	məneut-ə	E	-RF
be.1stSG	come-INFL		
ʃi	məneut-ə	E	-RF
be.2ndSG	come-INFL		
e	mməneut-ə	E	+RF
be.3rd	come-INFL		
semə	məneut-ə	E	
be.1stPL	come-INFL		
setə	məneut-ə	E	
be.2ndPL	come-INFL		
e	mməneut-ə	E	+RF
be.3rd	come-INFL		

'I have come, you have come, etc.'

mə	so	arravɑ:t-ə	E	
me	be.1st SG	washed.SG-INFL		
tə	ʃi	arravɑ:t-ə	E	
s	e	arravɑ:t-ə	E	

'I have washed myself, you have washed yourself, etc.'

b. *passive and copular contexts*

e	kkuriət-ə	da lu mɛdəkə	E	+RF
be.3rd	cured.PL-INFL	by the doctor		

'they are cured by the doctor'

b'.

sɔ	kkondend-u/ kkondɛnd-a		E	+RF
be.1st SG	glad-MSG/FSG			
ʃi	kondend-u / kondɛnd-a		E	-RF
be.2nd SG	glad-MSG/FSG			
ɛ	kkondend-u		E	+RF
be.3rd SG	glad- MSG			
ɛ	kkondend-i		E	+RF
be.3rd PL	glad-MPL			

Torricella Peligna

(3) a. *active*

sɔ	vviʃt-o	frat-u-t-u	E	+RF
be.1st SG	seen.NSG	your brother-MSG-2nd-MSG		
ʃi	viʃt-o		E	-RF
be.2nd SG	seen.NSG			
a	viʃt-o		H	-RF
have.3rd SG	seen.NSG			
ʃemo	viʃt-o		E	
be.1st PL	seen.NSG			
ʃete	viʃt-o		E	
be.2nd PL	seen.NSG			
a	viʃt-o		H	-RF
have.3rd PL	seen.NSG			

'I have seen your brother, you have seen your brother, etc.'

sɔ	ddurmit-o	E	+RF
be.1st SG	slept-MSG		
ʃi	ðurmit-o	E	-RF
a	ðurmit-o	H	-RF
ʃemo	ðurmit-o	E	
ʃete	ðurmit-o	E	
a	ðurmit-o	H	-RF

'I have slept, you have slept, etc.'

a'. *non-active*

sɔ	vvinut-u/-a	E	+RF
be.1st SG	come-MSG/FSG		

ʃi	vinut-u/a		E	-RF
be.2nd SG	come-MSG/FSG			
ɛ	vvinut-u/a		E	+RF
be.3rd	come-MSG/FSG			
ʃemo	vinut-i/-e		E	
be.1st PL	come-MSG/FPL			
ʃete	vinut-i/-e		E	
be.2nd PL	come-MPL/FPL			
ɛ	vvinut-i/-e		E	+RF
be.3rd	come-MPL/FPL			

'I have come, you have come, etc.'

me	sɔ	mmist-u/-a	sse'ðe	E	+RF
me	be.1st SG	put-MSG/FSG	to sit		
te	ʃi	mist-u/-a	a sse'ðe	E	-RF
you	be.2nd SG	put-MSG/FSG	to sit		
s	ɛ	mmist-u/-a	a sse'ðe	E	+RF
Rifl	be.3rd	put-MSG/FSG	to sit		
tʃe	ʃemo	mist-i/-e	a sse'ðe	E	
us	be.1st PL	put-MPL/-FPL	to sit		
ve	ʃete	mist-i/-e	a sse'ðe	E	
you	be.2nd PL	put-MPL/-FPL	to sit		
s	ɛ	mmist-u/-a	a sse'ðe	E	
Refl	be.3rd	put-MPL/-FPL	to sit		

'I have sit down, you have sit down, etc.'

b. *passive and copular contexts*

io	sɔ	ccamat-u/-a	ðe tutti	E	+RF
I	be.1st SG	called-MSG/FSG	by everyone		
tu	ʃi	camat-u/-a	ðe tutti	E	-RF
you	be.2nd s	called-MSG/FSG	by everyone		
iss-u	ɛ	ccamat-u	ðe tutti	E	+RF
he	be.3rd	called-MSG/FSG	by everyone		
lor-o	ɛ	ccamat-i	ðe tutti	E	+RF
they	be.3rd	called-MPL	by everyone		

'I am called by everyone, you are called by everyone, etc.'

b'.

sɔ	kkondend-u/ kkondɛnd-a	E	+RF
be.1st SG	glad-MSG/FSG		
ʃi	kondend-u / kondɛnd-a	E	+RF
be.2nd SG	glad-MSG/FSG		
ɛ	kkondend-u	E	+RF
be.3rd	glad- MSG		
ɛ	kkondend-i	E	+RF
be.3rd	glad-MPL		

Monte Giberto

Other varieties, for instance the one of Guardiaregia (Molise) in (4), admit both *be* and *have* in the 1st singular and in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd plural. In the 3rd singular the form *a* of *have* occurs in active and *jɛ* of *be* in non-actives. In all paradigms, including passive and copular contexts, the 2nd singular is lexicalized by *si*, i.e. the form of *be*, that triggers RF. It is of note that the 3rd plural of *be* admits two possible realizations, i.e. *so* and *sonnə*, the first of which triggers RF.

(4) a. *active*

ru	siŋgə/ɛjə	camat-ə	E/H	
him	be/have.1stSG	called.INFL		
ru	si	ccamat-ə	E	+RF
him	be.2ndSG	called.INFL		
r	a	camat-ə	H	-RF
him	have.3rd	called.INFL		
ru	semə/(av)emə	camat-ə	E/H	
him	be/have.1stPL	called.INFL		
ru	setə/ (av)etə	camat-ə	E/H	
him	be/have.2ndPL	called.INFL		
ru	so-nnə /a-nnə	camat-ə/ru so ccamat-ə	E/H	(+RF)
him	be/have.3rdPL	called.INFL		

'I have called him, you have called him, etc.'

siŋgə/ɛjə	durmut-ə	E/H	
be/have.1stSG	slept.INFL		
si	ddurmut-ə	E	+RF
a	ðurmut-ə	H	-RF
semə/etə	ðurmut-ə	E/H	
setə/etə	ðurmut-ə	E/H	
annə	ðurmut-ə / so ddurmit-ə	E/H	(+RF)

'I have slept, you have slept, etc.'

a'. *non-active*

siŋgə/ ɛjə	mənut-ə	E/H	
be/have.1stSG	come-INFL		
si	mmənut-ə	E	+RF
be.2ndSG	come-INFL		
jɛ	mmənut-ə	E	+RF
be.3rdSG	come-INFL		
semə/emə	mənut-ə	E/H	
be/have.1stPL	come-INFL		
setə/etə	mənut-ə	E/H	
be/have.2ndPL	come-INFL		
so-nnə/ a-nnə	mənut-ə / sommənut-ə	E/H	
be/have.3rdPL	come-INFL		

'I have come, you have come, etc.'

mə	siŋgə/ɛjə	lavat-ə	E	
me	be/have.1stSG	washed-INFL		
tə	si	llavat-ə	E	+RF
ts	ɛ	llavat-ə	E	+RF
tsə	semə/emə	lavat-ə	E/H	
və	setə/etə	lavat-ə	E/H	
tsə	so-nnə/annə	lavat-ə /tsə so llavatə	E/H	(+RF)

'I have washed myself, you have washed yourself, etc.'

b. siŋgə	camat-ə	da tuttə	E	
be.1stSG	called-INFL	by everyone		
si	ccamat-ə	da tuttə	E	+RF
jɛ	ccamat-ə	da tuttə	E	+RF
semə	camat-ə	da tuttə	E	
setə	camat-ə	da tuttə	E	
so-nnə	camat-ə/ so ccamat-ə		E	

'I am called by everyone, you are called by everyone, etc.'

b'. si	kkurt-ə	E	+RF
be.2ndSG	short-INFL		
jɛ	kkurt-ə/kkort-a	E	+RF
be.3SG	short.M-INFL/short-F-SG		
so	kkurt-ə/kkort-ə	E	+RF
be.3rdPL	short.M-INFL/short.F-INFL		

'you are short, (s)he is short, they are short'

Guardiaregia

An apparently specular distribution of auxiliaries (H H E H H H) characterizes the dialect of San Giorgio del Sannio in (5a,a').

(5) a. *active*

addʒa		camat-o/-a/-i/-e	H	
(him/her/ them)have.1stSG		called-MSG/FSG/MPL/FPL		
'I have called him/ her/ them'				
m	ɛ	camat-o	H	-RF
me	have.2ndSG	called-MSG		
'you have called me'				
m	ɛ	ccamat-o	E	+RF
m	be.3rdSG	called-MSG		
'(s)he has called me'				
addʒa		rurmut-o	H	
have.1stSG		slept-MSG		
ɛ		rurmut-o	H	-RF
have.2ndSG		slept-MSG		
ɛ		ddurmut-o	E	+RF

be.3rdSG slept-MSG
'I have slept, you have slept, etc.'

a'. *non active*

addʒa	vinut-o	H	
ɛ	vinut-o	H	-RF
ɛ	vvinut-o	E	+RF

'I have, you have, (s)he has come'

b. *passive and copular contexts*
so / si / ɛ ccamat-oa tuttə kwantə
'I am/ you are/ he is called by everyone'

b'. so/si/ɛ	ttʃuott-o	E	+RF

'I am/you are/he is fat'

San Giorgio del Sannio

The 3rd person form ɛ triggers RF in transitives, unaccusative, copular sentences (5a, a', b). In these varieties, just as the Calabrian ones in (8)-(9) below, the 3rd person OCl is lexicalized through the specialized *a-* base of the auxiliary.

2.1 The pattern E E H/E H H H with morpho-phonologically driven alternation in 3rd singular

Central Apulian dialects are characterized by the alternation between two auxiliary forms in the 3rd singular on the basis of the initial segment of the following participle. In the dialect of Corato in (6), *e* 'is' occurs before initial consonant and *av(ə)* 'has' before initial vowel, in (6a"), irrespective of the eventive class of the verb. Differently from the dialects in (1), plural persons select the auxiliary *have*. In the passive and copular clauses only the forms of *be* occur, independently of the initial segment of the participle. In the system of Gravina in (7) the 1st singular has the form *sɔ* of *be*, optionally triggering RF, or *ajjə* (not a trigger of RF) of *have*; the 2nd singular requires the form *a* of *have*, that does not trigger RF. The 3rd singular e triggers RF, as in (6a,a'), while in passive and copular contexts it does not. (6b") illustrates the paradigm of *have* in the deontic contexts, where the 3rd singular person shows the form *av*, i.e. the same form occurring in (6a"), so supporting the identification of *av* with a form of *have*. In the system of Gravina the 3rd singular person has the root vowel *e-* in all contexts, so differentiating from the system of Corato, where in pre-vocalic contexts the form *av*, ascribable to *have*, occurs. Finally, in Gravina dialect the 2nd singular is lexicalized by the form *a* of *have*.

