

Double Past Participle Forms in the Sicilian Dialects



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List of frequently used abbreviations

- OBologn. – Old Bolognese (dialect)
- OLomb. – Old Lombard (dialect)
- OMant. – Old Mantovano (dialect)
- OMil. – Old Milanese (dialect)
- OPad. – Old Padovano (dialect)
- P1 – Participant 1
- P2 – Participant 2
- PP – past participle
- PPTF – periphrastic perfect tense forms
- Pred. – predicative (function)
- Venetan – dialects spoken in the Veneto region (rather than only in Venice)

Abstract

This work sets out to explore the phenomenon of double past participle forms exhibited by certain verbs across the Sicilian dialects. It starts with the definition of the past participial class, its role in Latin and its formal categorization among other parts of speech in Chapter 1. It then provides a summary of the research done so far on the topic of the past participial doublets in Chapter 2. It then moves to the overview of the same phenomenon in various Romance varieties, including Portuguese, Spanish, standard Italian, Venetan and Old Tuscan in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 provides a brief summary of the main relevant characteristics of the Sicilian dialects. Chapter 5 is dedicated to the analysis of the phenomenon of the past participial doublets in selected modern literary sources. Chapter 6 provides discussion of the second part of my data collection, in which I asked some native speakers of various Sicilian dialects to translate 52 sentences containing past participle (used in different functions) in standard Italian into their linguistic varieties.

When giving examples in Sicilian (and other dialects) and Italian, I have made the decision to gloss only ambiguous ones. Furthermore, since there is considerable variation within

the Sicilian dialects too, I decided to write the names of the analysed verbs in standard Italian and provide examples in the respective dialects.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Past participle: definition and different functions

This work explores the phenomenon of the past participial doublets in the Sicilian dialects, i.e. a situation when a single verb demonstrates different past participle forms in different contexts. In this case one form is usually rhizotonic (with the stress falling on the stem) and the other is arrhizotonic (with the stress falling on the suffix). Later in this work I provide an analysis of the distributional patterns that can be extracted from the selected literary sources and from native speakers' judgements.

It is important to define past participle as a grammatical category first, showing how its properties make such a split possible in the first place. In *The Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar* it is defined as “the form of a verb which is used in passive and perfect constructions, and sometimes in front of nouns” (Aarts, Chalker and Weiner, eds. 2014: 297). However, it is not clear whether we can actually call it a verb, as it contains numerous adjectival characteristics. This is especially evident in the Italo-Romance varieties – in some cases past participle still agrees in number and gender with its governing subject (thus behaving almost identically to adjectives), while in others (as in the PPTF, i.e. periphrastic perfect tense forms) the form tends to stay invariable. Furthermore, there have also been important diachronic changes in the role carried out by the past participle. Original Latin past participle's ‘stative’ meaning which defined it as a verbal adjective no longer applies now, but the form itself persists and forms the basis of the regular Romance past participle.

The development of the Romance varieties has been marked by general trend of moving from the synthetic verb forms (where syntactic functions are expressed by inflection or by agglutination) towards the analytic ones (where syntactic and lexical meanings are carried out by different words within the same construction). This trend is parallel to the development of verbal characteristics of the Romance past participles, since they became part of the newly formed analytic tenses (such as *passato prossimo* in Italian).

In the majority of the Romance varieties the form of past participle used in the periphrastic perfect tense forms, passive and predicative functions is identical¹. When two past participle forms of the same verb exist, they are often simply equivalent variants used for the same functional purpose. In her study of some past participial doublets encountered in standard Italian Thornton (2011) found very little syntactic or semantic grounding behind the choice between *perso/perduto* and *sepolto/seppellito*, which means that these forms are examples of overabundance – “a non-canonical situation in which certain lexemes exhibit cell-mates, i.e. more than one inflected form to fill one and the same cell of their paradigm (realize the same set of morpho-syntactic features)” (Thornton 2011: 1).

When functional split does arise, the normal expectation is to find one form used in the verbal function and the other in the adjectival function, as it happens in Spanish. Very rarely this split occurs between the PPTF and passive/predicative usages of the past participle – situation observed in the case of certain Portuguese verbs (Thomas 2018). There are, therefore, three main patterns that have been identified so far, and the question of which group Sicilian belongs to remains open.

The difficulty of identifying patterns in the distribution of the Sicilian past participial doublets is further increased by the fact that it is impossible to refer to the Sicilian dialect as a homogeneous entity, as there is considerable dialectal variation across the island (hence the

¹ It is difficult to draw a rigid line between predicative and passive functions, but I mainly relied on the notion of agentivity and its more prominent presence in the passive structures. In the predicative ones, on the other hand, the participle’s function is very similar to the one of adjectives (in predicative, rather than attributive contexts), describing the state of an object.

usage of ‘Sicilian dialects’ in the title of this work). This variation is found in the functional distribution of past participial doublets as well.

1.2 Past participle: development from Latin to modern Romance

According to Laurent (1999: 7), Latin had three types of past participle (and a fourth, very rare one). All of them were rhizotonic, meaning that the main stress was on the root, with the following possible endings: -ITUM, -TUM, or in -(S)SUM:

Table 1. Latin PP forms (Laurent 1999: 8)

Latin verbs	PP
Verbs that had perfects in -UI and whose roots ended in a liquid or nasal consonant: pf. MONŪI	rhizotonic thematic past participles ending in -ITUM: p.p. MONITUM ‘warned’
Many 3 rd conjugation Latin verbs (but not exclusively 3 rd conjugation ones): pf. DOCUĪ, SECUĪ and COLUĪ	tautic athematic forms, formed by adding -TUM directly to the root, ‘skipping’ the insertion of a theme vowel: p.p. DOCTUM ‘taught’, SECTUM ‘cut’, CULTUM ‘tilled’
Verbs where the stem ended in a dental stop: pf. MOMORDĪ and FIDĪ	sigmatic forms, formed by a switch to -(S)SUM ending: MORSUM ‘bitten’ and FISSUM ‘split’
Verbs where infectum and past participle forms have become less alike because intervocalic [s] had rhotacized but did not change before, for example, [t]: pres. GERŌ, pres. HAURIŌ, pres. ŪRŌ	sigmatic-tautic type (combining elements of sigmatic and tautic athematic marking): GESTUM ‘done, waged’, HAUSTUM ‘drained, emptied’, USTUM ‘charred’

Latin also had some verbs that were lacking past participle forms: ESSE ‘be’, POSSE ‘be able’, SAPERE ‘taste, know’, VELLE ‘want’, CALERE ‘be hot’, FLŌRĒRE ‘bloom’, LŪCĒRE ‘shine’, MARCĒRE ‘be faded’, TIMĒRE ‘fear’, FERVERE ‘boil’, NINGUERE ‘snow’, PLUERE ‘rain’, STRĪDERE ‘creak’, TREMERE ‘quake’. This means that past participle forms of those verbs had to be invented in the Romance languages.

Within the verb system there emerged the need to form structures of the type ‘auxiliary + PP’ (Maiden 2010), which, in turn, created syntactic pressure for all verbs to develop a past participle form. Having initially originated as verbal adjectives, past participle forms started being used in perfect and new analytic passive constructions only in late Latin.

Generally speaking, the Latin verb could form its past participle in nine different ways. All Romance languages have reduced this number, with the greatest complexity remaining in Romanian and Italian, which both have seven ways of forming past participles. Rhizotonic, irregular types (short past participle forms) are unproductive almost everywhere across the paradigm, and this leaves three past-participial classes in Romanian, Italian, Catalan and French. Some varieties went even further and reduced regular past participle classes to just two: one form for reflexes of verbs in the 1st conjugation and the other for reflexes of verbs in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th conjugations (Laurent 1999: 13). These include three dialects of southern Italy: Lucanian, Calabrian and Sicilian; Engadin and Surselvan in Switzerland; Spanish and Portuguese.

In Classical Latin, reflexes of the *-tó- type of adjectival formant could be formed not only on verbal bases but also on nominal ones: BARBĀTUM ‘bearded’ from BARBA ‘beard’ and ONUSTUM ‘loaded, laden’ from ONUS ‘load, freight’; however, only those formed on verbal bases could then evolve into verbal adjectives (Monteil 1970: 347; Magnien, 1948: 405). These verbal adjectives later started serving as perfect or past participles, “originally denoting a completed action or state, i.e. corresponding to the perfective aspect of the Latin verbal system” (Harris 1978: 201). Syntactically speaking, past participles were considered passive for transitive verbs (with certain exceptions like PŌTUM ‘having drunk’ or JŪRĀTUM ‘having sworn’) and active for intransitive and deponent verbs (for example, MENTĪTUM ‘having lied’ from deponent MENTĪRĪ ‘tell lies’ (Laurent 1999)).

Most commonly, past participles in Latin were used in predicative function in order to add new information about the subject. It was usually the case that the action denoted by the Latin past participle had to happen prior to the action of the main verb, as in, for example, ablative-absolute constructions CETHĒGUS, RECITĀTĪS LITTERĪS, REPENTE CONTICUIT ‘when the letter had been read out, Cethegus suddenly fell silent’. Latin past participles could also denote cause, concession or condition, as in NŌN MIHI NISI ADMONITŌ VĒNISSET IN MENTEM ‘it would not

have entered my head unless I had been reminded’. The past participle form in the latter example reflects the notion of being ‘in the state of having been warned’.

Another very important use of Latin past participles was in the creation of passive verb forms in the perfectum: *MISSUM EST* ‘it was/has been sent’, *MISSUM ERAT* ‘it had been sent’, *MISSUM ERIT* ‘it will have been sent’. Unlike in modern Romance varieties, however, in Latin the past participle was not used in forming active compound perfect verbs. It thus lacked an important ‘verbal’ function that it has now. Vincent (1978: 54) also takes a note of the fact that Latin past participles were formed from the verb root by the process of derivation rather than that of inflection: “By this we mean that it was a related word built on the same root as the forms of the verb, but not a necessary part of the verbal paradigm required by the operation of general morphosyntactic rules”. Therefore, the original stative meaning (mainly aligned with an adjectival function) of the Latin past participle is now replaced by two separate functions – verbal and adjectival.

Modern Romance past participles are based on the Latin past participle forms, which contained third stem (alongside future participles and supines). From this perspective, the past participle should be seen as a verbal adjective originally in *-t-* (probably also derived from the noun) (Leumann 1977: 354f.).

Table 2. Latin third stem forms (Maiden 2013: 494)

Imperf. stem	<i>write</i>	<i>shear</i>	<i>buy</i>	<i>throw</i>	<i>put</i>	<i>make</i>	<i>bear</i>
Infinitive	SCRIBERE	TONDERE	EMERE	IACERE	PONERE	FACERE	FERRE
Third stem							
Past participle	SCRIPTUS	TONSUS	EMPTUS	IACTUS	POSITUS	FACTUS	LATUS
Supine	SCRIPTUM	TONSUM	EMPTUM	IACTUM	POSITUM	FACTUM	LACTUM
Future participle	SCRIPTURUS	TONSURUS	EMPTURUS	IACTURUS	POSITURUS	FACTURUS	LATURUS

More precisely, the following changes occurred during the process of the transformation of the Latin past participles into what is found in modern Romance varieties. Latin *-ĀTUS*, *-ĪTUS*,

-ŪTUS become Italian *-ato, -ito, -uto*, with the Latin -ĒTUS getting lost. Latin -SUS and -NSUS become Italian *-so*: CŪRSUS > *corso*, PREHENSUS > *preso*. Latin -TUS and -ĪTUS become Italian *-to*: RŪPTUS > *rotto*, POŠĪTUS becomes Italian *posto*.

During the transition to the modern Romance varieties, there has been a shift in preference towards arrhizotonic past participle forms, which is consistent with the findings of the current work. This is similar to the retreat of the rhizotonic infinitives in most Romance varieties, with their marginal survival in central-western Iberia. Therefore, the stem-stressed past participles, such as VENTU ‘come’, TEXTU ‘woven’, SALTU ‘jumped’, PĀSTU ‘fed, kept’, MŌTU ‘moved’, CRĒTU ‘grown’ or ‘sifted’, CĀSU ‘fallen’, CAPTU ‘taken’ have been in retreat across the Romance varieties (Laurent 1999: 88). The rhizotonic past participle forms left in Late Latin were limited to the reflexes of ĀRSU ‘burned’, CLAUSU ‘shut’, DICTU ‘said’, FACTU ‘done/made’, LĒCTU ‘read’, MORSU ‘bitten’, PRĒNSU ‘taken’, PŪNCTU ‘stung’, RĪSU ‘laughed’, TĒNSU ‘stretched’, TŌNSU ‘shorn’, TORTU ‘twisted’ and VĪSU ‘seen’ (Väänänen 1981: 144). Many original rhizotonic forms have been reanalyzed as adjectives.

1.3 Morphomic approach to the past participial doublets

As mentioned above, some Romance varieties are marked with the presence of multiple (mainly two, with the exception of certain dialects of Veneto which exhibit three) past participle forms of a single verb, whose distribution is sometimes conditioned morphosyntactically and sometimes can be described as a free variation. The ‘weak’ arrhizotonic form is the regular past participial type, while the ‘strong’ rhizotonic form is the irregular one. What makes the ‘weak’ form regular is the fact that it uses the same stem as the majority of other forms in the verbal paradigm (/cred-/ in *credùto*, PP of *credere* ‘to believe’, which is the same in *credete* (presente indicativo 2nd person plural), *credevo* (imperfetto indicativo 1st person singular), *credesse* (imperfetto congiuntivo 3rd person singular), etc.). On the contrary, ‘strong’ rhizotonic forms are

characterized by the fact that they have a ‘special’ stem (for example, in the case of standard Italian, /rott-/ in *rotto*, PP of *rompere* ‘to break’), different from the rest of the paradigm.

This thesis will attempt to incorporate a morphomic approach to the past participle and will discuss whether the distinction between its two functions – in active and in passive periphrasis – is manifested in the choice of different forms. Aronoff (1994) built up on this concept, using an example of the English past participle – a form which is consistently used in both perfect (*I have seen*) and passive constructions (*it was seen*) “regardless of any possible syntactic and semantic differences between the two” (Aronoff 1994: 24f). According to Maiden (2013), the Latin third stem (which the past participle contains) is another important illustration of Aronoff’s notion of a ‘morphome’, which is said to be “unpredictably variable in form” and “consistently associated with an abstract and heterogeneous pattern of distribution” (Maiden 2013). In Classical Latin one could find three kinds of stem in the verb: one was associated with perfective aspect, another with the imperfective one, and the third one was morphomic. The latter stem was consistently associated with an array of different paradigm cells and some derivationally related categories as well. Despite these apparently different functions carried out by a single form, the main reason for the diachronic persistence of morphomes seems to lie in the unity of the lexical meaning (even though it is difficult to explain the common semantic feature of the third stem forms synchronically, unlike the perfective and imperfective features that seem to ‘semantically’ unite the other two).

The real morphomic nature of the Latin third stem emerges if its development into the Romance varieties is considered. In Classical Latin the past participle had a stative meaning and signified “being in the state of resulting from the action or process expressed by the verb” (Maiden 2013). The emergence of the Romance varieties has also brought about the emergence of the two periphrastic constructions, where tense, mood, number and person are expressed by the auxiliary, leaving the past participle the only carrier of the lexical meaning of the verb: the passive periphrasis and perfect periphrastic tense forms (Vincent 1982).

The past participle form used in the passive (at least in the masculine singular word-form) and in the PPTF is the same across the Romance varieties, similarly to English. Thus, Romance past participle should also be seen as morphomic. Distinction between the two functions is usually marked through auxiliary choice (form of either ‘be’ or ‘have’ (Loporcaro 1988: 292)) and participial agreement. The latter means that in all Romance languages there is a tendency for the past participle to agree in gender and number with the grammatical subject in passives, while the past participle in the PPTF displays an array of different patterns of agreement. Ledgeway (2012) cites some subdialects of Romanian spoken in northern Transylvania, Crişana and Maramureş (Urişescu 2007), in which the masculine singular form of the participle (in *-t(u)*) is used in active perfective paradigms in conjunction with auxiliary ‘have’ and the feminine singular form (in *-tă*) in conjunction with auxiliary ‘be’. On the other hand, in passive clauses in those varieties the participle form demonstrates the usual Patient/Theme-controlled agreement.

Split between verbal and adjectival functions of past participle can be seen in the agreement pattern of Italian. It is well-known that in modern standard Italian, a transitive past participle has a tendency to agree with its DP object when this object appears to the left of the participle (in this case past participle occupies the ‘canonical’ adjectival position), but not when it appears to the right of the participle:

(Egerland 1996)

1. a. *Ho aperto la finestra*

b. **Ho aperta la finestra* (this example is, however occasionally encountered in modern Italian)

I have opened the window.

2. a. *Ho la finestra aperta*

b. **Ho la finestra aperto*

I have the window opened.

Lucchesi (1962/63) considered a large corpus of the 13th century texts and came to the conclusion that in the 13th century Tuscan participial agreement was highly regular – in fact, the transitive participles tended to agree with their objects regardless of whether the object appeared to the right or to the left of the participle. Moreover, in the beginning of the 13th century, the two options under discussion seemed to have no difference in meaning and were in fact synonymous. On the other hand, in modern Italian examples cited above the participle in (2a) is clearly more adjectival than the one in (1a). These examples highlight the very fluid nature past participles have and how they can change their connotations over time. As participial agreement is retreating, the participle becomes a more prominent part of the verbal paradigm (it is now impossible to form several tenses, such as *passato prossimo* and *trapassato prossimo*, without it), thus losing its adjectival characteristics along the way. This topic will be explored further in the next section of this chapter.

1.4 Formal classification of the past participial class

1.4.1 The concept of lexical classes

We assume that, in a given language, it is possible to divide words neatly into different word classes, such as nouns, adjectives, verbs, pronouns, etc. Such a division is very useful for language learners and for basic prescriptive grammars. However, the status of such categories in terms of general grammatical theory is debatable (Haspelmath 2001: 1). The term itself was introduced by the Structuralists in the first half of the 20th century. Assignment of a given word to one of the word classes thus depends on its morphological, syntactic and semantic characteristics. Chomsky also used the term ‘syntactic category’, which, however, is not strictly

speaking an equivalent of ‘word class’, since it puts a much greater emphasis on syntax. A precise definition of the lexical class is yet to be found, since it will have to both indicate what belonging to a particular word class implicates and what common properties all members of a given class must have (Beck and Horn 2002: 11).

The problems arise because of the inadequacy of these definitions. They cover core words, but leave a lot of borderline cases classified as part of particular word classes, while in fact they should be seen as belonging to several ones. The following table summarizes three main types of definitions of lexical classes: semantic, morphological and syntactic.

Table 3. Main approaches to lexical classes (based on Aarts (2007))

Semantic definition of lexical classes	Groups words into three main classes (nouns, verbs and adjectives) based on the denotational meaning
Morphological definition of lexical classes	Groups word classes based on the grammatical categories they demonstrate
Syntactic definition of lexical classes	Groups word classes based on their syntactic distribution (Chomsky 1965)

There are various problems with each approach outlined here, but this is beyond the scope of the current work to look into them. However, it is evident that past participle can be defined as both an adjective and a verb, depending on the implemented approach and on a particular language. Thus, it can be seen as an adjective, since it shows agreement with the head noun in the noun phrases and since it can contain a ‘denotational’ meaning traditionally carried out by adjectives. On the other hand, similarly to verbs, it can function as a syntactic predicate as part of the *passato prossimo* constructions in Italian (and present perfect in English), for example.

1.4.2 Past participle – a verb or an adjective?

I therefore argue that it is precisely this dual nature of the past participial class that has been one of the causes for the emergence of the past participial doublets cross-linguistically. In

Russian, for example, the participle not only possesses regular verbal categories of voice, tense and aspect, but also the adjectival ones of case, number and gender agreement (Beck and Horn 2002: 34). The same can be said of Italian where in certain cases agreement of the past participle in gender and number is compulsory and in others not (refer to Maiden (1995) for a detailed summary of the history of the past participial agreement). The agreement is obligatory when the past participle carries passive and predicative functions and is optional when it is found as part of the *passato prossimo* construction. However, in some cases the agreement is compulsory even in the latter function. I therefore argue that it is impossible to ‘allocate’ past participles to a single word class. Secondly, I argue that, apart from the verbal and adjectival characteristics, past participles demonstrate other syntactic sub-functions.

During the development of Romance languages, there has been a general tendency towards regularization of the arrhizotonic past participle forms. Some older, rhizotonic ones thus remained in the linguistic repertoire as clear-cut adjectives: French *coi*, Spanish *quedo* ‘quiet, still’ < QUIĒTU ‘rested’ (Laurent 1999: 355). Furthermore, Laurent (1999) notes that there are some short past participle in Portuguese and Italian dialects that resemble adjectives or (if found in the masculine singular form) 1st person singular present indicative verb forms, which “may therefore be identified as a long-standing morphological conflation of (masc.sg.) 2nd-decl. adjective and (masc.sg.) past participle, here realized as identity of form” (Laurent 1999: 356).

The question of whether it is possible to have a mechanism to decide if any given instance of the past participle’s usage has adjectival or verbal function is debatable. Williams (1962), when discussing Portuguese, highlights high levels of difficulty associated with this task. Beard (1988), on the other hand, proposes a syntactic test that allows distinguishing between adjectives and past participles in English:

Table 4. Adjectives vs. Past Participles (based on the classification by Beard (1988))

Adjectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They have comparative and superlative forms and can be nominalized 2. They are lexically derived
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Past Participles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They are incompatible with the adjectival prefix <i>un-</i> and adjectival intensifiers (i.e. <i>very</i>) 2. They are inflectional derivations
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Such a method, however, works well only when the analysed adjectives and past participle have the same form. Thus, Olbertz (1998) concludes that the past participial class is so ambiguous and complex, that more than one test should be applied to determine the exact nature of a given construction.

1.4.3 The notion of gradience

The concept of gradience outlined in Aarts (2007) can shed light on the instability of the Romance past participles, since it challenges rigid traditional categorization of the language structures. Gradience can be broadly defined as a categorical flexibility (Bolinger 1961: 10-11). This means that alongside the clear-cut categories, the existence of certain elements (such as past participles) that belong somewhere between given categories is acknowledged.

In the early generative linguistics categories, such as word classes, were assumed to be fundamental. However, beginning with the second half of the 20th century the fluidity of boundaries between various categories started to be acknowledged. For example, in the X-bar theory of syntax outlined by Chomsky (1970) the existence of certain cross-categorical generalizations was noted. Thus, Chomsky (1970) acknowledged certain degree of similarity between the major lexical classes.

Bolinger (1961) drew a line between two types of continua: undifferentiated (involving “some indefinite point between two or more points” (Joos 1950: 13)) and differentiated one, the latter including length and intonation. It is the former type that is of interest for the current work. An example of the undifferentiated continuum given by Bolinger (1961) is *Put them away yet?* Here *yet* suggests that *put* is in the present perfect tense, while the absence of the auxiliary points

towards the simple past tense interpretation. Thus, the meaning of the phrase lies somewhere in between.

Gradience does not only exist cross-categorically. Thus, even within the category of adjectives there are ‘more’ and ‘less’ adjectival items. The following are basic adjectival properties (Aarts 2007: 106):

- 1) Attributive position
- 2) Predicative position
- 3) Intensification
- 4) Gradedness
- 5) *Un-* prefixation

Aarts (2007) then selects four adjectives: *happy*, *thin*, *alive* and *utter* and comes to conclusion that *happy* and *thin* are ‘more’ adjectival, since they fulfil a greater number of the required characteristics:

Table 5. Analysis of the extent of 'adjectivity' (Aarts 2007: 106)

	Attributive position	Predicative position	Intensification	Gradedness	<i>Un-</i> prefixation
<i>happy</i>	+	+	+	+	+
<i>thin</i>	+	+	+	+	-
<i>alive</i>	-	+	+	?	-
<i>utter</i>	+	-	-	-	-

This discussion of gradience within the adjectival class naturally leads us to the discussion of fluidity of the past participial class. Thus, Ross (1972) discusses general overlap between the categories of verbs, adjectives and nouns, suggesting that the following cline reflects their relationship to each other:

Ross (1972: 316)

Verb > Present participle > Perfect Participle > Passive Participle > Adjective >
Preposition > ‘Adjectival noun’ > Noun

This continuum shows that the present participle is closer to the verbal category, the passive participle is closer to the adjectival category and the perfect participle can be found somewhere in the middle. Past participles used in the predicative function are thus to be found somewhere between the passive participles and adjectives.

