

Auxiliary selection and externalization in Central-Southern Italian dialects

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1. Introduction. This contribution addresses differential person marking by the auxiliary (DPM/A) and the nature of passive in Central and Southern Italian dialects, where *be/have* alternate according to person and, partially, to the active, non-active or passive voice (Rohlf's 1969 [1954], Giammarco 1973, Kayne 1993, Cocchi 1995, Manzini/Savoia 2005, 2011, D'Alessandro/Roberts 2007, Ledgeway 2009, 2018, D'Alessandro/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 forms (N-A). 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. In passive, on a par with copular contexts, *be* occurs. Crucial points to be investigated include: (i) The mechanism of auxiliary selection and the person split; (ii) the morpho-syntactic nature of non-active/ passive vs active; (iii) the relevance of the notion of phase and morpho-phonological processes of externalization. D'Alessandro and Scheer (2015) use the sandhi process of *Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico* (RF) between *be* and the participle as a test for the structural status of the auxiliary since in the Abruzzo dialect they consider RF applies in passives but not in actives. As to DPM, it may be connected with the different treatment of 1st/2nd person, deictically interpreted, and 3rd person, interpreted in relation to the event (Manzini/ Savoia 2005), and the different properties of *have* and *be* as exponents of T/v.

2. Data. A look to a significant sample of varieties highlights a strong micro-variation involving syntactic, morpho-phonological and interpretive properties. In the Pontecorvo (Lazio) dialect, the system E E H E E H encompasses all active and non-active verbal classes (1a-a'), whereas *be* occurs in all persons in passive (1b). RF occurs with all (singular) E forms. In Monte Giberto (Marche), the same pattern E E H E E H is restricted to transitives and unergatives (2a), whereas *be* occurs in all (singular) persons in the unaccusative (2a') and non-active (2b). RF occurs with E in the 1/3P to the exclusion of 2P.

(1)	a.	ʎə	so/si	ccamatj-ə	E	+RF	
		ʎ	a	camatj-ə	H	-RF	
		'I have/you have, (s)he has called him'					
	a'.	so/si		vvənutj-ə/vvənut-a	E	+RF	
		a		vənutj-ə/vənut-a	H	-RF	
		'I have/you have, (s)he has come'					
	b.	so/si/ε		ccamatj-ə da tuttjə	E	+RF	
		'I am/you are/(s)he is called by everyone'					
		Pontecorvo					
(2)	a.	sə		vvɪft-o	(frat-u-t-u)	E	+RF
		ʃi		viʃt-o		E	-RF
		a		viʃt-o		H	-RF
		'I have, you have, (s)he has seen your brother'					
	a'.	sə		vvinut-u/-a		E	+RF
		ʃi		vinut-u/a		E	-RF
		ε		vvinut-u/a		E	+RF
		'I have, you have, (s)he has come'					
	b.	io	sə	ccamat-u/-a	ðe tutti	E	+RF
		tu	ʃi	camat-u/-a	ðe tutti	E	-RF
		iss-u	ε	ccamat-u	ðe tutti	E	+RF
		'I am, you are, (s)he is called by everyone'					
		Monte Giberto					

In Guardiaregia (Molise) dialect in (3), the 2nd sg *si* of *be* occurs in all classes, where it triggers RF.

(3)	a.	ru	siŋgə/εjə	camat-ə	E/H	(siŋgə/εjə not possible RF triggers)	
		ru	si	ccamat-ə	E	+RF	

	r	a	camat-ə	H	-RF	
	‘I have, you have, (s)he has called him’					
a’.	siŋgə/ɛjə		mənut-ə	E/H		
	si/jɛ		mmənut-ə	E	+RF	
	‘I have, you have/(s)he has come’					
b.	siŋgə		camat-ə	da tuttə	E	
	si/jɛ		ccamat-ə	da tuttə	E	+RF
	‘I am, you are/(s)he is called by everyone’					

Guardiaregia

A specular distribution of auxiliaries (H H E H H H) characterizes the dialect of San Giorgio del Sannio in (4a). The 3P form E triggers RF in transitives, unaccusative, copular sentences (4a-b).

(4)	a.	addʒa	camat-o/-a/-i/-e	H	-RF	
		m	ɛ	camat-o	H	-RF
		m	ɛ	ccamat-o	E	+RF
	‘I have, you have, (s)has called him/her/them/ me’					
	a’	addʒa	vinut-o	H	-RF	
		ɛ	vinut-o	H	-RF	
		ɛ	vvinut-o	E	+RF	
	‘I have, you have, (s)he has come’					
	b.	so/si/ɛ	ttʃuott-o	E	+RF	
	‘I am/you are/he is fat’					
		so / si / ɛ	ccamat-o	a tuttə	kwantə	
	‘I am/ you are/ he is called by everyone’					

San Giorgio del Sannio

3. Description. The first generalization is that in our data RF is triggered regardless of the contrast active/non-active or passive by a subset of the forms of *be*, that, moreover, are not homogeneously distributed - e.g. the 2nd person determines RF in (1) and (3) but not in (2). So, this ability is a lexical property, which can be represented as an empty coda position at the right of the nucleus. In patterns like (1), unaccusatives behave as actives in auxiliary selection and in RF, while passives and copular constructs have *be* and RF also in 3P. In general, the RF property of the auxiliary remains unchanged in all contexts, as we expect if it is a lexical property of the verbal form. If we construe the finite verb as an exponent of T and the participle as an exponent of *v*, no phasal difference emerges between transitives and unaccusatives/ passives. Based on this hypothesis (5) represents both passive and active (Savoia et al. 2018, forthcoming). Considering the phasal domains, we conclude that PIC admits that *v* is accessible to operations at the CP phase. The verb in T can trigger RF on the element that lexicalizes the agreement properties of *v*, i.e. the participle, independently of the reading.

(5) [... [so RF_{Coda} Infl/T] [[[[[[cama-*v*] tj-_{Asp}] ə/a-_{Infl}] IA_{VP}] v]

D’Alessandro and Scheer (2015) observe that in the Abruzzo dialect of Arielli, with the pattern EEHEEH in all verbal classes, 1st and 2nd *be* forms trigger RF only in passive, whereas in active RF is missing; also unaccusatives behave like actives, lacking RF. The authors conclude that differently from active, in passive T is a ‘weak head’ that excludes the phase boundary with *v*, so allowing the rule of RF to operate between the auxiliary, in T, and the participle. The triggering of RF would depend on the underlying structure rather than on lexical restrictions, as our data suggest. In our proposal, passive is reduced to the aspectual (stative/ resultative) proprieties of the perfect participle (Manzini and Savoia 2005, 2015) which selects, as adjectives, an internal argument (IA), and is construed as part of a copular context. The dialects that exclude RF in the active as that of Arielli (see also Ledgeway 2018) show a limited pattern, possibly involving a local phono-syntactic constraint (see, for example Rizzi/ Savoia 1993). The sandhi between T and *v* may be sensitive to the eventive specifications associated to the edge of *v*, possibly hosting an EA.

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