(6) a. *active*

u/l-a	sɔ	ccamɑ:t-ə	E	+RF
him/her	be.1st SG	called-INFL		
u/l-a	sə	ccamɑ:t-ə	E	+RF
him/her	be.2nd SG	called-INFL		
u/l	e	ccamɑ:t-ə	E	+RF
him/her	be.3rd SG	called-INFL		
u/l	amə	camɑ:t-ə	H	
him/her	have.1st PL	called-INFL		
u/ l-a	avitə	camɑ:t-ə	H	
him/her	have.2nd PL	called-INFL		
u/l	au-nə	camɑ:t-ə	H	
him/her	have-3rd PL	called-INFL		

'I have called him, you have called him, etc.'

sɔ	ddərmu:t-ə	E	+RF
be.1st SG	slept-INFL		
sə	ddərmu:t-ə	E	+RF
e	ddərmu:t-ə	E	+RF
amə	dərmu:t-ə	H	
avitə	dərmu:t-ə	H	
aunə	dərmu:t-ə	H	

'I have slept, you have slept, etc.'

a'. *non-active*

sɔ	mmənu:t-ə	E	+RF
be.1st SG	come-INFL		
sə	mmənu:t-ə	E	+RF
e	mmənu:t-ə	E	+RF
amə	mənu:t-ə	H	
avitə	mənu:t-ə	H	
aunə	mənu:t-ə	H	

'I have come, you have come, etc.'

mə	sɔ	llavɑ:t-ə	E	+RF
me	be.1st SG	washed-INFL		
tə	ʃi	llavɑ:t-ə	E	+RF
s	e	llavɑ:t-ə	E	+RF
n	amə	lavɑ:t-ə	H	
v	avitə	lavɑ:t-ə	H	
s	aunə	lavɑ:t-ə	H	

'I have washed myself, you have washed yourself, etc.'

a''. *initial vowel*

u	sɔk	accɑ:t-ə	E
him	be.1st SG	found	

u	si(ndə)	accɑ:t-ə	E
u	av	accɑ:t-ə	H?
u	amə	accɑ:t-ə	H
u	avitə	accɑ:t-ə	H
u	aunə	accɑ:t-ə	H

'I have found him, you have found him, etc.'

sɔk	aʃʃənnu:t-ə		E
be.1st.SG	gone down -INFL		
si(ndə)	aʃʃənnu:t-ə		E
av	aʃʃənnu:t-ə		H?
amə	aʃʃənnu:t-ə		H
avitə	aʃʃənnu:t-ə		H
aunə	mənu:t-ə		H

'I have gone down, you have gone down, etc.'

mə	sɔ	kassi:s-ə	E
me	be.1stsg	sit down	
tə	si(ndə)	assi:s-ə	E
s	av	assi:s-ə	H?
n	amə	assi:s-ə	H
v	avitə	assi:s-ə	H
s	aunə	assi:s-ə	H

'I have sit down, you have sit down, etc.'

b. *passive and copular contexts*

sokə	vɪst-ə	da tʊttə	E	
be.1st.SG	seen-INFL	by everyone		
sɪndə	vɪst-ə	da tʊttə	E	
e	vɪst-ə	da tʊttə	E	-RF
simə	vɪst-ə	da tʊttə	E	
sitə	vɪst-ə	da tʊttə	E	
sɔndə	vɪst-ə	da tʊttə	E	

b'. so	kkundɛnd-ə/	sokə	ɪltə		E	+RF
be.1st.SG	content/	be.1stsg	tall			
ɛ	kkundɛndə /	ɪltə			E	-RF
be.3rd.SG content / tall						

b". u	aɟɟ	a	fa	H	
it	have.1st.SG	to	do		
u	a	da	fa	H	
u	av	a	fa	H	
u	aun	a	fa	H	

'I have to do it, etc.'

(7) a. *active*

u	sɔ	(c)camәit-ә	E	+/-RF
him	be.1st SG	called-INFL		
l	a	camәit-ә	H	-RF
him/her	be.2nd SG	called-INFL		
l	ɛ	ccamәit-ә	E	+RF
him/ her	be.3rd SG	called-INFL		
l	amә	camәit-ә	H	
him/her	have.1st PL	called-INFL		
l	avitә	camәit-ә	H	
him/her	have.2nd PL	called-INFL		
l	a-nnә/av-ɔnnә	camәit-ә	H	
him/her	have-ʒrd PL	called-INFL		

'I have called him, you have called him, etc.'

sɔ	(d)dәrmout-ә	E	+/-RF
be.1st SG	slept-INFL		
a	dәrmout-ә	H	-RF
(j)ɛ	ddәrmout-ә	E	+RF
amә	dәrmout-ә	H	
avitә	dәrmout-ә	H	
a-nnә/av-ɔnnә	dәrmout-ә	H	

'I have slept, you have slept, etc.'

a'. *non-active*

aɟɟә/sɔ	vәnout-ә	E	+/-RF
have/be.1st SG	come-INFL		
a	vәnout-ә	H	-RF
(j)ɛ	vvәnout-ә	E	+RF
amә	vәnout-ә	H	
avitә	vәnout-ә	H	
annә/av-ɔnnә	vәnout-ә	H	

'I have come, you have come, etc.'

mә	aɟɟә/sɔ	lavәit-ә	E	+/-RF
t	a	lavәit-ә	H	-RF
s	ɛ	llavәit-ә	E	+RF
n	amә	lavәit-ә	H	
v	avitә	lavәit-ә	H	
s	a-nnә/av-ɔnnә	lavәit-ә	H	

'I have washed myself, you have washed yourself, etc.'

a''. *initial vowel*

u	sɔ	apirt-ә	E
it	be.1st SG	open.MSG	
l	a	apirt-ә	H

it	have.2nd.SG	open.MSG	
l	ɛv	apirt-ə	H/E
it	have.3rd.SG	open.MSG	

'I have open it, you have open it, etc.'

mə	sɔ	asseis-ə	E
me	be.1st.SG	sit down-INFL	
t	a	asseis-ə	H
s	ɛv	asseis-ə	E

'I have sit dow, you have sit down, etc.'

sɔ	assout-ə	E
be.1st.SG	gone out	
a	assout-ə	H
(j)ɛv	assout-ə	H/E

'I have gone out, you have gone out, etc.'

b. *passive and copular occurrences*

sɔ	camə̀it-ə	da tʊttə	E	+/-RF
be.1st.SG	called-INFL	by everyone		
si	ccamə̀it-ə	da tʊttə	E	-RF
be.12nd.SG	called-INFL	by everyone		
(j)ɛ	ccamə̀it-ə	da tʊttə	E	+RF
be.3rd.SG	called-INFL	by everyone		

'I am called by everyone, you are called by everyone, etc.'

b'. so	ggruəssə		E	+/-RF
be.1st.SG	big			
si	gruəssə		E	-RF
jɛ	ggruəssə E+RF			

'I am big, you are big, etc.'

jɛ	apɛrtə
be.3rd.SG	open.F

'it is open'

b''. l	aɟɟ	a	ffɛ	H
l	ad	a	fɛ	H
l	av	a	ffɛ	H

'I have to do it, etc.'

Gravina

We may wonder what the status of the 3rd person *e/ɛ* is in these systems. A first issue is whether it is correctly identified with a form of *be* or need be treated as a different syntactic object. At least in a part of the relevant dialects, in copular contexts this form preferably presents an initial glide *j*. Since *j* is admitted also in the 3rd person of the auxiliary, and, moreover, not all

dialects have this alternant, for example Corato, where *e* occurs in copular and other contexts, we keep assigning this 3rd person form to *be*. In Corato system, *e* alternates with *av*, that is quite rightly a form of *have* as shown by its occurrence in deontic modal structures, in (6b"). Consequently, we must conclude that 3rd singular person admits both *be* and *have*.

A different distribution holds in the system of Gravina, where before participles with an initial vowel the form ɛv occurs, distinct from the 3rd singular person of *have*, occurring in deontic structures as in (7b"). This suggests that ɛ/ɛv are two alternants of the 3rd person of *be*. However, the form ɛv occurs only in auxiliary contexts and not in copular ones; in other words, ɛv is specialized for the auxiliary context. Obviously, this could suggest that ɛ/ɛv belongs to the paradigm of *have*. Since no phonological change of *a* to ɛ is working in this dialects, this solution would be based only on simplicity or uniformity reasons.

2.2 Partial overlapping between be and have

In some Northern (Pollino) Calabrian dialects, Morano in (8) and Saracena in (9), the auxiliary of actives incorporates the 3rd person OCl by selecting an alternant with the root vowel *a*-, in (8b') and (9b'), contrasting with the root vowel ɛ- occurring in the other contexts, in (8a,b,c,d) and (9a,b,c,d) (cf. Lausberg 1939, Manzini and Savoia 2005, Savoia and Manzini 2010). The incorporation of the OCl by the auxiliary generally entails also a small lengthening of the vowel. The *a*- forms lexicalize the 3rd person object clitic, regardless of gender and number. If the clitic is independently lexicalized, the base ɛ- occurs, as in the case of 1st and 2nd person OCls or in negative contexts, where the negation requires a separate realization also of the 3rd person OCL, as in (8b). If we concentrate on the 3rd singular, we note that it is *a(:)* when it absorbs the object clitic so introducing the interpretation 'him/her/it/them.have.3rd', differently, it is ɛ; unaccusatives and reflexives accept the *a*- base *aɟɟu/aɟɟə* in the 1st singular. Unaccusatives and reflexives admit both *be* and *have* in the plural, as illustrated in (8c) and (9c). In Saracena, the alternation between *be* and *have* characterizes also the 2nd singular: RF is triggered by the *be* forms, in (9c). The exponent ɛ of 3rd singular, coinciding with the 3rd singular of *be*, may be augmented by an element *j*-, which in copular and sentence initial contexts is nearly systematically present.

(8) a. *active*

ɛɟɟu	rurmut-u	H	
have.1stSG	slept		
ɛ	rurmut-u	H	-RF
have.2ndSG	slept		
ɛ	ɖɖurmut-u	E	+RF

be.3rdSG		slept		
ɛmu		rurmut-u	H	
have.1stPL		slept		
avitɪsi		rurmut-u	H	
have.2ndPL		slept		
ɛ-nu		rurmut-u	H	
have.3rdPL		slept		
'I have slept, you have slept, etc.'				

b. t ɛɟɟu		vist-u	H	
you have.1stSG		seen-MSG		
'I have seen you'				
ɛɟɟu/aɟɟu	vistu	a ffrat-ta	H	-RF
have.1st SG	seen	to your brother		
'I have seen your brother'				
nu ll ɛ		vist-u	H	-RF
not him have.2ndSG		seen-MSG		
'you did not see him'				
t ɛ	bbist-u		E	+RF
you have.3rdSG	seen-MSG			
'(s)he has seen you'				
t ɛ-mu	vist-u		H	
you have.1PL	seen-MSG			
'we have seen you'				
m avi-təsə	vist-u		H	
me have-2pl	seen-MSG			
'you have seen me'				
m ɛ-nu	vist-u		H	
me have-3PL	seen-MSG			
'I have seen you, tc.'				

b'. a:ɟɟu	vist-u/a	H	
(him/her)have.1st SG	seen-MSG/FSG		
'I have seen him/ her'			
a:	vist-u	H	-RF
(him)have.2nd SG	seen-MSG		
'you have seen him'			
a:	bbist-u	H	+RF
(him)have.3rdSG	seen-MSG		
'(s)he has seen him'			
a:mu	vist-u	H	
(him)have.1st PL	seen-MSG		
'we have seen him'			
a:nu	vist-u	H	
(him)have.3rd PL	seen-MSG		
'they have seen him'			

c. *non-active*

ɛɟɟu	vinut-u	H		
have.1st SG	come-MSG			
'I have come'				
si	bbinut-u	E	+RF	
be.2nd SG	come-MSG			
'you have come'				
jɛ	bbənut-u	E	+RF	
be.3rd SG	come-MSG			
'(s)he has come'				
sumu/sitəsə	vinut-i	E		
be.1st PL/2nd PL	come-PL			
'we/ you have come'				
su	bbinut-i	E	+RF	
be.3rd PL	come-PL			
'they have come'				
m ɛɟɟu	lavɛ:t-u	H		
me have.1st SG	washed-MSG			
'I have washed myself'				
t ɛ	lavɛ:t-u	H	-RF	
you have.2nd SG	washed-MSG			
'you have washed yourself'				
s ɛ	llavɛ:t-u	E	+RF	
RIFL be.3rd SG	washed-MSG			
'(s)he has washed him/herself'				

d. *passive and copular*

iḍḍ-u jɛ	vvist-u	a tutti	E	+RF	
he-MSG be.3rd SG	seen-MSG	by all			
'he is seen by everyone'					
si/jɛ	g'gavut-u		E	+RF	
be 2nd SG/3rd SG	tall-MSG				
'you are/ he is tall'					

Morano

(9) a. *active*

ɛɟɟə/aɟɟə	dərmut-ə	H	
have.1stSG	slept		
ɛi	dərmut-ə	H	-RF
have.2ndSG	slept		
ɛ	ddərmut-ə	E	+RF
be.3rdSG	slept		

