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**Syntactic constructions with motion
verbs in some Sicilian dialects:
a comparative analysis**

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Abstract

Most Sicilian dialects share a typical syntactic construction which features three elements: 1) a verb taken from a restricted class of motion verbs; 2) the connecting element *a*; 3) an inflected lexical verb. This work aims at exploring the behaviour of this construction as used in the dialect spoken in Delia, a small centre in the province of Caltanissetta, as well as in some other Sicilian dialects. I will start from a detailed description of the cases in which the examined structure can occur, providing some remarks on related phonological phenomena. In my analysis I will also take into account the syntactic features that Cardinaletti & Giusti (2003) have singled out about Marsalese verifying them on Deliano, and I will describe the range of variability that such constructions display among some Sicilian dialects and some unrelated languages. My conclusion will be that motion verbs in the relevant construction can feature most of the characteristics of functional verbs.

Keywords: Sicilian dialects, syntax, motion verbs, functional heads

Chapter 1. Introduction

In this chapter, which is to be intended as a preliminary part to the syntactic analysis of motion verb + *a* + inflected lexical verb proposed in the following chapters, I will briefly outline the linguistic environment characterising the community from which my study of the syntactic construction under investigation begins. I will devote the remaining sections of this chapter to explaining the system I have adopted for the transcription of the utterances that I have collected, taking into account the effects of both fast speech and a particular phonosyntactic phenomenon on them.

1.1. The dialect spoken in Delia: a brief overview

Sicily is an Italian region particularly rich in dialectal varieties, whose speakers amount to about five million. These varieties¹ form, together with the dialects spoken in the southern part of Calabria and in Salento (Southeastern Apulia), the group known as ‘Extreme Southern Dialects’ (see figure 2). The dialect on which my analysis has mainly focused is spoken in Delia, a small village in the province of Caltanissetta, with a population of 4,500. Figure 1 shows the position of Delia, in the lower part of the island.

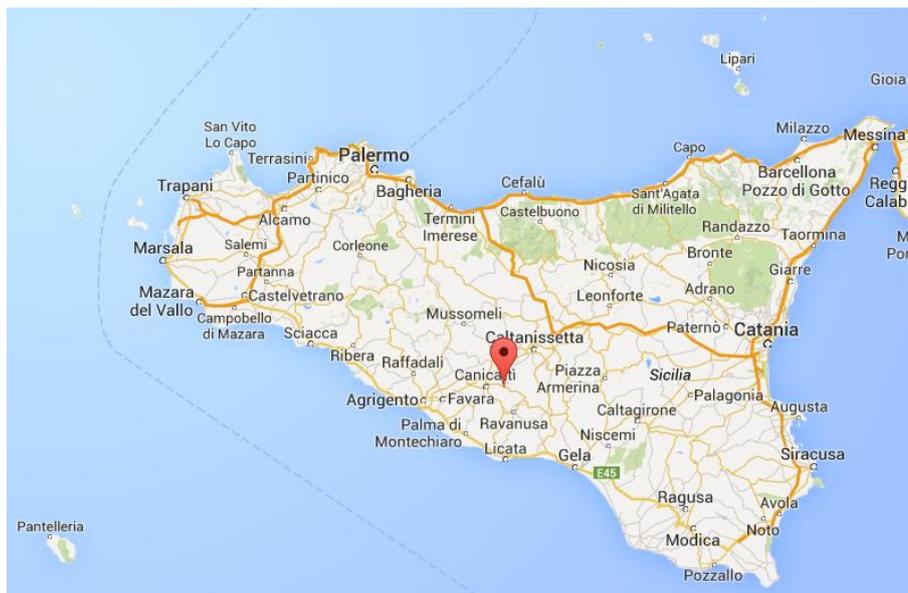


Figure 1 the geographical location of Delia

¹ Gallo-Italic dialects, spoken in a small number of towns and villages in the provinces of Messina, Enna, Palermo and Catania, form a language island within Sicily and thus do not belong to any proper variety of Sicilian dialects.

This dialect, henceforth Deliano, belongs to the subgroup of ‘Central Metafonetica’, which clusters the varieties spoken in the provinces of Caltanissetta and Enna and in some peripheral areas of the provinces of Agrigento, Messina and Palermo. This subgroup is named after a typical phonological feature they display, called metaphony², and is referred to as IIIb in figure 2.