In order to illustrate gradience within the past participial class, Aarts (2007: 141) uses the following three sentences containing the participle, to which he then applies ‘adjectivity’ tests:

Table 6. Application of the ‘adjectivity’ tests

Sentence	Result of the ‘adjectivity’ test
1) They were arrested by the police.	The participle <i>arrested</i> is verbal because it is part of a passive sentence with a passive auxiliary <i>be</i> and with an agentive <i>by</i> -phrase following the past participle (thus there is an active counterpart to this phrase). <i>Arrested</i> cannot be modified by <i>very</i> .
2) He was disgusted by the whole thing.	Here <i>disgusted</i> has characteristics of both a verb and an adjective. As in the previous case, the sentence is passive with an active counterpart and <i>disgusted</i> is followed by a <i>by</i> -phrase. However, it can also have a statal meaning and occur in predicative position, as well as be modified by <i>very</i> and <i>more/most</i> .
3) The mirror was broken.	There exist two interpretations of (3), since <i>broken</i> can either have an actional verbal meaning (thus signifying that the mirror was broken by someone) or a statal adjectival meaning (thus signifying that the mirror was already broken, and the speaker was just stating the fact) (Huddleston 1984: 322-3). Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 78) then call lexical items such as (2) and (3) ‘participial adjectives’.

Gradience approach allows to highlight and explain the hybrid and volatile nature of the past participial class. It also shows that rigid division of the functions carried out by past participles into verbal and adjectival is problematic. The latter point is in line with Embick’s (2004) classification of past participles into three classes instead of two (which, however, did not find confirmation in the findings of the current work):

Table 7. Three-way classification of PPs

Adjectival PP	stative
	resultative
Verbal PP	eventive

Even though current work attempts to separate PP's functions into the PPTF, passive (both being verbal) and predicative (adjectival) ones, such a division is far from being clear-cut. Sometimes instances of the passive usage of past participles are better described as adjectival. This can explain why it is rare to encounter different past participle forms used in the PPTF and in the passive respectively. It is probable that in such rare instances of split passive usage is reanalysed as a predicative one.

Chapter 2. Literature review

The existence of double participles in the Romance varieties has recently been the focus of attention of many scholars who attempted to identify syntactic distributional patterns involved in this phenomenon. This topic was raised in Loporcaro (1998: 237s) where it was viewed from the point of view of Relational grammar – a theory introduced in 1970s, which states that primitive grammatical relations can serve as a basis for the identification of syntactic rules in universal terms (Kracht: 2008). Relational grammar, in turn, incorporates theory of the Predicative Union, originally proposed by Davies and Rosen (1988), and uses double past participle forms as an area which can be used for verification of representation of various syntactic theories. Loporcaro, Pescia and Ramos (2004) cite the following Romance varieties with widespread use of double past participle forms: Sicilian, Piedmontese, Neapolitan and some Lombard varieties spoken in the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland (cfr. Loporcaro 1998: 237 n.12 e p. 157 n.167, Ledgeway 2000: 229ss, Tuttle 1997: 43ff), while Rohlfs (1966-69, II: 375-8) notes the occurrence of “aggettivi verbali (forme accorciate, participi senza suffisso)” in

Tuscan as well, however, without any reference to any specialization in syntactic uses of different forms. The existence of this phenomenon in standard Italian, as mentioned above, was also examined by Thornton (2011), with her examples of two past participle forms of Italian *perdere* (*perso*, *perduto*) and *seppellire* (*sepolto*, *seppellito*). Her study did not find any straightforward rigid pattern of these two forms' distribution.

Ledgeway's (2000) contribution to this debate was his study on double past participle forms in Neapolitan, which he undertook from the point of view of generative syntax (minimalist theory). Aspectual differences between the short and long forms of past participle became the focus of this study, and he noticed an interesting trend: short past participle form, which in corresponding sentences in Sicilian is attributed with the auxiliary *essere*, "lack[s] the T and C/P functional layers" and appears in propositional structures "identical to that of canonical copula + adjective structures": BE *a* [_{AP} [_{A'} A DP]]. At the same time, short past participle forms can also appear in verbal context, in variation with the long (regular) past participle form. However, when the short form is used in verbal context, it has to be used with the auxiliary *avere*, analogically to its long counterpart. Thus, both past participle forms "project a full CP clause structure": BE C/P T *v* [_{VP} [_{V'} V DP]] (Ledgeway 2000: 233-234).

La Fauci (2000: 85) proposed the distinction between two past participle forms according to their function: thus, in his opinion, in varieties with variation, the short participle is used in adjectival and passive use, while the long one has an active meaning. In the following quote La Fauci is referring to Sicilian: "La duplice costruzione ha talvolta il trasparente correlato morfologico [...] del contrasto tra una forma forte, rizotonica del pp negli usi aggettivali e nel passivo (p. es. *chiusu*, *ruttu*, [...]) e una forma debole, rizoatona del pp nell'uso attivo (p. es. *chiurutu*, *rumputu*, [...]) (La Fauci (2000:85 n.17)). In his opinion, the short past participle form is actually a verbal adjective, and, as this thesis will demonstrate later, this seems to be the case in Portuguese. However, such split between passive and PPTF is very unusual for Romance varieties.

The existence of double participles in the Sicilian dialect was studied by Loporcaro, Pescia and Ramos (2004), Bentley and Ledgeway (2014) and (2015) and Bentley (2018), while Venetan multiple past participle forms were studied by Maschi and Penello (2004) and Da Tos (2012). The last-named proposes the existence of ‘weak’ (arrhizotonic, as in the case of Italian *credùto*) and ‘strong’ (rhizotonic, as in the case of Italian *rótto*) past participle forms. She also states that in Venetan, as well as in Standard Italian and some other Romance varieties, ‘strong’ past participle forms are mostly encountered in the second conjugation verbs. This phenomenon proved to have parallels in Portuguese, as well as in Piedmontese, Neapolitan and in Lombard varieties spoken in Switzerland (Loporcaro 1998: 237). Furthermore, Maschi and Penello (2004) showed how semantic traits can sometimes have an influence on the choice of the past participle in the dialect of Carmignano di Brenta. Thus, when a verb is known to exhibit two past participle forms in *-ùo* and *-ésto*, a [-animate] subject would only allow the *-ésto* past participle, as in (b) where the subject *sabbia* is semantically inanimate (Maschi and Penello 2004):

- a) 1) Gà piovùo tuta a note
 ha piovuto-ùo tutta la notte
 ‘Ha piovuto tutta la notte’
- 2) Ga piovésto tuta a note
 ha piovuto-ésto tutta la notte
 ‘Ha piovuto tutta la notte’
- b) 1) *Gà puovùo sabia
 ha piovuto-ùo sabbia
 ‘È piovuta sabbia’
- 2) Gà piovésto sabia
 ‘ha piovuto-ésto sabbia’
 ‘È piovuta sabbia’

In the examples above standard Italian translations show how Italian uses different auxiliaries in (a) and (b), where the dialect of Carmignano di Brenta demonstrates a peculiar past participial distribution.

It seems that in the case of Sicilian one can talk about the split between the passive and periphrastic perfect tense-forms uses of the past participle, similarly to Portuguese (Maiden 2013). However, there are disagreements among linguists about what exactly conditions this split in Sicilian. La Fauci's (2000: 85) claim that short participle is used in adjectival uses and in the passive, while the long one has an active meaning proved to be controversial, as Maiden (2013) showed that the long form can be used in both PPTF and passive functions in the Sicilian dialect of Mussomeli.

The most recent contribution to the argument is an article by Bentley (2019), where she argues that the existence of two past participle forms in Sicilian should be seen as realizations of four participial classes in *-T-*, “due delle quali sono verbali e formate tramite processi flessivi, le altre due aggettivali e derivate l'una per conversione e l'altra per aggiunta di un morfema stativizzante *-T-* a una radice o una base” (Bentley and Ledgeway 2014). In her opinion, regular arrhizotonic past participle forms compete with irregular rhizotonic ones in the paradigm of participial uses, sometimes leading to the elimination of free variation. This, in its turn, leads to the situation in which short past participles are replaced by their long counterparts even in the cases when past participle is used in the adjectival function derived “per conversione”. Therefore, short past participles can then remain in the dialect repertoire as adjectives derived from past participles but not related to them anymore. In my opinion, this places under question their participial nature as such, and it is debatable whether they can be analysed as part of the participial paradigm.

Overall, however, it is surprising how little attention was paid to the morphology of past participles, while the main focus has been on whether past participles display agreement in

number and gender with either a subject or a direct object, and on the auxiliary verb (reflexes of HABĒRE ‘have’, ESSE ‘be’, TENĒRE ‘hold’ or FIERĪ ‘become’) they select in perfect and passive constructions. A general overview of past participle forms found across Romance varieties and reshaped verb paradigms is provided in Elcock (1975: 122-131), but more work needs to be done on the morphology of past participles in the modern Romance varieties.

Chapter 3. Past participial doublets across the Romance varieties

3.1 Double past participle forms in Portuguese and Spanish

An observation important for this dissertation made by Maiden (2013) concerns the instances of morphological change that affect past participle forms. He first says that if the morphological change takes place, then it tends to affect the past participle in all cases in which it is encountered. Secondly, if morphological change causes a ‘split’ between new and old forms, then it rarely reflects the difference between passive and PPTF functions, but most commonly reflects the opposition between verbal uses of the past participle on the one hand and derived nominal and adjectival uses of the past participle (which display some extent of semantic unity among themselves) on the other hand.

However, it has been shown that Portuguese stands out from other Romance varieties in the way it distributes the usage of double past participle forms. The ‘split’ in the usage of short as opposed to long past participle forms in Portuguese (unlike in other Romance varieties where the split seems to lie along the line of verbal versus adjectival uses) is conditioned by passive versus active contexts (Thomas 2018). A small group of verbs has developed (or has retained) a short rhizotonic form of the past participle, which is used in the passive context, alongside the arrhizotonic form that is associated with the periphrastic tense forms (Loporcaro et al. 2004).

However, in the first conjugation (verbs in *-ado*) it is the short form that is an innovation, not the long one. This is confirmed in Thomas (2018), where the data obtained for Portuguese demonstrates that the long past participle form is more acceptable in active contexts than in passive contexts, while overall still being less accepted than the short form. Furthermore, some verbs (all *-er* verbs) whose short form is used in passive contexts show even greater usage of the long form in the active context.

There is a further preference for the short forms when the auxiliary *ser* ‘be’ is used, so it can be hypothesized that, diachronically speaking, all verbs in Portuguese demonstrated the pattern in which the long form (where it existed) was limited to the usage after the auxiliary *ter* ‘have’, while the short past participle form was used in the contexts with the auxiliary *ser* (this is now exemplified by the verbs, such as *aceitar* ‘to accept’, *acender* ‘to light’, *limpar* ‘to clean’, *matar* ‘to kill’, *suspender* ‘to suspend’). On the other hand, for some other forms this distributional pattern no longer applies. Thus, some *-ar* verbs, such as *gastar* ‘to spend’, *pagar* ‘to pay’, *entregar* ‘to deliver’, only showed such clear preference for the long form used in the context with the auxiliary *ter* in the past, but now prefer the short form in this context. The change seems to have taken place around 1400s-1600s (Thomas 2018).

Spanish shows a trend similar to Portuguese, since there also exist past participle forms that are known as ‘truncated’, which should be regarded as parallel to the Portuguese short forms. The Real Academia Española recognizes the existence of such doublets in the earlier stages of the language’s development, noting that in the synchronic language the truncated forms function purely as adjectives (Thomas 2018: 100). These forms in Spanish are also known as ‘perfective adjectives’ (Gibert Sotelo 2018: 237). It is highly debatable whether they can be classified as participles at all, since Gibert Sotelo describes them as “stative participles”, which show “different morphophonology with respect to the one displayed by verbal past participles” (ibid.):

3. El vaso está lleno. ‘Perfective adjective’
 the glass be.3SG.PRES. fill.SHPP
 ‘The glass is full.’
4. El vaso ha sido llenado. ‘Verbal past participle’
 the glass have.3SG.PRES be.PP fill.LGPP
 ‘The glass has been filled.’

However, the difference between Spanish and Portuguese is striking, if the following example is considered: for a Portuguese verb that is known to have two past participle forms (*acender* ‘light/turn on’) the expected pattern would be to find the short past participle form in the contexts where it occurs with an auxiliary verb ‘be’, while the long past participle form would only be expected in the situations where it is used with the auxiliary ‘have’, referred to as a ‘perfect verbal participle’ by Gibert Sotelo. In Spanish, on the other hand, the pattern is completely different, with the long form occurring in all verbal contexts. Therefore, in Spanish the short past participle form is indeed associated with the adjectival function, while the long form clearly demonstrates verbal function. The majority of Romance varieties behave similarly to Spanish in their treatment of the past participle forms, with the distribution of long and short past participle forms lying alongside the verbal-adjectival axis.

Occasionally one can encounter verbs that do not follow the general distributional trends. For example, in Latin American Spanish the verb *matar* ‘to kill’ displays a split between forms of the past participle used in passive and active contexts, thus marking a voice distinction in the participial form (Butt and Benjamin 1994: 295, De Bruyne and Pountain 1995: 439). Thus, in the active context the regular past participle form *matado* is used, while the irregular participle (which is suppletively borrowed from *morir* ‘to die’) is employed in the passive contexts (this distribution applies when referents are human). Therefore, even in languages that do not

normally display a split between active and passive usage of the past participle, one can find the opposite examples.

3.2 Multiple past participle forms across the Italo-Romance varieties: standard Italian, Venetan and Old Tuscan

3.2.1 Standard Italian

Before discussing the existence of double past participle forms in certain Italo-Romance dialects, it is worth mentioning that standard Italian can be cited here as well (according to De Mauro (1963: 30-31), Italian is a language particularly rich in doublets, for historical reasons). Thornton (2011) studied a corpus of texts from the newspaper *La Repubblica* from 1985-2000 in order to discuss the ‘overabundant’ behaviour of the verbs *seppellire* and *perdere*, which both have two past participle forms. Overall, the situation of overabundance seems to contradict general expectations that the canonical approach to inflectional morphology implies (Corbett et al. 2005; 2007). As in many other studies, in the end Thornton comes to the conclusion that such ‘overabundant’ behaviour is more likely to take place in the verbs that do not belong to the 1st conjugation. Other verbs that were historically referred to as having double past participle forms by now have completely undergone the process of functional differentiation. As the result of the latter, some forms have become established as adjectives or nouns and, therefore, cannot be used in the verbal function anymore: *assorto* (adjective meaning ‘engrossed, pensive’) is not interchangeable with *assorbito* (past participle of *assorbire* ‘absorb’) and *costrutto* (noun meaning ‘construct, construction’) is not a ‘cellmate’ of *costruito* (past participle of *costruire* ‘build, construct’). Thornton comes to the conclusion that both semantic and syntactic factors play a role in deciding which of the past participle forms gets selected by a native speaker. She identifies the following important factors in the choice of a past participle form:

Table 8. Distributional patterns of 'sepolto/seppellito'

Distributional cues	Choice between <i>sepolto</i> and <i>seppellito</i>
One form can be more widely used in more verbal contexts, while the other can be more widely used in more adjectival contexts.	<i>Sepolto</i> is preferred in adjectival contexts, <i>seppellito</i> is preferred in verbal contexts
Specific forms can subcategorize for arguments with specific syntactico-semantic features (for example, animate/inanimate).	<i>Sepolto</i> is preferred with animate objects, <i>seppellito</i> – with the inanimate ones
Specific form can be used exclusively in certain collocations (which should be seen as instances of lexicalization).	Titles of specific works

Thornton's research demonstrated an intricate interplay between different factors that affect the choice of one or the other form of past participle in each case. The data proved to support the following distribution: apparently the 'strong' form *sepolto* is preferred as an adjective (5), whereas the 'weak' form *seppellito* is preferred as a verbal form (6):

5. Giovanni è sepolto nel cimitero del paese.
6. La neve ha seppellito la città.

However, this is not a strict rule and both forms can be used interchangeably (Thornton 2011):

- a. l'avvocato Enzo Storoni [...] sarà seppellito oggi dopo funerali privati.
- b. Chagall sarà sepolto lunedì, nel cimitero del paese.

Furthermore, argument features were found to have an impact on the choice between different forms of past participle: the 'strong' form *sepolto* seems to exhibit a slight preference

towards human themes, while ‘weak’ form *seppellito* seems to occur more frequently with inanimate objects.

Finally, fixed collocations sometimes play a role as well, as it was found that the only context in which one form completely excludes the appearance of the other form is in the titles of specific works (examples involve the second verb analysed in Thornton’s work – *perdere*, PP forms *perso*, *perduto*):

- *I predatori dell’arca perduta* (Raiders of the Lost Ark)

arca persa 0 *arca perduta* 48

- *Paradiso perduto* (Paradise Lost)

paradiso perso 0 *paradiso perduto* 113

There is no such clear-cut differentiation anywhere else, though some contexts demonstrate preference for one form over the other. Even in the case of idioms, it is difficult to find strict complementary distribution:

(Thornton 2011)

- Idiom *perdere tempo* ‘to waste one’s time’, lit. ‘to lose time’

perso tempo 610 *perduto tempo* 25

- Collocations

occasione persa 83 *occasione perduta* 291 ‘a chance lost’

perso la guerra 109 *perduto la guerra* 31 ‘lost the war’

It, therefore, seems that in standard Italian distribution of double past participle forms is not strictly regulated, with the exception of the titles where the choice of a particular past participle is fixed.

3.2.2 Venetan dialects (with some references to Old Tuscan)

Research on the existence of double past participle forms in the Italo-Romance varieties has mainly focused on the dialects of the Veneto, which are particularly famous for exhibiting such a phenomenon. In some Venetan dialects, certain verbs indeed have two alternating past participle forms (and some even have three, including the innovative Venetan form of past participle in *-esto*). Da Tos (2012) carried out extensive research on the distribution of double past participle forms in Veneto and came to conclusion that there seems to be a difference in the behaviour of the 2nd conjugation verbs, as opposed to those in the 1st and 3rd conjugational classes. The following table demonstrates default weak past participle forms of the verbs *cantàr* ‘cantare’ and *fenìr* ‘finire’:

Table 9. Default paradigm of ‘cantàr’ and ‘fenìr’ (Da Tos 2012)

Verb	Conjugation	Paradigm			
		Singular		Plural	
		Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
<i>cantàr</i> ‘cantare’	I	<i>cant-à</i>	<i>cant-à-da</i>	<i>cant-à-i</i>	<i>cant-à-e</i>
<i>fenìr</i> ‘finire’	III	<i>fen-ì-o</i>	<i>fen-ì-a</i>	<i>fen-ì-i</i>	<i>fen-ì-e</i>

Overall, the situation seems to be more complex than that found in Portuguese and Spanish, even though Portuguese too demonstrates a certain correlation between the conjugation of the verb under question and its pattern of use of the double past participle forms. In the 1st and 3rd conjugation verbs, the ‘weak’ past participle form is more ‘eventive’ (*consà* ‘flavoured’, *benedìo* ‘blessed). It is used in active periphrases with the auxiliary ‘have’ and for some verbs it can be optionally used in the passive. On the other hand, the ‘strong’ past participle forms, when such exist (*cónso*, *benedéto*), clearly demonstrate an ‘adjectival’ function, being used in attributive and predicative adjectival contexts, as well as optionally in the passive. Such complex

relationship between past participle forms and contexts in which they are used seems to be similar to the situation found in Spanish, thus being a supposedly ‘default’ Romance pattern.

Table 10. Past participial doublets of 'consàr' and 'benedìr' (Da Tos 2012)

Lexeme	Conjugation	Paradigm				Type
consàr ‘to flavour’	I	cons-à	cons-à-d-a	cons-à-i	cons-à-e	weak
		cóns-o	cóns-a	cóns-i	cóns-e	strong
benedìr ‘to bless’	III	bened-ì-o	bened-ì-a	bened-ì-i	bened-ì-e	weak
		benedét-o	benedét-a	benedét-i	benedét-e	strong

Overall, for the 1st and 3rd conjugation verbs the default past participle form is the ‘weak’ one. This form is found in all paradigm cells: *cantar* – *cant-à*, *cant-à-d-a*, *cant-à-i*, *cant-à-e*. However, in some cases alongside the ‘weak’ form there co-exists the ‘strong’ one. Vivid examples of such verbs are *consàr* ‘to flavour’ (belonging to the 1st conjugation) and *benedìr/maedìr* ‘to bless/to curse’ (belonging to the 3rd conjugation). Furthermore, the distribution of these two types of past participles seems to be strictly syntactically grounded: the weak form is restricted to the verbal contexts, while the strong form is found in the adjectival contexts. This is consistent with what one can find in Spanish and it is also consistent with the conclusion this thesis comes to with regards to the Sicilian past participial doublets.

The 2nd conjugation verbs in Veneto tend to behave differently, and in fact there seems to be no syntactic grounding for their distributional pattern. The only exception which Da Tos (2012) cites is the Venetan dialect spoken in Padua, where the distribution of long and short forms is strongly syntactically based. The image that emerges from that variety is that strong forms, such as *pjàso* ‘piaciuto’, are found with the auxiliary ‘have’, and weak forms, such as *pjazùo* ‘piaciuto’, are found with the auxiliary ‘be’. This seems to be very similar to the pattern found in Portuguese, however, at the same time it is the reverse from the point of view of the morphology of these forms. An important point to consider is that Portuguese does not have the split auxiliary ‘be’ vs ‘have’, so this comparison is problematic.

Tuttle (1997) also examined the past participle forms in *-esto*, citing works on the same issue by Mussafia (1868: 30f, 1871: 721), Ascoli (1878), Terracini (1929) and Jaberg (1936). He argued that, from the point of view of markedness, *-sto* can be seen as a hypercharacterization and “even formal exaggeration” (Tuttle 1997: 35), since *-to* is added to an already perfective stem in *-s-* (somehow analogous to OIt. *valsuto* [cfr. *valso/valuto*], *vissuto* [cfr. *visso/vivuto*]). This means that the emergence of the past participles in *-sto* does not carry any additional meaning in itself and is an example of overabundance.

This is the field which has been historically the subject of debates – Nannucci (1844: 389-95) attempted to explain the rise of archaic *s-* and *-st-* participial endings to their association with sigmatic preterites (in this case *passato remoto* forms). For example, the *passato remoto* form of *chiedere* is *chiesi* and, in Nannucci’s view, this form favoured the distribution of *chieso* as a past participle form alternative to *chiesto* ‘asked’ < QUÆS[I]TU, *risposi* alongside *risposto* ‘replied’, *poso* beside *posto* ‘laid down, set down (to rest)’ < POS[I]TU. But there are also reverse examples of this past participial trend: *chiusto* – *chiuso* ‘closed’ < CL[A]USU, *rimasto* – *rimaso* ‘remained’ < rema(n)su, *risposto* – *risposo* ‘replied’ < RESPONU.

However, it is difficult to explain such a strong expansion of the *-st-* past participial class only through the existence of various sigmatic perfective stem allomorphs, because, if this were the case, the same expansion would have happened in other territories where the *-st-* participles were once present. Tuttle (1997) argues that the Venetan *-sto* arose as the result of the process during which present-stem preterites started competing with the original perfect-stem vestiges even in the rhizotonic forms of the verbal paradigm. The coexistence of *mové* beside *mossé* prompted the emergence of *movésto* beside *mosso/mosto*, the coexistence of *poné* next to *póse* motivated the distribution of *ponésto* beside *pos(t)o/-ponudo*, the coexistence of *remané* next to *rimase* prompted the development of *remasto/romaso*, etc. (Tuttle 1997: 40). In order for this theory to be valid, such a reanalysis must have taken place before the *passato remoto* (together with its forms) was completely replaced by the *passato prossimo* (in the northern dialects).

Another possible cause of the emergence of the Venetan past participles in *-sto* is the coexistence of multiple irregular past participles – thus, Latin TOLLERE/LATUS -> late Latin *tollitus/toltus* (Väänänen 1981: 249) and maybe, but debatably so, *tollectu*², > OVenez. *tolto* – *to(l)leto* and, finally, *tolesto*, appearing in Vannozzo’s imitation of Venetian in 1403 *mal tolesto* (Sattin 1986: 12), as well as in OPad. of the same period: *vole dire ‘cossa tollesta fore de l’aqua’* in *Bibbia istor.* Ex. II, VII *Moyses* (Folena 1962: 25). It is likely that at some point the pivotal change took place, and the participles in *-esto*, instead of being considered a simple optional alternative to any vestigial Latin perfect stem (*corso* ‘ran’ – *choresto*, *percosso* ‘battered’ – *perchodesta* found in *Apollonio* (Salvioni 1889: 42)), got reanalyzed as equal (but intrinsically morphostylistically Venetan) to the participle forms in *-ùdo* < -UTU: *saver* -> *savù* – *savesto*, *taser* -> *tasesto* (Mussafia 1873: 21). However, Tuscan influence has later led to the shifting of the forms in *-esto* to the periphery of the paradigm (Tuttle 1997: 42).