	ɛmə	dərmut-ə	H	
	have.1st PL	slept		
	addə	dərmut-ə	H	
	have.2nd PL	slept		
	ɛnə/anə	dərmut-ə	H	
	have.3rd PL	slept		
	'I have slept, you have slept, etc.'			
b.	t ɛɟɟu	camɛ:t-ə	H	
	you have.1st SG	clalled-INFL		
	'I have called you'			
	ɛ/jɛ ccamɛ:t-ə	fratə-mə	E	+RF
	be.3rd SG called-INFL	brother-my		
	'(s)he has called my brother'			
b'.	a:ɟɟə	camɛ:t-ə	H	
	(him/her)have.1st SG	seem-INFL		
	'(s)he has called him/ her/them'			
c.	*non-active*			
	ɛɟɟə	vinut-ə	H	
	have.1st SG	come-INFL		
	'I have come'			
	ɛi	vinʊ:t-ə	H	-RF
	si	vvinut-ə	E	+RF
	have/ be.2nd SG	come-INFL		
	'you have come'			
	jɛ	vvinut-ə	E	+RF
	be.3rd SG	come-INFL		
	'(s)he has come'			
	amə/addə	vinut-ə	H	
	have.1st PL/2nd PL	come-INFL		
	'we/ you have come'			
	su	vvinut-ə	E	+RF
	ɛnə	vinut-ə	H	-RF
	be/have 3rd PL	come-INFL		
	'they have come'			
	m ɛɟɟə	lavɛ:t-ə	H	
	me have.1st SG	washed-INFL		
	'I have washed myself'			
	t ɛi	lavɛ:t-ə	H	-RF
	you have.2nd SG	washed-INFL		
	'you have washed yourself'			
	s ɛ	llavɛ:t-ə	E	+RF
	Rifl be.3rd SG	washed-INFL		
	'(s)he has washed him/herself'			

n	ɛ:mə	lavɛ:t-ə	H	
us	have.1st PL	washed-INFL		
'we have washed ourselves'				
v	addə	lavɛ:t-ə	H	
you	have.2nd PL	washed-INFL		
'you have washed yourselves'				
s	ɛ:nə	lavɛ:t-ə	H	
Rifl	have.3rd PL	washed-INFL		
'they have washed themselves'				

d. *passive and copular contexts*

suɲɲə	camɛ:t-ə	a tuttə	E	
be.1st SG	called-INFL	by all		
'I am called by everyone'				
si	ccamɛ:t-ə	a tuttə	E	+RF
be.2nd SG	called-INFL	by all		
'you are called by everyone'				
(j)ɛ	ccamɛ:t-ə	a tuttə	E	+RF
be.3rd SG	called-INFL	by all		

d'.

suɲɲə	'ɣavət-ə	E	
be.1stSG	tall-INFL		
si	g'gavətə	E	+RF
jɛ	g'gavətə	E	+RF
'I am tall, you are tall, etc.'			

Saracena

As we have seen, a crucial property of these dialects is the alternation in the lexical root vowel between ɛ- and *a*-, making the nature of these alternants, specifically the one of the 3rd singular morpheme *ɛ/a*, ambiguous We will return to this issue in section 4.4.

2.3 Enclisis on be

The greater part of Central and Southern Italian dialects places the clitic in pre-verbal position, except in the case of imperative or, possibly, infinitive (Manzini and Savoia 2005). Nevertheless, some Central dialects with alternation between *be* and *have* can present enclisis on the auxiliary, as in the dialect of S. Benedetto del Tronto[4] (Marche) in (10) characterized by the

[4] The data of San Benedetto del Tronto in (10) coincide with the ones presented in Manzini and Savoia (2005, II: 682-683), on which the discussion in Ledgeway (2018: 290-291) is based. The data of Secinaro in (11) in turn coincide with the ones provided by Manzini and Savoia (2005, II-III: 691-113), although enriched with some more examples from the data gathered in the original investigations. However, RF in active contexts is documented also by the examples in Manzini and Savoia (2005).

pattern E E H E E H and Secinaro (Abruzzo) in (11), with pattern E/H E E/H E/H E/H E/H. Enclisis, alternating with proclisis in (10a) and (11a), occurs with the E forms, while *have* is systematically associated to proclisis, in (10b) and (11b). In the copular contexts the monosyllabic E forms trigger RF, as in (10c) and (11c). In the other contexts, the data concerning San Benedetto del Tronto not only in the actives in (10a), but also in non-active forms like unaccusatives in (10a') and reflexives in (10a") seem to exclude RF except on object enclitics.

(10) a. sɔ llu vɪʃtə / lu sɔ vɪʃtə
be.1st SG him seen / him be.1st SG seen
'I have seen him'
ʃi mmə vɪʃtə / mə ʃi vɪʃtə'
be.2nd SG me seen / me be.2nd SG seen
'you have seen me'
ʃɛmə lu vɪʃtə / lu ʃɛmə vɪʃtə
be.1st PL him seen / him be.1st PL seen
'we have seen him'
ʃɛtə lu vɪʃtə
be.2nd PL him seen
'you have seen him'

a'. sɔ vənu:tə
be.1st SG come
ʃi vənu:tə
be.2nd SG come
a vənu:tə
have.3rd SG come
'I have come, you have come, etc.'

a". sɔ mmə rlava:tə
be.1st SG me washed
ʃi ttə rlava:tə
be.2nd SG you washed
a s a rlava:tə
ClS Refl have.3rd SG washed
'I washed myself, you washed yourself, etc.'

b. a l a vɪʃtə / a m a vɪʃtə
ClS him have. 3rd seen / ClS me have.3rd seen
'(s)he/they has/have seen him/me'

c. sɔ kkuntintə
ʃi kkuntintə
jɛ kkuntintə

ʃɛmə kuntintə
ʃɛtə kuntintə
jɛ kkuntintə
'I am glad, you are glad, etc.'

d. sɔ dərmi:tə
be.1st SG slept
ʃi dərmi:tə
be.2nd SG slept
a dərmi:tə
have.3rd SG slept
'I have slept, you have slept, etc.'

San Benedetto del Tronto

(11) a. sɔ ttə camatə / tə sɔ ccamatə E +RF
be.1stSG him called / him be.1st SG called
'I have called you'
la sɔ ccamat-a
OCl-FSG be.1stSG called-FSG
'I have called her
ʃi jə camatə / jə ʃi ccamatə E +RF
be.2ndSG him called / him be.2ndSG called
'you have called him'
sɛm jə camatə / jə sɛmə camatə E
be.1stPL him called / him be.1stPL called
'we have called him'

a'. sɔ mmənʊ:tə / ajə mənʊ:tə E +RF
be.1stSG come / have.1stSG come
ʃi mmənʊ:tə E +RF
be.2ndSG come
ɛ mmənʊ:tə E +RF
be.3rdSG come

a''. mə sɔ mmɪssə lɔ:kə E +RF
me be.1stSG put.MSG there
'I have put myself there'
s ɛ mmɪssə lɔ:kə E +RF
Refl be.3rdSG put there
'(s)he has put him/herself there'

b. m a camat-ə / l a camat-a H -RF
me have.3rdSG called / OCl have.3rdSG called-FSG
'(s)he has called me'
i a camɛ:t-ə H -RF
OCl.PL have.3rdSG called.PL

c.	sɔ	kkuntintə			E	+RF
	ʃi	kkuntintə			E	+RF
	ɛ	kkuntintə			E	+RF
	'I am glad, you are glad, etc.'					
d.	sɔ	pparla:tə	/ ajə	parla:tə	E	+RF
	be.1stSG	spoken	/ have.1stSG	spoken		
	ʃi	pparla:tə			E	+RF
	be.2ndSG	spoken				
	a	parla:tə			H	-RF
	have.3rdSG	spoken				
	'I have spoken, you have spoken, etc.'					

Secinaro

(11) illustrates a different distribution, because, besides on the enclitics, RF is triggered by the singular forms of *be* on the participle in active contexts in (11a) and in unaccusative and reflexives in (11a', a''). Unergatives match the overall pattern of transitives, as in (10d) and (11d).

3. Piedmontese dialects with be

Actually, the contrast between enclisis and proclisis depending on the auxiliary is well documented in Piedmontese dialects admitting *be* and *have* as auxiliaries (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 774). In these dialects, on a par with the dialects in (10)-(11), enclisis is allowed only with *be*, while *have* only accepts proclisis, as in the system of Fara Novarese in (12). Moreover, these varieties are characterized by the enclitic position on the participle, so that in the contexts with *have* the clitic is doubled in proclisis on the auxiliary and in enclisis on the participle. The data concerning *be* are presented in (12a) for transitives, (12b) for unaccusatives, (12b') for unergatives, (12c) for reflexives. (12d) exemplifies the passive, (12e) copular forms and (12f) the deontic/ necessity contexts.

(12) a.	i	sum		ʧa'ma-l(u)/-la/-i
	SCl	be.1stSG		called-him/her/them
	a	t	ei	ʧa'ma-lu
	SCl	SCl	be.2ndSG	called-him
	a	l	ɛ	ʧa'ma-lu/-mi
	SCl	SCl	be.3rdSG	called-him/me
	i		suma	ʧa'ma-lu/-ti
	SCl		be.1st PL	called-him/you
	i		si:	ʧa'ma-mi
	SCl		be.2nd PL	called-me
	i		n	ʧa'ma-lu/-mi
	SCl		be.3rd PL	called-him/me
	'I have called him/ her/ them, etc.'			

b. i sum ɲy / ɲu-a
SCl be.1st SG come.MSG/ come-FSG
a t ei ɲy/ɲu-a
l ɛ ɲy/ɲu-a
i suma ɲy-i
SCl be.1stPL come-PL
i si: ɲy-i
i n ɲy-i
'I have come, you have come, etc.'

b'. i sum dru'metʃ
SCl be.1stSG slept
a t ei dru'metʃ
l ɛ dru'metʃ
i suma dru'metʃ
i si: dru'metʃ
i n dru'metʃ
'I have slept, you have slept, etc.'

c. i sum la'va-mi
SCl be.1stSG washed-me
a t ei la'va-ti
l ɛ la'va-si
i suma la'va-ni
i si: la'va-vi
i n la'va-si
'I have washed myself, you are washed yourself, etc.'

d. l ɛ sempri ʧa'ma da tytʃ
SCl be.3rd SG always called by all
'he is always called by everyone'

e. i sum / a t ei / l ɛ kun'te:nt/kun'tenta
SCl be.1st/2nd/3rd SG glad.MSG/glad-FSG
i suma / i si: / in kun'te:ɲtʃ/kun'tenti
SCl be.1st/2nd/3rd PL glad.MPL/glad-FPL
'I am glad, you are glad, etc.'

f. i sum / a t ei / a l ɛ da 'fɛ-lu
SCl be.1st/2nd/3rd SG to do-OCl-MSG
'I have to do it, you have to do it, etc.'

Fara Novarese

(13a) and (13b) illustrate the double cliticization with *have*, while (13c) illustrates deontic forms with *have*, parallel to the ones in (12f). Finally, (13c') shows the occurrence of *have* with inherent objets.

(13) a.

i	l/i	ø	tʃa'ma-lu/-i
SCl	OCl.MSG/PL	have.1st SG	called-OCl.MSG/PL

(at ei tʃa'ma-lu/-mi)

a	l / m	a	tʃa'ma-lu/-la/-mi
SCl	OCl.3rd/1st SG	have.3rd SG	called- OCl.3rd MSG/FSG/1st SG
i	t	uma	tʃa'ma-ti
SCl	OCl.2ndSG	have.1stPL	called-OCl.2nd SG
i	m	i	tʃa'ma-mi
SCl	OCl.1stSG	have.2ndPL	called-OCl.1st SG
i	m	ɜŋ	tʃa'ma-mi
SCl	OCl.1st SG	have.3rdPL	called-OCl.1st SG

'I have called him/them, etc.'

b.

i	m	ø	la'va-mi
SCl	OCl.1stSG	have.1stPL	washed-OCl.1st SG

(at ei la'va-ti)

a	s	a	la'va-si
SCl	REFL	have.3rdSG	washed-Refl
i	n	uma	la'va-ni
i	v	i	la'va-vi
i	s	ɜŋ	la'va-si

'I have washed myself, etc.'

c.

i	g	ø	da	fɛ-lu
SCl	OCl.Loc	have.1stSG	PREP	do-OCl-MSG
ta	g	ai	da	fɛ-lu
SCl	OCl.Loc	have.2ndSG	PREP	do-OCl-MSG
a	g	a	da	fɛ-lu
SCl	OCl.Loc	have.3rdSG	PREP	do-OCl-MSG

'I have to do it/ you have to do it, etc.'

c'.

i	g	ø	fɑ:m
SCl	OCl.Loc	have.1stSG	hunger

'I am hungry, etc.'

Fara Novarese

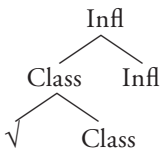
Let us first dwell on the different distribution of clitics according to the auxiliary. What shows up is that *have* requires a double insertion of the clitic, i.e. in the post-participial position, canonical in these varieties, and before the auxiliary, as in (13a,b). On the contrary, *be* permits only the post-participial occurrence of the clitic, as in (12a,b). A possible rationale underlying this distribution is that *be* is inserted in the high domain, where eventually it precedes the clitic, as in Central dialects in (10)-(11).