Figure 2 The map of the Italian Extreme Southern Dialects

As regards the actual use of the dialect in everyday communication, there is a national trend showing a decrease in the percentage of young generations of speakers who learn to speak the dialects of their own communities in their domestic context. The knowledge of the native dialects these speakers display is limited compared with that of older speakers, especially in terms of the capability of using the lexicon. This trend makes a pair with the one showing how young people tend to speak Italian rather than their own dialects when they live in cities or towns more than when they live in small centres (cf. Marcato 2002). This latter aspect, however,

² Metaphony is a process of assimilation affecting non-adjacent vowels in a word according to which a change in the quality of a vowel takes place under the influence of the following vowel. See section 1.2 for the diphthongs resulting from the metaphonetic process in Deliano.

mostly occurs in Northern Italy, whereas the validity of the former trend applies to the whole country. Undeniably, almost everywhere in Italy less and less speakers use their dialects in a highly productive way, that is, for instance, without needing to substitute all the missing dialectal terms with the Italian counterparts. Nevertheless, Sicily is one of the Italian regions in which the use of the dialect in informal contexts is still lively.

In this respect, Deliano is no exception, all the more so as this dialect can count on a remarkable number of speakers living abroad³ who do not have Italian as their second language and can barely understand it. Naturally, the versions of Deliano spoken by the communities living abroad, although being extremely conservative with respect to core vocabulary, suffer from the overall pressure English⁴, Spanish, German or French exert on the dialect speakers. On the other hand, the presence of many speaking communities outside Italy and their social and cultural centres – which indeed is a feature most Southern Italian dialects share – can also guarantee a long life to this dialect.

As for the Islanders, that is the dialect speakers living in the home land, I have primarily focused on people who are under 30, in order to verify whether the relevant syntactic construction is still in use or not. The same holds true for the other Sicilian dialects I have taken into account. In doing so, I had to take into consideration the two linguistic repertoires, the Italian and the dialectal one, the speakers can count on. Although these repertoires seem to be clearly separated among speakers, so that the typical syntactic constructions in Deliano hardly ever interfere with those in Italian⁵, it is possible – although not frequent – for the Sicilian inflected construction⁶ to occur in Italian utterances, like in the ungrammatical but not unheard «*Lo vado a prendo?» (‘Shall I go and fetch it?’). I believe that cases like this can

³ There are three main areas in which it is possible to find a considerable amount of second generation speakers in Deliano. Firstly, the largest group (about 10,000 speakers) is located in Ontario (Canada); Secondly, there is a group located in Venezuela; Thirdly, there is a further group living in a wide European area comprising Germany, France and Belgium. Furthermore, a new wave of emigration is directed towards more countries than in the past, including the United Kingdom and Australia.

⁴ I have personally recorded cases in which a speaker from Canada, while speaking Deliano, used the present progressive tense to talk about future arrangements, which is a prerogative of the English form only.

⁵ For example, the construction to express both need and future actions (see notes 10 and 12) in Deliano is never affected by the corresponding constructions in Italian and vice versa.

⁶ For a complete account of the inflected construction in Deliano, see chapter 2.

give evidence to the vitality of this construction in Deliano, in the same way as the examples provided in the following chapters do for the other relevant dialects⁷. Furthermore, I believe that this sign of vitality is also important from the point of view of Language Teaching, since learners who can speak both Italian and Deliano (or any other of the dialects analysed) are too often unaware of the fact that they can manage two different syntactic structures having the same meaning in the two languages and that one of the two versions, the dialectal one, can be curiously analogous to the structure of the foreign language they are studying at school.

To conclude this preliminary section, it is important to list the other languages of the group of Extreme Southern Dialects I have mainly taken into account in my analysis, in order to include representatives from different parts of this linguistic area: they are the ones spoken in Marsala, Palermo, Grammichele, Acireale, Marina di Ragusa, Taranto (in Apulia), and to a lesser extent, Canicattì, Cittanova (in Calabria), Enna and Trapani.

1.2. Some considerations on the transcription of the spoken utterances in Deliano

Choosing the most appropriate graphemes when transcribing dialectal utterances for linguistic purposes is a difficult task, because these transcriptions can seldom rely on a written literature officially establishing their writing rules. In Sicily, only the dialects of culturally and historically influential cities such as Palermo, Catania and Messina have a considerable corpus of texts which have been written in their respective modern dialects. Small centres don't usually have a significant number of dialectal works and when they do, they are likely to contain a number of writing conventions coming from other centres, mainly because their first aim does not concern phonetics or linguistics at all. Moreover, trying to use the most accurate conventions in order to achieve the right correspondence between the graphemes and the phonemes is something that even Italian, the official language in Italy, cannot be proud of (cf. Patota (2002:40-41)).

⁷ This holds true for the verb 'to go' more than for the other motion verbs, as made clear in chapter 2 and 3.

Among the various conventions used by scholars to render the spoken version of a dialect into writing, that of Grassi, Sobrero and Telmon in their *Fondamenti di dialettologia italiana* (1997) and *Introduzione alla dialettologia italiana* (2003) is ingenious, because the authors have combined the common IPA transcription of each phoneme of the word under investigation with the conventional Italian writing system. Although this transcription system was thought for the sake of clarity, since IPA is limited only to one phoneme or a group of phonemes at a time, the final result can be undoubtedly difficult to understand for lay people, especially because the same word can appear in different forms, depending on which phoneme of that word is being analysed.