Alongside these Venetian *-esto* forms, one can find Tuscan truncated past participles of the type *cercò* ‘sought’ (= *cercato*), *compro* ‘bought’ (= *comprato*), *desto* ‘awakened’ (= *destato*), *dimentico* ‘forgotten’ (= *dimenticato*). These truncated forms were once widespread in the northern dialects – thus, in OBologn. we find: *unde lo mundo, lo quale tu ày bruto per peccati* ‘thus the world, which you have sullied by your sins’ Guido Faba (ca. 1220); in OMil.: *non fir plu toco d’infirmitea* ‘I will no longer be afflicted by illness’ Bonvesin; in OMant. Belcalzer *pist* ‘bruised’, *toc* ‘touched’, etc. (Salvioni 1884: 282; 1912: 17). They were also present in southern dialects – thus, in Abruzzese *‘n z’è arecòrde* ‘he hasn’t remembered’ (= *non si è ricordato*), (Salvioni 1912: 17f); in Romanesco (taken from Belli): *crompo* ‘bought’ (= *comprato*), *mostro* ‘shown’; modern Veroli: *tocco* ‘touched’ (Vignoli 1925: 53). Due to the supposed semantic equivalence, over the time adjectival forms have tended to be replaced by a cognate participial synonym. Thus, originally *cieco* ‘blinded’ (now an adjective ‘blind’) functioned as a past participle: *or t’avess’ella cieco, sciagurato!* ‘now she must have pulled the wool over your eyes,

² In support of the existence of this form one can refer to OLomb. (Pavia) *tollechio*, Bonvesin *tollegio* (Salvioni 1898: 234, 263).

you loser!’ (C. Angiolieri), but now there exists *(ac)cecato* ‘blind(ed)’ that has taken over the past participial function (AIS 188, *ALEICA* 19). These past participle forms have been historically seen by various scholars, starting with Bembo to, among others, Nannucci (1844), as the shortened allotropes of regular full forms in *-ato*. However, such forms were also attested in Latin: *OBLITERAM GENTEM PRO OBLITERATAM DIXIT* (Tuttle 1997: 43), which also had some pairs of /root/ - /root + -ATU/ that were almost semantically equivalent: *ALBUS/ALBATUS*, *CRISPUS/CRISPATUS*, *DECORUS/DECORATUS*, *DICTUS/DICTATUS*, *LAXUS/LAXATUS*, *PISTUS/PISTATUS*, *POTUS/POTATUS* (Tuttle 1997: 45).

Chapter 4. The Sicilian dialects

4.1 Some characteristics of the Sicilian dialects

In order to be able to analyse the origins of the Sicilian past participial doublets, this thesis will present a brief overview of the relevant morphological characteristics of the Sicilian dialects. First of all, it is impossible to refer to the Sicilian dialect as a homogeneous entity. There is considerable linguistic variation from one locality to another within the same island. To highlight the island’s linguistic diversity, one can consider Piccitto’s (1951) classification of the dialects of Sicily into “siciliano occidentale” and “siciliano centro-orientale”, which are then further divided into subtypes. However, boundaries between different dialects are very fluid (Ruffino 2001: 32-29).

Generally, in the Sicilian dialects *passato remoto* tends to be used in instances in which standard Italian uses *passato prossimo* (such as where the described event is very close in time to the time of speaking). However, even though *passato remoto* is used more often than in standard Italian, *passato prossimo* in Sicilian can nevertheless be used to denote continuous actions:

St'annu un ha chiuvtutu/st'annu un chiuviù it 'Quest'anno non ha piovuto/quest'anno non piovve' (Hofer 2015). It can also be occasionally used in the 'experiential' contexts, in the cases when a certain event is directly relevant to the speaker in the moment of speaking. This is relevant to the topic of this thesis, because of the general reluctance of the native speakers to translate sentences with the *passato prossimo* when completing questionnaires.

Furthermore, apart from displaying past participial doublets, Sicilian dialects also have two forms for the *passato remoto* (Mocciaro 1975). The *passato remoto* as a tense form is a direct continuation of the Latin past perfective indicative, and in the Sicilian dialects there still exists distinction between strong perfectives (with the stress falling on the root, such as FÙ-I, HÀB-UI, SCRÌP-SÌ) and weak perfectives (with the stress falling outside the root, such as LAUD-ÀVI, DORM-ÌVI). However, as with past participial doublets, it is the second, weak group that gets expanded, quite often causing the extinction of the strong forms: thus, DÒMUI and SÈNSI become Italian *domài* and *sentìi* (Leone 1984: 54). Furthermore, analogically to the perfectives in *-ài* and *-ìi* there have been formed perfectives in *-èi*: *temèi*, *credèi* (Leone 1984: 54, Rohlfs 1969). The advantage of weak forms is their uniformity (contrastingly to the trend displayed by the strong forms) and this predetermined their success. However, at a certain point in the history of development of the Sicilian dialect there was a situation of coexistence of two distinct forms of *passato remoto*. Second person forms started becoming weak already in Latin, creating further variation. Alfonso (1984: 55) argues that the two parallel systems cited below merged into one:

Table 11. Emergence of the *passato remoto* doublets in the Sicilian dialect (Alfonso 1984: 55)

	Strong type	Weak type	Resulting paradigm (possibly from the integration of the first two or from a more general analogical pressure)
1 st person singular	SCRÌPS-I > <i>scrìss-i</i>	<i>scriv-ìi</i>	scrissi
2 nd person singular	SCRIPS-ÌSTI	<i>scriv-ìsti</i>	scriv-ìsti
3 rd person singular	SCRÌPS-IT > <i>scrìss-i</i>	<i>scriv-iù</i>	scrissi
1 st person plural	SCRÌPS-IMUS > <i>scrìss-imu</i>	<i>scriv-èmmu</i>	scrissimu

2nd person plural	SCRIPS-ÌSTIS	<i>scriv-ìstivu</i>	scriv-ìstivu
3rd person plural	SCRÌPS-ÈRUNT > <i>scrìss-iru</i>	<i>scriv-èru</i>	scrìssiru

It would, therefore, be interesting to look at whether the emergence of two forms of the *passato remoto* in the Sicilian dialects is in some way related to the emergence of past participial doublets. There has not been any major research in this field so far, while the scale of the current work would not permit to attempt it. It is nevertheless important to mention that the past participle is not the only form that demonstrates the usage of concurrent doublets in the Sicilian dialects.

With regards to past participles, Pitrè (1979, 1982) noticed that there exists a tendency in the further past participial alternation – apparently, in Sicilian past participle forms can have various affixes, which indicate either increase or decrease in size or characteristics: *dispiratuni*, *dispiratazzu*, *dispirateddu*; *currivatuni*, *currivatazzu*, *curivateddu*. The most widespread suffix is *-eddu*: *abbrazzateddu*, *canciateddu*, *'mpastizzateddu*, *'ncarcamateddu*, with the following two forms being present in the Sicilian folklore: *assittateddu*, *amateddu* (Pitrè 1982: 258). The fact that Sicilian past participles can accept affixation and thus occur in comparative constructions suggests that in Sicilian dialects they have developed their adjectival characteristics more strongly than, for example, their standard Italian counterparts (where past participles do not accept affixes that indicate comparison).

4.2 Past participial doublets in the Sicilians dialects

The following table demonstrates how reflexes of Latin past participle forms evolved in modern Romance varieties overall, and in Sicilian in particular.

Table 12. Major types of past participle in Romance (after Iliescu and Mourin, cited in Laurent (1999))

Reflexes of Latin	Arrhizotonic (regular)			Rhizotonic (irregular)				
	-ĀTU	-ŪTU	-ĪTU	-SU	-STU	-CTU	-PTU	‘-ITU
Romanian	-at	-ut	-it	-s	-st		-pt	absent

Vegliote	-úot	-oit	-ait	-s	absent	-t	absent	
Italian (standard)	-ato	-uto	-ito	-so	-sto	-tt	absent	
Milanese	-aa	-uu	-ii	-s	-st	-tt	absent	
Neapolitan	-ato	-uto	absent	-so	-sto	-tto	‘-eto	
Lucanian	-at	-ut	absent	-s	-st	-tt	‘-ete	
Sicilian	-atu	-utu	absent	-su	absent	-ttu	-(t)tu	
Sardinian	-adu	absent	-idu	-su	-stu	-ttu	‘-idu	
French	-é	-u	-i	-s (now graphic only, in the masculine)	-st (archaic)	-t (now graphic only, in the masculine)	absent	
Catalan	-at	-ut	-it	-s	-st	-t	absent	
Spanish	-ado	-udo (archaic)	-ido	-so (archaic)	-sto	-cho	-to	absent
Portuguese	-ado	-udo (archaic)	-ido	-so (archaic)	-sto	-(i)to	absent	

The image that emerges from the table is that three southern Italian dialects stand out from other Romance varieties cited here in the sense that they have rhizotonic irregular past participle forms derived from Latin ‘-ITU. Furthermore, unlike standard Italian and northern varieties cited in the table, they (with the exception of Sardinian, which in principle cannot be grouped with southern Italian varieties) lack regular arrhizotonic past participle form formed from the Latin -ĪTU. Therefore, in a way, it seems that while decreasing the number of regular past participle forms, southern dialects of Italy have a tendency to preserve the irregular ones.

Among dialects of the Italian south, Sicilian stands out with its rather complex co-existence of long and short past participial forms. It has two arrhizotonic past participle forms, and lacks a rhizotonic thematic type similar to Abruzzese *nínguətə* ‘snowed’ or Neapolitan *víppeto* ‘drunk’. From this point of view, Sicilian can be seen as an example of a variety containing pure two-type set of past participles, being similar to Portuguese and Spanish with their reduction of arrhizotonic past participle types. Moreover, if compared to Neapolitan (Rohlf 1968: 370-371; Ledgeway 2000: 302-303, n. 26, 2009: 582-585), Sicilian past participles seem to describe changes in state caused by external forces (according to the definition by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995)), while in Neapolitan some of the past participle couples express agentivity, rather than causativity: *miso/mettuto* (Bentley 2019). Furthermore, in Sicilian there

exist past participle doublets, in which the short form used to be an adjective in Latin (*siccu/siccatu* ‘annoyed’ from the Latin *SICCU*), as well as doublets in which the short form is formed by truncation of the long form: *unchiu* from *unchiatu* ‘swollen’.

According to Bentley (2019), there are four classes of the Sicilian past participial forms in *-T-*: two of them are inflectional forms used to form ‘verbal’ past participles (*perfetto* and *passivo verbale*), while the other two are derivational forms used to form ‘adjectival’ past participle, one of which is passive:

Table 13. Four types of Sicilian past participles (Bentley 2019)

Inflectional (verbal function)	Inflectional (verbal function)	Derivational (adjectival function)	Derivational (adjectival function)
Perfective	Verbal passive	Adjectival passive	Non-passive
Sic. <i>asciucatu</i>	Sic. <i>asciucatu</i>	Sic. <i>asciucatu</i>	Sic. <i>asciuttu</i>
Sic. <i>chiujutu</i>	Sic. <i>chiujutu (chiusu)</i>	Sic. <i>chiujutu (chiusu)</i>	Sic. <i>chiusu</i>
It. <i>asciugato</i>	It. <i>asciugato</i>	It. <i>asciugato</i>	It. <i>asciutto</i>
It. <i>chiuso</i>	It. <i>chiuso</i>	It. <i>chiuso</i>	It. <i>chiuso</i>

Some sources, such as *The Oxford Online Database of Romance Verb Morphology* with the examples from Mussomeli, tend to ignore the existence of the past participial doublets in the Sicilian dialects. However, we know that the dialect of Mussomeli employs two forms of the past participle (Maiden 2013). The researchers might have naively assumed the default concept of only one past participle form for each verb (refer to Appendix 1 for more details). The data I collected myself while working with unpublished local students’ theses in *Archivio Storico di Catania* did not show systematic presence of multiple past participle forms either (refer to Appendix 2). It might be the case that not all Sicilian dialects demonstrate such doublets, but much more data is needed to confirm such a hypothesis.

It is known that in some dialects of Sicily double past participle forms coexist, and in this case the distributional pattern seems to be rather complex. Maiden (2013) claims that the image emerging from the central Sicilian dialect of Mussomeli illustrates that the short form has predicative and adjectival uses (as in *a rasta rutta*), while the long one has both the passive and

periphrastic tense-forms functions (as in *fu rumputa* and *aju rumputu*). Potential problem with this approach might arise in cases where the past participle's function is somewhere in the middle between passive and predicative. Keeping this latter fact in mind, Mussomeli variety seems to condition the split along the verbal-adjectival uses (at least based on the following examples from Maiden (2013)):

7. a. Unn'aju rumputu (**ruttu) na rasta n'vita mia.

not I.have broken a pot in life my

“I have never broken a pot in my life”.

b. A rasta fu rumputa (**ruttu) in cìntu pièzzi.

the pot was broken in 100 pieces

“The pot was broken into a hundred pieces”.

c. Arrivavu n' a cucina e trovavu a rasta ruttu (**rumputa) in cìntu pièzzi.

I.arrived in the kitchen and I.found the pot broken in 100 pieces

“I arrived in the kitchen and found the pot broken in 100 pieces”.

8. a. I vistita l' aviva asciucatu (**asciuttu) u vèntu.

The clothes them had dried the wind

“It was the wind that had dried the clothes”.

b. I vistita un l' asciucà nuddu, fùaru asciucati (**asciuttu) d'u

vèntu.

The clothes not them dried nobody they.were dried by.the

wind

“Nobody dried the clothes; they were dried by the wind”.

c. M' affacciavu au balconi e i vistita *jeranu già asciutti*.

Me I.showed at.the balcony and the clothes were already dry

“I went out on the balcony and the clothes were already dry”.

With regards to the form *ruttu*, I undertook search in the *Artesia* online corpus. The example in (9) illustrates the use of a short form in passive, with no attestations of the PPTF usage found. Moreover, in the 14th centuries Sicilian texts the short past participle form *ruttu* was used in predicative function as well (10), thus being consistent with the function of the short form nowadays too. There seems to be no split in function between verbal and adjectival functions of the past participle in the medieval texts. As no evidence on the usage of the modern long past participle form was found in this online corpus, it is plausible to attribute its emergence to the later period. Da Tos' (2012) discovery that older dialect speakers prefer to use only one past participle form in all situations, while younger speakers tend to use several forms in the Venetan dialects, seems to confirm this hypothesis of the later emergence of different forms to express what was earlier shown by only one form.

9. “Iu exercitu di li inimici, combatendu cu issi fin intantu que diretu d’issu fu ruttu lu ponti”

(Accurso di Cremona, 1321/37)

10. “Matrimoniu si non chi est altru impedicamentu, ma illu divi fari penitencia di lu votu ruttu”

(Libru di li vitii et di li virtuti, p. 1347/52-a. 1384/88)

Short past participle forms have been traditionally seen as irregular and, with time, their distributional pattern got limited to exclusively adjectival functions. This is similar to how the following modern adjectives forms (*guasto*, *desto*) were used as past participles in the past:

11. “...del capo che di retro avea guasto...”

12. "...l'Italia s'è desta..."

(*Inno di Mameli*)

In modern Italian the past participial function is now performed by weak arrhizotonic forms *guastato* and *destato* (Loporcaro, Pescia and Ana Ramos 2004). My hypothesis is that the same logic can be also applied to the co-existence of double forms in the Sicilian dialect, which seems to be a temporary point on the continuum. Short forms are thus moving into the purely adjectival domain, while irregular forms assume verbal function.

According to Leone (1984), the situation found in the case of Sicilian past participial doublets is similar to the doublets found in the *passato remoto*. The trend is (consistently with what has been shown earlier) towards the extinction of strong past participle forms (such as *dìt-tu*, *auchì-su*) and their replacement with the weak ones (such as *cant-àtu*, *part-ùtu*). Thus, original past participial forms *raptu* and *vintu* have been slowly shifted to an adjectival function, with the weak forms *raputu* and *vinchiutu* taking over the participial function itself. This is the general trend seen across the Italo-Romance varieties this work has looked at, and Chapter 5 will demonstrate analysis of the distributional patterns emerging from modern literary sources.

Chapter 5. Past participial doublets in the modern literary sources

5.1 Overview of the data collection from the literary sources

In this thesis I undertook analysis of selected textual corpora in order to test whether the choice of short versus long past participle forms has a specific pattern in the Sicilian dialect. A subset of fourteen verbs encountered in the Sicilian dialects and known to exhibit two past

participle forms was selected and searched for in the selected texts: *aprire*, *chiudere*, *dividere*, *vincere*, *rompere*, *vedere*, *perdere*, *cogliere*, *morire*, *mettere*, *leggere*, *scrivere*, *confondere*, *piangere*. For this purpose, Giuseppe Pitrè's *Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* was consulted, as well as *Canti popolari siciliani* by the same author, alongside other literary sources from the late 19th and from the 20th centuries (for the full list of consulted works refer to Appendix 3). An extract of the data collection for the past participial doublet of *aprire* is shown in Figure 1 (and more examples are found in Appendix 4).

Verb (in standard Italian)	Short PP form	Example	Function of PP in the example	Long PP form	Example	Function of PP in the example
aprire	apertu	mi aviti a fari la finizza d'arriparàrinni tanticchia 'nta la vostra casa, a ca chiovi a celu apertu (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol.4; Termini-Imerese)	Pred.	graputu	'N vidennu chistu, cci hannu graputu 'na finestra pi vidiri chi facià (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 3; Palermo)	PPTF
		Accussì hannu apertu la scacchèra e s'hannu misu a jucari (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)	PPTF		L'uocchi iddu ancora nun l'avìa graputu , e pirciò si cri dia ca era ni la sò casa e ni lu liettu cu sò mughieri (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 3; Cerda)	PPTF
		Cc'è un purtuni: si lu trovi apertu nun tràsiri; si lu trovi chiusu, ammutta e trasi (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)	Pred.		Signuri patruni, v'haju a diri ca st'omu e sta donna hannu tiratu un cavuliceddu e v'hannu graputu la porta di lu suttirranu. (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)	PPTF

Figure 1. Extract from the data collection from the modern literary sources (screenshot)

The advantage of using Pitre's collection of short stories is the fact that each of them has a clear reference indicating which particular area of Sicily it comes from. Therefore, it is possible to obtain a general sense of the pattern emerging from different Sicilian dialects. But there is still room for future research that would attempt analysis of the double past participles in each Sicilian dialect separately in order to then undertake comparative overview. The main findings are shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Summary of the analysis of literary sources

Verb (in Italian)	Modern	
	Short form	Long form
<i>aprire</i>	<i>apertu:</i> Pred. – 5 PPTF – 1	<i>graputu:</i> Pred. – 1 PPTF – 8
<i>chiudere</i>	<i>chiusu:</i> Pred. – 6 PPTF – 0	<i>chiudutu:</i> Pred. – 1 PPTF – 2
<i>dividere</i>	<i>divisu:</i> Pred. – 3 PPTF – 0	<i>dividutu:</i> Pred. – 0 PPTF – 1
<i>vincere</i>	<i>vintu:</i> Pred. – 1 PPTF – 0 Passive – 1	<i>vinciutu:</i> Pred. – 0 PPTF – 6 Passive – 0
<i>rompere</i>	<i>ruttu:</i> Pred. – 3 PPTF – 1 Passive – 1	<i>rumputu:</i> Pred. – 0 PPTF – 2 Passive – 0
<i>vedere</i>	<i>vistu:</i> Pred. – 1 PPTF – 18 Passive – 3	<i>vidutu:</i> Pred. – 0 PPTF – 6 Passive – 1
<i>perdere</i>	<i>persu:</i> Pred. – 7 PPTF – 5 Passive – 0	<i>pirdutu:</i> Pred. – 3 PPTF – 8 Passive – 3
<i>cogliere</i>	<i>cotu/cortu:</i> Pred. – 1	<i>cugghiutu:</i> Pred. – 5

	PPTF – 0	PPTF – 2
<i>morire</i>	<i>mortu:</i> Pred. – 11 PPTF – 6	<i>murutu:</i> Pred. – 0 PPTF – 15
<i>mettere</i>	<i>misu/missu:</i> Pred. – 6 PPTF – 67 Passive – 15	<i>mittutu:</i> Pred. – 0 PPTF – 3 Passive – 0
<i>leggere</i>	<i>lettu:</i> Pred. – 0 PPTF – 1	<i>liggiutu:</i> Pred. – 1 PPTF – 8
<i>scrivere</i>	<i>scrittu:</i> Pred. – 2 PPTF – 5 Passive – 3	<i>scrivutu:</i> Pred. – 0 PPTF – 3 Passive – 0
<i>confondere</i>	<i>cunfusu:</i> Pred. – 4 PPTF – 0	<i>cunfunnutu:</i> Pred. – 4 PPTF – 1
<i>piangere</i>	<i>chiantu:</i> Pred. – 0 PPTF – 1 Passive – 0	<i>chianciutu:</i> Pred. – 1 PPTF – 4 Passive – 2

In order to attempt a diachronic analysis, I also searched for the past participial doublets in the following corpora containing texts written in ancient Sicilian: *il Corpus Artesia del siciliano antico*, *il Corpus OVI dell'italiano antico*, *il corpus TLIO del vocabolario italiano*. The general trend shows that in the majority of cases the short rhizotonic form used to be employed in all three functions: periphrastic perfect tense forms, passive and predicative ones. Furthermore, there is very low presence of the long arrhizotonic past participle forms in the medieval Sicilian texts. For example, there was found no attestation of the long arrhizotonic form *murutu* in the abovementioned three corpora of ancient Sicilian texts, with the short rhizotonic form *mortu* being used in all functions (predicative and passive in this case):

13. Predicative: “lu corpu di lu mortu Pallas” (*Istoria di Eneas*, 1316-1337), *Artesia* corpus

14. Passive: “Et intandu sù incumminzau la bactagla multu agra et forti, in la quali fu mortu Almon figlu di Tirru” (*Istoria di Eneas*, 1316-1337), *Artesia* corpus (this is an example of the transitive usage of *morire* meaning ‘to kill’, which was possible in the past)

Despite the fact that in the modern literary data the situation of the coexistence of past participial doublets is not rare, it is still very difficult to draw a clear-cut defining line between the uses of short and long past participle forms. In order to attempt a more nuanced description of this pattern, I therefore assigned every instance of the participial usage in the texts studied to one of the three categories – whether in any given instance is it used in the predicative, PPTF or passive function. The general pattern that emerged from this study is that there is a tendency in modern literary data to use long arrhizotonic forms in the PPTF function (‘more verbal’ function) and use short rhizotonic forms in the predicative function (‘more adjectival’ function).

5.2 Analysis of the literary data

The very general observation that can be made after the analysis of the distribution of the two forms in modern Sicilian literary sources supports the verbal-adjectival split between the two forms of the past participle, with some instances of the passive-PPTF split. For the majority of past participial doublets the long arrhizotonic form is preferred in the PPTF function: *apertu* (1) – *graputu* (8), *chiusu* (0) – *chiudutu* (2), *divisu* (0) – *dividutu* (1), *vintu* (0) – *vinciutu* (6), *ruttu* (1) – *rumputu* (2), *persu* (5) – *pirdutu* (8), *cotu* (0) – *cugghiutu* (2), *mortu* (6) – *murutu* (15), *lettu* (1) – *liggiutu* (8), *cunfusu* (0) – *cunfunnutu* (1), *chiantu* (1) – *chianciutu* (4). The only pair where both forms are also attested in the *Artesia* corpus (*persu* – *pirdutu*) displays the same trend: *persu* is used in the PPTF function only once, while *pirdutu* is used in the PPTF function 14 times.

The only exceptions are *vistu* – *vidutu*, *misu/missu* – *mittutu* and *scrittu* – *scrivutu*. *Vistu* is used in the PPTF function 18 times, while the long arrhizotonic form *vidutu* is used in the PPTF function only 6 times, *misu/missu* is used in the PPTF function 67 times, while *mittutu* only 3, and *scrittu* is used in the PPTF function 5 times and *scrivutu* is used in the PPTF function 3 times.

However, the short rhizotonic forms, despite in these cases being preferred in the PPTF function, are also preferred in the predicative function – thus, *vistu* is used in the predicative function once, while *vidutu/vistutu* is not used in the predicative function at all (within the examined texts), *misu/missu* is used in the predicative function 6 times, while *mittutu* is not used in the predicative function at all, finally, *scrittu* is used in the predicative function 2 times, while *scrivutu* is again not used in the predicative function at all. Therefore, even despite being used in the verbal PPTF function more often than the long arrhizotonic form, the short rhizotonic form also retains its adjectival nature.

In the majority of other doublets the short form is more often used in the predicative function as well: *apertu* (5) – *graputu* (1), *chiusu* (6) – *chiudutu* (1), *divisu* (3) – *dividutu* (0), *vintu* (1) – *vinciutu* (0), *ruttu* (3) – *rumputu* (0), *persu* (7) – *pirdutu* (3), *mortu* (11) – *murutu* (0). Again, this is not an exceptionless rule, since in some doublets it is the long arrhizotonic form that is being used in the predicative function more often than the short rhizotonic one: *cotu* (1) – *cugghiutu* (5), *lettu* (0) – *liggiutu* (1), *chiantu* (0) – *chianciutu* (1). There is also one doublet in which both forms are equally often encountered in both functions: *cunfusu* (4) – *cunfunnutu* (4). However, the difference between no occurrence and one occurrence is not substantial enough to form the counter-claim to the general tendency of the short form being more preferred in the predicative function. This has to be explored further, probably making use of a wider range of modern literary sources.