However the position of *be* seems to be higher than the one of *have*, that regularly follows the object clitic, in (10)-(11) and in (13). In Piedmontese dialect the reduplication of the clitic is only a sort of surface effect due to the fact that in these dialect clitics have a position inside the participial phrase, independently of how the matrix verbal phrase. As a conclusion, if we are on the right track, the proposal that *be* is inserted in a lower position in order to account for the occurrence of RF in actives is not maintainable or at least not clearly supported by the data.

4. Auxiliary and participle

A preliminary representation of the structures involving proclisis and enclisis respectively may help us investigate the morpho-syntactic nature of auxiliaries. Following some proposals of Manzini and Savoia (2005, 2015), Manzini *et al*. (2015), and, although in a different perspective, D'Alessandro and Roberts (2010), our analysis is inspired by the idea that the past participle is nothing but an aspectual (resultative/ stative) element with adjectival nature which gives rise to a clause including an argument. Following Manzini and Savoia (2017a,b), Savoia *et al*. forthcoming, the internal organization of noun includes a category-less lexical root √ (Marantz 1997), that in keeping with Higginbotham (1985) is a predicate. The root merges with the inflectional elements endowed with interpretive content (gender, number, etc.), that restrict the properties associated to the argument *x* open at the predicate, as suggested in (14) for Italian and Romance varieties. The inflectional morpheme, Infl, merges with Class, including the root and its gender specification.

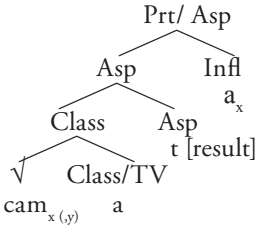
(14)



Given the nominal nature of past participles in Romance varieties, including the ones we examine, it is natural to apply this analysis to their internal structure. So, resting on the discussion in Manzini *et al.* (2015) and the noun structure proposed in Savoia *et al*. (2017, 2018), Manzini and Savoia (2017), Baldi and Savoia (2018), Baldi and Franco (2018), we assume the structure in (15) for *camat-a* 'called' (Secinaro, in (11b)). The verbal root, requiring two arguments, indicated by the subscripts *x* (IA) and *y* (EA), merges with the Thematic Vowel (Class) element *-a-*, and the

root-TV complex merges with the aspectual element *-t-*, generally associated to the Italian type participles, giving rise to a verbal adjective closed by the inflectional exponent, here *–a*, ultimately satisfying the internal argument of the participle, as well as with nouns and adjectives. The crucial property of the past participle is to license only one argument, typically the internal theta role. Maybe, this could be connected to the stative/ resultative property of the participle implying as a natural target a property-bearing referent, usually the IA. The licensing of the external argument makes recourse to another licenser, i.e. the auxiliary/T.

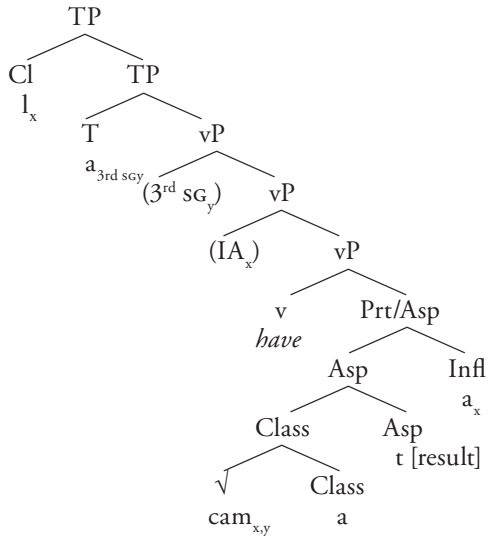
(15)



The present model is based on a privative treatment of the morphological properties in lexical elements excluding manipulation or insertion of new material, by assuming that morphological terminals have interpretive lexical content. In the lexicalist model we pursue, Agree establishes an identity relation between two or more referential feature sets, subject to locality, interpreted as a single argument (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2007, 2011). This is what Chomsky (2001) calls Minimal Search and Match and forms the core of Agree. An important difference from the canonical generative approach, is that we assume that all phi-feature sets are interpretable and valued. This means that Agree is not triggered by the need for a probe to interpret/value its features (Chomsky forthcoming, Chomsky *et al*. 2018). Rather it creates equivalence classes of phi-feature bundles lexicalizing the same argument, (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2018, Savoia *et al*. forthcoming) and all lexical material is interpreted at the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interface.

Bearing in mind the preceding discussion, let us consider the auxiliary structures. Merging the participle in (15) with the vP structure of *have* gives rise to (16), for the sentence from Secinaro in (10b) *l a camat-a* '(s)he has called her'. What we are suggesting is that *have* is associated to a complete argumental structure, as in (16).

(16)



The participle, as seen, agrees with the internal argument; in other words, the inflectional properties of the participles are in a chain relation with the clitic element *l*, so forming a single discontinuous argument saturating the internal theta-role of the verb. The other theta-role is licensed by the agreement on the auxiliary in T.

4.1 Auxiliary patterns and person split

A first generalization that we draw from the data listed in previous sections is that the interplay between *be* and *have* involves at least the person split and the type of event (active vs non active or passive/ copular). In the schema in (17), the sensitivity to the verbal class is indicated by +, if non-actives select *be*, or -, if actives and non-actives share the same paradigm; passive and copular contexts are excluded. In (17) E-H denotes the alternation according to the verbal class, E/H denotes the optional alternation and E+H the alternation determined by morpho-phonological properties.

(17)	1st SG	2nd SG	3rd SG	1st PL	2nd PL	3rd PL	active/non-active
Sonnino	E	E	H	E	E	H	-
Torricella	E	E	H-E	E	E	H-E	+
Monte G.	E	E	H-E	E	E	H-E	+
G.regia	E/H	E	H-E	E	E	H-E	+
S.Giorgio S.	H	H	E	H	H	H	+
Corato	E	E	E+H?	H	H	H	-
Gravina	E	H	E+H?	H	H	H	-
Morano	H	H	E+H?	H/E	H/E	H/E	+
Saracena	H	H/E	E+H?	H/E	H/E	H/E	+

This picture shows that plural, generally but not always, replicates the pattern of singular; contrary, Corato, Gravina, Morano and Saracena restrict the person split to the singular. The reduced sensitivity of the plural forms to the person differences has been noticed in literature and connected to the different referential status of plural in comparison with singular. The most salient property of plural persons is that they combine 1st/2nd person deictic interpretation and 3rd person interpretation, assigning plural an interpretation however based on the eventive structure, so making it closer to the one of 3rd person.

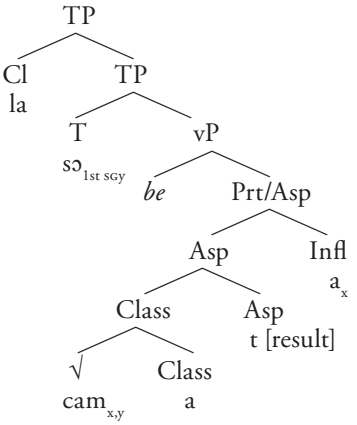
Moreover, some morphemes are ambiguous between *be* and *have*. We have assigned them to *be* considering that they occur in copular contexts; however, in some cases even this clue is not clear. That is the case, for instance, of Gravina, where the alternant *ev* occurring before a vowel, (7a''), is precluded in copular contexts, (7b'). In Morano and Saracena in (8) and (9) *have* takes the root vowel ɛ-, so assimilating to *be*.

As to the syntax of *be*, coming close to a traditional view (Manzini *et al*. 2015), we can deal with *be* as introducing a reduced argument structure, so that in the case of verbs with two arguments only one argument can be licensed and encoded by the agreement head T. In this respect, the conclusion of Manzini *et al*. (2015: 52) on the Greek and Albanian distribution of *be/ have* auxiliaries, is that

> jam 'be' selects an open argument structure in its participial complement. Thus jam restricts the interpretation of the embedded participial clause to what is conventionally known as middle-passive voice […] By contrast, kam 'have' selects a closed argument structure, in the sense that no free variables are instantiated within it […] This in turn means that 'be', as the copula, will select more elementary structures than the transitive predicate 'have' – including open predicates (middle-passive voice, as here), but also in other languages, like Italian, elementary events (unaccusatives) as opposed to causative events (transitives and unergatives).

The gist of this proposal is that with *be* a theta-role is concealed (generally the EA). We are expressing this intuition in terms of the lexical nature of *be* and *have*, whereby while *have* is characterized by the argumental structure, *be* introduces no theta-role, as suggested in (18), for *l-a so ccamat-a* 'I have called her' of Secinaro in (10a).

(18)



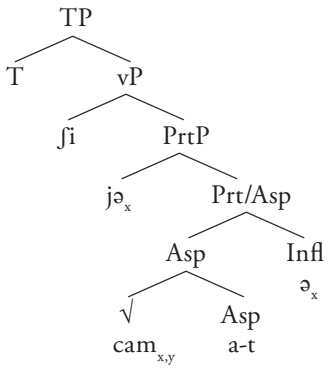
D'Alessandro and Roberts (2010: 53) distinguish *be* and *have* according to the head, T or v, that agrees with the external argument, whereby 'BE appears iff all the features of *v* Agree with the external argument' and 'HAVE appears iff all the features of T Agree with the external argument'. The insertion of *be* or *have* is driven by the nature of relevant features: v_{Aux} Agrees only for person, so that it values the Person feature and case of 1st/2nd person external arguments, while T values the Number feature. In this case v_{Aux} is realized as *be*. It is realized as *have* when the external argument has no Person feature, i.e. it is of 3rd person. In this case it is T that values the Number feature and the Case feature. Not surprisingly, this distribution recalls the contrast between ergative and nominative systems, reducible to the contrast between systems in which v licenses the subject (ergative) and systems where it is T that agrees with and licenses the external argument as the subject. What we can guess is that ergativity hides the external argument, more precisely ergativity licenses it by means of a special case or a complement, or simply avoiding to realize it.

In our terms, *be* is associated to an elementary structure that admits that v licenses the external argument while the internal one is realized by the participle. *have* lexicalizes structures where T canonically agrees with the external argument. Finally, with the verbs that provide only the internal argument there is no question of this. *Be* and *have* are selected according to the referential properties of 1st/2nd vs 3rd person elements. More precisely, the person split only depends on the fact that in these dialects the referential contrast between 1st/2nd and 3rd person elements is made visible by the preference of the deictic elements for the lexicalization by means of *be.* No principled reasons seem to prevent systems with all *be*, like the Piedmontese varieties in (12), or with all *have*, like many of Italian Southern dialects or Spanish.

4.2 Enclisis on be and other phenomena

The distribution of clitics in the dialect with enclisis on the auxiliary *be* evidences the fact that *have* requires proclisis, as in (10) and (11) and in Piedmontese variety of Fara in (12)-(13). It is natural to assume that the sequence *OCl-have* reflects the structure above proposed in (16), with the complication that Piedmontese dialects show the duplication of the OCl on the participle, as opposed to the Central dialects in (10). Let us consider first a case like the one of Secinaro in (11), with simplex enclisis on *be*, as in (19).

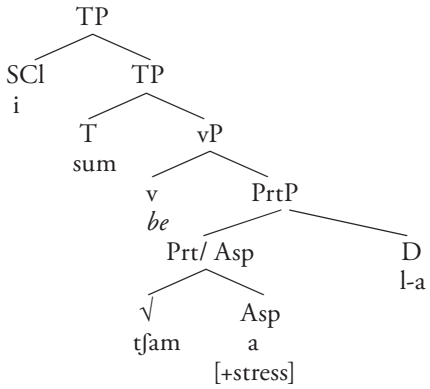
(19)



We will have to admit that merging of the internal argument in the domain of participle is possible, differently from Italian and many other Romance varieties, where only a full DP may occur within the domain of VP/PrtP. In other words, in these grammars, the fact that *be* does not license any theta-role position makes it possible for the clitic to remain within the PrtP, where it is licensed.

In Piedmontese systems OCl is introduced in enclisis on the participle, as in (20). It is of note that in such varieties the low insertion of clitics is more generally attested and may include also lexical verbs (Manzini and Savoia 2005, Tortora 2002).