In the matter of Deliano, this dialect – as all the dialects spoken in the small centres of Sicily – has never had a significant amount of written texts which could show the readers an unvarying set of written conventions. Only recently, with the growing importance of the Social Networks and the Instant Messaging Software Programs, have the young speakers increasingly felt the need to occasionally write in their own dialect for specific expressive effects. As a consequence of these new communication needs, a vast range of conventions has arisen, often showing a certain degree of arbitrariness, linked to the constraints to which the rules of Standard Italian force the dialect speakers. An instance of such constraints can be found in the relative difference between the vocal systems of Standard Italian and those of most Italian dialects, among which that of Deliano uncomfortably fits into the Standard Italian one.

One of the phonological characteristics that Deliano features, i.e. the two diphthongs resulting from a metaphonetic process typical of the dialects of central Sicily (cf. Ruffino (2001:44-46) and Rohlfs (1969a: §§5-7), demands a dedicated device, that is the graphic rendering *ji* and *ui*, mainly because two of the motion verbs analysed here, namely some forms belonging to *jiri* and *vèiri/viniri*, contain one of them. These devices, however, will not be extended in other parts of the transcription in this thesis.

Notice that most native speakers in Delia would find the forms *ie* and *ue* more natural, because that is the way these two elements are usually written in the aforementioned new media communication contexts. The problem with this second version is that it is not very accurate. It is phonetically closer to Canicattinese, a dialect spoken in a town in the province of Agrigento but very close to Delia, which features the same metaphonetic process, although the second element of the resulting diphthong is distinctly more open.

As for the sentences containing some cases of phonosyntactic consonantal gemination, a phenomenon which is widespread in the Sicilian dialects and will turn out to be important for the present work, only the one pertaining the starting sound of the lexical verb following the preposition *a* (and, in some cases, *ppi*) will be shown here graphically by means of a double consonant. Further elements in the present work which will show a starting consonantal gemination not depending on phonosyntactic reasons are:

- the preposition *ccu* ('with') – not to be confused with the question word *cu* ('who?');
- the adverbs of quantity *cchju* and *cchjossà* ('more');
- the preposition *ppi* ('for' or 'to');
- the preposition *nni* ('in', 'at' or 'to') and the homophonous direct and indirect object personal pronoun *nni* ('us') – not to be confused with the partitive pronoun *ni*;
- the feminine singular indefinite article *nna* ('a' or 'an');
- the demonstrative adjectives *ssa* (feminine, 'that'⁸) – not to be confused with the polite form *sa* –, *ssu* (masculine, 'that') and *ssi* (feminine and masculine, 'those');

⁸ Deliano has three groups of demonstrative adjectives: 1) *stu, sta, sti*; 2) *ssu, ssa, ssi*; 3) *ddru, ddra, ddri*. They generally correspond to *questo, questa, questi, queste* (used to refer to somebody or something near to the speaker or writer); *codesto, codesta, codesti, codeste* (used to refer to something far away from the speaker [or writer], but near to the person addressed); *quello, quella, quelli, quelle* (used to refer to somebody or something far away to both the writer/speaker and the person addressed) in the Italian language. The Italian second group of demonstrative adjectives, however, is relatively uncommon today.

As for the second group of demonstratives in Deliano, they are morphologically cognate to the Spanish *eso, esa, esos, esas*.

Notice that, while in Italian the demonstrative adjectives and the corresponding pronouns coincide, the demonstrative pronouns in Deliano are: *chistu/a/i, chissu/a/i* and *chiddru/a/i*.

- the demonstrative adjectives *ddra* (feminine, ‘that’), *ddru* (masculine, ‘that’) and *ddri* (feminine and masculine, ‘those’);
- the adverbs of place *cca* (‘here’), *ddruicu* (‘there’) and *ddra* (‘there’)⁹.

Retroflex consonants are another phonological feature of Sicilian dialects showing different written forms, and Deliano is no exception. In most studies, they are transcribed with a diacritic point under the dental consonants (*ḍḍ* and *ṭṭ*). These ones will be here given the more traditional form *ddr* and *tr* respectively, like in the following subject personal pronouns¹⁰: *nuantri* (‘we’), *vuantri* (plural, ‘you’), *iddru* (‘he’), *iddra* (‘she’) and *iddri* (‘they’). This transcription can help the reader distinguish between dialects which have a retroflex *tr* but whose pronunciation of the group *dd* deriving from Latin LL is not retroflex, like e.g. in Palermitano and Catanese.