Another issue that was encountered during data collection from the literary sources was the scarce presence of passive constructions, which rendered the task of judging the distribution

of the two participial forms more difficult. For the majority of the verbs for which past participle's passive usage was found, the preference for the PP form aligned with the preference for the PP form in the predicative – this includes five short past participle forms (*vintu*, *ruttu*, *vistu*, *scrittu*, *missu*) and one long past participle form (*chianciutu*), which were all also preferred in the predicative in their respective doublets. However, the short rhizotonic form *vistu* was also preferred in the PPTF function, thus possibly signifying that it is simply a more common form. In the cases of *vintu* and *ruttu* the observed pattern suggests certain split, where the short rhizotonic form is preferred in the predicative and passive, while the long form is preferred in the PPTF. However, in the case of the Sicilian version of *perdere*, unlike in the predicative function, the long arrhizotonic form *pirdutu* was found to be preferred in the passive alongside the PPTF function.

Modern literary sources show that the past participle form chosen in the passive function in the Sicilian dialects is sometimes different to the one chosen in the PPTF, thus suggesting the existence of the PPTF-passive split. Out of 7 verbs for which there were found attestations of the PP's passive usage 2 showed PPTF-passive split: *vincere* and *rompere*. In the case of other 5 verbs for which there were found attestations of passive usage the choice of the PP was the same in the PPTF and passive: *vedere*, *perdere*, *mettere*, *scrivere*, *piangere*.

Furthermore, 10 verbs out of 14 showed the trend according to which forms chosen in the PPTF and predicative are different, and 4 verbs showed the preference towards one form in both PPTF and predicative functions. However, sometimes the difference in number of instances is not substantial enough and, furthermore, there is still not enough data to arrive to any solid conclusion about this issue. In the discussion below I include examples of usage only when they are particularly necessary.

5.2.1 Verbs that prefer the long arrhizotonic form in the PPTF function and the short rhizotonic form in the predicative function

Aprire

The first verb that was analysed during this study was *aprire* with its two past participle forms, *apertu* and *graputu*. In the modern literary sources there have been found 6 instances of *apertu* and 9 instances of *graputu* attested. Even though it is impossible to make generalizations based on such a small sample, *graputu* seems to have started expanding its domain of usage already then. Out of all these instances, in the PPTF function *apertu* is used only once, while *graputu* is used 8 times (thus constituting the majority of its usage):

15. “Accussì hannu apertu la scacchèra e s'hannu misu a jucari” (*Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* (referred to as *FNRPS*), vol. 1; Palermo)
16. “L'ucchi iddu ancora nun l'avía graputu, e pirciò si cri día ca era ni la sò casa e ni lu liettu cu sò mughieri” (*FNRPS*, vol. 3; Cerda)

It is quite probable, therefore, that the usage of *graputu* in modern Sicilian literary sources has been largely limited to the PPTF domain. There are no attestations of either of the forms used in the passive function, while in the predicative function *apertu* is used 5 times and *graputu* is used once:

17. “Avianu l'occhi chiusi, e lu purtuni era apertu” (*FNRPS*, vol. 1; Palermo)
18. “Stu parku veni puliziatu, abiddutu, graputu ô pukriri gudimentu” (Filippo Maria Provitina, *Furriannu-furriannu tra mari e paisi di Sicilia*)

The image that emerges from this data suggests that the long arrhizotonic form tends to be employed in the PPTF function and not in the predicative one, while the predicative function tends to be expressed by the short rhizotonic form.

It would be useful at this point to consider the usage of these forms in the medieval Sicilian, and for this purpose the search for these forms in the three corpora of ancient Sicilian texts was undertaken. There are no attestations of the arrhizotonic form *graputu* in the *Artesia* corpus, with *apertu* being used in all instances, regardless of the function:

19. Predicative function: “in lu miraculu apertu” (*Libru di li vitii et di li virtuti*, 1360-1370),

Artesia corpus

20. Passive function: “Quandu a la parola di Helia fu clusu et apertu lu chelu” (*Sposizione*

del Vangelo della Passione secondo Matteo, 1373), *Artesia* corpus

21. PPTF function: “Et non aiu apertu la bucca ancora a benediceri Deu” (*Dialogu de sanctu*

Gregoriu, 14th century), *Artesia* corpus

It is by no means surprising not to encounter any forms of *graputu* used, since from its phonological form it is evident that it is a recent and local variant. It might be hypothesized at this point that the long arrhizotonic past participle is an innovative form that was absent in the 14th century, but was already used by the 19th century in Pitrè and others, but still limited to the PPTF function. However, in order to confirm this hypothesis, it is necessary to analyse the current usage and whether *graputu* is still limited to the exclusively PPTF function.

Since there was not much data found in the medieval sources on the existence of past participial doublets, I will not discuss them in detail further in this work.

Chiudere

The second past participial doublet that was analysed during this study was *chiusu/chiudutu*. In the modern literary sources there have been found 6 instances of *chiusu* and 3 instances of *chiudutu*. Only the long arrhizotonic form *chiudutu* is used in the PPTF function (2 times), while the short rhizotonic form is not used in the PPTF at all. In the predicative function, on the other hand, it was the short rhizotonic form *chiusu* (6 instances) that is preferred to the long arrhizotonic form *chiudutu* (1 instance).

Dividere

For the following verb the pattern is the same, with the short rhizotonic form *divisu* being preferred in the predicative function (3 instances) and the long arrhizotonic form *dividutu* not used in the predicative function at all. In the verbal PPTF function it is again the long arrhizotonic form *dividutu* that is preferred (1 instance), while the short rhizotonic form *divisu* is not used in the PPTF function at all.

Vincere

In the case of the doublet *vintu/vinciutu*, there have been found 2 instances of *vintu* as a past participle in the modern literary sources, since in the majority of cases it is used as a noun. *Vintu* is used in the passive (1 instance) and predicative (1 instance), while all 6 attestations of *vinciutu* are used in the PPTF function.

Rompere

In the modern literary sources *ruttu* is encountered 5 times, while *rumputu* only twice. In the PPTF function *ruttu* is used once, while *rumputu* 2 times (which constitutes 100% of its usage in the given sample). In the passive *ruttu* is used once, with no attestation of *rumputu* in

the respective function. *Rumputu* is not used in the predicative function either, with *ruttu* being used in the predicative function 3 times and once in the passive.

Morire

In the modern literary sources, *mortu* is encountered 17 times, while *murutu* is encountered 15 times. In the PPTF function, *mortu* is encountered 6 times, and *murutu* – 15 times, which again suggests a preference for the arrhizotonic form in the PPTF function. There are again no attestations of the passive use, which is in line with the semantic characteristics of the verb itself. However, it is also important to note that in medieval Sicilian dialects it was common to use *morire* with the meaning ‘to kill’. In the predicative function, *mortu* is encountered 11 times, while *murutu* is not used in this function at all.

Perdere

In the case of *persu-pirdutu* the long form *pirdutu* is used in the PPTF function 8 times and the short form *persu* is used in the PPTF 5 times. On the other hand, the short form is preferred in the predicative: *persu* (7 instances), *pirdutu* (3 instances). In all instances of the passive voice, it is the long arrhizotonic past participle form being used: *pirdutu* (3 times).

Confondere

This verb belongs to this group only partially (based on the data I managed to collect). In the doublet *cunfusu-cunfunnutu*, the long arrhizotonic past participle form turned out to be preferred in the verbal PPTF function: *cunfunnutu* (1 instance), *cunfusu* (0 instances). In the predicative function the number of attestations of both forms turned out to be the same – 4 instances each, with no attestations of the passive usage.

5.2.2 Verbs that show different distributional patterns

Cogliere

In this case the short form *cotu/cortu* was attested once and the long form *cugghiutu* was attested 7 times. In the PPTF function the long form is preferred (2 instances) to the short one (0 instances), however, differently to other verbs, the long form is also preferred (5 instances) to the short form (1 instance) in the predicative function. There was again no attestation of the passive usage in this case.

Leggere

Another similar to the latter example doublet is *lettu – liggiutu*, where the short form was attested once and the long form 9 times. As expected, the long arrhizotonic form is found to be preferred in the verbal function: thus, *liggiutu* is found in the PPTF 8 times and *lettu* only once. However, it is also only the long arrhizotonic form found in the predicative function (1 instance).

Piangere

Similarly, the past participial doublet *chiantu-chianciutu* also demonstrated the preference for the long form in the verbal PPTF function: *chianciutu* (4 instances) – *chiantu* (1 instance). At the same time the long form is also preferred in the predicative function: *chianciutu* (1 instance), *chiantu* (0 instances), and in the passive function too: *chianciutu* (2 instances), *chiantu* (1 instance).

Vedere

In the case of the doublet *vistu-vidutu*, it is the short rhizotonic form that is preferred in the PPTF function (18 times), as opposed to the long arrhizotonic form *vidutu* (6 times). The short form is also preferred in the passive function: *vistu* (3 instances) and *vidutu* (1 instance), as

well as in the predicative: *vistu* (1 instance) and *vidutu* (0 instances). However, out of all attestations of the long arrhizotonic past participle form *vidutu* (7 in total), six of them are in the PPTF function and one in the passive function (the short form is used in the passive 3 times). This means that even though *vistu* is still preferred on a large scale, *vidutu*, when encountered, will tend to be used in the verbal function.

Furthermore, unlike other verbs, its long arrhizotonic form was encountered in the *Artesia* corpus in the PPTF function:

22. “et poy ki loru happi narratu tuctu killu ki avia vidutu et audutu” (*Istoria di Eneas*, 1316 – 1337), *Artesia* corpus

Mettere

The same logic can be applied to the pair *misu/missu* (88 instances) – *mittutu* (3 instances). If the two are compared, then in the PPTF function it is the short form that is much more preferred (67 instances) to the long one (3). However, in the case of *mittutu* these 3 attestations actually constitute 100% of its usage. *Mittutu* is thus not found nor in the passive, nor in the predicative function, while the short form is encountered in the predicative function 6 times and in the passive function 15 times.

Scrivere

The doublet *scrittu-scrivutu* also showed a similar pattern, with the total of 10 attestations of *scrittu* and 3 attestations of *scrivutu*. I found the preference for the short form in the PPTF: *scrittu* (5 instances) and *scrivutu* (3 instances), however these 3 instances of the long form constitute 100% of the long form’s usage. The short form is also the only one encountered in the predicative function (2 instances) and in the passive function (3 instances). It therefore seems

that the long form is somehow marginalized but when it is used, it is used only in the verbal function.

The general preferences of the form in particular functions from the analysed data are presented in Figures 2, 3 and 4.

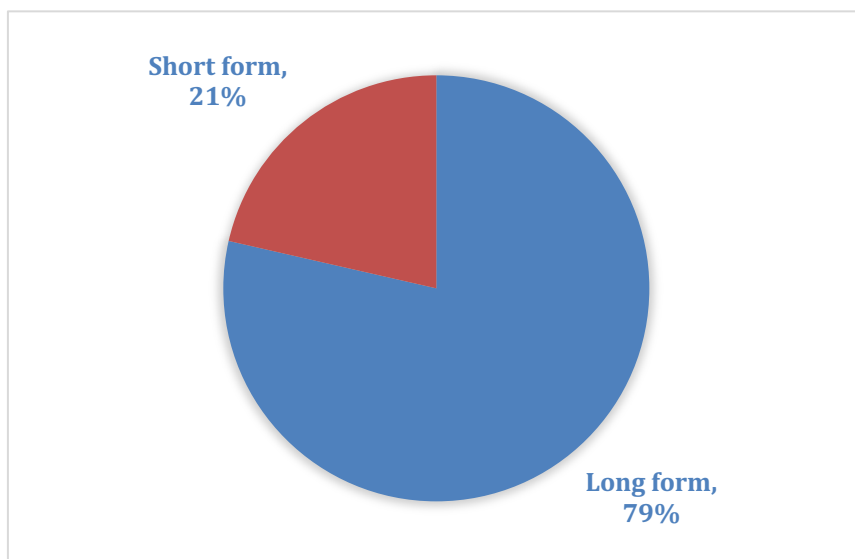


Figure 2. Preference of the past participial form in the PPTF function (based on the analysis of the literary sources)

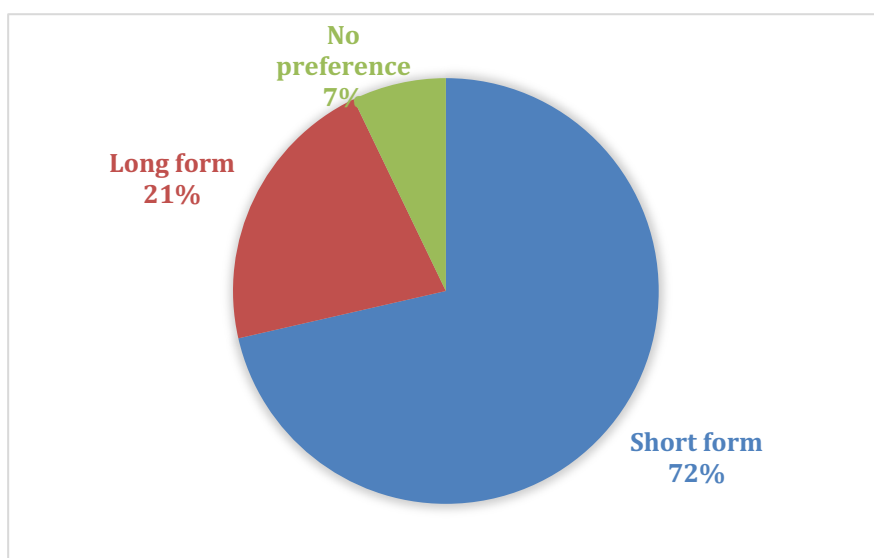


Figure 3. Preference of the past participial form in the predicative function (based on the analysis of the literary sources)

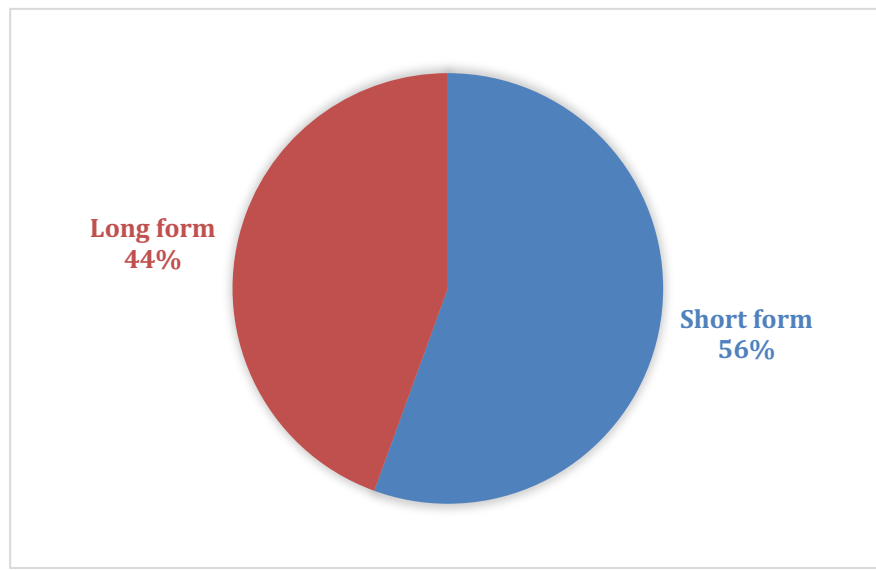


Figure 4. Preference of the PP form in the passive function (based on the analysis of the literary sources)

Chapter 6. Analysis of the native speakers' judgements

Upon completion of the analysis of the available written sources, a decision was made to expand this study to the current usage by native speakers. In order to achieve this goal, a questionnaire was composed which included 52 sentences written in standard Italian and containing a past participle of one of the selected verbs (12 out of 14 original verbs were selected). The participants were then asked to translate these sentences to their local Sicilian variety. The criteria for choosing the speakers were the following: 1) every participant has to be a native speaker of any Sicilian dialect (but he/she has to indicate which particular variety he speaks in the beginning of the questionnaire), 2) every participant has to be over 20 year old to comply with the ethics regulations required by the University of Oxford.

One of the issues that have been encountered during the questionnaire circulation and completion, is the general reluctance of southern Italian dialects' speakers to use such forms as *passato prossimo*. However, it was crucial to ensure that when translating these sentences speakers used the same forms as the ones used in standard Italian – therefore, if a sentence

contained *passato prossimo* in standard Italian, *passato prossimo* had to be used in the translation, and if a sentence contained *trapassato prossimo* in the standard Italian version, *trapassato prossimo* had to be used in the Sicilian translation. Upon the completion of the questionnaire by the first four participants, however, it became clear that the usage of *passato prossimo* seems so unnatural to the native speakers of the Sicilian dialects that it might have a negative impact on the quality of my research. Therefore, the decision was made to modify the questionnaire and to turn all instances of *passato prossimo* into the *trapassato prossimo*, which is much more widespread across Sicily.

Therefore, the first four participants filled in the Type 1 Questionnaire, while the rest twelve participants filled in the Type 2 Questionnaire (not all of them will be discussed in the current work). They were unused to writing in the dialect, however this did not affect their ability to distinguish different forms of the past participle. The below analysis is structured according to the particular Sicilian dialect each completed questionnaire is written in. In the case of Type 1 Questionnaire, participants translated 52 sentences from standard Italian to their own Sicilian dialect, including the ones spoken in Catania (1 participant), in Siracusa (1 participant) and in Trapani (2 participants). However, for reasons of space I will not discuss the results obtained for the dialect of Trapani and will instead look at the results obtained from two participants from Acireale and Monti Nebrodi who filled in the Type 2 Questionnaire.

Verbs that are known to exhibit past participial doublets in the Sicilian dialects were selected based on the analysis of the written sources above. In the analysis below I refer to them with their standard Italian name, since there is a lot of local variation. However, the table below can serve as a useful reference for the forms that have been encountered in the questionnaires:

Table 15. Summary of the past participial forms encountered in the questionnaires

Standard Italian infinitive form	Sicilian variants of the infinitive form	Long arrhizotonic past participle forms	Short rhizotonic past participle forms
aprire	aprirì, gràpiri, iàpiri, ràpiri	grapùtu, iaprùtu, rapùtu, aprùtu	apèrtu, apèttu, apièrtu

chiudere	chiùdiri, chiùiri, chiùiriri, ciùriri	chiudùtu, chiuiùtu, chiurùtu	chiùsu, ciùsu
dividere	dividiri	dividùtu	divisu
vincere	vìnciri	vinciùtu	vìntu
rompere	rùmpiri / rumpìri, rùppiri	rumpùtu, ruppùtu	rùttu
vedere	vìriri	virùtu, vistùtu	vìstu
perdere	pèrdiri	pirùtu, piddùtu	pèrsu, pèssu, pièrsu
morire	mòriri / murìri	murùtu	mòrtu, mòttu, muòrtu
leggere	lègghiri / lèggiri	ligghiùtu, liggiùtu	lèttu
scrivere	scriviri	scrivùtu	scrittù
confondere	cunfùnniri	cunfunnùtu	cunfùsu
piangere	chiàngiri / chiànciri / ciànciri	chiangiùtu, chianciùtu, cianciùtu	chiàntu, ciàntu

6.1 The dialect of Catania

I will begin with the analysis of the results coming from the dialect of Catania, which is a relatively big city that attracts people from different parts of Sicily. Two participants from Catania answered the Type 1 Questionnaire. More precisely, these participants come from a village close to Catania, but were educated in the city itself. It is important to note that the dialect of Catania is not linguistically homogeneous.

Translations of two participants are compared within each sub-section. For the reasons of clarity, I call them Participant 1 and Participant 2.

6.1.1 Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form for both Participants

The table below provides a summary of the verbs for which both Participants used only one PP form. Respective examples are then provided for each verb separately as an illustration. In the case of subsequent dialects this step will be omitted.

Table 16. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form for both Participants in the dialect of Catania

Verbs that showed only long arrhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used	Verbs that showed only short rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used
aprire (raputu)	PPTF, passive, pred.	-	-

scrivere (scrivutu)	PPTF, passive	-	-
piangere (chiangiutu)	PPTF, passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity	-	-

Aprire

There have been attested two past participle forms of this verb in the Sicilian dialects. However, in their translations, Participant 1 and Participant 2 only used one past participial form – the long arrhizotonic form *raputu* – in all functions. Thus, in the PPTF (23), predicative (24) and passive (25) *raputu* was found:

23. Nda sta matinata aiu raputu a fenestra e u signuri Agnelli aiu vistutu – P1

Stamatina aiu raputu a finesra e aiu virutu u signur Agnelli – P2

24. Quannu aiu vistu u signuri Agnelli, a fenestra era raputa – P1

Quannu aiu viruto u signur Agnelli, a finesra iera raputa – P2

25. A fenestra do signuri Agnelli ie stata raputa – P1

A finesra fu raputa da signuri Agnelli – P2 (he decided to use passive sentence based on the passato remoto active counterpart here, because the original standard Italian construction seemed too artificial to him)

Both participants noted that they have never heard the short rhizotonic form *apertu*, which is encountered in some Sicilian dialects and which is analogous to the standard Italian *aperto*, being used in their variety.

Scrivere

In the case of this verb, both participants used only the long arrhizotonic past participle form in all instances, indicating that they do not use the short rhizotonic form at all. Thus, in the PPTF both participants used *scrivutu* in passato prossimo (27) and in trapassato prossimo (26):

26. Appina tunnai, Andrea avia già scrivutu u saggiu so – P1

Quannu tunnai, Andrea ava già scrivutu u so saggiu – P2

27. Aiu scrivutu tri saggi a simana passata ie speru ca nun aiu a scriviri n'altu a simana ca veni – P1

Aiu scrivutu tri saggi a simana passata e speru che non n'avissi scriviri ancora n'altu a simana ca veni – P2

Again, due to the semantic characteristics of *scrivere*, the predicative usage could not be obtained, but in the passive the same long form was used. Therefore, there is a clear tendency in the dialect of Catania to use the long arrhizotonic form of this past participle in all functions.

Piangere

Both participants used the long arrhizotonic form of this verb's past participle in all instances, noting that they have never used the short rhizotonic *chiantu* form. Thus, in the PPTF (in (28) Participant 2 translated *passato prossimo* using the standard Italian form of *avere*, indicating the unfamiliarity of the speaker with such a form in his local variety):

28. Maria avi chiangiuto senza fini – P1

Maria ha chianciutu senza fini – P2

29. Giuseppi avia chiangiuto pi tuttu u restu ra vita so, dappressu ca so mogghieri mossi – P1

Giuseppi ava chianciutu pu restu da vita appressu a motti di so mugghieri – P2

In the predicative function with some agentivity involved and in the purely passive function the same long form was used by both participants. Therefore, it seems that the long arrhizotonic form of this past participle has been generalized to all functions for both speakers.

6.1.2 Verbs that demonstrated past participial doublets for at least one Participant

The table below summarizes instances, where a single PP form was used by at least one Participant. The discussion of the encountered doublets then follows.

Table 17. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form for at least one Participant in the dialect of Catania

Verbs that showed only long arrhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used	Verbs that showed only short rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used
chiudere (chiurutu) – P2	PPTF, passive, pred.	morire (mortu) – P1	PPTF, pred.
dividere (spattuto) – P2	PPTF, passive	-	-
vincere (vinciutu) – P2	PPTF, passive	-	-
confondere (cunfunnutu) – P2	PPTF, passive, pred.	-	-

Chiudere

In the case of the past participial forms of standard Italian *chiudere* in the dialect of Catania, Participant 1 did use two past participial forms in different sentences: the rhizotonic *chiusu* (analogous to the standard Italian *chiuso*) and the arrhizotonic *chiurutu*. The total of 4 sentences within the questionnaire were dedicated to the past participle forms of the verb ‘to close’, with the long arrhizotonic form being used in the PPTF and passive functions, and *chiusu* being used in the predicative function only. Participant 2, on the other hand, used exclusively the long arrhizotonic form in all functions. Thus, in the PPTF function the results were the following (the same form was chosen by the native speakers in translating the sentence containing *passato prossimo* (30) and the sentence containing *trapassato prossimo* (31)):

30. Apprima di nesciri ra casa aiu chiurutu a potta – P1

Avanti di nesciri da casa aiu chiurutu a potta – P2

31. Quannu arruai nda la casa, u signuri Agnelli a fenestra avia chiurutu gia – P1

Quanni arrivai a casa, u signur Agnelli ava già chiurutu a finesra – P2

The same long arrhizotonic form was used when translating the sentence containing the analysed participial form in the passive function. However, as mentioned above Participant 1 chose the short rhizotonic participial form when translating the sentence featuring this form used in the predicative function, thus indicating a possible split along the verbal/adjectival axis in the distributional pattern of this past participial doublet:

32. Sugnu tunnatu a casa ie a fenestra chiusa aiu attruvatu – P1

Sugnu tunnatu a casa e aiu truvatu a finestra chiuruta – P2

Participant 2, however, does not seem to have any split in usage at all, since even in the predicative function he used the long arrhizotonic past participle.