(20)



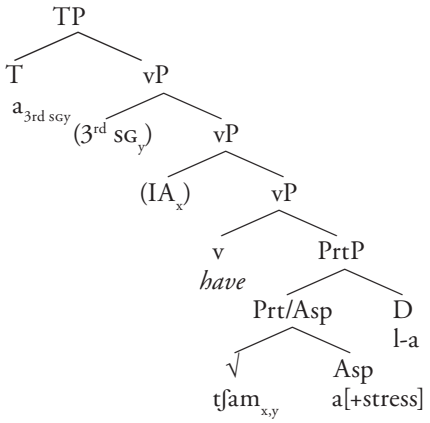
The conclusion that the clitic remains in a low position because the verbal head is unable to value the features of the clitic is argued by Roberts (2010).[5]

In Piedmontese varieties, enclisis on the participle involves also the transitive forms with the auxiliary *have*, with the result that OCl is doubled in the domain of *have* and in the domain of the participle, as in (21). In other words, although *have* licenses the high position of the clitic, the realization of this latter in the domain of the participle is yet possible and required.

[5] Specifically, Roberts (2010: 233-234) proposes that, similarly to the enclisis on infinitives, in the case of the systems where the clitic attaches 'to the past participle in compound tenses […] the auxiliary lacks **φ**-features attracting the object in these varieties', and 'the verb moves over v to Part', as indicated in the structure in (i) for the Franco-Provençal example *Dz'i batia-la tot solet* 'I-have built-it all alone':

(i) Aux $[_{PartP}$ [Part batia] $[_{vP}$ $[_{v}$ $[_{\varphi}$ la] v]] $[_{VP}$ (V) (**φ**)]]].

(21)



It is tempting to connect the request of copy of the clitic in the domain of v/auxiliary with the idea that in SCl/OCl languages, SCl and OCl are the real heads of agreement respectively for the CP phase and for v phase (Savoia *et al*. forthcoming). Roberts (2010) suggests a similar conclusion as regards the object clitic in Romance languages, by dealing with OCls as bundles of phi-features on the edge of the v phase, as for instance in (22) (cf. Mavrogiorgos 2006).

(22) a. …le voit
'he sees him/it'
b. [$_{v^*}$ *le*$_{[i\varphi]}$ [$_{v^*}$ *voit* $_V$ [$_{v^*}$ V, uV, uφ]]]]

(Roberts 2010: 57, with adaptations)

Then, *have* behaves like other transitives requiring the externalization of the agreement with the IA on its v phase, differently, therefore, from *be*, that, as we have seen, is dispensed from this requirement.

It is of note that in many of the Piedmontese dialects with post-participial clitics the gender/ number inflection of the participle is in complementary distribution with the proclitc element. So, in the Fara system inflected participles are attested in unaccusatives in (12b) and in passive and stative contexts, as in (23a); in transitives with *have* they seem to exclude the post-participial double of the clitic, as in (23b) (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 586). Nevertheless, this restriction is not peremptory, as suggested by the coexistence of both gender/ number inflection and enclisis in some of these varieties, for instance in the system of Quarna Sotto (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II: 594) in (23c). In the latter, however, the doubling of the OCl on the auxiliary is missing, and the duplication of the IA involves only the participial inflection and the OCl. In other words, the two systems are not substantially different because also the one of Fara at the most selects two lexicalizations of IA.

(23) a. l-a kamiʒ-a l ɛ la'va
the-FSG shirt-FSG SCl.SG be.3rd SG washed.SG
'the shirt is washed'
iz lantsø-i / a-i kamiʒ-i i n lava-i
these sheet-PL/ the-PL shirt-PL SCl.PL be.3rd PL wahed-PL
'these sheets/ the shirts are washed'

b. i l ø vist/vist-a
SCl OCl.SG have.1st SG seen.MS/seen-FSG
'I have seen him/ her'
i i ø vist/vist-i
SCl OCl.PL have.1st SG seen.MS/seen-FPL
'I have seen them'

Fara Novarese

c. i u la'va-ɣɣɐ / la'va:-ɣɐ /la'vɛ-ʎʎɐ /la'va-i-ɐj
SCl have.1st SG washed.MSG-OCl.MSG /.FSG-OCl.FSG/.MPL-OCl.MPL/-FSG-OCl.FSG
'I have washed him/ her/ them'

Quarna Sotto

Our conclusion is that the ban of the sequence *inflection-OCl* is not due to a structural impossibility but can be tied to an interpretive restriction holding at the C-I system penalising the duplication of the same inflection in adjacent contexts.

Let us turn now to the contrast between *be* and *have*, whereby *have* introduces a proclitic duplicate of the enclitic object. The assumption that auxiliaries are the morphological exponents of functional heads is familiar in generative and functional approaches. For instance, Bentley and Eythorsson (2003: 447) deal with 'perfective auxiliaries as morpho-syntactic markers of tense and aspect'. Their idea is that the insertion of be or have is triggered by certain sub-set of the semantic features associated to the verbal classes. According to D'Alessandro and Roberts (2015: 50) the realization of the auxiliary is 'a question of the spell-out of features of the upper $v_{\mathbf{Aux}}$'. This solution is easily treatable in terms of adjustment and vocabulary items insertion rules in DM framework.

The path we follow is different and takes on the idea that auxiliaries are not a special type of inflectional exponent but true verbal entries. Following Manzini and Savoia (2005), Manzini *et al.* (2016), *be* is associated with a structure where un argument is deleted or concealed; more precisely *be* is devoid of the internal theta role position. *have* is a transitive verb which requires a complete eventive structure to which an internal theta position is anchored. The insertion of *have* or *be* takes account of their lexical properties. So, *have* in (21) introduces the transitive structure licensing two argumental positions, whereas in the structures with *be* only one argument is licensed by *v*.

The structural and interpretive difference between *be* and *have* can help us understand the relation of 1st/2nd persons with *be* in Central and Southern

Italian varieties. The nature of *be* as lacking eventive properties suggests that 1st and 2nd person elements are able to be inserted or, alternatively, need to be inserted by simple argument application without the support of a licensing predicative structure. Their deictic properties are sufficient to give rise to their interpretation as EPP elements of the sentence. 3rd person elements, on the contrary, tend to be inserted in a structure that assigns them a morphosyntactic characterization of their role in the event. Naturally, while 1st and 2nd person correspond to real discourse participants, the label 3rd person has no clear referential status (Benveniste 1966, D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010). In fact, 3rd person specifies definiteness, typically through demonstratives, determiners and quantifiers.

Although the pattern with *be* in the 1st and 2nd person is the most attested type of split, we must take account of the fact that at least three factors of variation emerge:

(i) The 1st singular in many varieties, including some of the ones being considered in this article, has or alternates *have*, cf (4), (8), (9) and the schema in (17).

(ii) In the Northern Calabrian dialects a distribution emerges in which it is the 3rd singular that requires *be* and that seems to be the mirror image of the more known pattern E E H (cf. (17).

As to the first point (i), we must conclude that in some varieties the 1st singular is associated to a smaller deictic import, differently from the 2nd singular; in other words it may require to be inserted in a complete event structure. In the typological literature the behaviour of 1st and 2nd person in comparison with 3rd person pronouns/ demonstratives and NPs is treated in terms of referential properties (animacy or definiteness) expressed by means of a hierarchy regulating the distribution of grammatical functions in case systems (Dixon 1994, Kiparsky 2001).[6] Kiparsky (2001: 34) associates the referential hierarchy to the definiteness, as the property that favours the syntactic role of the nominal and pronominal elements.

4.3 Unexpected occurrences: be in the 3rd and have in the 2nd

The occurrence of *be* in the 3rd person brings into play different aspects of the contrast between *be* and *have*, specifically it strengthens the idea that

[6] The referential hierarchy in (i) (Dixon 1994: 85; Kiparsky 2001: 34)

(i) 1P > 2P > 3P/ demonstratives > proper nouns/ kin terms > human > animate > inanimate accounts for the releation between nominal elements and grammatical functions, whereby 'a first person pronoun is more likely than any other NP constituent to be in A [subject of transitives] rather than in O [object of transitives] function. Next most likely as A is second person pronoun, then demonstratives and third person pronouns, followed by proper names' (Dixon 1994: 85).

the forms with *be* are simpler than the ones with *have*, contrary to the more canonical view whereby *hav*e is less marked option (D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010). In the systems that insert *be* in the 3rd person, as the Northern Calabrian ones (cf. (8) and (9)), we note that *have* is favoured in the paradigms. Only 3rd person oscillates between *have*, if an OCl is interpreted, and a form apparently of *be*, when a lexical object is inserted or the verb is intransitive. We only need to conclude that *be* is associated to a more elementary structure occurring in absence of the clitics. This, indeed, seems to hold also for the forms of the 1st/2nd person that in these dialects insert ɛ- in the auxiliary *have*, as in (8a) and (9a), in turn lexicalizing a simpler structure.

In effect, systems with *be* in the 3rd singular person are attested also in other types of paradigms. So, in some Molisan dialects a pattern appears of the type E/H E E E E H, as illustrated in (24a,b) for Monteroduni (Molise). (24a') shows that *have* distinguishes an alternant ɛnnə from the alternant *annə* incorporating the OCl, as in the Northern Calabrian dialects in (8) and (9).

(24) a. *active*

l-a/r-u	sɔŋgə	camat-a /-ə	E	
her/him	be.1stSG	called-FSG/MSG		
mə	si	camatə	E	-RF
me	be.2ndSG	called-MSG		
l/r	ɛ	camat-a/camat-ə	E	-RF
her/him	be.3rdSG	called-FSG/MSG		
r-u	semə	camat-ə	E	
him	be.1stPL	called-MSG		
mə	setə	camat-ə	E	
me	be.2nd PL	called-MSG		
r/l	ɛnnə	camat-ə / camat-a	H	
him/her	have.3rdPL	called-MSG/FSG		

'I have called her/ him/ me, etc.'

a'. aʎʎə cama:tə/-a H
(him/ her) have.1stSG called-MSG/FSG
'I have called him/her'

annə camatə a ttuttə kwantə H
(them) have.3rd PL called-INFL to all
'they have called everyone'

b. *non-active and unergative*

sɔŋgə/aʎʎə	mənutə / rummuitə	E/H
be.1stSG/have.1stSG	come-INFL/ slept-INFL	
si	mənutə/ ru'muitə	E -RF
ɛ	mənutə/ rummuitə	E -RF
semə	mə'nutə/ rum'muitə	E

setə		mənutə/rummuitə	E	
annə		mənutə/rummuitə	E	
'I have come/lept, you have come/ slept, etc.'				
mə	sɔŋgə/aʎʎə	lavat-ə	E/H	
me	be.1stSG/have.1stSG	washed-INFL/slept-INFL		
tə		si lavat-ə	E	-RF
iss-ə/ess-a tʃ ɛ		lavat-ə/ lavat-a	E	-RF
tʃə semə		lavatə	E	
və setə		lavat-ə	E	
tʃ ɛnnə		lavat-ə	E	
'I have washed myself, you have washed yourself, etc.'				

c. *copular and passive contexts*

sɔ(ŋgə) kundiəndə/kundɛnd-a	E
be.1stSG glad.MSG/glad-FSG	
si kundiənd-ə	E
ɛ kundiənd-ə/kundɛnd-a	E
semə kundiənd-ə	E
setə kundiənd-ə	E
sɔ kundiənd-ə	
'I am glad, you are glad, etc.'	

d. *possessive contexts*

aʎʎə	/ tɛŋgə/ a	/ a	/ avemə / etə	/ annə/	tiənnə		paura
have.1stSG	have/ keep/ 2ndSG / 3rdSG/	1st PL	/ 2nd PL	/ 3rdPL			fear
'I am afraid, you are afraid, etc.'							

Monteroduni

Once more, in (24) the 3rd singular person is lexicalized by *be*. If we maintain the idea that the 3rd person is interpreted in relation to the event, the simpler explanation for the systems such as (24) is that there are grammars that simply extend *be* over the entire paradigm without sensitivity to person or presenting only residually the person specialization of the auxiliary (for other examples see Manzini and Savoia, II, 2005).

We connected the contrast between the lexicalization of 1st /2nd persons and the one of 3rd person with the idea that the deictic content of 1st and 2nd persons admits or requires to be not anchored to an agentive argumental structure, but to be interpreted as such through the reduced structure of *be*. Taking account of the degree of animacy/ definiteness discussed above, the person split in the Central Italian dialects reflects the definiteness degree of possible subjects, to the effect that 1st/2nd person are interpretable independently of the event structure of which they are participants.