There are reasons to believe that showing the phonosyntactic consonantal gemination in writing should be also applied in other occasions, since it could help the reader detect the cases in which *a* is not just a preposition but rather the contraction of two different *a*’s. In this case, the former is a preposition, while the latter coincides with the English singular definite article ‘a’ (before feminine nouns). Phrases such as *a casa* in some Sicilian dialects are not identical to the Italian ‘a casa’, because the latter contains a simple preposition, that is without any article fused with it, which is followed by a noun. When *a* is not the result of such a contraction, but simply a preposition, phonosyntactic gemination occurs:

- (1) a. *a Ccartanisetta* (‘in Caltanissetta’, ‘to Caltanissetta’);
- b. *a Ppalermu* (‘in Palermo’, ‘to Palermo’).

On the contrary, when *a* has incorporated the definite article, no phonosyntactic gemination occurs:

- (2) a. *a villa* (‘in the park’, ‘to the park’).
- b. *a chiazza* (‘in the square’, ‘to the square’).

⁹ The difference between *ddruicu* and *ddra* in terms of point of reference in the speech is similar to that between the two groups of demonstrative adjectives *ssu*, *ssa*, *ssi* and *ddru*, *ddra*, *ddri*.

¹⁰ Subject Personal pronouns in Deliano are: *iu* (‘I’), *tu* (singular, ‘you’), *iddru* (‘he’), *iddra* (‘she’), *nuantri* (‘we’), *vuantri* (plural, ‘you’), *iddri* (‘they’).

Singular definite articles in Deliano have not lost their starting consonant (cf. *lu pani* in Deliano vs. *u pani* in Marsalese and in most of Sicilian dialects), so contractions like the one discussed above do not generally occur: *a la villa*, *a la chiazza*, *a la putìa* (‘at the shop’, ‘to the shop’), *ccu la machina* (‘by car’). Moreover, what in most Sicilian dialects is expressed by the phrase *a casa*, becomes *intra* in Deliano. For these two reasons, in this work there is no need to extend the graphic rendition of phonosyntactic gemination to cases other than the ones previously explained.

1.3. The effects of the fast speech on some syntactic constructions

Another issue one has to face when trying to transcribe dialectal utterances is whether to account for the effects of fast speech on some syntactic constructions or not. The fusion of elements ensuing from this phenomenon is noteworthy, to the extent that some constructions become almost unrecognisable. The sentence in (3a) contains an example of the periphrastic deobligative future in Deliano¹¹ – Sicilian dialects having no morphological future tense – formed by the present tense of the verb *aviri* (‘to have’) followed by the preposition *a* and the infinitive of the verb bearing the meaning of the phrase. (3b) shows the result of fast speech on (3a). The sentences in (3c-f) indicate that even in fast speech, it is possible to clearly distinguish the 1st singular¹² from 3rd singular and 3rd plural. Thus, this kind of contraction does not concern the indistinct verbal form characterising the inflected verb construction with motion verbs in dialects such as Marsalese and Palermitano (cf. chapter 2 below).

- (3) a. *Dumani haju a gghjiri a la posta.* (extended version)
 b. *Dumani agghjiri a la posta.*
 ‘I am going to the post office tomorrow.’
 c. *Dumani havi a gghjiri a la posta.* (extended version)
 d. *Dumani avagghjiri a la posta.*
 ‘He is going to the post office tomorrow.’

¹¹ In the present tense, this construction can also be used in a non-future sense (see note 12).

¹² In fast speech, 1st and 2nd singular have the same form, so that *agghjiri* can be both the contraction of *haju a gghjiri* (1st singular) or the contraction of *ha a gghjiri* (2nd singular). However, an exclusive form *egghjiri* is often used for the 1st singular for disambiguation purposes, thus making the original structure more difficult to recognize.

- e. *Dumani hannu a gghjiri a la posta.* (extended version)
- f. *Dumani annagghjiri a la posta.*

‘They are going to the post office tomorrow.’

Moreover, the sentences in (4a-d) provide instances of further contraction of the verb *aviri* in the 1st and 2nd plural persons: the forms *avjimmu* (‘we have’) and *aviti* (‘you have’) become respectively *ammu* and *atu* before entering the deobligative construction.

- (4) a. *Lu misi ca trasi ammu a gghjiri a Bbenezia.* (extended version)
- b. *Lu misi ca trasi ammagghjiri a Bbenezia.*

‘We are going to Venice next month.’

- c. *Lu misi ca trasi atu a gghjiri a Bbenezia.* (extended version)
- d. *Lu misi ca trasi atagghjiri a Bbenezia.*

‘You are going to Venice next month.’

Finally, the same phenomenon can be found in the past tense and in the imperfect of this periphrastic construction¹³. In the latter case, again, a case of double contraction happens, so that *aviva* (‘I had’) can only occur as *avìa* in this structure.

- (5) a. *Ajiri avìa a gghjiri a la posta ma mi lu scurdavu.* (extended version)
- b. *Ajiri aviagghjiri a la posta ma mi lu scurdavu.*

‘Yesterday, I had to go to the post office but I forgot about it.’