Dividere

In Participant 1 translations I indeed found two past participial forms of *dividere*, however, their distribution is not as clear as in the previous case. This participant used both the long arrhizotonic form *dividutu* and the short rhizotonic form *divisu*, however, the latter form was used only once and optionally (in the PPTF function as part of the trapassato prossimo construction). At the same time, Participant 2 only used one long arrhizotonic form in all instances. The sentences containing past participle used in the PPTF function were translated in the following way:

33. E guerri annu dividuto l'europa ndi tanti regioni politiche – P1

I verri hanno spattuto l'Europa in tante reggioni politiche – P2

34. I cunfini dilli naziuni l'europa aviano divisu/dividutu – P1

I confini nazionali avanu spattuto l'Europa – P2

The sentence (34) deserves a special comment, since at first Participant 1 used the short rhizotonic form *divisu* and then contacted me again, indicating that the long arrhizotonic form is also acceptable in this instance. He also noted that this sentence does not sound natural in his dialect. This might explain his choice of the past participle form closest to the one used in standard Italian (*diviso*).

It is therefore plausible to assume that the only past participle form actively used in the dialect of Catania is the long arrhizotonic form *dividutu*, which was also employed by this participant in the passive functions. This is also consistent with the translations done by Participant 2, where the same arrhizotonic form was used in every sentence.

It proved to be hard to compose a sentence where this past participle would be used in an exclusively predicative function, as there is always some degree of the passive function involved too, since the semantics of ‘divided’ implies the agent behind this action. Therefore, these participants were asked to translate the following sentences where the analysed past participle contains both passive and predicative functions (the agent is not overtly present but implied):

35. L’Italia ie stata dividuta ndi motte regiuni – P1

L’Italia è stata spattuta in motte reggioni – P2

36. L’europa iera stata dividuta in motte regiuni – P1

L’Europa fu spattuta in motte reggioni – P2

Vincere

In the majority of cases Participant 1 used the long arrhizotonic form *vinciutu*, with only one and optional appearance of the short rhizotonic form *vittu* in the passive/predicative function. Participant 2 only used the long arrhizotonic form, with no attestation of the short one at all. Again, when using the short rhizotonic form (which is closer to standard Italian *vinto* than the long arrhizotonic form) Participant 1 made an observation that this sentence does not sound

natural in his dialect, probably encouraging him to use the form that resembles the standard Italian one:

37. Amo parlatu dilla uerra vitta/vinciuta dilli russi – P1

Amu parratu da verra vinciuta da li russi – P2

Initially Participant 1 used the short form, but later noted that the long arrhizotonic form would be also acceptable in this case. In all other cases Participant 1 (and Participant 2) only used the long arrhizotonic form.

Morire

This verb is peculiar, because there is evidence that in Medieval Sicilian it could be used transitively with the meaning of ‘to kill’. To my knowledge, this is not encountered in the modern Sicilian dialects, or at least is not common. In the majority of their translations, both participants used the short rhizotonic form, and only Participant 2 used the long arrhizotonic form once in the PPTF function (this is consistent with my hypothesis that, when there is a split, the long form in the Sicilian dialects tends to be preferred in the verbal functions). Thus, in the PPTF:

38. Giovanni ie mortu tri iorna fa – P1

Giovanni è mottu tri iorna arretu – P2

39. Luigi iera morto ndo XIX secolu – P1

Luigi ava murutu ndo XIX seculu – P2

In the case of trapassato prossimo Participant 2 used the long arrhizotonic form *murutu*, while he did not use it in the case of passato prossimo. This might be due to the fact that passato prossimo

is very uncommon in the Sicilian dialects and this causes the native speakers to translate sentences containing this tense using the past participle form closest to the one used in standard Italian (*morto*). However, Participant 1 made an observation that he has never heard the long form *murutu*, while the older Participant 2 did employ it. This might indicate the tendency of the Sicilian dialects towards having just one past participle form for each verb, choosing the more widespread one. However, this has to be investigated further and is unfortunately beyond the scope of the current research.

Furthermore, as expected, the short rhizotonic form of past participle was chosen by both participants in the predicative function.

Confondere

In the case of this verb, translations made by Participant 1 and Participant 2 differ, because the former used both rhizotonic and arrhizotonic forms, while the latter only used the arrhizotonic one in all instances. In the case of Participant 1 there seems to be a split between the PPTF usage on the one hand and the passive and predicative usage on the other. Participant 2, on the other hand, used *passato remoto* instead of *passato prossimo* in one of the sentences (42), therefore, the only PPTF instance from him is the *trapassato prossimo* one (43), where he used the long arrhizotonic form:

40. U comportamento ri Giuseppe avi confunutu a Giulia – P1

U cumputtamentu di Giuseppi cunfunniu Giulia – P2

41. A chiusura ro negozio avi cunfunutu a Giulia – P1

A chiusura du negoziu ava cunfunutu Giulia – P2

In the passive and predicative functions Participant 1 used the short rhizotonic form, thus indicating a possible split along passive-PPTF axis in his variety's distribution of these two past participle forms. However, Participant 2 used the long arrhizotonic form instead:

42. Maria ra la chiusura ru negoziu iera stata cunfusa – P1

Maria era stata cunfunnuta da chiusura du negoziu – P2

43. Luigi ie statu confuso ro compottamento ri Maria – P1

Luigi è statu cunfunnutu do cumputtamentu di Maria – P2

Same applies to the predicative function (with a hint of agentivity):

44. U compottamento so m'avi lasciatu cunfusu – P1

U so cumputtamentu mi lassau cunfunnutu – P2

Therefore, it might be hypothesized that, when both these past participle forms are present in the linguistic repertoire of a given speaker, the long arrhizotonic form would tend to be used in the PPTF, while the short rhizotonic one in the passive and predicative contexts. However, if the speaker only uses one past participle form for all functions, it will be the long arrhizotonic one.

6.1.3 Verbs that demonstrated past participial doublets for both Participants

Rompere

In the case of this verb both Participant 1 and Participant 2 used two past participle forms. Participant 1 used the short rhizotonic form *rottu* only once in the predicative function, which excludes any hint of agentivity. Participant 2 used the short form in the same context but

also in two more predicative contexts, which, on the contrast, do have some hint of agentivity.

Thus, in the ‘pure’ predicative function:

45. Sto vaso è rottu – both P1 and P2

In the predicative function with some hint of potential agentivity Participant 1 made a choice towards the arrhizotonic form while Participant 2 used the same short rhizotonic form as in (47):

46. Andrea avi attruvatu u vasu rumputu in cintu pezzi – P1

Andrea attruvau u vasu ruttu in centu pezzi – P2

47. Giulia avia attruvatu u vasu rumputu ndi centu pezzi – P1

Giulia ava truvatu u vasu ruttu in centu pezzi – P2

The long form was chosen by both Participants in the purely passive and PPTF functions. Since I know that Participant 2 is much older than Participant 1, it might be possible that there is a tendency in modern Sicilian dialects to eliminate this instance of overabundance by expanding the domain of one of the forms. In this case (and it seems generally too) it is the domain of the long arrhizotonic form that gets expanded. However, it is of course impossible to make a valid hypothesis based on just two people, and a much bigger sample is required to verify this trend.

Vedere

This verb is also known to have two past participle forms in the Sicilian dialects, and indeed two forms were found in the translations of both Participant 1 and Participant 2.

However, the distributional pattern of these forms does not coincide for these two speakers.

Thus, Participant 1 used the short rhizotonic form *vistu* once in the PPTF function, where

Participant 2 used the long arrhizotonic *virutu*:

48. Luigi u dipintu ndo muro avia vistu – P1

Luigi ha virutu u dipintu su u muru – P2

Then Participant 1 used the arrhizotonic past participles in the other cases. Furthermore, he actually used both *virutu* and *vistutu*, the latter form being a rather peculiar hybrid of the rhizotonic *vistu* turned into the arrhizotonic form. To my knowledge, this form has not been attested before and it deserves further investigation, since it was not found in any other questionnaire, but exclusively in the linguistic repertoire of the Participant 1 (so it might be a simple mistake on his behalf). Thus in the passive:

49. U dipintu iera statu vistutu pill'ultima vota tri misi fa – P1

U dipintu è statu virutu ppi l'ultima volta tri misi arretu – P2

And in the predicative function:

50. Aiu attruvatu n dipintu mai viruto apprima – P1

Aiu truvatu nu dipintu mai vistu prima – P2

Therefore, Participant 2 seems to draw the line here between verbal and adjectival functions of the past participle – he used the long arrhizotonic form in passive and PPTF functions (in other words verbal functions) and the short rhizotonic form in the predicative (adjectival) function. This is not the same for Participant 1, however, who used the short form *vistu* in the PPTF function, and the long form (either *vistutu* or *virutu*) in the passive and predicative functions. It is therefore unclear whether there is any pattern emerging from this verb.

Perdere

This verb's two past participle forms' distribution demonstrates the split along the verbal/adjectival axis for both participants. Thus in the PPTF function, in translations of sentences containing both *passato prossimo* and *trapassato prossimo*, and in the passive both participants chose the long arrhizotonic form.

The situation becomes more complicated when the predicative function is considered:

51. A guerra pidduta na battaglia addiventa – P1

A verra pessa diventa battaglia – P2

52. Sta guerra ie na causa pessa – both P1 and P2

It seems that Participant 1 tends to use the short rhizotonic form only in those predicative functions which exclude any hint of agentivity. Thus, it may be argued that in (53) there is a degree of agentivity, since the war has to be lost by someone, while in (54) there is no hint of agentivity and, therefore, he chose the rhizotonic form. On the other hand, Participant 2 does not seem to differentiate these two instances of the past participial usage – in both cases he chose the short rhizotonic form. This might suggest that the choice of one or the other past participle form is conditioned by the speaker's own perception the presence or absence of agentivity in a certain action.

Leggere

Both participants used the long arrhizotonic form in all of their translations, except for one, which I will discuss below. Due to the semantic nature of the verb 'to read', it proved to be difficult to compose a sentence where this past participle would be used in the predicative function. Because of this I was only able to get the results for the passive usage, such as:

53. “La divina commedia” iera stata liggiuta di Giulia moti arni fa – P1

A Divina Cummedia era stata liggiuta di Giulia tanti anni arretu – P2

54. I libri letti ri mia – both P1 and P2

As can be seen, the only time both participants used the short rhizotonic form (similar to standard Italian *letto*) is in (41). However, this sentence is very artificial, which could influence the preference for a similar to standard Italian form. Apart from that, it seems that the long arrhizotonic form is the only form employed by contemporary native speakers of the dialect of Catania.

6.1.4 Preliminary conclusions

Generally, these two participants demonstrated a clear preference towards using one past participle form in all functions. In the case of *aprire*, *piangere* and *scrivere* this preference is absolute for both participants, meaning that both of them used exclusively the long arrhizotonic past participle in all functions.

In case of some other verbs (*chiudere*, *vincere*, *rompere*, *perdere*, *confondere*) the general preference is for the long arrhizotonic past participle form with the short form generally appearing only in the predicative function, preferably with no hint of agentivity. Thus, in the case of *chiudere* both participants used the long form in PPTF and passive, while in the predicative function Participant 2 also used the long form and Participant 1 opted for the short rhizotonic *chiusu*. When translating the sentences containing the past participle forms of *vincere*, both participants mainly used the long arrhizotonic form, with just one optional usage of the short rhizotonic form in the passive/predicative function by Participant 1. In the case of the sentences containing past participle forms of *rompere*, both participants used the long arrhizotonic form in the PPTF and passive functions, but Participant 1 used the short rhizotonic

form in the predicative function excluding any hint of agentivity, while Participant 2 used the short form in all predicative contexts regardless of agentivity. When translating the sentences containing the past participle forms of *perdere*, the pattern turned out to be similar – both Participant 1 and Participant 2 chose the long arrhizotonic form in the PPTF and passive functions, with the former participant also choosing it in the predicative function with a hint of agentivity. Finally, in the case of *confondere*, only Participant 1 used both forms, with the long one employed in the PPTF function and the short one used in the predicative and passive functions. Participant 2, on the other hand, used the long arrhizotonic form in all instances, however, again translating the sentence containing *passato prossimo* in standard Italian with the *passato remoto*.

The following group of verbs also demonstrated a clear preference for the long arrhizotonic past participle form, however, with a slightly different pattern (or no pattern at all) emerging. The translations involving the past participle forms of *leggere* demonstrated a clear preference towards the long arrhizotonic form for both participants, with the short form appearing once in the passive function and in a very artificial, standard Italian-like sentence, which could have prompted the use of the form similar to the Italian *letto*. In the case of *dividere* Participant 2 used exclusively the long arrhizotonic form in all instances, while Participant 1 used the short form only once and optionally as part of the *trapassato prossimo* construction. He also characterized the sentence as artificial, which, as in the case of *leggere*, could have influenced the choice of the short, more Italian-like form. The distribution of the past participle forms of *vedere* is similar, since again both participants chose the long form in the majority of cases, with Participant 1 using the short form once as part of the *passato prossimo* construction in the PPTF function (again noting how artificial this sentence sounds in the dialect of Catania), and with Participant 2 using the short form in the predicative function, thus supporting the existence of some extent of verbal-adjectival distribution of the past participle forms.

Finally, only in the case of *morire* and its past participle forms I found general preference for the short form for both participants. Participant 1 used the short past participle form in all functions, while Participant 2 used the long form once in the PPTF function. This is consistent with the tendency to associate the long arrhizotonic past participle forms with more verbal characteristics and the short rhizotonic past participle forms with more adjectival characteristics.

Overall, Participant 1 did not use participial doublets in the case of four verbs: *aprire*, *morire*, *scrivere* and *piangere*. Among the rest of the verbs, 5 demonstrated an expected split between the PPTF and passive functions at least in some contexts. This second group includes *dividere*, *vincere*, *vedere*, *leggere*, *confondere*. Since there were 8 verbs for which PP's passive usage was attested, the percentage of those showing this split is relatively high. However, this cannot be considered a systematic split between passive and PPTF.

On the other hand, Participant 2 demonstrated a longer list of the verbs for which he only used the long arrhizotonic form: *aprire*, *chiudere*, *dividere*, *vincere*, *scrivere*, *confondere*, *piangere*. These forms include the verbs for which Participant 1 also used one form. For the rest of the verbs, the split between the two forms followed the expected pattern, with the short form specialized for the predicative usage: *rompere*, *vedere*, *perdere*, *morire*. In the latter case there was no passive usage due to the verb's semantic characteristics, but the short form was used in the predicative function and the long form in the PPTF function. One verb showed split between PPTF and passive functions – *leggere*.

It thus seems that Participant 2 demonstrated a clearer split between the two past participial forms, whenever they were encountered. Furthermore, despite considerable overlap in the results obtained from both Participants, it is evident that there exists a certain degree of intradialectal variation, which poses significant challenge for any generalizations (refer to Appendix 5). General findings about the past participial form preference in this dialect are summarised in Tables 18 and 19 and represented graphically in Figures 5 and 6.

Table 18. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Catania (P1)

Verb	Preference of the PP form in the PPTF	Preference of the PP form in the passive	Preference of the PP in the pred.
chiudere	long	long	short
dividere	long	long	long
vincere	long	long/short	-
leggere	long	long/short	-
confondere	long	short	short
rompere	long	long	short/long (depending on agentivity)
vedere	short	long	long
perdere	long	long	short/long (depending on agentivity)

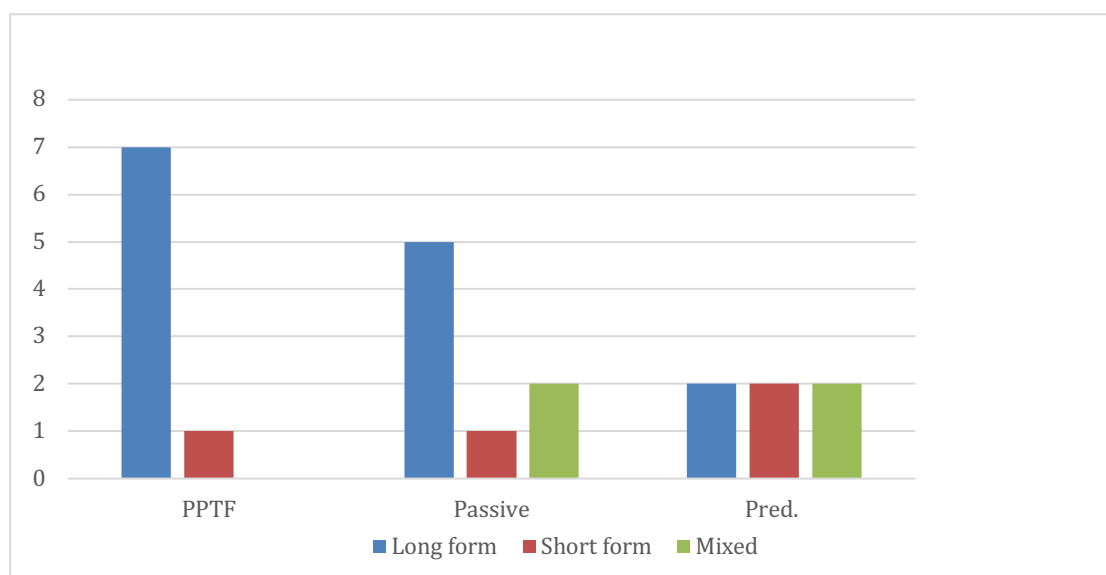


Figure 5. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Catania (P1)

Table 19. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Catania (P2)

Verb	Preference of the PP form in the PPTF	Preference of the PP form in the passive	Preference of the PP in the pred.
morire	long in the trapassato prossimo / short in passato prossimo	-	short
leggere	long	long/short	-
rompere	long	long	short
vedere	long	long	short
perdere	long	long	short

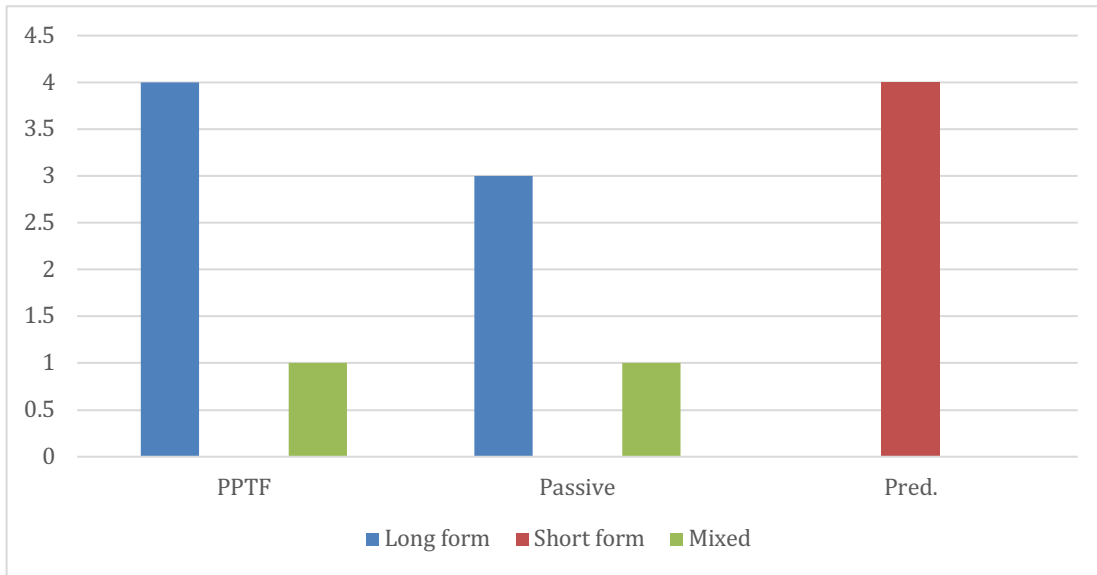


Figure 6. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Catania (P2)

6.2 The dialect of Siracusa

One native speaker of the dialect of Siracusa filled in the Questionnaire Type 1. I will refer to him as the Participant in this section. In order to be able to account for the results provided by participants from different parts of Sicily, I will limit the number of examples cited in the main body of the thesis. However, Appendix 6 provides illustrations for the claims I make below.

6.2.1 Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form

The table below summarizes the verbs where only one past participial form was used by the Participant.

Table 20. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form in the dialect of Siracusa

Verbs that showed only long arrhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used	Verbs that showed only short rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used

aprire (raputu)	PPTF, passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity	vincere (vinto)	PPTF, passive
chiudere (chiurutu)	PPTF, passive, pred.	scrivere (scrittu)	PPTF, passive
dividere (spattutu)	PPTF, passive	-	-
confondere (cunfunnutu)	PPTF, passive, pred.	-	-
piangere (chianciutu)	PPTF, passive	-	-

6.2.2 Verbs that demonstrated past participial doublets

Rompere

On the other hand, when translating sentences containing past participial forms of the verb *rompere*, the Participant used both rhizotonic and arrhizotonic forms. However, unlike in the case of previous verbs, the preference was clearly for the short rhizotonic form *ruttu*, which was used by the Participant in the predicative, passive and PPTF, with the long arrhizotonic form *rumputu* appearing once in the passive function:

55. U vasu ha statu rumputu ri Andrea

However, in another passive context the Participant used the short form, as mentioned above:

56. U vasu avia statu ruttu ri Giuseppe

There seems to be no obvious syntactic or semantic fundamental difference between (55) and (56), however, while (55) is formed on the basis of passato prossimo active construction, (56) is formed on the basis of trapassato prossimo active construction. As will be demonstrated below, there does seem to be some correlation between the tense and the choice of the participle, at least for this Participant.

Vedere

In this case the Participant again used two past participle forms, whose distribution, however, contradicts the general expectations. Thus, he used the short rhizotonic form in the PPTF (57) and in the passive (58):

57. Luigi ha visto u ripintu su u muru

58. U ripintu ha statu vistu pi l'ultima vota tri misi fa

However, in the predicative function he used the long arrhizotonic past participle form:

59. Agghiu truvatu nu ripintu mai virutu prima

This distributional pattern contradicts the usual expectation that the short rhizotonic form tends to be used in the adjectival contexts, while the long arrhizotonic form tends to be used in the verbal contexts. However, more work has to be done with other native speakers of the dialect of Siracusa in order to discuss this further.

Perdere

Since the distributional pattern is complex in this case, more examples will be shown.

Thus in the passive the Participant used the short rhizotonic form:

60. 'A guerra ha statu pessa rei francisi

61. 'A guerra avia stat' pessa rei tidischi

In the predicative function the short form was used again:

62. ‘A guerra pessa addiventa battaglia

However, in two sentences where past participle is used in the PPTF function the choice of the past participle form was different:

63. ‘A Gimmania avia pessu ‘a guerra

64. ‘A Francia ha peddutu a guerra

Therefore, the Participant used the short rhizotonic past participle form as part of the *trapassato prossimo* construction in (63) and the long arrhizotonic past participle form as part of the *passato prossimo* construction in (64). However, as in many previous examples, it is clear that the *passato prossimo* construction seems artificial for the Participant, as he even used standard Italian version of the auxiliary, rather than the dialectal one in (64). Therefore, the result obtained in (64) has to be analysed with caution and, in my opinion, it cannot serve as a substantial proof for the existence of certain split between the PPTF and passive past participial usages.

Morire

The distribution of the two past participle forms in the case of this verb seems to lie along the verbal-adjectival axis. Thus, the Participant used the long arrhizotonic form in the PPTF function:

65. Giovanni ha murutu tri ghionni fa

66. Luigi avia murutu nu riciannovesimo secolo

However, he used the short rhizotonic form in the predicative function:

67. Luigi ave truvatu Maria motta na so stanza

Due to the semantic peculiarities of the verb ‘to die’ passive usage was not tested, which, however, can be improved in the subsequent studies. There is evidence that this verb in the Sicilian dialects could be used transitively in the past, so it is possible that there are still remnants of this trend in the contemporary linguistic varieties. Overall, from the data I have presented, it seems that in the verbal contexts the Participant prefers the long past participle form, while in the adjectival contexts the Participant prefers the short past participle form.