At least two kinds of data call in question this generalization: dialects where the 1st person admits or selects have, as in Guardiaregia and San Giorgio del Sannio in (17), and dialects that reverse the distribution of be and have assigning

be to the 3rd person and have to the 2nd, as in the case of Corato and Gravina in (17). Our idea is that both 1st and 2nd person can be understood as not univocally defined inside the universe of discourse in the enunciation, even if sporadically. For instance, the typological literature documents the discourse in the enunciation, even if sporadically. Ineed, the typological literature documents the reversed hierarchical order btween 1st and 2nd person (DeLancey 1981; Dixon 1994).

The pattern E/H H E of Gravina and Corato in (6) and (7) raises further problems, in the sense that it overturns the apparently most robust generalization highlighted by the data, whereby 1st / 2nd persons preferably select *be*, in contrast to 3rd person, generally interpreted by *have*. We are induced to suppose that also the 2nd person can be treated as a not univocally defined participants in the enunciation, with the result that a complete structural representation of the event is required (*have*). Nevertheless, in these varieties, the 3rd person is associated with *be*, suggesting a partially different explanation. We may think that these varieties generalize *have* over the paradigm, as shown in (17), like many of Southern systems, in Apulia, Calabria and Sicily. *be* allows for the interpretation of the 3rd person to be separated from the others simply by virtue of the fact that *be* has interpretive properties independent of the verbal/ eventive class. This could be traced back to its nature of, in some sense, basic auxiliary (see the discussion around (34)). This conclusion seems to be supported by the fact that in Corato in (6), in the 3rd person the form ɛ alternates with the form *av* (from *have*) before participles with an initial vowel. In other words, we find *have* in all persons, except in the case of 3rd person before participles with initial consonant: in this case, in the absence of a suitable form of *have*, the system makes recourse to a form of *be*.

4.4 Coincidence between be and have and incorporation of the 3rd person OCl

A clear case of coincidence between the forms of *be* and *have* is provided by the imperfect auxiliaries in the dialect of Fara Novarese in (11), where *be* and *have* show identical forms in the 2nd *ev-i* and 3rd *ev-a* singular and 3rd plural *ev-u*. Since the pluperfect has systematically *be*, as in (25a), the identity between these forms is recognizable both comparing the two transitive structures *be-particple-OCl* and *OCl-have-participle-OCl* in (25a) and (25a'), and copular and possessive contexts, in (25c,c'). Naturally, intransitive paradigms do not differentiate unaccusatives from unergatives.

(25) a. *active*

i	sev-a	tʃa'ma-lu
SCl	be.IMPF-1stSG	called-him

'I had called him'

at	ev-i	tʃa'ma-lu
SCl	be.IMPF-1stSG	called-him

'you had called him'

al ev-a tʃa'ma-mi
SCl be.IMPF-3rdSG called-me
'(s)he had called me', etc.
i sev-u tʃa'ma-lu
i sev-i tʃa'ma-lu
i l ev-u tʃa'ma-lu

a'. i l ev-a tʃa'ma-lu
SCl OCl have.IMPF-1stSG called-him
'I had called him'
(at ev-i tʃa'ma-lu)
a m ev-a tʃa'ma-mi
SCl me be/have?.IMPF-3rdSG called-me
'(s)he had called me', etc.
i l ev-u tʃa'ma-lu
i l ev-i tʃa'ma-lu
i l ev-u tʃa'ma-lu

b. *unaccusative and unergative*
i sev-a ɲy/ɲu-a / dru'metʃ
SCl be.IMPF-1psSG come.MSG/-FSG/ slept
'I had come/ slept'
a t ev-i ɲy/ɲu-a / dru'metʃ
SCl be.IMPF-2ndSG come.MSG/-FSG/ slept
'you had come/ slept'
l ev-a ɲy/ɲu-a / dru'metʃ
SCl be.IMPF-3rdSG come.MSG/-FSG/ slept
'(s)he had come/ slept' etc.
i sev-u ɲy-i / drumetʃ
i sev-i ɲy-i / drumetʃ
i ev-u ɲy-i / drumetʃ

c. *copular contexts*
i sev-a kun'te:nt/ kun'tent-a
SCl be.IMPF-1stSG glad.MSG/-FSG
'I was glad', etc.
a t ev-i kun'te:nt/ kun'tent-a
a l ev-a kun'te:nt/ kun'tent-a
i sev-u kun'te:ntʃ/ kun'tent-i
SCl be.IMPF-1stPL glad.MPL/-FPL
'we were glad', etc.
i sev-i kun'te:ntʃ/ kun'tent-i
i l ev-u kun'te:ntʃ/ kun'tent-i

c'. i g ev-a / t ag ev-i / a g ev-a / i g ev-u / i g ev-i / i g ev-u fɑ:m
SCl Loc have.IMPRF.1stSG / -2ndSG/ 3rd SG / 1st PL / 2nd PL / 3rd PL hunger
'I am hungry, you are hungry, etc.'

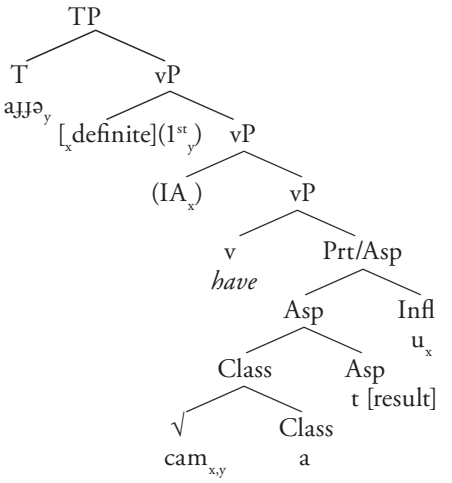
Considering that the identical forms occur in copular contexts, Manzini and Savoia (2005) conclude that they belong to the paradigm of *be*. Cennamo (2010) calls into question this proposal assuming that the coinciding forms, generally present also in many Southern Italian dialects, belong to *have*. The coincidence formal and functional of *be* and *have* can be retraced to late Latin, where *have* works as a copula of some kind. All things considered, we keep thinking that the solution whereby these identical forms realize *be* rather than *have* continues to be the most adequate. The system of Fara Novarese provides us with elements of proof: in this variety *be* is admitted in all paradigms, so that we can expect it occurs regardless of the eventive class; moreover, nothing prevents the OCls from positioning before *be*, as in (25'), on a par with many of the dialects examined. The crucial point is the occurrence of these ambiguous forms in the possessives in (25c'). A possibile explanation is that the locative clitic Loc *g* is sufficient to lexicalize the possession relation between the possessor, the subject, and the other argument, the possessee.[7]

Finally, consider the alternation between the root vowel ɛ- and the root vowel *a*- in the dialects in (8), Morano, and (9), Saracensa, where *a*- forms lexicalize the interpretation corresponding to the 3rd person object clitics. It is of note that this phenomenon falls into a more general set of facts well attested in Southern Italian dialects where the 3rd person OCls are not lexicalized on the auxiliary (Savoia and Manzini 2011). Savoia and Manzini (2010) conclude that in these dialect the auxiliary is in C and, by virtue of its modal/ aspectual content, subsumes the interpretive properties of 3rd person, that, as we have seen, is interpreted in relation to the event. We follow this idea with some modifications, specifically setting aside the cartographic characterization of the position of the auxiliary. These dialect dispose of two lexical alternants for *have*, one of which is able to introduce the definiteness properties sufficient for interpreting the IA of 3rd, as in (26).

[7] More precisely, in keeping with Franco *et al*. forthcoming, we assume that the particle Loc lexicalizes the inclusion relation, ⊆, between two arguments, as illustrated in (i).

(i) $[_{SCl}$ i] $[_{v}$ ev-] $[_{VP}$ $[_{\subseteq}$ g $[_{N}$fa:m]]]]
i g ev-u fa:m.

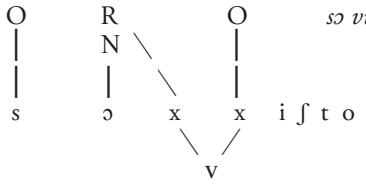
(26)



5. Phases and RF

Let us come back to the distribution of RF. The data in section 1 show that RF is triggered independently of the contrast between active and non-active/ passive/ copular contexts by a subset of the forms of *be*.[8] Thus, the forms that trigger RF are working in all cases, without distinguishing between the eventive properties of the sentence. Moreover, the triggering forms are not homogeneously distributed - e.g. the 2nd person induces RF in (1) and (3) but not in (2). As a consequence, we are led to conclude that RF depends on a lexical property of these morphemes. The most natural solution is to assume that the vocalic nucleus is followed by an empty coda position, as in (27a), to which the phonological content of the initial consonant is associated. The outcome is a geminate, as in *sɔ vviʃto fratutu* 'I have seen your brother', in (3a) for Monte Giberto. A parallel solution can be applied in the case of the alternation ɛ/ɛv in Gravina in (7), by assuming that the lexical representation has an unassociated post-nuclear phonetic instruction (position) that is realized when an initial nucleus is able to take it as its onset, as in (27b).

[8] The data examined in the literature show that RF is a phonological process partially influenced by different phonetic, pragmatic and socio-linguistic contexts. In many communities it is variable, as noticed in Cennamo (2001) for the Neapolitan dialects with the pattern H E E E E H that the author investigates. Stylistic and personal differences may be present in the productions we consider in this article, thus motivating some possible variation or uncertainty in the data.

(27)a. 

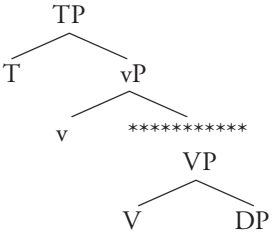
sɔ vviʃto fratu-tu 'I have seen your brother'

b.

s ɛv asseisə '(s)he have sit down'

Let us address now status of RF as a crucial cue in order to diagnose the structural properties that distinguish active/ transitive from passive/ stative forms. As we have evidenced, our data do not uncover differences between active and non-active forms. However, some authors have made recourse to possible differences in the application of RF as revealing structural differences in the syntax of actives and passives.

D'Alessandro and Scheer (2015) observe that in the Abruzzo dialect of Arielli, characterized by the pattern EEHEEH in all verbal classes, 1st and 2nd persons trigger RF only in passive, whereas in active RF is missing. Moreover, not only unergatives but also unaccusatives behave like actives, lacking RF. The authors, based on the chomskyan distinction between strong and weak heads, where strong heads are 'potential targets for movement' (Chomsky 2001: 20; cf. Richards 2011), relate this distribution to the fact that active corresponds to a phasal vP, differently from unaccusative/ passive, treated as defective heads. Consequently, the complement VP of the head *v* is transferred to interpretive systems, when the next phase C-T is merged and *v* inherits the features from T. So v 'is endowed with a PIC at PF' (D'Alessandro e Scheer 2015: 612), as in (28); this prevents RF from applying between the inflected form of the auxiliary and the participle.

(28) 

In unaccusative and passive *v* is dealt with as a 'weak head', that is a defective functional element that does not head a phase. So, the entire complex T-v-VP is spelled out as a 'single chunk', without the phase boundary be-

tween *v* and VP. Therefore, the rule of RF can operate between the auxiliary, treated as the lexicalization of syntactic features of T, and the participle. In this framework, the triggering of RF is explained in terms of the underlying syntactic structure rather than as due to the lexical properties of the relevant lexical elements, as the data seem to prompt to conclude.

Chomsky (2001) identifies phases with lexical subarrays computed at the SM and C-I interfaces by the operation of Transfer. The procedure is constrained by the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) in (29). The idea is that in a structure $[_{ZP}$ Z…$[_{HP}$ **α** [H YP]]], where Z and H are heads, the complement YP of H is not accessible to operations at ZP (Richards 2011).

(29) *PIC*
The domain of H is not accessible to operations at ZP; only H and its *edge* are accessible to such operations Chomsky (2001: 14)

Chomsky (2001, 2007, 2013, forthcoming) assumes two phases, CP and vP. The CP phase implies inheritance of features from the phase head C to the lower head T. Indeed, the fact that the IA of the unaccusatives agrees with the finite verb in T and is assigned the Nominative seems to suggest that *v* is unable to license its internal argument and assign it the case (Gallego 2010, D'Alessandro and Scheer 2015). Nevertheless, as noticed by Richards (2011), the notion of weak or defective phase was introduced in order to account for the agreement of the verb with a postposed subject in unaccusative contexts, *T-v-subject*.