Contracted forms, such as those described in the previous examples, are by far more likely to occur in real communication than extended forms. Nevertheless, since showing the contracted version of the infinitival and inflected constructions with motion verbs would be misleading for the aims of the present work, only extended versions will be generally quoted in the following sections.

¹³ When the deobligative form is used in the past tense or in the imperfect, it loses the sense of futurity and is used to mean need or obligation, since Sicilian dialects generally lack a dedicated modal verb. In this case, this construction corresponds to the English ‘have to’ form.

1.4. The effects of initial consonant mutation on phonosyntactic gemination

As all the examples in section 1.3. have shown, the initial consonantal sound of a word in Deliano can change in case of phonosyntactic gemination and this effect, unlike what just said for the fast speech contraction effects, will be always pointed out in this work.

More in detail:

- words starting by *j*- become *gghj*- as in the following examples:

- (6) a. *jiri* ('to go') > *ppi gghjiri* ('to go')
- b. *jittari* ('to throw away') > *ppi gghjittari* ('to throw away')
- c. *Jachinu* ('Joachim') > *ccu Gghjachinu* ('with Joachim')
- d. *jumenta* ('mare', 'she-horse') > *a gghjumenta!* ('what a mare!')

- words starting by *v*- become *bb*- as in:

- (7) a. *nna vota* ('once') > *tri bboti* ('three times')
- b. *vanniari* ('to cry out') > *si misi a bbanniari* ('he/she started crying out')
- c. *Vicjinzu* ('Vincent') > *ccu Bbicjinzu* ('with Vincent')

The masculine singular indefinite article *un* ('a') and the homophonous numeral adjective *un* ('one') have a different effect on words with initial *j*- and the result cannot be written separately. In fact, if *tri gghjorna* ('three days') is the result of *tri* + *jorna*, (8a-b) show the fusion of *un*, either article or adjective, with some common nouns starting with *j*- (*juirnu*, *jucaturi* and *jardinu*):

- (8) a. *ugnuirnu*.
'a day.' or 'one day.'
- b. *ugnucaturi*.
'a player.' or 'one player.'
- c. *ugnardinu*.
'a garden.' or 'one garden.'

Finally, the negative particle *nun*¹⁴ ('not') has on verbs starting with *j*- the same effect that *un* has on words of the same type (the two distinct elements are shown in brackets). The effect of this particle on verbs starting with *v*- is shown in (10a-c).

- (9) a. *Pirchì nugniti a la posta?* (*nun* + *jiti*)
 'Why don't you go to the post office?'
 b. *Maria nugnoa mai.* (*nun* + *joca*)
 'Mary never plays.'
 c. *Nugnettanu mai la munnizza cca.* (*nun* + *jettanu*)
 'They never throw away the rubbish here.'
- (10) a. *Oi nummaju a la posta.* (*nun* + *vaju*)
 'I am not going to the post office today.'
 b. *Dumani Maria nummeni a la partita.* (*nun* + *veni*)
 'Mary is not coming to the match tomorrow.'
 c. *Nummjignu mancu iu.* (*nun* + *vjignu*)
 'I won't come either.'

Chapter 2. Motion verbs and inflected lexical verbs

This chapter seeks to explore in detail the characteristics of a typical syntactic construction of Sicilian dialects, which does not have a counterpart in Italian. This task will be accomplished by taking into account the point of view of Deliano and some other Sicilian dialects featuring distinctive traits, with respect to the basic scheme. An essential point of reference for such a description, that is the study providing the basic scheme to be outlined, is the work by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) on the given construction in Marsalese, the dialect spoken in Marsala (province of Trapani). The main features of the relevant construction will be explained mainly by means of examples in Deliano and Marsalese¹⁵. Peculiarities from other dialects, such

¹⁴ Most Sicilian dialects use 'un instead of *nun* to form negative sentences. It is possible to use 'un in Deliano, too. The latter form is more likely to appear in fast speech.

¹⁵ Where possible, the examples in Deliano will be an exact rendition of the sentences in Marsalese originally provided by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) and (2003).

describes the action as happened in the past or the process as started in the past) and does not assign any theta role to the arguments, since they have been already assigned theta roles by the lexical verb:

(3) *John **has eaten** chocolate.* (Haegeman 1996)

Besides being used as auxiliaries, and then being functional, verbs like ‘have’ can also occur as lexical verbs and thus they have their own arguments, as shown in (4), where the verb ‘has’ assigns the theta roles of POSSESSOR and THEME to, respectively ‘John’ and ‘a box of chocolates’:

(4) *John **has** a box of chocolates.*

In (5) the motion verb ‘to go’ is used as a lexical verb. In this case, motion verbs can select an infinitival with *to*:

(5) *John goes **to buy** some bread at the baker’s.*

On the other hand, motion verbs can also occur as functional verbs, as in (2a). This latter category contains different classes, each having distinguishing properties which allow for only one member of the same class to occur in a given sentence. Any sentence, however, can feature more than one functional verb if they belong to different classes. In this latter case, they occur in a fix order, a precise hierarchy which cannot be ignored: modal/future/irrealis > perfective > progressive > passive. Let us see some examples from Giusti (2003):

- (6) a. *Harry has never [liked Maths].*
(perfective)
- b. *Harry has [been [eating breakfast since eight]].*
(perfective > progressive)
- c. *Harry has [been [being [scolded by Mr. Smith since this breakfast]]].*
(perfective > progressive > passive)
- d. *Harry will [have [been [being [scolded by Mr. Smith for two hours]]]].*
(future > perfective > progressive > passive)
- e. *Harry would [have [been [being [scolded by Mr. Smith for two*

hours]]]], if he hadn't done his homework.

(irrealis > perfective > progressive > passive)

As for motion verbs, when they are used as functional verbs, they do not select any infinitival. Instead, they enter a particular construction that can show a certain range of variation, together with some language specific constraints. In English, such a construction can either feature an inflected verb in a coordination-like form, as in (7a), or a bare infinitival, typical of American English, as in (2a) and (7b):

- (7) a. *I go **and buy** some bread at the baker's.*
b. *I go **buy** some bread at the baker's.*
c. **John goes **and buys** some bread at the baker's.*
d. **John goes **buy** some bread at the baker's.*

The ill-formedness of the sentences in (7c, d), which feature a third person singular subject, provides some evidence of the constraints this peculiar construction displays.

Finally, the category of **restructuring verbs** (cf. Rizzi 1982) includes modal, causative and perception verbs, together with the already mentioned motion verbs. They are defined as 'restructuring' for their property to give the sentence a monoclausal structure. Restructuring verbs add a thematic role to the argument structure of the lexical verb to which they are merged, occupying a position immediately higher than the VP. In the following example, the verb 'made' adds the thematic role of AGENT ('the teacher') to the argument of the verb 'do':

- (8) *The teacher **made** John do more homework.*

Italian restructuring verbs feature three exceptional syntactic properties which are not independent (cf. Rizzi 1982, Burzio 1986).

- (i) Contrary to what happens with non-restructuring verbs, they allow for a clitic related to the object of the embedded verb to

appear on the main verb, as in (9a'). This phenomenon is called 'Clitic Climbing'¹⁷;

- (ii) In SI-constructions (cf. Rizzi 1982) like the one in (10a) and (10c) the object of the embedded verb can move into matrix subject position, which is not possible with normal infinitival complements, as in (10b') and (10c'). This phenomenon is called 'Long Object Preposing';
 - (iii) They can change the selection of the auxiliary of the main verb according to their own auxiliary, whereas other classes of verbs do not trigger such a selection change.
- (9) a. *Piero verrà a parlarti di parapsicologia.* (Rizzi 1982)
 'Piero will come to speak to you about parapsychology.'
 a'. *Piero ti verrà a parlare di parapsicologia.*
 b. *Piero deciderà di parlarti di parapsicologia.*
 'Piero will decide to speak to you about parapsychology.'
 b'. **Piero ti deciderà di parlare di parapsicologia.*
- (10) a. *Finalmente si comincerà a costruire le nuove case popolari.*
 'Finally they will begin to build the new council houses.'
 a'. *Finalmente le nuove case popolari si cominceranno a costruire.*
 b. *Finalmente si otterrà di costruire le nuove case popolari.*
 'Finally they will get permission to build the new council houses.'
 b'. **Finalmente le nuove case popolari si otterranno di costruire.*
 c. *Questi libri si volevano proprio leggere.* (Burzio 1986)
 'We really wanted to read these books.'
 c'. **Questi libri si odiavano proprio leggere.*
 'We really hated to read these books.'
- (11) a. *Mario sarebbe proprio voluto andare a casa.*
 'Mario would have really wanted to go home.'
 b. **Mario sarebbe proprio odiato andare a casa.*
 'Mario would have really hated to go home.'

¹⁷ See section 2.5.3 for some examples of Clitic Climbing occurring in the Sicilian dialects under consideration.

2.2. The inflected construction: the selection of the motion verbs

The syntactic structure to be analysed, called ‘inflected construction’, is formed by: i) a motion verb taken from a restricted class; ii) the connecting element *a*; iii) a lexical verb inflected according to the Mood, the Tense and the Person of the preceding motion verb. The competing construction, called ‘infinitival construction’, features an infinitive as the third element of the combination. The inflected construction is not a prerogative of Sicilian dialects. Among Indo-European languages, it has been detected in representatives of the Germanic branch, such as English, in both its British and American versions, and Swedish (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001)¹⁸. Moreover, in this work, further evidence of such a construction from non related languages, namely Neo-Arabic languages, will be taken into account (see chapter 4).