Leggere

The distributional pattern of this past participial doublet is quite complex and has to be investigated further. Thus in the PPTF the following results were obtained, indicating the choice of the long form in the passato prossimo construction (68) and of the short form in the trapassato prossimo construction (69):

68. Giuseppe ha liggiutu stu libbru tri ghionna fa

69. Puskin avia lettu “A Rivina Commedia” prima ri cuminciari l’univessità

In the passive function the short rhizotonic form was chosen:

70. Stu libbru ha statu letto ri Giuseppe ru anni arreti

71. “A Rivina Commedia” avia stat’ letta ri Giulia molti anni arreti

72. Avemu pallatu ri tutti i libbri letti ri Giulia ni ll’ultimi misi

Another instance of the long arrhizotonic past participle form being used comes from the sentence originally designed to test the participial choice of another verb:

73. U prufessuri ha liggiutu tutti i saggi scritti rei studenti

It therefore seems that the long arrhizotonic past participle form was chosen by the Participant when translating sentences that contain *passato prossimo*. Therefore, the long form seems to be used exclusively in the verbal contexts, consistent with the general split along the verbal-adjectival axis.

6.2.3 Preliminary conclusions

The data obtained from the dialect of Siracusa indicates the preference to generalize one past participial form to all instances of usage. Only the long arrhizotonic past participial form was used in the case of the following verbs: *aprire*, *chiudere*, *dividere*, *confondere*, and *piangere*. Two verbs demonstrated an exclusive usage of the short rhizotonic past participial form: *vincere* and *scrivere*.

However, the other five verbs demonstrated an interesting distributional pattern between their two past participial forms. *Vedere* and *morire* showed a rather straightforward pattern: in the case of *vedere*, the Participant used the short rhizotonic form in the PPTF and passive functions and the long one in the predicative function, while in the case of *morire* he chose the long form in the PPTF and the short form in the predicative function. The latter example is thus consistent with the hypothesis that short past participial forms tend to be used in the adjectival contexts, while long past participial forms tend to be used in the verbal contexts.

With the rest of the verbs a very interesting split between the past participle chosen as part of the *passato prossimo* construction and the past participle chosen as part of the *trapassato*

prossimo construction emerged. Thus, in the case of *perdere* the short form was used by the Participant in the passive and predicative, while in the PPTF he used the short form in the trapassato prossimo construction and the long form in the passato prossimo construction. In the case of *leggere*, the Participant used the short rhizotonic past participle form in the passive function and as part of the trapassato prossimo construction in the PPTF function. He used the long form as part of the passato prossimo construction, similarly to what he did with *perdere*. Finally, when translating sentences containing past participle forms of *rompere*, the Participant demonstrated a very similar trend too. Thus, he used the short form in the sentences containing past participle used as part of the predicative, PPTF and passive (formed on the basis of the trapassato prossimo active equivalent) constructions and the long arrhizotonic past participle form in the passive context formed on the basis of the passato prossimo active equivalent. Therefore, there seem to be at least three verbs where the choice of the past participle in the PPTF is determined by the tense.

The split between passive and PPTF functions at least in some contexts was observed in 3 verbs: *rompere*, *perdere*, *leggere*.

Table 21. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Siracusa

Verb	Preference of the PP form in the PPTF	Preference of the PP form in the passive	Preference of the PP in the pred.
rompere	short	short (trapassato prossimo) / long (passato prossimo)	short
vedere	short	short	long
perdere	short (trapassato prossimo) / long (passato prossimo)	short	short
morire	long	-	short
leggere	short (trapassato prossimo) / long (passato prossimo)	short	-

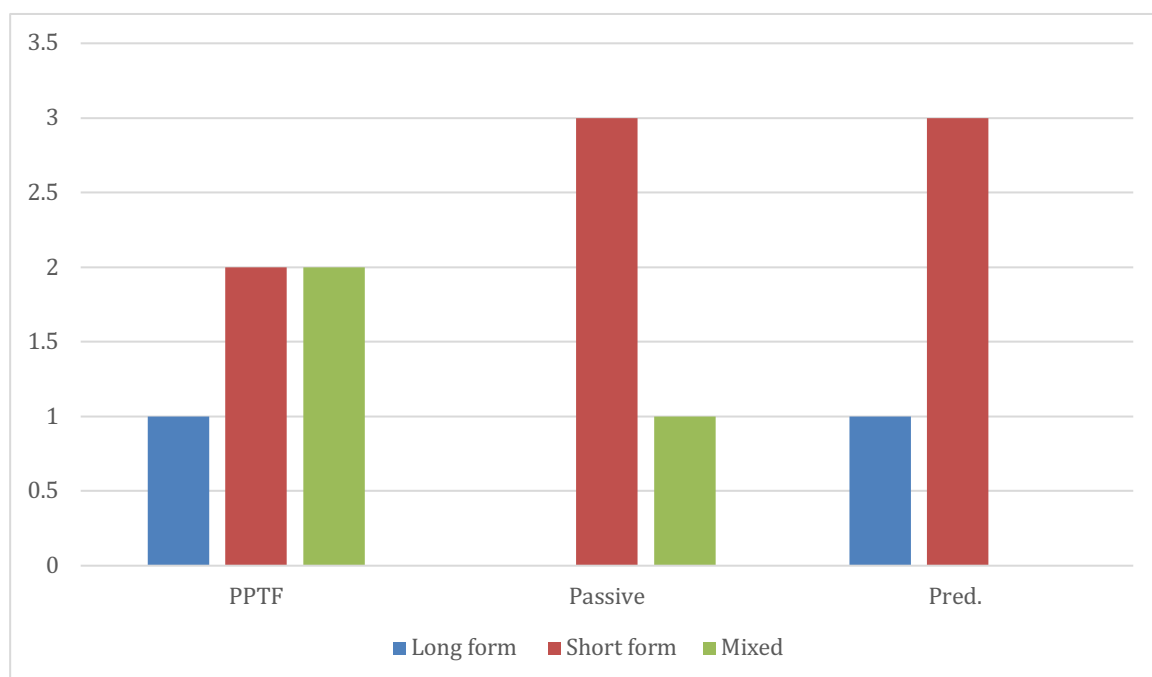


Figure 7. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Siracusa

6.3 The dialect of Acireale (province of Catania)

One speaker from Acireale completed the Questionnaire Type 2, indicating that sometimes he had to disregard my advice to use *passato prossimo* and *trapassato prossimo* in his translations from standard Italian to his local variety, because it sounded too artificial to him. Generally, this Participant only used one past participle form – either long or short one – very rarely demonstrating usage of the participial doublets. For more examples refer to Appendix 7.

6.3.1 Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form

Table 22. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form in the dialect of Acireale

Verbs that showed only long arrhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used	Verbs that showed only short rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used
dividere (spartutu)	PPTF, passive	aprire (apertu)	PPTF, pred.
vincere (vinciutu)	PPTF	chiudere (chiusu)	PPTF, pred.
leggere (liggiutu)	PPTF	rompere (ruttu)	PPTF, pred.
piangere (cianciutu)	PPTF, passive, pred.	vedere (vistu)	PPTF, passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity

-	-	perdere (persu)	PPTF, pred.
-	-	scrivere (scrittu)	PPTF
-	-	confondere (cunfusu)	passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity

6.3.2 Verbs that demonstrated past participial doublets

Morire

Morire turned out to be the only verb demonstrating a past participial doublet in the linguistic repertoire of this Participant. He used the long arrhizotonic past participle form *murutu* in the PPTF function:

74. Giovanni ava murutu tri iorna prima

75. Luigi ava murutu no diciannuvesimu seculu

In the predicative function, on the other hand, the short rhizotonic form was used:

76. Luigi attruaua Maria morta na so stanza

The pattern emerging from this data suggests the split along the verbal-adjectival axis, with the long form used in the verbal context and the short form being used in the adjectival context.

6.3.3 Preliminary conclusions

The questionnaire completed by the Participant who is a native speaker of the dialect of Acireale provided me with the results that indicate the complexity of the analysed issue. In many cases the Participant disregarded my request to use the forms involving past participles in his translations, thus leading to the situation where not all usages of the past participle in the dialect

of Acireale were attested for. However, on the other hand, such resistance on his behalf to use the required forms might indicate their absence in his linguistic variety, thus making it pointless to try to elicit them from the native speakers of the dialect of Acireale.

Thus, in the majority of cases, with only one exception, the Participant used one past participle form – either the short rhizotonic one (*aprire, chiudere, rompere, vedere, perdere, scrivere, confondere*) or the long arrhizotonic one (*dividere, vincere, leggere, piangere*). However, when translating the sentences involving the past participial usage of the verb *morire*, the Participant used two past participial forms – the long arrhizotonic *murutu* and the short rhizotonic *mortu*. Furthermore, the distributional pattern of these two forms supports the hypothesis of the split along verbal-adjectival axis, since the long form was used in the PPTF function, while the short one was used in the predicative one. It is impossible to judge whether there is a split between passive and PPTF functions because of the semantic characteristics of the verb *morire*, as well as general reluctance that the Participant showed when asked to use passive voice in his translations.

Table 23. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Acireale

Verb	Preference of the PP form in the PPTF	Preference of the PP form in the passive	Preference of the PP in the pred.
morire	long	-	short

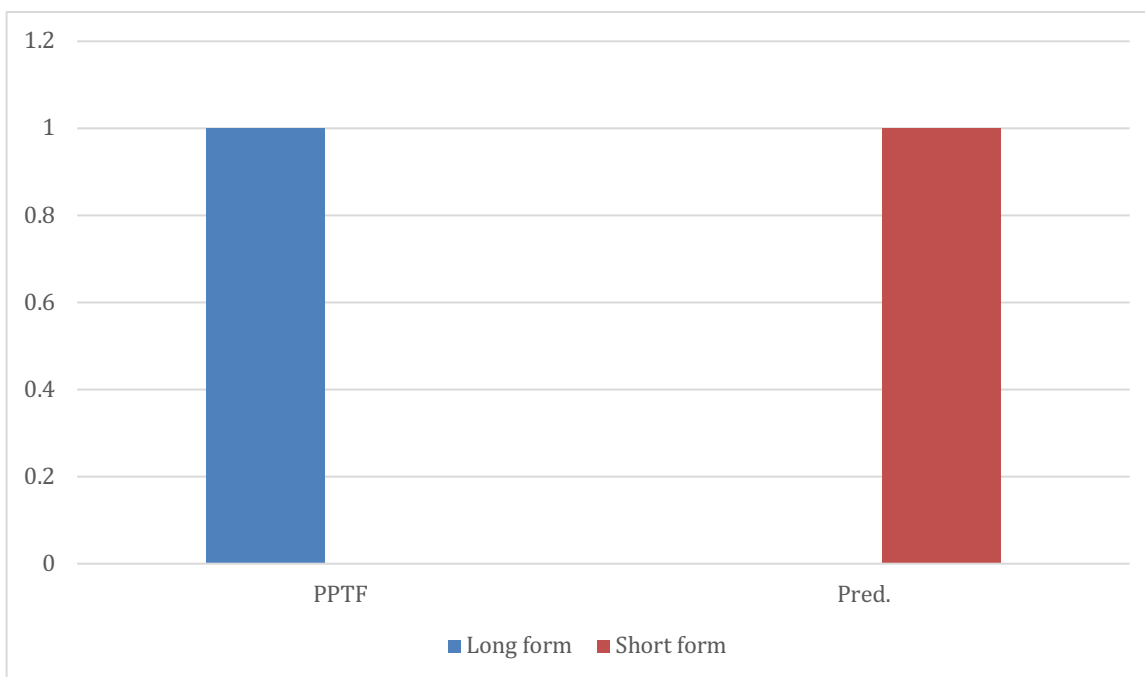


Figure 8. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Acireale

6.4 The dialect of Monti Nebrodi (messinese occidentale)

One Participant from Monti Nebrodi completed Questionnaire Type 2. For more examples refer to Appendix 8.

6.4.1 Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form

Table 24. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form in the dialect of Monti Nebrodi

Verbs that showed only long arrhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used	Verbs that showed only short rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used
dividere (spartutu)	PPTF, passive	vedere (vistu)	PPTF, passive, pred.
vincere (vinciutu)	PPTF, passive	-	-
leggere (liggiutu)	PPTF, passive	-	-
piangere (cianciutu)	PPTF, passive	-	-

6.4.2 Verbs that demonstrated past participial doublets

Aprire

Usage of two past participle forms of *aprire* was attested in this questionnaire. Thus the long arrhizotonic form was used in the PPTF:

77. Ieri matina aveva aprutu a finestra e aveva vistu ô signuri Agnelli

78. U signuri Agnelli aveva aprutu a finestra

The short rhizotonic form was used in the passive (79) and in the predicative function (80, 81):

79. A finestra fu aperta dû signuri Agnelli

80. Quannu visti ô signuri Agnelli, a finestra era aperta

81. Turnaiu a casa e truvai a finestra aperta

From the data I obtained from the native speaker of the dialect of Monti Nebrodi, it seems that there is a split between passive and PPTF functions with regards to the choice of the past participial form.

Chiudere

Similarly to the previous example, the Participant demonstrated the usage of both short and long past participle forms of *chiudere* in his linguistic repertoire. He used the long arrhizotonic form in the PPTF function and the short rhizotonic one in the passive and in the predicative function. Thus in the PPTF:

82. Prima di nesciri dâ casa aveva chiurutu a porta

83. Quannu arrivaiu a casa, u signuri Agnelli aveva già chiurutu a finestra

In the passive function, as mentioned above, the short form was used:

84. A porta fu chiusa dû signuri Agnelli

And in the predicative function the short form was used as well:

85. Turnaiu a casa e truvaiu a finestra chiusa

There again seems to be a split between the choice of a PP form in the passive and PPTF functions.

Rompere

Two past participial forms of *rompere* were used by the Participant in this questionnaire. This Participant used the long arrhizotonic past participle form *rumputu* in both PPTF and passive, limiting the usage of the short rhizotonic form *ruttu* to the predicative function only. Thus in the PPTF function the following result was obtained:

86. Antrià aveva rumputu a crasta

In the passive function the past participle chosen was the same:

87. A crasta fu rumputa da Antrià

88. A crasta aveva statu rumputa da Peppi

In the predicative function, on the other hand, the short rhizotonic form was chosen:

89. Antria trovò a crasta rutta in centu pezzi

90. Giulia aveva truvatu a crasta rutta in centu pezzi

Therefore, this verb does not demonstrate any split between the past participle's passive and PPTF functions.

Perdere

The Participant used the long arrhizotonic past participle form in the PPTF and in the passive functions, while the short form was used exclusively in the predicative function. Thus in the PPTF:

91. A Francia aveva pirdutu a guerra

92. A Germania aveva pirdutu a guerra

In the passive:

93. A guerra fu pirduta dî francisi

And in the predicative:

94. A guerra persa diventa battaglia

Morire

Two past participle forms of *morire* were used in this questionnaire, with the long arrhizotonic form being used in the PPTF (95) and the short rhizotonic one being used in the predicative function (96):

95. Luigi aveva murutu ntô XIX seculu

96. Luigi trovò a Maria morta ntâ so stanza

Scrivere

Two past participle forms of *scrivere* were used by the Participant in his translations.

Thus in the PPTF the long arrhizotonic form was used:

97. Aveva scrivutu tri saggi a simana passata e spirava chi nun ni avissi scriviri ancora
n'autru a simana prossima

And in the passive function the short rhizotonic past participle was used instead:

98. U prufissuri liggìu tutti i compiti scritti dî studenti

These results seem to suggest the split between passive and PPTF functions, thus forming a contrast to the verbs where the split between two past participial forms lies along verbal-adjectival axis.

Confondere

Two past participle forms of *confondere* were used in this questionnaire, again demonstrating a split between passive and PPTF functions. Thus, the long arrhizotonic form was used in the PPTF:

99. U cumpurtamentu di Peppi aveva cunfunnutu Giulia

But the short rhizotonic form was used in both passive (100) and predicative with a hint of agentivity (101):

100. Maria aveva statu cunfusa dâ chiusura dû ingoziu

101. U so cumpurtamentu mi lassau cunfusa

6.4.3 Preliminary conclusions

The results obtained for the dialect of Monti Nebrodi demonstrate the existence of some extent of split between passive and PPTF functions, thus challenging the traditional view of the split between two past participle forms lying along the verbal-adjectival axis. When the Participant demonstrated such split, it was the long arrhizotonic past participle form being used in the PPTF function and the short one being used in the passive and/or predicative functions. This was the case for the following 4 verbs: *aprire*, *chiudere*, *scrivere* and *confondere* (out of 6 verbs which showed PP's passive usage).

Another group of verbs turned out to generalize one past participial form to all functions (generally the long form, with just one exception): in the case of *dividere*, *vincere*, *leggere* and *piangere* the long form was used in the PPTF and in the passive functions, and in the case of *vedere* the short form was used in the PPTF, passive and predicative functions.

The third group of verbs demonstrated a more traditional split along the verbal-adjectival axis. This group includes the following verbs: *rompere* and *perdere*, where the long arrhizotonic past participle form was used in the PPTF and in the passive functions, while the short rhizotonic form was used in the predicative function, and *morire*, where the long form was used in the PPTF function and the short form was used in the predicative function.

As can be seen, the second group which generalized one form to all functions is the most numerous, thus proving the existence of the trend towards economy. However, the number

difference between various behavioural groups is not significant enough to make any conclusion about the overall trend. Furthermore, there does not seem to be a correlation between the transitivity of a verb and the behavioural group it belongs to – thus, the first group includes 3 transitive verbs and 1 intransitive, the second group includes 4 transitive and 1 intransitive verb, and the third group includes 2 transitive and 1 intransitive verb. A further complication comes from the fact that it was not always possible to elicit sentences involving either passive or predicative usage of some verbs' past participle forms due to the verbs' semantic or syntactic characteristics. Therefore, it seems that the distribution of the two forms is rather individual and varies from verb to verb.

Table 25. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Monti Nebrodi

Verb	Preference of the PP form in the PPTF	Preference of the PP form in the passive	Preference of the PP in the pred.
aprire	long	short	short
chiudere	long	short	short
rompere	long	long	short
perdere	long	long	short
morire	long	-	short
scrivere	long	short	-
confondere	long	short	short

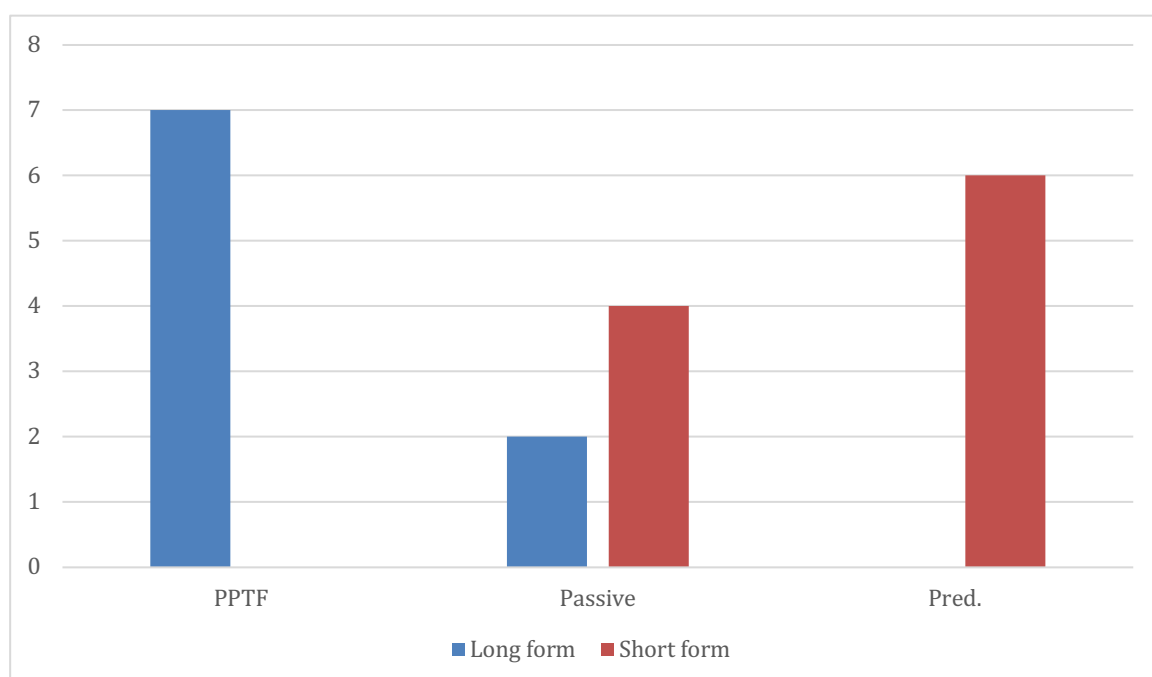


Figure 9. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Monti Nebrodi

6.5. Summary of the native speakers' judgements

The following two tables provide a summary of the above discussed questionnaire results for the dialects of Catania, Siracusa, Acireale and Monti Nebrodi. Overall, whenever the split is encountered, the majority of verbs tend to prefer one form in the verbal function (PPTF) and the other form in the predicative function. The long arrhizotonic form tends to be preferred in the PPTF and the short rhizotonic form tends to be preferred in the predicative function. Choice of past participle in the passive usually coincides with the one for the PPTF, with occasional instances of split, as, for example, in the case of *aprire* and *chiudere* in the dialect of Monti Nebrodi.

One has to be cautious about making clear-cut generalizations, since even two participants from Catania and one from Acireale (located in the province of Catania) showed some different patterns in their results.

Table 26. Summary of the attested PP doublets (the dialect of Catania)

The dialect of Catania – Participant 1		The dialect of Catania – Participant 2	
Verb	Functions	Verb	Functions
chiudere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: pred.	rompere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: pred. with a hint of agentivity
dividere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: optionally in PPTF (trapassato prossimo)	vedere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: pred.
vincere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: optionally in passive	perdere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: pred.
rompere	Long form: PPTF, passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity Short form: pred.	morire	Long form: PPTF (trapassato prossimo) Short form: PPTF (passato prossimo), pred.
vedere	Long form: passive, pred. Short form: PPTF	leggere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: passive (artificial sentence)
perdere	Long form: PPTF, passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity	-	-

	Short form: pred.		
leggere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: passive (artificial sentence)	-	-
confondere	Long form: PPTF Short form: passive, pred.	-	-

Table 27. Summary of the attested PP doublets (the dialects of Siracusa, Acireale and Monti Nebrodi)

The dialect of Siracusa		The dialect of Acireale		The dialect of Monti Nebrodi	
Verb	Functions	Verb	Functions	Verb	Functions
rompere	Long form: passive (passato prossimo) Short form: pred. with a hint of agentivity, PPTF, passive (trapassato prossimo)	morire	Long form: PPTF Short form: pred.	aprire	Long form: PPTF Short form: pred., passive
vedere	Long form: pred. with a hint of agentivity Short form: PPTF, passive	-	-	chiudere	Long form: PPTF Short form: pred., passive
perdere	Long form: PPTF (passato prossimo) Short form: passive, pred., PPTF (trapassato prossimo)	-	-	rompere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: pred. with a hint of agentivity
morire	Long form: PPTF Short form: pred.	-	-	perdere	Long form: PPTF, passive Short form: pred.
leggere	Long form: PPTF (passato prossimo) Short form: passive, PPTF (trapassato prossimo)	-	-	morire	Long form: PPTF Short form: pred.
-	-	-	-	scrivere	Long form: PPTF Short form: passive
-	-	-	-	confondere	Long form: PPTF Short form: passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity

Table 28. Percentage of verbs showing PP doublets in different Sicilian dialects (out of twelve considered verbs)

	The dialect of Catania (Participant 1)	The dialect of Catania (Participant 2)	The dialect of Siracusa	The dialect of Acireale	The dialect of Monti Nebrodi
Percentage of verbs showing PP doublets	8 verbs, 66,7%	5 verbs, 41,7%	5 verbs, 41,7%	1 verb, 8,3%	7 verbs, 58,3%

Conclusion

General conclusion

The results of both parts of my research point into one direction - there seems to be a tendency towards a division between the verbal and adjectival functions of past participle forms in the Sicilian dialects. It was not always possible to elicit sentences with certain functions in either native speakers' translations or literary sources (and differentiate between passive and predicative usages, as discussed above). In particular, native speakers proved to be resistant towards using the passive voice, even when asked to translate sentences containing passive constructions in standard Italian. This problem was also encountered during the analysis of literary sources, with very scarce presence of the passive constructions (refer to Appendix 4), thus making it difficult to judge the existence or absence of the PPTF-passive split based on this type of research.

Overall, the data collected from the literary sources supports the distributional pattern of two past participle forms of certain verbs along the verbal-adjectival axis. For the majority of verbs, the long arrhizotonic past participle form was found to be preferred in the PPTF function, while the short rhizotonic form was found to be preferred in the predicative function. This trend is not universal, as was mentioned in the analysis earlier in the thesis, however, it is a very significant one. In the case of those verbs which seem to prefer the short rhizotonic form in the

PPTF as well (such as *vedere*, for example), this short form is nevertheless also preferred in the predicative function. Therefore, it seems that for some verbs a simple generalization of one form to all functions took place, which can explain the unusual preference of the short form in the verbal function. However, more literary sources need to be consulted in order to prove this hypothesis.