Actually, this solution seems unmotivated in many cases (see the discussion in Richards 2011), and our data clearly calls it into question insofar as we expect that the unaccusatives behave like the passives and not like the actives, making RF possible. The data of the dialect of Arielli, on the contrary, exclude RF in unaccusatives. In addition, in the systems in (1), unaccusatives are different from passives in selecting the same pattern as actives with *have* in the 3rd person. D'Alessandro and Scheer (2015: 613) explain this discrepancy by proposing a model in which the PIC effect can also be visible only in phonology, at the PF interface, i.e. to the SM interpretation:

> This suggests that the feature that is connected to a PIC effect is voice, not transitivity. This PIC effect is visible only at PF, though not at syntax. In other words, we are facing a syntax-phonology mismatch: syntactically, unaccusatives appear to represent one single Spell-Out domain, but phonologically, they behave as if there were two. […] there is a PIC effect in phonology, but not in syntax. Modular PIC takes this statement literally: Spell-Out does occur at vP, and a PIC is associated with this access point ***at PF.*** In syntax, however, the Spell-Out is vacuous; no PIC is associated with v, and hence everything below C represents one single computational domain.

Ledgeway (2018), in keeping with D'Alessandro and Scheer (2015), aims at applying their analysis to a set of data from Manzini and Savoia (2005),

including the copular contexts but however generally no passive structure. The distribution showed by these data highlights a clear asymmetry between active and stative-copular and only partially reintroduces the coincidence between active and unaccusative forms. In some of the dialects considered, i.e. the ones of Pàstena and Ruvo di Puglia, unaccusatives diverge from actives and admit RF just like stative contexts. Ledgeway observes that RF is sensitive to locality requirements defined in terms of phasal domains. Specifically, in the contexts triggering RF, vP is not a phase, as in stative/ passive and, variably, in unaccusatives and reflexives. His hypothesis is that in systems where RF is applied also in actives, for example in the dialect of Poggio Imperiale (Northern Apulia), the auxiliary remains low so determining the context for RF, 'finite V-movement is invariably very low such that all forms of BE, whether auxiliary or copula, remain within *v*-VP and hence within the same phase as their participial or adjectival complement' (Ledgeway 2018: 290).

This proposal raises a more general question regarding the order between object clitic (OCl) and auxiliary. Ledgeway (2018: 291-292) ties the exclusion of RF in the actives forms to the phasal status of vP, whereas the occurrence of RF in copular contexts complies with the defective status of *v*. The application of RF to the object clitics in (11a,a") may be explained by assuming that both the auxiliary and the object clitic are adjacent inside the same high phasal domain CP. A problem is raised by the fact that also unaccusatives do not trigger RF, so showing the distribution studied for Arielli in D'Alessandro and Scheer (2015), according to which a phonological PIC effect depends on the voice features of *v*.

What we observe on this point is that a conflict could stand out between the recourse to a voice feature as a deterrent for RF and the strengthening of the initial consonant in enclitics. More precisely, if the voice feature of *v* blocks RF, we could expect that it is also working in the case of non-actives, unaccusatives and reflexives, where, instead, RF is applied, as in (10a") and (30a) for unaccusatives.

(30) a. n tsɔ ttʃə vənʊtə
not be.1st SG LOC come
'I have not come there'

San Benedetto del Tronto

b. ʃi ttʃə jɪtə
be.2nd SG LOC gone
'you have gone there'

Secinaro

The data of Secinaro in (11) and (30b) depict a different distribution, whereby again we find a uniform behaviour of the *be* forms independently of

the eventive structure of the sentence. This could help us deal with the contrast between enclisis and proclis according to the auxiliary without a unmotivated structural representation of the difference between *be* and *have*. In fact, the assumption that the *be* forms, auxiliary or copula, remain low within *v-VP* domain (Ledgeway 2018: 290) in the systems where *be* triggers RF in actives, seems collide with the distribution of clitics. In other words, the enclitic position could reasonably be connected with a high position of the auxiliary, or, at least, this makes the hypothesized low position unjustified by the distributional evidence.

The complex of the data so far examined concerning the connection between voice and RF involves three structural properties:

i. strong vs defective head nature of *v*: actives (transitives) vs unaccusatives/ passives
ii. PIC at PF in unaccusative contexts (D'Alessandro and Scheer 2015)
iii. low position of *be* triggering RF (Ledgeway 2018)

In particular, (ii) is complementary to (iii), insofar as we have to expect either a block of RF in (ii), or the application of PF in active contexts, both cases unpredictable on the basis of phase treatment. So, the recourse to other structural tools highlights the difficulty to connect the different patterns with an underlying uniform structural mechanism.

5.1 Phases, RF and agreement of the participle

In the table in (31) we synthesize the distribution of RF in the systems we examine: + indicates the presence of RF in the contexts with *be*. (-) indicates the absence of RF in contexts with *have*. The absence of any value indicates that the relevant data are not available. It should be noted that in copular and passive contexts *be* is extended to all persons, so that in particular the 3rd SG selects *be* also in dialects where in the other verbal forms the 3rd SG of *have* occurs.

(31)	Transitive	Unergative	Unaccusative	Reflexive	Copula	Passive
	1 2 3	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3**	**1 2 3**
(i)						
Sonnino	+ + (-)	+ + (-)	+ + (-)	+ + (-)	+ + +	
Torricella P.	- - (-)	- - (-)	- - +	- - +	- - +	- - +
Monte Giberto	+ - (-)	+ - (-)	+ - +	+ - +	+ - +	+ - +
Guardiaregia	(-) + (-)	(-) + (-)	(-) + +	(-) + +	(-) + +	(-) + +
Monteroduni	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
S. Giorgio del S.	(- -) +	(- -) +	(- -) +	(- -) +	(- -) +	(- -) +
Secinaro	+ + (-)	+ + (-)	+ + (-)	+ + (-)	+ + +	

(ii)

Corato	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gravina	+/-	(-)	+	+/-	(-)	+	+/-	(-)	+	+/-	-	+

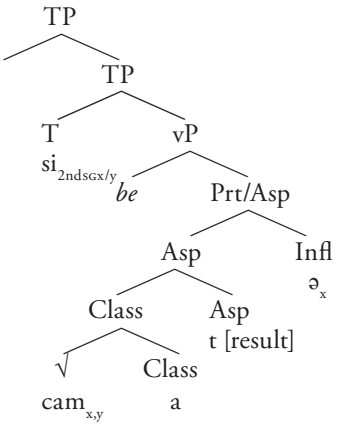
(iii)

Morano/Saracena	-	+		-	+		-	+		-	+		+	+		+	+

A special consideration is to be given to the 3rd singular person in the dialects in (ii) and (iii). The forms in (ii) alternate with a form ending with *–v* before vocalic initial; what is more, in Corato variety this pre-vocalic alternant presents the base *a-* of *have* and, at the same time, the copular and passive 3rd singular person does not trigger RF. In the group (iii) the 3rd singular person form is systematically ɛ in all contexts. However, in transitive contexts it changes to *a* when incorporates the 3rd person OCl, as described in the section 1.2. The question is that the forms of *have* in turn present this alternation between the base ɛ- and *a-* in connection with the lexicalization of the 3rd person OCl, as illustrated in (8a)-(9a). Contrary to the 3rd singular form *ɛ/a*, that is substantially ambiguous between *be* and *have*, the other forms of the auxiliary are recognizable as forms of *have* insofar as they are excluded in passive and copular contexts.

The analysis of participle proposed in section 3 suggests a view of passive based on the agreement properties of the participle. In other words, in Romance varieties, including the systems examined, passive can be construed as a vP including a participle involving an agentive interpretation and selecting an internal argument (IA), where phi-features and tense properties are lexicalized by *be*. We treat the finite verb (the auxiliary) as an exponent of T and the participle as an exponent of *v*. No phasal difference emerges between transitives and unaccusatives/ passives, with the result that a structure like (32) *si ccamatə* 'you have/ are called…' from Guardiaregia in (4a,b) corresponds both to passive and active (Savoia *et al*. 2018, forthcoming).

(32)



The external theta-role of *call* can be assigned the interpretation as the EPP of T, agreeing with the auxiliary in the transitive reading, or by means of the *by* complement, in the passive reading. In the latter case, EPP is satisfied by the internal argument of the verb. So, no PIC prevents RF from being realized, as indicated in (33), where the initial consonant of the participle provides the phonological content to the coda position following *sɔ* 'I am'.

(33) [… [s ɔ R ___*Coda* T] [[[[[cama-√]t- Asp] ə- Infl] IA VP] v]

(34) a. l-ə so camiət-ə
OCl-PL be.1stSG called.PL-INFL
'I have called them'

a'. l-ə so camæt-ə
OCl-PL be.1stSG called.SG-INFL
'I have called them'

a". semə camiət-ə frat-tə
be.1stPL called.PL-INFL brother-your
'we have called your brother'

b. semə maɲɲiət-ə
be.1stPL called.PL-INFL
'I have eaten'

c. lə semə camiət-ə
OCl-PL be.1stPL called.PL-INFL
'we have called them'

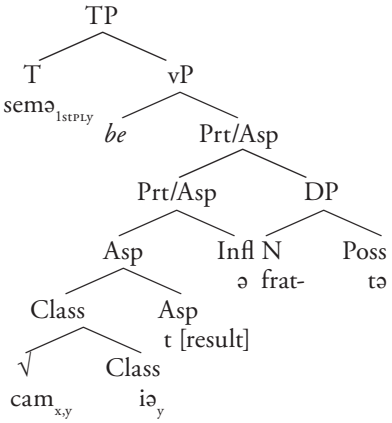
Torricella Peligna

D'Alessandro and Roberts (2010) observe that the agreement of the participle with the EA contravenes the restriction whereby past participles exclude the agreement with the external argument (Belletti 2005). In fact, the agreement of the past participle has influenced and oriented the historical reconstruction of the formation of auxiliary systems in Romance, considering that Latin had only the auxiliary *be*, in passive forms and in deponents. La Fauci (1991) assigned the forms *have+past participle* a leading role in the transition from the alignment nominative-accusative to the alignment active-non-active in many Romance varieties, even if the modern languages have partially or completely obscured this reorganization (cf. Loporcaro 2010). The conceptual key is that participle makes it possible to encode the reference to the internal argument both when it is object and when it comes to be the subject (unaccusatives and passives). This alignment of the argumental structure would be based on the

nature of the past participle, that agrees with the middle subject or the object according to a pattern already working in Latin. In other words, the past participle would be characterized by an ergative type of agreement, generally attested in Romance varieties, eventually only in passive, as in Spanish. However, it should be recalled that in Latin the past participle can agree also with active subjects (EA), for example in deponent verbs.

What we see is that the agreement with the IA, that is the low positions in the referential hierarchy (cf. footnote 7), is tendentially favoured or, as in many Romance varieties, systematically selected. Nevertheless, the agreement with the other argument is not excluded by structural or principled reasons. The agreement with the EA in dialets of the kind of Secinaro and Torricella Peligna in (34) seems to connect with the fact that T agrees with the EA or IA independently of the type of eventive structure, as suggested in (35) for *i ʃi ccɛmɛt-ə* 'you have called him'. More precisely, as we saw in section 3, *be* in *v* excludes agreement with the IA and *have* does not discriminate between the internal or external theta role. In conclusion, in these dialects the morpho-syntactic alignment does not take account of the contrast active/non-active, but reflects the definiteness opposition between 1st / 2nd persons and 3rd person elements/ DPs. The agreement of the participle is free to cover the internal or external theta roles in that the system does not impose any specific requirements on the functional nature of the participle. In (35) the metaphonic outcome of the thematic vowels registers the agreement with the external argument *y*, whereas *frat-tə* lexicalizes the IA. No phasal barrier intervenes that prevents T from searching the agreement features of the participle, giving so rise to this type of structure in which the participle can encode the reference both to the internal-theta position and the external one.

(35)



The agreement between subject and participle in transitives implies that also in transitives the entire complex T-v-VP is spelled out as a 'single chunk',

so casting aside or calling into question the distinction between strong and weak phases (see the discussion around (28)). This is substantially the option followed by D'Alessandro and Roberts (2010: 62-63) in treating the agreement between subject and participle in transitives for Arielli. Their idea is that number and person features are copied from T to the auxiliary and from the auxiliary to participle by a mechanism which is 'not an Agree relation' but a type of features spreading. This implies that 'It is necessary to assume that feature-valuation and feature-inheritance take place before transfer, where the feature in question is specified for a given value'. It remains true that no phasal barrier is active and able to inhibit the relation between T and AspP(VP), suggesting that the transfer of AspP/VP is delayed to the next strong phase, i.e. CP, so extending the search space of the non phase head T and rendering VP accessible to T. The result is that however the strong/ weak distinction fails and the distribution of RF is no longer connectable with the contrast between weak and strong phase (Richards 2011).