As for the selection of the motion verbs that appear in this syntactic structure in the Sicilian dialects, some important distinctions need to be done. After a preliminary analysis, motion verbs in Deliano can be divided into two different groups, according to their ability to enter the inflected construction or not. The following verbs belong to the first group, a very restricted one allowing both the inflected construction and the infinitival one: *jiri* (‘to go’), *vèniri/viniri* (‘to come’), *passari* (‘to come by’) and *mannari*¹⁹ (‘to send’). The second group contains verbs that can only enter the infinitival construction, such as *acchianari* (‘to go up’, ‘to climb’), *cùrriri* (‘to run’, ‘to rush’), *turnari* (‘to come back’, ‘to return’), *scìnniri* (‘to go down’, ‘to get off’) and *nèsciri* (‘to go out’). Examples in (1e,f) show the impossibility for the verbs of the second group to enter the inflected construction:

- (12) a. *Vaju a ppigliu lu pani.*
a'. *Vaju a ppigliari lu pani.*

¹⁸ The authors refer the reader to the following works for, respectively, American English and Swedish: Carden, G. and D. Pesetsky. 1977. ‘Double-Verb Constructions, Markedness, and a Fake Coordination’ in *Papers from the Thirteenth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 82-92; Jaeggli O. and N. M. Hyams. 1993. ‘On the independence and interdependence of syntactic and morphological properties: English aspectual *come* and *go*’ in *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 11, 313-346; Wiklund, A. 1996. ‘Pseudocoordination is subordination’ in *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 58, 29-54.

¹⁹ Notice that the verb *mannari* in its functional sense always means ‘to send somebody to do something’.

- ‘I go to fetch the bread.’
- b. *Vjignu a ppigliu lu pani.*
- b’. *Vjignu a ppigliari lu pani.*
- ‘I come to fetch the bread.’
- c. *Passu a ppigliu lu pani.*
- c’. *Passu a ppigliari lu pani.*
- ‘I come by to fetch the bread.’
- d. *Mannu a ppigliu lu pani.*
- d’. *Mannu a ppigliari lu pani.*
- ‘I send somebody to fetch the bread.’
- e. **Curru a ppigliu lu pani.*
- e’. *Curru a ppigliari lu pani.*
- ‘I rush to fetch the bread.’
- f. **Scinnu a ppigliu lu pani.*
- f’. *Scinnu a ppigliari lu pani.*
- ‘I go down to fetch the bread.’

However, there are two reasons to believe that a further division between each group should be done. In fact, the first group contains four verbs which can be hierarchically divided into two subgroups: the first one with *jiri* and *vèniri/viniri* and the second one with *passari* and *mannari*.

The verbs of the first subgroup:

- i) drop the connecting element *a* in the second singular person of the imperative Mood, as in (13a,b)²⁰;
- ii) under special conditions (which will be discussed in section 2.7), enter the inflected construction also in the past indicative, as in (14a,b);
- iii) show the alternation of two or more allomorphs in the present indicative, one of which only can be used for the inflected construction.

The verbs of the second subgroup:

²⁰ See section 2.7 for more details about the imperative Mood.

- 1) keep the morpheme *a* in all the persons of the imperative Mood (13c, d);
- 2) can only enter the infinitival construction when they are in moods and tenses other than the present indicative and the second singular person of the imperative Mood (14c-f);
- 3) do not show any morphological alternation in the verbal inflection.

- (13) a. *Va piglia lu pani*²¹.
 ‘Go to fetch the bread.’
- b. *Vjini piglia lu pani*.
 ‘Come to fetch the bread.’
- c. *Passa a ppiglia lu pani*.
 ‘Come by to fetch the bread.’
- d. *Manna a ppiglia lu pani*.
 ‘Send somebody to fetch the bread.’

- (14) a. *Ji a bbippi*.
 ‘He/She went to drink.’
- b. *Vinni a bbippi*.
 ‘He/She came to drink.’
- c. **Passà a bbippi*.
 ‘He/She came by to drink.’
- d. *Passà a bbiviri*.
 ‘He/She came by to drink.’
- e. **Mannà a bbippi a unu*.
 ‘He/She sent somebody to drink.’
- f. *Mannà a bbiviri a unu*.
 ‘He/She sent somebody to drink.’

Furthermore, among the motion verbs which do not allow the inflected construction, most of them do not allow *a* + infinitive either, thus forming another subgroup. Some examples are: *abbicinari* (‘to come by’, ‘to

²¹ Further evidence of the loss of *a* in the imperative Mood is the lack of phonosyntactic gemination in the starting sound of the following verb.

approach’), *arrassarisi* (‘to get away’), *tràsiri* (‘to come in’, ‘to enter’) and *santari* (‘to jump’). The only way to add an infinitive – which has to be interpreted as an infinitive of purpose – to these motion verbs is by using the preposition *ppi*, which, just like *a*, does not have any constraints on Mood, Tense and Person:

- (15) a. *Abbicinavu ppi ssalutariti.*
 ‘I came by to greet you.’
 b. *Li carusi trasjiru ppi ttaliarisi la partita.*
 ‘The boys came in to watch the match.’