Table 29. Summary of the functional split between two past participle forms in verbs that demonstrated PP doublets in the literary sources

Number of verbs that generally use the same PP form in the passive and PPTF (out of 7 verbs with attestations of passive usage)	Number of verbs showing split between PPTF and passive in certain contexts (out of 7)	Number of verbs that generally use the same PP form in the PPTF and pred. (out of 14)	Number of verbs that generally use different PP forms in the PPTF and pred. (out of 14)
5; 71,4%	2; 28,6%	4; 28,6%	10; 71,4%

The results from questionnaires, on the other hand, sometimes show conflicting evidence. At one extreme lies the result obtained from the native speaker of the dialect of Acireale, where the Participant used only one past participle form in all instances but one, and also often disregarded my request to use *passato prossimo* in his translations. The other three questionnaires show different trends for different groups of verbs: thus, based on the results obtained from the native speaker of the dialect of Monti Nebrodi, I divided the analysed verbs into three behavioural groups. One group draws the distributional line along the verbal-adjectival axis, another along the PPTF-passive axis and the final one uses only one form.

This division between different verbs is not unique to the dialect of Monti Nebrodi, since the dialect of Siracusa seems to do the same. One group of verbs generalized one past participle form to all functions. Another group drew a line along the verbal-adjectival axis, while the third drew a line between the choice of the form within the PPTF function itself. The tendency was to choose the short rhizotonic form as part of the *trapassato prossimo* construction and the long

arrhizotonic form as part of the *passato prossimo* construction. Since *passato prossimo* is not widely used in Sicily, this might explain the emergence of such interesting and unexpected split.

The results for the dialect of Catania should be considered more carefully, since in this case two native speakers filled in this questionnaire. As expected, the first group of verbs demonstrated a clear preference towards generalizing one past participle form to all functions. In the case of the second group of verbs, both participants chose the long form in the PPTF function and the short form in the predicative function, preferably without any hint of agentivity involved. There were found cases where the long form was chosen in the predicative function by one of the participants due to the presence of agentivity. Finally, I found some verbs whose past participial distributional pattern might shed light on the influence of standard Italian on the Sicilian dialects. Thus, for example, the only time the short rhizotonic past participle form of *leggere* was used in the translations to Catanese was a very artificial construct ‘The books read by me’. A very literary and artificial nature of this sentence could have prompted both participants to use the short past participle *lettu*, which closely resembles standard Italian *letto*,

The table below provides a summary of the functional split between two PP forms in verbs that demonstrated PP doublets in the questionnaire results. The percentages do not add up to 100%, because a single verb could demonstrate one distributional pattern with regards to PPTF/passive split and another in the case of PPTF/pred. split. Furthermore, not all verbs demonstrated a full range of PP’s functions.

Table 30. Summary of the functional split between two past participle forms in verbs that demonstrated PP doublets in the questionnaire results

	The dialect of Catania (Participant 1)	The dialect of Catania (Participant 2)	The dialect of Siracusa	The dialect of Acireale	The dialect of Monti Nebrodi
Number of verbs showing no split between PPTF and passive functions (based on	3 out of 8, 37,5%	3 out of 4, 75%	1 out of 4, 25%	-	2 out of 6, 33,3%

instances where passive PP usage was attested)					
Number of verbs showing split between PPTF and passive in certain contexts	5 out of 8, 62,5%	1 out of 4, 25%	3 out of 4, 75%	-	4 out of 6, 66,7%
Number of verbs that generally use different PP forms in the PPTF and pred. (based on instances where pred. and PPTF PP usage was attested)	5 out of 5, 100%	4 out of 4, 100%	3 out of 4, 75%	1 out of 1, 100%	6 out of 6, 100%

As can be seen from the table, the only consistently and cross-dialectally high percentage (with the exception of the dialect of Siracusa) marks the split between PPTF and predicative functions. PPTF is a clear-cut verbal function of the PP, while predicative function is clearly an adjectival one. Passive function can be seen as lying in between these two extremes, aligning with one or the other depending on the context. Thus, the question of the split between PPTF and passive is, on the contrary, more ambiguous. I cannot then conclude whether Sicilian dialects present substantial counterevidence to the morphomic nature of Romance past participle (Maiden 2013).

It seems impossible to state whether the Sicilian dialects align more with Portuguese or with Spanish in their past participial doublet's distributional patterns. The results of this research indicate that one can group verbs together in terms of their behaviour, but it is impossible to give a rule which determines which form of the past participle native speakers have to use in each given case. However, based on the results, one can note a clear tendency of the native speakers towards the generalization of one form (most often the long arrhizotonic one) to all functions, alongside the reanalysis of the short past participle form as an adjective.

Limitations and directions for further research

First of all, it is impossible to make solid conclusions based on such a limited amount of data. Therefore, any generalizations made after the analysis of the literary sources have to be then tested by the extensive fieldwork, involving native speakers of various Sicilian dialects. In fact, I was unable to include all the results I obtained during my data collection: I also received translated sentences from standard Italian to the dialects of Trapani, Assoro, Cerami, Comiso, Furci, Montedoro, Nizza, Pachino, Gregorio and Santa Croce. All of these participants filled in Type 2 Questionnaire, and many of them used the *passato remoto* in the place of *passato prossimo*, thus making it difficult to evaluate the choice of the past participle form in different functions. It is therefore vital for the future researchers who will also implement the native speakers' judgements in their works to substitute the *passato prossimo* with the *trapassato prossimo* wherever possible. This is what I did when I modified Type 1 Questionnaire, leading to the Type 2 Questionnaire.

Furthermore, it might prove to be a better strategy to test native speakers without their knowing they are being tested for the usage of past participle forms. Such an approach will be much more time-consuming, but will lead to more reliable data. Since the verbs chosen for this study are high-frequency ones, it will not be difficult to encounter them in everyday speech. I also believe that future researchers should collect more native speakers' judgements for each particular dialect of Sicily and then attempt to compose a general overview of the double past participle forms' distribution across the Sicilian varieties. The subset of analysed verbs should also be extended to obtain a broader sense of the past participial doublets' distribution.

Finally, this thesis has mainly considered the phenomenon of the past participial doublets in the Sicilian dialects from a synchronic point of view. There was not much evidence found for the historical presence of these doublets, but this should not be taken for granted in the future

research. More light can be shed on the synchronic situation if we manage to better understand the historical causes that gave rise to it, alongside a more profound study of how sociolinguistic factors can condition the choice between the two forms.

Appendices

Appendix 1. The Oxford Online Database of Romance Verb Morphology: past participle forms for several verbs found in the dialect of Mussomeli.

Latin verb	Conjugation	Sicilian Past Participle form	Type of Past Participle
CANTARE	1st	kantato	weak
DARE/DONARE	1st	dato	strong
DORMIRE	4th	durmoto	weak
ESSE/STARE	1st	ʃtato	strong
FACERE	3 rd	fatto	strong
HABERE	2 nd	avoto	strong
IRE/UADERE	3 rd	joto	strong
MANDUCARE	1st	mandzato	weak
MORI	3 rd	muroto	weak
POSSE	special	pototo	weak
SAPERE	3 rd	sapoto	weak
SENTIRE	4 th	sintoto	weak
STARE	1 st	ʃtato	strong
TENERE	2 nd	tnoto	strong
UELLE	special	voloto	weak
UENIRE	4 th	vinoto	weak
UIDERE	2 nd	vifto	strong

Appendix 2. Data collected during my fieldwork at the Archivio Storico di Catania

The data is taken from the unpublished theses, and each of them is dedicated to the researcher's native Sicilian dialect, which is analysed from morphological, phonological and syntactic perspectives. Some verbs come with examples of their usage in respective dialects, and these examples are taken from Bigalke (1997: 61).

Verb	Locality	Past Participle form	Type of past participle
lìgiri	Linguaglossa	lìgǵútu	weak
fari	Linguaglossa	ffáttu	strong
avéri	Adrano	avótu	strong
íssiri	Adrano	stétu	strong
mančári	Ravanusa	mančátu	weak
finíri	Ravanusa	finútu	weak
pérdiri	Ravanusa	piérsu	strong
aviri	Ravanusa	avútu	strong
éssiri	Ravanusa	státu	strong
parrári	Villadoro	parrátu	weak
finíri	Villadoro	finútu	weak
vinciri	Villadoro	vinčútu	weak
aviri	Villadoro	avútu	strong
essiri	Villadoro	státu	strong
muriri	San Cono	muórtu	strong
lavári	San Cono	lavátu	weak
finíri	San Cono	finútu	weak
vinciri	San Cono	vinčútu	weak
avíri	San Cono	avútu	strong
éssiri	San Cono	státu	strong
vulíri	San Cono	vulútu	weak
arrifriddari	San Michele di Ganzaria	riffriddátu (m áyu riffriddátu)	weak
innamorarsi	San Michele di Ganzaria	nnámurátu	weak
arrivari	San Michele di Ganzaria	rrivátu (ámu rrivátu anturítta)	weak
arrivari	San Michele di Ganzaria	yútu (s a yútu a kkurkári)	strong
arrifriddari	Aidone	rəfrədáytt (m aggə rəfrədáytt)	weak

Appendix 3. List of consulted literary sources (19th-21st centuries), online corpora of the Medieval Sicilian texts

All these sources are available online.

19th century Sicilian writers:

- Giuseppe Pitrè, *Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani*, 1870-1913

- *Degl'Idillj di Teocrito*, translated to Sicilian by G. Marco Calvino, 1830
- Giovanni Alcozer, *Poesie siciliane*, 1815
- *Poisii siciliani editi ed inediti*, 1833, Catania: Da Li Tipi Di Li Fratelli Sciutu
- Silvano Luca, *Racconti di un massacro*, 1860
- Giuseppe Pitrè *Canti popolari siciliani*, 1871
- *Poesie siciliane di Giovanni Meli*, 1830
- *Saggio di poesie Siciliane per Giambattista Santangelo*, 1865
- *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane per cura di Giuseppe Pitrè*, 1875

20th/21st century Sicilian writers/song writers:

- Lionardo Vigo, *Raccolta amplissima di canti popolari siciliani*, 1923
- Pippo Nasca, *Ritratti – Poesie siciliane*
- Poems by Giuseppe Tuccio
- Filippo Maria Provitina, *Furriannu-furriannu tra mari e paisi di Sicilia*
- Niccolo' Giannotta, *Centona*, 1948
- Ciccio Busacca (1925-1989), song *Lu Piscaturi Sfortunatu*
- Ciccio Busacca (1925-1989), Sicilian ballad song *Amuri, morti e sirinata amara 1 e 2 parte*
- Ciccio Busacca (1925-1989), Sicilian ballad song *La vendetta di Peppe Musulinu*
- Esther Ciulia, poem *Piriteddu*
- Daniele Barbieri, blog *La Bottega del Barbieri*
- Sicilian song *Vitti na crozza*
- Ciccio Busacca (1925-1989), song *Lu Piscaturi Sfortunatu*
- Pippo Rinaldi (1953-), song *Sutta lu mari*
- Michele Sarrica, *Abramo: dal Vangelo Secondo il Poeta*, 2011
- Ignazio Buttita, poem *Lingua e dialettu*
- Pippo Rinaldi (1953-), song *Sutta lu mari*
- Nino Martoglio (1870-1921), poem *Nataliziu*
- Giusy Schiliro, song *Lu rispettu*
- Ignazio Buttita, poem *Si mori dui voti*
- Ciccio Busacca (1925-1989), song *La vendetta di Peppe Musulinu*
- Angelo Nocera, *Novelle della tradizione siciliana*, 2018
- Turiddu Bella, song *Amuri e passatempi*
- Pino Veneziano, *Piazza Di La Loggia*
- Antonella Fortuna, *Lu Santu Vancelu, secunnu Matteu, Marcu, Luca, Ggiuvanni*, 2016
- Gaspare Mastro, *Littri Ri l'Apuòstuli*, translated into Sicilian in 2016 by Antonella Fortuna
- Rosa Balistreri, poem *A me vita*
- Luigi Pirandello, *Tutto il teatro in dialetto*
- Michele Sarrica, *Tempu di lupi – Dal vangelo secondo il poeta*, 2013
- *Poesie siciliane* (<http://www.pignato.com/isciliani/poesie.html>)
- Giuseppe Cardello, poem *Storia di Cunti e Canti*, 2016

Sicilian proverbs:

- Cu di paroli è vintu, non sempri è cunvintu,
- Amari a cui nun ama è tempu persu,

- A omu ‘ngratu e cavulu ciurutu, chiddu ca fai tuttu è pirdutu

Online corpora

- Corpus Artesia (Archivio Testuale del Siciliano Antico)
- Corpus OVI dell’italiano antico (Istituto Opera del Vocabolario Italiano)
- Corpus TLIO (Istituto Opera del Vocabolario Italiano)

Appendix 4. Extracts from the data collection from the literary sources

This is an extract from the data collection from the literary sources named above. The aim is to illustrate the data collection process, rather than demonstrate all the data that was used in the production of this thesis. The past participial doublets’ distribution of four verbs is illustrated below.

Verb (in standard Italian)	Short PP form	Example	Function of PP in the example	Long PP form	Example	Function of PP in the example
aprire	apertu	mi aviti a fari la finizza d'arriparàrinni tanticchia 'nta la vostra casa, a ca chiovi a celu apertu (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol.4; Termini-Imerese)	Pred.	graputu	'N vidennu chistu, cci hannu graputu 'na finestra pi vidiri chi facià (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 3; Palermo)	PPTF
		Accussi hannu apertu la scacchèra e s'hannu misu a	PPTF		L'uocchi iddu ancora nun l'avía graputu, e	PPTF

		<p>jucari</p> <p>(Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i>, vol. 1; Palermo)</p>			<p>pirciò si cri d'ia ca era ni la sò casa e ni lu liettu cu sò mughghieri</p> <p>(Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i>, vol. 3; Cerda)</p>	
		<p>Cc'è un purtuni: si lu trovi apertu nun tràsiri; si lu trovi chiusu, ammutta e trasi</p> <p>(Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i>, vol. 1; Palermo)</p>	Pred.		<p>Signuri patruni, v'haju a diri ca st'omu e sta donna hannu tiratu un cavuliceddu e v'hannu graputu la porta di lu suttirranu.</p> <p>(Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i>, vol. 1; Palermo)</p>	PPTF
		<p>Avianu l'occhi chiusi, e lu purtuni era apertu</p> <p>(Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti</i></p>	Pred.		<p>Lu 'nnumani s'ha graputu cappella riali, e s'hannu maritatu.</p> <p>(Giuseppe</p>	PPTF

		<i>popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)			Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)	
		Non c'è finestra c'aperta po' stari (<i>Ritratti – Poesie siciliane</i> , Pippo Nasca)	Pred.		E comu cci aviti graputu la porta a lu mè patruni! (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)	PPTF
		con gli occhi ancora aperti (Giuseppe Tuccio, <i>moden Sicilian poet</i>)	Pred.		Stu parku veni puliziatu, abiddutu, graputu ô pukriri gudimentu (from Filippo Maria Provitina's <i>Furriannu-furriannu tra mari e paisi di Sicilia</i>)	Pred.
					E turrigghiuni assai nn'haju graputu (with a note saying that	PPTF

					<p><i>graputu</i> is equivalent to 'aperto')</p> <p>(Niccolo' Giannotta, <i>Centona</i>, 1948)</p>	
					<p>A li canti di li paisani, adaciu, adaciu, s'hannu <i>graputu</i></p> <p>(Niccolo' Giannotta, <i>Centona</i>, 1948)</p>	PPTF
					<p>S'hannu <i>graputu</i> = si sono aperte</p> <p>(Niccolo' Giannotta, <i>Centona</i>, 1948)</p>	PPTF
chiudere	chiusu	<p>Ma comu unu s'ha jincutu li sacchetti di dinari va pi nesciri e nun pò, ca lu pirtusu si trova chiusu.</p> <p>(Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i>, vol.</p>	Pred.	chiudutu	<p>la junranta e lu minutu pi chiudiri la sintenza e di fattu l'ha <i>chiudutu</i>.</p> <p>(from Sicilian song <i>Lu Piscaturi Sfortunatu</i>, text by Ciccio Busacca (1925-1989))</p>	PPTF

		4; S. Giuseppe Jato e Camporeale)				
		<p>avía pigghiatu li nuciddi 'nta l'addetta, e avía lu pugu chiusu e ddu pu gnu chiusu cu li nuciddi 'un putía nèsciri</p> <p>(Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i>, vol. 3; Palermo)</p>	Pred.		<p>Costretta la povera ragazza perché l'avenu chiudutu in una stanza</p> <p>(from Sicilian ballad song <i>Amuri, morti e sirinata amara 1 e 2 parte</i>, text by Ciccio Busacca (1925-1989))</p>	PPTF
		<p>Primittemu ora ca lu casciumi di lu sticcatu era menzu chiusu</p> <p>(Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i>, vol. 3; Polizzi- Generosa)</p>	Pred.		<p>e insiemu a Peppi in carciri chiudutu</p> <p>(from Sicilian ballad song <i>La vendetta di Peppe Musulinu</i>, text by Ciccio Busacca (1925-1989))</p>	Pred.
		<p>d'intra immurtalatu porta chiusu</p>	Pred.			

		(poem by Pippo Nasca, born in 1937)				
		Ma quannu arrivammu davanti a lu purtuni, chiusu lu trovammu (Poem by modern Sicilian poet <i>Piriteddu</i> , Esther Ciulia)	Pred.			
		Assalu chiusu, 'ssu barcuneddu (Niccolo' Giannotta, <i>Centona</i> , 1948)	Pred.			
dividere	divisu	Cotti ddi tri lenticchi, lu maritu jinchíu di vro du li piatta, cu ddi tri lenticchi divisi. (Giuseppe Pitрэ <i>Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 2; Polizzi-Generosa)	Pred.	dividutu	Ddopu cca nn'ammu dividutu li socialisti di li comunisti! (<i>La Bottega del Barbieri</i> , il blog di Daniele Barbieri)	PPTF
		Ardanti, comu si vitti divisu di Fiurina, si chiuìju 'nta 'na	Pred.			

		càmmara, e nun vosi nèsciri cchiù (vol. 2; Palermo)				
		Ha còtu 100 vecchi e cci ha dittu di jiri addumannannu pri la cità tutti divisi (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe,</i> <i>novelle e</i> <i>racconti</i> <i>popolari</i> <i>siciliani</i> , vol. 3; Salaparuta)	Pred.			
vincere	vintu (in the Etymological Dictionary these two forms are used interchangeably)	rimanendone sempre vinto (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe,</i> <i>novelle e</i> <i>racconti</i> <i>popolari</i> <i>siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)	Pred.	vinciutu	E ha vinciutu la scummissa, e s'ha pigliatu tutta la mircanzia (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe,</i> <i>novelle e</i> <i>racconti</i> <i>popolari</i> <i>siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Cianciana)	PPTF
		Cu di paroli è <i>vintu</i> , non semprì è cunvintu. (Sicilian proverb)	Passive		la d'jàulu mi tantàu, e tu m' ha' vinciutu tuttu (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe,</i> <i>novelle e</i> <i>racconti</i> <i>popolari</i>	PPTF

					<i>siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)	
					Sù patruni, gràpiti l'occhi, cà la robba chi v'haju vinciutu è robba vostra (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe</i> , <i>novelle e</i> <i>racconti</i> <i>popolari</i> <i>siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)	PPTF
					Io già haju vinciutu la 'Nfanti Riali a la scachéra (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe</i> , <i>novelle e</i> <i>racconti</i> <i>popolari</i> <i>siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Palermo)	PPTF
					Ah! sta vota cci l'appizzu la curuna, ca mè mughieri l'ha vinciutu du' voti! (Giuseppe Pitrè <i>Fiabe</i> , <i>novelle e</i> <i>racconti</i>	PPTF

					<i>popolari siciliani</i> , vol. 1; Borgetto)	
					Nnimici tristi quantu nn'ha vinciutu (Niccolo' Giannotta, Centona, 1948)	PPTF

Appendix 5. The dialect of Catania. Questionnaire results for both participants

Italian	Sicilian
1. Questa mattina ho aperto la finestra e ho visto il Signor Agnelli.	P1: Nda sta matinata aiu raputu a fenestra e u signuri Agnelli aiu vistutu P2: Stamatina aiu raputu a finesra e aiu virutu u signur Agnelli
2. Quando ho visto il Signor Agnelli, la finestra era aperta.	1. Quannu aiu vistu u signuri Agnelli, a fenestra era raputa 2. Quannu aiu viruto u signur Agnelli, a finesra iera raputa
3. La finestra è stata aperta dal Signor Agnelli.	1. A fenestra do signuri Agnelli ie stata raputa 2. A finesra fu raputa da signuri Agnelli
4. Sono tornato a casa e ho trovato la finestra aperta.	1. Sugnu tunnatu a casa ie aiu attruvatu a fenestra raputa 2. Sugnu tunnatu a casa a aiu truvatu a finesra raputa
5. Il Signor Agnelli aveva aperto la finestra.	1. U signuri Agnelli a fenestra avia raputo 2. U signur Agnelli ava raputu a finesra

6. Prima di uscire dalla casa ho chiuso la porta.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Apprima di nesciri ra casa aiu chiurutu a potta 2. Avanti di nesciri da casa aiu chiurutu a potta
7. La porta è stata chiusa dal Signor Agnelli.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A potta iera stata chiuruta ro Signuri Agnelli 2. A potta è stata chiuruta do signue Agnelli
8. Sono tornato a casa e ho trovato la finestra chiusa.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sugnu tunnatu a casa ie a finestra chiusa aiu attruvatu 2. Sugnu tunnatu a casa e aiu truvatu a finesra chiuruta
9. Quando arrivai alla casa, il Signor Agnelli aveva già chiuso la finestra.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Quannu arruai nda la casa, u signuri Agnelli a finestra avia chiurutu gia 2. Quannu arrivai a casa, u signur Agnelli ava già chiurutu a finesra
10. L'Italia è stata divisa in molte regioni.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. L'italia ie stata dividuta ndi motte regiuni 2. L'Italia è stata spattuta in motte reggioni
11. Le guerre hanno diviso l'Europa in tante regioni politiche.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. e guerri annu dividuto l'europa ndi tanti regioni politiche 2. I verri hanno spattuto l'Europa in tante reggioni politiche
12. L'Europa era stata divisa in molte regioni.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. L'europa iera stata dividuta in motte regiuni 2. L'Europa fu spattuta in motte regioni
13. I confini nazionali avevano diviso l'Europa.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I cunfini dilli naziuni l'europa aviano divisu/dividutu 2. I confini nazionali avanu spattuto l'Europa
14. La guerra è stata vinta dai giapponesi.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. a uerra iera stata vinciuta dilli giappunisi 2. A verra è stata vinciuta da li giappunisi
15. Il Giappone ha vinto la guerra.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A uerra u giappuni l'avi vinciuta 2. U Giappuni ha vinciutu a verra
16. Abbiamo parlato della guerra vinta dai russi.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Amo parlato dilla uerra vitta/vinciuta dilli russi 2. Amu parratu da verra vinciuta da li russi

17. L'elenco delle guerre vinte dai russi è lunghissimo.	<p>1. e elenco di guerre vinciute dilli russi assai longu ie</p> <p>2. L'elencu de verri vinciuti de russi è troppu longu</p>
18. La guerra era stata vinta dai russi.	<p>1. A uerra iera stata vinciuta dilli russi</p> <p>2. A verra era stata vinciuta da li russi</p>
19. Andrea ha trovato il vaso rotto in cento pezzi.	<p>1. Andrea avi attruvatu u vasu rumputu in cintu pezzi</p> <p>2. Andrea attruvau u vasu ruttu in centu pezzi</p>
19*. Questo vaso è rotto.	<p>1. Sto vaso è rottu.</p> <p>2. Sto vaso è rottu.</p>
20. Andrea ha rotto il vaso.	<p>1. Andrea avi rumputu u vasu</p> <p>2. Andrea ha rumputu u vasu</p>
21. Il vaso è stato rotto da Andrea.	<p>1. U vasu ie statu rumputu ri Andrea</p> <p>2. U vasu è statu rumputu di Andrea</p>
22. Giulia aveva trovato il vaso rotto in cento pezzi.	<p>1. Giulia avia attruvatu u vasu rumputu ndi centu pezzi</p> <p>2. Giulia ava truvatu u vasu ruttu in centu pezzi</p>
23. Il vaso era stato rotto da Giuseppe.	<p>1. U vasu ieri statu rumputu ri Giuseppe</p> <p>2. U vasu fu rumputu di Giuseppi</p>
24. Luigi ha visto il dipinto sul muro.	<p>1. Luigi u dipintu ndo muro avia vistu</p> <p>2. Luigi ha virutu u dipintu su u muru</p>
25. Il dipinto è stato visto per l'ultima volta tre mesi fa.	<p>1. U dipintu iera statu vistutu pill'ultima vota tri misi fa</p> <p>2. U dipintu è statu virutu ppi l'ultima vota tri misi arretu</p>
26. Ho trovato un dipinto mai visto prima.	<p>1. Aiu attruvatu n dipintu mai viruto apprima</p> <p>2. Aiu truvatu nu dipintu mai vistu prima</p>
27. La Francia ha perso la guerra.	<p>1. A Francia a guerra avi pidduto</p> <p>2. A Francia ha piddutu a verra</p>