The dialects as that of Arielli and, possibly, the one of San Benedetto del Tronto in (13) that admit RF only in passive or copular contexts, nevertheless need be accounted for. We could think that a local phono-syntactic constraint is involved, in the sense, for example, of Rizzi and Savoia (1993), Roberts (2005). These works converge on assuming that the relevant configuration is head-government. So, Roberts (2005: 77) concludes that in Welsh the Initial Consonant Mutation is triggered by a feature L(enition) associated to the head v, that weakens the initial consonant of the object, in a sequence like ... $[_{vP}\ [_{v}\ L][_{VP}\ DP\ t_{V}.]]$. Manzini and Savoia (2016: 239) discussing propagation of /u/ in Southern Italian dialects propose that propagation in phono-syntactic contexts is triggered by a configuration where 'the trigger bears an argument-of relation to the target'. All in all, in the dialects above examined, RF is generally lexically governed, connecting to the lexical property of a subset of monosyllabic verbal forms. Some dialects introduce a restriction, excluding RF from actives and, mostly, unaccusatives as well. This could suggest that the sandhi between T and v/AspP may be sensitive to the specifications associated to the edge of v; more precisely, the EA position involved in the agreement of the auxiliary verb is able to block RF, considering that also *be* implies the agreement with the external argument in actives and unaccusatives. Passive and copular contexts, on the contrary, do not obey the requirement, but introduce structure only endowed with the internal role.

6. Conclusions

This article aimed at reviewing some of the main phenomena concerning the auxiliary perfective paradigms involving the alternation between *be* and *have* both in the Central and Southern Italian dialects and in the varieties of East Piedmont. The topics we have explored are the following:

(i) Auxiliary selection and the structural properties corresponding to *have* and *be*;
(ii) Distribution of clitics with *have* and *be*;
(iii) Morpho-syntactic nature of non-active/ passive (vs active);
(iv) The participle and its agreement;
(v) Person split;
Notion of phase and morpho-phonological processes of externalization.

Our purpose has been to investigate the micro-variation showed by these dialects and the complex interactions of different morpho-syntactic properties, seeking to report them to a set of structural or interpretive principles in the spirit of the recent assumptions of the biolinguistic framework.

The starting point of our analysis has been the characterization of the participle as a sort of aspectual adjective that passive exploits in order to exclude the EA as a possible subject. The participle is also examined in connection with the agreement mechanisms implemented by those dialects where participles are able to agree with the subject of transitives. In doing this we have relied on the hypothesis that *be* and *have* have lexical entries endowed with a lexical content encoding different syntactic organizations associated to the externalization of different person referents – person split. The position of OCls, in enclisis or proclisis, contribute to providing evidence in favour of the different syntactic and interpretive properties of the two auxiliaries. A crucial topic has to do with the hypothesis that externalization of the *auxiliary-participle* complex - specifically the application of RF between auxiliary and participle - could reflect differences in the phasal properties splitting actives from passive and copular contexts. In order to deepen this point, we have investigated the behaviour of RF in some of the varieties involving the person split, concluding that the more reasonable hypothesis is that RF is based on the lexical properties of the triggering forms.

References

Baldi, Benedetta, and Ludovico Franco. 2018. "Gender, Number and Inflectional Class in some North-Italian Dialects. The Plural Inflection -i and the Interpretation of N Morphology." In *Structuring Variation in Romance Linguistics and Beyond*, ed. by Mirko Grimaldi, Rosangela Lai, Ludovico Franco, Benedetta Baldi, 31-54, Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Baldi, Benedetta, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2018. "Morphosyntactic Reorganization Phenomena in Arbëresh Dialects: The Neuter." *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali* 4: 109-130.

Belletti, Adriana. 2005. "(Past-)participle Agreement." In *Blackwell Companion to Syntax*. Vol. III, ed. by Martin Everaert, and Henk van Riemsdijk, 493-521. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bentley, Delia, and Thórhallur Eythorsson. 2001. "Alternation According to Person in Italo-Romance." In *Historical Linguistics 1999. Selected Papers from the 14th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, ed. by Laurel J. Brinton, 63-74. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Bentley, Delia, and Thórhallur, Eythorsson. 2003. "Auxiliary Selection and the Semantics of Unaccusativity." *Lingua* 114: 447-471.

Benveniste, Émile. 1966. *Problèmes de linguistique générale*. Paris: Gallimard.

Cennamo, Michela. 2001. "L'inaccusatività in alcune varietà campane." In *Dati empirici e teorie linguistiche. Atti del XXXIII congresso internazionale di studi della SLI*, ed. by Federico Albano Leoni, Eleonora Stenta Krosbakken, Rosanna Sornicola, and Carolins Stromboli, 427-453. Roma: Bulzoni.

Cennamo, Michela. 2010. "Perfective Auxiliaries in the Pluperfect in some Southern Italian Dialects." In *Syntactic Variation. The Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Roberta D'Alessandro, Adam Ledgeway, and Ian Roberts, 210-224. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. "Derivation by Phase." In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language,* ed. by Michael Kenstowicz, 1-54. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2007. "Approaching UG from Below." In *Interfaces + Recursion = Language? Chomsky's Minimalism and the View from Semantics,* ed. by Uli Sauerland, and Hans-Martin Gärtner, 1-29. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Chomsky, Noam. 2013. "Problems of projection." *Lingua* 130: 33-49.

Chomsky, Noam. Forthcoming. "Puzzles About Phases." In *Linguistic Variation: Structure and Interpretation. Contributions In Honor of M. Rita Manzini*, ed. by Ludovico Franco, and Paolo Lorusso. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Chomsky, Noam, Angel J. Gallego, and Dennis Ott. 2018. "Generative Grammar and the Faculty of Language: Insights, Questions, and Challenges." Special issue of *Catalan Journal of Linguistics.*

Cocchi, Gloria. 1995. *La selezione dell'ausiliare*. Padova: Unipress.

D'Alessandro, Roberta, and Ian Roberts. 2007. "Past Participle Agreement in Abruzzese: Split Auxiliary Selection and The Null-Subject Parameter." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28: 41-72.

D'Alessandro, Roberta, and Tobias Scheer. 2015. "Modular PIC." *Linguistic Inquiry* 46: 593-624.

DeLancey, Scott. 1981. "An Interpretation of Split Ergativity and Related Patterns", *Language* 57: 626-657.

Dixon, Robert M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Franco, Ludovico, M. Rita Manzini, and Leonardo M. Savoia. Fortcoming. *Locative Ps as general relators: Location, direction, DOM in Romance.*

Giammarco, Ernesto. 1973. "Selezione del verbo ausiliare nei paradigma dei verbi composti." *Abruzzo* 11: 152-178.

Higginbotham, James. 1985. "On Semantics." *Linguistic Inquiry* 16: 547-621.

Kayne, Richard. 1993. "Toward a Modular Theory of Auxiliary Selection." *Studia Linguistica* 47 (1): 3-31.

Kiparsky, Paul. 2008. "Universals Constrain Change; Change Results in Typological Generalizations." In *Linguistic Universals and Language Change*, ed. by Jeff Good, 23-53. Oxford, MS: Oxford UP.

Lausberg, Heinrich. 1939. *Die Mundarten Südlukaniens*. Niemeyer: Halle.
La Fauci, Nunzio. 1991. "La continuità nella diversità formale. Aspetti di morfosintassi diacronica romanza." In *Innovazione e conservazione nelle lingue*, ed. by Vincenzo Orioles, 135-158. Pisa: Giardini.
Ledgeway, Adam. 2009. *Grammatica diacronica del napoletano.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Ledgeway, Adam. 2018. "Phonological Correlates of Syntactic Structure. The Distribution of raddoppiamento fonosintattico in Calabrian." *In Structuring Variation in Romance Linguistics and Beyond*, ed. by Milko Grimaldi, Rosangela Lai, Ludovico Franco, Benedetta Baldi, 281-294. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
Loporcaro, Michele. 1988. "History and Geography of *Raddoppiamento fonosintattico*: Remarks on the Evolution of a Phonological Rule." In *Certamen Phonologicum: Papers from the 1987 Cortona Phonology Meeting*, ed. by Pier Marco Bertinetto, and Michele Loporcaro, 341-387. Turin: Rosenberg and Sellier.
Loporcaro, Michele. 1997. "Lengthening and *raddoppiamento fonosintattico*." In *The Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Martin Maiden, and Mair Parry, 41-51. London: Routledge.
Loporcaro, Michele. 1998. *Sintassi comparta dell'accordo participiale romanzo*. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
Loporcaro, Michele. 2001. "La selezione degli ausiliari nei dialetti italiani: Dati e teorie." In *Dati empirici e teorie linguistiche. Atti del XXXIII Congresso Internazionale di Studi della SLI*, ed. by Federico Albano Leoni, Eleonora Stenta Krosbakken, Rosanna Sornicola, and Carolins Stromboli, 455-476. Roma: Bulzoni.
Loporcaro, Michele. 2007. "On Triple Auxiliation in Romance." *Linguistics* 45: 173-222.
Loporcaro, Michele. 2010. "The Logic of Romance Part-Participle Agreement." In *Syntactic Variation: The Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Roberta D'Alessandro, Adam Ledgeway, and Ian Roberts, 225-243. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
Manzini, M. Rita, Anna Roussou, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2016. "Middle-Passive Voice in Albanian and Greek." *Journal of Linguistics* 52: 111-150.
Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2005. *I dialetti italiani. Morfosintassi generativa*. Alessandria: Dell'Orso, 3 vols.
Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2011. *Grammatical Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 2015. "Oblique Case and Indo-European Ergativity Splits." *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* 60 (2-3): 297-315.
Manzini, M. Rita, and Leonardo, M. Savoia. 2017. "Gender, Number and Inflectional Class in Romance: Feminine/Plural -a." In *Language Use and Linguistic Structure*, ed. by Joseph Emonds, and Markéta Janebova, 263-282. Olomouc: Palacky University Olomouc.
Manzini, M. Rita, Leonardo M. Savoia, and Ludovico Franco. 2015. "Ergative Case, Aspect and Person Splits: Two Case Studies." *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 62: 1-55,
Marantz, Alec. 1997. "No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of your own Lexicon." *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 4: 201-225.

Mavrogiorgos, Marios. 2006. "The Syntax-Morphology Interface is at the Edge: Evidence from Greek Clitics." *GLOW Newsletter* 56.
Richards, Marc D. 2011. "Deriving the Edge: Whats in a Phase?." *Syntax* 14: 74-95.
Rizzi, Luigi, and Leonardo M. Savoia. 1993. "Conditions on /u/ Propagation in Southern Italian Dialects: A Locality Parameter for Phono-Syntactic Processes." In *Syntactic Theory and the Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Adriana Belletti, 252-318. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
Roberts, Ian. 2005. *Principles and Parameters in VSO languages*. Oxford, MS: Oxford UP.
Roberts, Ian. 2010. *Agreement and Head Movement*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
Rohlfs Gerhard. 1966 [1949]. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Fonetica*. Torino: Einaudi.
Rohlfs Gerhard. 1968 [1949]. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Morfologia*. Torino: Einaudi.
Rohlfs, Gerhard 1969 [1954]. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Sintassi e formazione delle parole.* Torino: Einaudi.
Savoia, Leonardo M., and M. Rita Manzini. 2010. "Lexicalization of 3rd Person Object Clitics: Clitic Enclisis and Clitic Drop." In *Syntactic Variation. The Dialects of Italy*, ed. by Roberta D'Alessandro, Adam Ledgeway, and Ian Roberts, 102-118. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
Savoia, Leonardo M., M. Rita Manzini, Benedetta Baldi, and Ludovico Franco. 2017. "A Morpho-Syntactic Analysis of Evaluatives in Italian." *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata* XLVI: 413-440.
Savoia, Leonardo M., Benedetta Baldi, and M. Rita Manzini. 2018. "Sigmatic Plurals in Romance Varieties Spoken in Italy and Their Interaction with -i Plurals." *LINGBAW* 4: 141-160.
Savoia, Leonardo M., Benedetta Baldi, and M. Rita Manzini. Forthcoming. "Asymmetries in Plural Agreement in DPs." In *Proceedings OLINCO* 2018. Olomouc: Palacky University Olomouc.
Tortora, Christina 2002. "Romance Enclisis, Prepositions, and Aspect." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20: 725-757.