28. La guerra è stata persa dai francesi.	1. A uerra ie stata pidduta da li francisi 2. A verra è stata pidduta da li francisi
29. La guerra persa diventa battaglia.	1. a guerra pidduta na battaglia addiventa 2. A verra pessa diventa battaglia
29*. Questa guerra è una causa persa.	1. Sta guerra ie na causa persa 2. Sta guerra ie na causa persa
30. La Germania aveva perso la guerra.	1. A germania avia pidduto a guerra 2. A Gemmania ava piddutu a verra
31. La guerra era stata persa dai tedeschi.	1. A guerra dalli tedeschi iera stata pidduta 2. A verra ava statu pidduta da li tedeschi
32. Luigi ha trovato Maria morta nella sua stanza.	1. Luigi maria motta nda stanza so avi attruvatu 2. Luigi attruvau Maria motta na so stanza
33. Giovanni è morto tre giorni fa.	1. Giovanni ie mortu tri iorna fa 2. Giovanni è mottu tri iorna arretu
34. Luigi era morto nel XIX secolo.	1. Luigi iera morto ndo XIX seculu 2. Luigi ava murutu ndo XIX seculu
35. Giuseppe ha letto questo libro tre giorni fa.	1. Giueseppe avi leggiutu stu libri tri iorna fa 2. Giuseppi avi leggiutu stu livvru tri iorna arretu
36. Questo libro è stato letto da Giuseppe due anni fa.	1. Stu libro dui arni fa ri giuseppe ie statu liggiutu 2. Stu livvru è statu leggiutu di Giuseppi due anni arretu
37. Puškin aveva letto ‘La Divina Commedia’ prima di cominciare l’università.	1. Puskin avia liggiutu a “Divina commedia” apprima r’accominciari l’univessita 2. Puskin ava liggiutu a Divina Cummedia avanti di accuminciari l’Università
38. Abbiamo parlato di tutti i libri letti da Giulia negli ultimi mesi.	1. Amo apparrato di tutti li libri liggiuti ri Giulia ndal’uttimi tri misi 2. Avemu parratu di tutti li livvri liggiuti di Giulia nda l’uttimi misi
38*. I libri letti da me.	1. I libri letti ri mia 2. I libri letti ri mia

39. 'La Divina Commedia' era stata letta da Giulia molti anni fa.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "La divina commedia" iera stata liggiuta di Giulia moti arni fa 2. A Divina Cummedia era stata liggiuta di Giulia tanti anni arretu
40. Questo libro è stato scritto da Giuseppe.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stu libru ri Giueseppe iera statu scrivutu 2. Stu livvru è statu sriuvutu di Giuseppi
41. Il professore ha letto tutti i saggi scritti dagli studenti.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. U prufessuri avi liggiutu tutti li saggi scrivuti dalli sturenti 2. U prufissuri liggiu tutti li saggi scrivuti da li studenti
42. Quando tornai, Andrea aveva già scritto il suo saggio.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Appina tunnai, Andrea avia gia scrivutu u saggiu so 2. Quannu tunnai, Andrea ava già scrivutu u so saggio
43. Ho scritto tre saggi la settimana scorsa e spero che non dovrò scriverne ancora un altro la settimana prossima.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aiu scrivutu tri saggi a simana passata ie speru ca nun aiu a scriviri n'altu a simana ca veni 2. Aiu scrivutu tri saggi a simana passata e speru che non n'avissi scriviri ancora n'altu a simana ca veni
44. Luigi è stato confuso dal comportamento di Maria.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Luigi ie statu confuso ro compottamento ri Maria 2. Luigi è statu cunfunnutu do cumputtamentu di Maria
45. Il comportamento di Giuseppe ha confuso Giulia.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. U comportamento ri Giuseppe avi cunfunnutu a Giulia 2. U cumputtamentu di Giuseppi cunfunniu Giulia
46. Maria era stata confusa dalla chiusura del negozio.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Maria ra la chiusura ru negoziu iera stata cunfusa 2. Maria era stata cunfunnuta da chiusura du negoziu
47. La chiusura del negozio aveva confuso Giulia.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A chiusura ro negoziu avi cunfunnutu a Giulia 2. A chiusura du negoziu ava cunfunnuta Giulia
48. Il suo comportamento mi la lasciato confusa.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. U compottamento so m'avi lasciatu cunfusu 2. U so cumputtamentu mi lassau cunfunnutu

49. Maria ha pianta senza fine.	1. Maria avi chiangiuto senza fini 2. Maria ha chianciutu senza fini
50. Questa tragedia sar� pianta per lungo tempo.	1. Sta tragedia sarr� chianciuta pi assai tempu 2. Sta traggedia sar� chianciuta ppi longu tempu
51. Giuseppe aveva pianta per il resto della vita dopo la morte della sua moglie.	1. Giuseppi avia chiangiuto pi tuttu u restu ra vita so, dappressu ca so moggghieri mossi 2. Giuseppi ava chianciutu pu restu da vita appressu a motti di so muggghieri
52. La guerra pianta dagli scrittori medievali.	1. A guerra chianciuta dalli scrittori medievali 2. A verra chianciuta da li scrittori medievali

Appendix 6. The dialect of Siracusa. Questionnaire results

Italian	Sicilian
1. Questa mattina ho aperto la finestra e ho visto il Signor Agnelli.	1. Sta matina agghiu raputu a fenes(tr)a e agghiu visto u signo' Agnelli.
2. Quando ho visto il Signor Agnelli, la finestra era aperta.	2. Quannu agghiu visto u signo' Agnelli, 'a fenes(tr)a era raputa.
3. La finestra � stata aperta dal Signor Agnelli.	3. 'A fenes(tr)a ha stat' raputa ro signo' Agnelli.
4. Sono tornato a casa e ho trovato la finestra aperta.	4. Sugnu tunnatu a casa e agghiu truvatu 'a fenes(tr)a raputa.
5. Il Signor Agnelli aveva aperto la finestra.	5. U Signo' Agnelli avia raputu a fenes(tr)a.
6. Prima di uscire dalla casa ho chiuso la porta.	6. Prima ri nnescire ra casa agghiu chiurutu 'a potta.

7. La porta è stata chiusa dal Signor Agnelli.	7. 'a potta ha stat' chiuruta ro Signo' Agnelli.
8. Sono tornato a casa e ho trovato la finestra chiusa.	8. Sugnu tunnatu a casa e agghiu truvatu a fenes(tr)a chiuruta.
9. Quando arrivai alla casa, il Signor Agnelli aveva già chiuso la finestra.	9. Quannu arrivai a casa, u Signo' Agnelli avia ggià chiurutu a fenes(tr)a.
10. L'Italia è stata divisa in molte regioni.	10. L'Italia ha statu spattuta 'na tanti riggioni.
11. Le guerre hanno diviso l'Europa in tante regioni politiche.	11. I guerre hanu spattutu l'Europa na tanti riggioni politiche.
12. L'Europa era stata divisa in molte regioni.	12. L'Europa avia stat' spattuta na tanti riggioni.
13. I confini nazionali avevano diviso l'Europa.	13. -
14. La guerra è stata vinta dai giapponesi.	14. 'A guerra ha statu vinta ri giappunisi
15. Il Giappone ha vinto la guerra.	15. U Giappuni ha vinto 'a guerra.
16. Abbiamo parlato della guerra vinta dai russi.	16. Amu parratu ra guerra vinta rei russi.
17. L'elenco delle guerre vinte dai russi è lunghissimo.	17. L'elenco re guerre vinte rei russi è assai longa.
18. La guerra era stata vinta dai russi.	18. 'A guerra avia stat' vinta rei russi.
19. Andrea ha trovato il vaso rotto in cento pezzi.	19. Andrea ave truvato nu vasu ruttu na centu pezzi.
20. Andrea ha rotto il vaso.	20. Andrea ave ruttu u vasu.
21. Il vaso è stato rotto da Andrea.	21. U vasu ha statu rumputu ri Andrea.

22. Giulia aveva trovato il vaso rotto in cento pezzi.	22. Giulia avia truvatu u vasu ruttu ne centu pezzi.
23. Il vaso era stato rotto da Giuseppe.	23. U vasu avia statu ruttu ri Giuseppe.
24. Luigi ha visto il dipinto sul muro.	24. Luigi ha visto u ripintu su u muru.
25. Il dipinto è stato visto per l'ultima volta tre mesi fa.	25. U ripintu ha statu vistu pi l'uttima vota tri misi fa.
26. Ho trovato un dipinto mai visto prima.	26. Agghiu truvatu nu ripintu mai virutu prima.
27. La Francia ha perso la guerra.	27. 'A Francia ha peddutu a guerra.
28. La guerra è stata persa dai francesi.	28. 'A guerra ha statu pessa rei francisi.
29. La guerra persa diventa battaglia.	29. 'A guerra pessa addiventa battaglia.
30. La Germania aveva perso la guerra.	30. 'A Gimmania avia pessu 'a guerra.
31. La guerra era stata persa dai tedeschi.	31. 'A guerra avia stat' pessa rei tidischi.
32. Luigi ha trovato Maria morta nella sua stanza.	32. Luigi ave truvatu Maria motta na so stanza.
33. Giovanni è morto tre giorni fa.	33. Giuvanni ha murutu tri ghionni fa.
34. Luigi era morto nel XIX secolo.	34. Luigi avia murutu nu riciannovesimo secolo.
35. Giuseppe ha letto questo libro tre giorni fa.	35. Giuseppe ha liggiutu stu libbru tri ghionna fa.
36. Questo libro è stato letto da Giuseppe due anni fa.	36. Stu libru ha statu letto ri Giuseppe ru anni arreti.
37. Puškin aveva letto 'La Divina Commedia' prima di cominciare l'università.	37. Puskin avia lettu "'A Rivina Commedia" prima ri cuminciari l'univessità.

38. Abbiamo parlato di tutti i libri letti da Giulia negli ultimi mesi.	38. Avemu pallatu ri tutti i libbri letti ri Giulia ni ll'ultimi misi.
39. 'La Divina Commedia' era stata letta da Giulia molti anni fa.	39. "A Rivina Commedia" avìa stat' letta ri Giulia molti anni arreti.
40. Questo libro è stato scritto da Giuseppe.	40. Stu libbru ha statu scrittu ri Giuseppe.
41. Il professore ha letto tutti i saggi scritti dagli studenti.	41. U prufessuri ha liggiutu tutti i saggi scritti rei studenti.
42. Quando tornai, Andrea aveva già scritto il suo saggio.	42. Quannu tunnai, Andrea avìa già scrittu u to saggiu.
43. Ho scritto tre saggi la settimana scorsa e spero che non dovrò scriverne ancora un altro la settimana prossima.	43. Agghiu scrittu tri saggi l'otra simana e spero ca iu nun devu scrivirini n'altu ancora a simana ca vene.
44. Luigi è stato confuso dal comportamento di Maria.	44. Luigi ha statu cunfunnutu ru cumpurtamentu ri Maria.
45. Il comportamento di Giuseppe ha confuso Giulia.	45. U cumpurtamentu ri Giuseppe ave cunfunnutu Giulia.
46. Maria era stata confusa dalla chiusura del negozio.	46. Maria avìa stat' cunfunnuta ra chiusura ru negozio.
47. La chiusura del negozio aveva confuso Giulia.	47. 'A chiusura ru negozio avìa cunfunnutu Giulia.
48. Il suo comportamento mi ha lasciato confusa.	48. U so cumpurtamentu m'ave lassatu cunfunnuta.
49. Maria ha pianto senza fine. (please use 'chiuntu'/'chianciutu' in the translation)	49. Maria ave chianciutu senza fine.
50. Questa tragedia sarà pianta per lungo tempo. (please use 'chiantu'/'chianciutu' in the translation)	50. Sta tragedia <i>sarà</i> chianciuta a lungo.

51. Giuseppe aveva pianto per il resto della vita dopo la morte della sua moglie. (please use 'chiantu'/'chianciutu' in the translation)	51. Giuseppe avìa chianciutu po' restu ra vita dopu ra morti ra so mughieri.
52. La sconfitta pianta dagli scrittori medievali. (please use 'chiantu'/'chianciutu' in the translation)	52. 'A scunfitta chianciuta ri scritturi medievali.

Appendix 7. The dialect of Acireale. Questionnaire results

Italian	Sicilian
1. Ieri mattina avevo aperto la finestra e avevo visto il Signor Agnelli.	Ieri ammatinu aprii a finestra e vitti u signor Agnelli.
2. Quando vidi il Signor Agnelli, la finestra era aperta.	Quannu vitti u signor Agnelli, a finestra era aperta.
3. La finestra fu aperta dal Signor Agnelli.	U signor Agnelli apriu a finestra.
4. Tornai a casa e trovai la finestra aperta.	Turnai a casa e truvai a finestra aperta.
5. Il Signor Agnelli aveva aperto la finestra.	U signor Agnelli ava apertu a finestra.
6. Prima di uscire dalla casa avevo chiuso la porta.	Prima di nesciri da casa, iu ava chiusu a porta.
7. La porta fu chiusa dal Signor Agnelli.	U signor Agnelli chiusi a porta.
8. Tornai a casa e trovai la finestra chiusa.	Turnai a casa e truvai a finestra chiusa.
9. Quando arrivai a casa, il Signor Agnelli aveva già chiuso la finestra.	Quannu arrivai a casa, u signor Agnelli ava già chiusu a finestra.
10. L'Italia fu divisa in molte regioni.	L'Italia fu spartuta na tanti rigiuni.
11. Le guerre avevano diviso l'Europa in tante regioni politiche.	I guerri aunu spartutu l'Europa na tanti rigiuni.

12. L'Europa era stata divisa in molte regioni.	L'Europa ava statu spartuta na tanti rigiuni.
13. I confini nazionali avevano diviso l'Europa.	I cunfini naziunali aveunu spartutu l'Europa.
14. La guerra fu vinta dai giapponesi.	I giappunisi vinceru a guerra.
15. Il Giappone aveva vinto la guerra.	U Giappuni ava vinciutu a guerra.
16. Abbiamo parlato della guerra vinta dai russi.	Ama parratu da guerra ca vinceru i russi.
17. L'elenco delle guerre vinte dai russi è lunghissimo.	A lista di guerri ca vinceru i russi è longa.
18. La guerra era stata vinta dai russi.	I russi vinceru a guerra.
19. Andrea trovò il vaso rotto in cento pezzi.	Andrea attruau u vasu ruttu in centu pezzi.
20. Andrea aveva rotto il vaso.	Andrea ava ruttu u vasu.
21. Il vaso fu rotto da Andrea.	U vasu l'ava ruttu Andrea.
22. Giulia aveva trovato il vaso rotto in cento pezzi.	Giulia ava attruatu u vasu ruttu in centu pezzi.
23. Il vaso era stato rotto da Giuseppe.	U vasu l'ava ruttu Giuseppi.
24. Luigi aveva visto il quadro appeso al muro.	Luigi ava vistu u quattru appisu o muru.
25. Il quadro fu visto per l'ultima volta tre mesi fa.	U quattru fu vistu ppi l'ultima vota tri misi arrieri.
26. Trovai un quadro mai visto prima.	Attruvai un quattru ca non l'ava mai vistu prima.
27. La Francia aveva perso la guerra.	A Francia ava persu a guerra.
28. La guerra fu persa dai francesi.	I francisi persuru a guerra.
29. La guerra persa diventa battaglia.	A guerra persa addiventa battaglia.
30. La Germania aveva perso la guerra.	A Girmania ava persu a guerra.
31. La guerra era stata persa dai tedeschi.	I tedeschi aveunu persu a guerra.
32. Luigi trovò Maria morta nella sua stanza.	Luigi attruaua Maria morta na so stanza.

33. Giovanni era morto tre giorni fa.	Giuvanni ava murutu tri iorna prima.
34. Luigi era morto nel XIX secolo.	Luigi ava murutu no diciannuvesimu seculu.
35. Giuseppe aveva letto questo libro tre giorni fa.	Giuseppi ava liggiutu stu libru tri iorna prima.
36. Questo libro fu letto da Giuseppe due anni fa.	Giuseppi liggiu stu libru du misi arreri
37. Puškin aveva letto ‘La Divina Commedia’ prima di cominciare l’università.	Puskin ava liggiutu “A Divina Commedia” prima d’accuminciari l’Università.
38. Abbiamo parlato di tutti i libri letti da Giulia negli ultimi mesi.	Ama parratu di tutti i libri ca Giulia s’a liggiutu na l’ultimi misi.
39. ‘La Divina Commedia’ era stata letta da Giulia molti anni fa.	Giulia ava liggiutu “A Divina Commedia” tanti anni arreri.
40. Questo libro fu scritto da Giuseppe.	Stu libbru u scrissi Giuseppi.
41. Il professore lesse tutti i saggi scritti dagli studenti.	U profissuri liggiu tutti i saggi c’aveunu scrittu i studenti.
42. Quando tornai, Andrea aveva già scritto il suo saggio.	Quannu turnai, Andrea ava già scrittu u so saggiu.
43. Avevo scritto tre saggi la settimana scorsa e speravo che non avrei dovuto scriverne ancora un altro la settimana prossima.	Iù ava scrittu tri saggi a simana passata e spirava ca non n’ava scriviri n’autru a simana ca trasi.
44. Luigi fu confuso dal comportamento di Maria.	Luigi si cunfunniu ppu comportamentu di Maria.
45. Il comportamento di Giuseppe aveva confuso Giulia.	U comportamentu di Giuseppe ava fattu cunfunniri Giulia.
46. Maria era stata confusa dalla chiusura del negozio.	Maria ava ristatu cunfusa pi la chiusura du negoziu.
47. La chiusura del negozio aveva confuso Giulia.	A chiusura du negoziu ava fattu cunfunniri Giulia.
48. Il suo comportamento mi lasciò confusa.	U so comportamentu mi lassau cunfusa.
49. Maria aveva pianto senza fine.	Maria ava cianciutu senza firmarisi.

50. Questa tragedia fu piana per lungo tempo.	Sta tragedia fu cianciuta ppi tantu tempu.
51. Giuseppe aveva pianto per il resto della vita dopo la morte di sua moglie.	Doppu la morti di so mughieri, Giuseppe cianciu ppi lu restu da so vita.
52. La sconfitta piana dagli scrittori medievali.	A scunfitta cianciuta di scrittura du mediuevu

Appendix 8. The dialect of Monti Nebrodi. Questionnaire results

Italian	Sicilian
1. Ieri mattina avevo aperto la finestra e avevo visto il Signor Agnelli.	Ieri matina aveva aprutu a finestra e aveva vistu ô signuri Agnelli.
2. Quando vidi il Signor Agnelli, la finestra era aperta.	Quannu visti ô signuri Agnelli, a finestra era aperta.
3. La finestra fu aperta dal Signor Agnelli.	A finestra fu aperta dû signuri Agnelli.
4. Tornai a casa e trovai la finestra aperta.	Turnaiu a casa e truvai a finestra aperta.
5. Il Signor Agnelli aveva aperto la finestra.	U signuri Agnelli aveva aprutu a finestra.
6. Prima di uscire dalla casa avevo chiuso la porta.	Prima di nesciri dâ casa aveva chiurutu a porta.
7. La porta fu chiusa dal Signor Agnelli.	A porta fu chiusa dû signuri Agnelli.
8. Tornai a casa e trovai la finestra chiusa.	Turnaiu a casa e truvaiu a finestra chiusa.
9. Quando arrivai a casa, il Signor Agnelli aveva già chiuso la finestra.	Quannu arrivaiu a casa, u signuri Agnelli aveva già chiurutu a finestra.
10. L'Italia fu divisa in molte regioni.	L'Italia fu spartuta in tanti regioni.
11. Le guerre avevano diviso l'Europa in tante regioni politiche.	I guerri avevanu spartutu l'Europa in tanti regioni pulitichi.
12. L'Europa era stata divisa in molte regioni.	L'Europa era stata spartuta in tanti regioni.

13. I confini nazionali avevano diviso l'Europa.	I cunfini naziunali avevanu spartutu L'Europa.
14. La guerra fu vinta dai giapponesi.	A guerra fu vinciuta dî giappunisi.
15. Il Giappone aveva vinto la guerra.	U Giappuni aveva vinciutu a guerra
16. Abbiamo parlato della guerra vinta dai russi.	Parlammu dâ guerra vinciuta dî russi
17. L'elenco delle guerre vinte dai russi è lunghissimo.	L'elencu dî guerri vinciuti dî russi è lunghissimu.
18. La guerra era stata vinta dai russi.	A guerra aveva statu vinciuta dî russi.
19. Andrea trovò il vaso rotto in cento pezzi.	Antrià trovò a crasta rutta in centu pezzi.
20. Andrea aveva rotto il vaso.	Antrià aveva rumputu a crasta.
21. Il vaso fu rotto da Andrea.	A crasta fu rumputa da Antrià.
22. Giulia aveva trovato il vaso rotto in cento pezzi.	Giulia aveva truvatu a crasta rutta in centu pezzi.
23. Il vaso era stato rotto da Giuseppe.	A crasta aveva statu rumputa da Peppi.
24. Luigi aveva visto il quadro appeso al muro.	Luigi aveva vistu u quattru appinnutu ô muru.
25. Il quadro fu visto per l'ultima volta tre mesi fa.	U quattru fu vistu pi l'urtima vota tri misi fa.
26. Trovai un quadro mai visto prima.	Truvai un quattru mai vistu prima.
27. La Francia aveva perso la guerra.	A Francia aveva pirdutu a guerra.
28. La guerra fu persa dai francesi.	A guerra fu pirduta dî francisi.
29. La guerra persa diventa battaglia.	A guerra persa diventa battaglia.
30. La Germania aveva perso la guerra.	A Germania aveva pirdutu a guerra.
31. La guerra era stata persa dai tedeschi.	A guerra aveva statu pirduta dî tedeschi.
32. Luigi trovò Maria morta nella sua stanza.	Luigi trovò a Maria morta ntâ so stanza
33. Giovanni era morto tre giorni fa.	Giuvanni aveva murutu tri iorna fa.
34. Luigi era morto nel XIX secolo.	Luigi aveva murutu ntô XIX seculu.

35. Giuseppe aveva letto questo libro tre giorni fa.	Peppi aveva liggiutu stu libru tri iorna fa.
36. Questo libro fu letto da Giuseppe due anni fa.	Stu libru fu liggiutu da Peppi dui anni fa.
37. Puškin aveva letto ‘La Divina Commedia’ prima di cominciare l’università.	Puškin aveva liggiutu ‘A Divina Cummedia’ prima di cuminzari l’università.
38. Abbiamo parlato di tutti i libri letti da Giulia negli ultimi mesi.	Parlammu di tutti i libri liggiuti da Giulia ntâ l’urtimi misi.
39. ‘La Divina Commedia’ era stata letta da Giulia molti anni fa.	‘A Divina Commedia’ aveva statu liggiuta da Giulia tanti anni fa.
40. Questo libro fu scritto da Giuseppe.	Stu libru fu scrittu da Peppi.
41. Il professore lesse tutti i saggi scritti dagli studenti.	U prufissuri liggiu tutti i compiti scritti dî studenti.
42. Quando tornai, Andrea aveva già scritto il suo saggio.	Quannu turnai, Antria aveva già scrivutu u so saggiu.
43. Avevo scritto tre saggi la settimana scorsa e speravo che non avrei dovuto scriverne ancora un altro la settimana prossima.	Aveva scrivutu tri saggi a simana passata e spirava chi nun ni avissi scriviri ancora n’altu a simana prossima.
44. Luigi fu confuso dal comportamento di Maria.	Luigi fu cunfusu dû cumpurtamentu di Maria.
45. Il comportamento di Giuseppe aveva confuso Giulia.	U cumpurtamentu di Peppi aveva cunfunnutu Giulia
46. Maria era stata confusa dalla chiusura del negozio.	Maria aveva statu cunfusa dâ chiusura dû ingoziu.
47. La chiusura del negozio aveva confuso Giulia.	A chiusura dû negoziu aveva cunfunnutu Giulia.
48. Il suo comportamento mi lasciò confusa.	U so cumpurtamentu mi lassau cunfusa.
49. Maria aveva pianto senza fine.	Maria aveva cianciutu senza fini.
50. Questa tragedia fu pianta per lungo tempo.	Sta tragedia fu cianciuta pi tantu tempu.

51. Giuseppe aveva pianto per il resto della vita dopo la morte di sua moglie.	Peppi aveva cianciutu pù restu dâ vita dopu a morti di so mughieri.
52. La sconfitta pianta dagli scrittori medievali.	A scunfitta cianciuta dî scrittura dû Mediuevu.

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