After these distinctions, four more definite groups emerge, which I report in the following summarizing table:

	Inflected construction allowed	Infinitival construction allowed	Loss of <i>a</i> in the 2nd singular person of the imperative (inflected construction)
Group A (<i>jiri</i> and <i>vèniri/viniri</i>)	yes	yes	yes
Group B (<i>passari</i> and <i>mannari</i>)	yes	yes	no
Group C (<i>acchianari</i> , <i>cùrriri</i> , <i>turnari</i> , <i>scìnniri</i> and <i>nèsciri</i>)	no	yes	-
Group D (<i>abbicinari</i> , <i>arrassarisi</i> , <i>tràsiri</i> and <i>santari</i>)	no	no ²²	-

Table 1 Different behaviours among motion verbs in Deliano

Before concluding this section, it is necessary to make a clarification: besides being different from a syntactic point of view (see sections 2.3-2.7), the inflected and the infinitival construction are not equivalent in the

²² The expression ‘infinitival construction’ in the scheme is meant to be the one with the connecting element *a* only.

frequency of use within the community speaking Deliano. When the conditions allowing the use of the inflected construction are fulfilled, the competing construction hardly ever occurs. The former is *de facto* the sole option, at least among middle-aged and elderly speakers. The same can be said for Palermitano and most Sicilian dialects. Therefore, in spite of the continuous pressure of standard Italian and its syntactic structures upon the dialects which foster the occurrence of the infinitive, the use of inflected verbs after motion verbs does not seem to be doomed to oblivion²³.

Now that the inflected construction has been described in general terms, a separate description of the oddities that Deliano displays needs to be introduced. Moreover, some arguments on the functional nature of the motion verbs within that construction will follow, together with an analysis of the actual function of the morpheme *a* and an account of the syntactic relationship motion verbs entertain with the following lexical verbs.

2.3. The features of the examined syntactic construction in Deliano

Once that Marsalese has been taken as a point of reference for the inflected construction, we now turn to the distinctive traits displayed by Deliano, which concern mainly the following aspects:

- (16) a. The lack of indistinct short forms in the inflection of some persons in the present indicative;
- b. Some derogation from the morphological restrictions in the past indicative.

In order to fully understand the content of the point in (16a) it is necessary first to take a look at this phenomenon in Marsalese, by showing the complete conjugation of the inflected construction in the extended form – together with a word-for-word translation in English – whence the ungrammaticality of (17d,e) can be noticed:

²³ Nevertheless, some dialects seem to be at odds with the general trend. For example, in Acese, the dialect spoken in Acireale (province of Catania), the inflected construction is working, in its indistinct short form (see Chapter 3), only with the verb ‘to go’. The other verbs referred to as Group A and Group B in Table 1 can only occur in the infinitival construction.

- (17) a. *(Eo) vajo a pigghio u pani.*
 (I) go-1s to fetch-1s the bread
- b. *(Tu) vai a pigghi u pani.*
 (you) go-2s to fetch-2s the bread
- c. *(Iddu/Idda) va a pigghia u pani.*
 (he/she) go-3s to fetch-3s the bread
- d. *(Niatri) *emo a pigghiamo u pani.*
 (we) go-1pl to fetch-1pl the bread
- e. *(Viatri) *ite a pigghiati u pani.*
 (you) go-2pl to fetch-2pl the bread
- f. *(Idde/Iddi) vanno a pigghiano u pani.*
 (they) go-3pl to fetch-3pl the bread

Marsalese allows for an alternative version of the inflected construction in which the verb *iri* ('to go') occurs in the invariant form *va*, which corresponds to the 3rd person singular in (17c), without prejudice to the constraints in (17d,e). This 'short form' paradigm is common to many other dialects in Sicily, such as e.g. Palermitano, Grammichelese²⁴ and the dialects spoken in Ragusa and in Marina di Ragusa²⁵. The following are the conjugation paradigms employing the invariant form *va* in Marsalese (18) and in Grammichelese (19):

- (18) a. *(Eo) va a pigghio u pani.*
 (I) go-1s to fetch-1s the bread
- b. *(Tu) va a pigghi u pani.*
 (you) go-2s to fetch-2s the bread
- c. *(Iddu/Idda) va a pigghia u pani.*
 (he/she) go-3s to fetch-3s the bread
- d. *(Niatri) *va a pigghiamo u pani.*
 (we) go-1pl to fetch-1pl the bread
- e. *(Viatri) *va a pigghiati u pani.*
 (you) go-2pl to fetch-2pl the bread

²⁴ Grammichelese is the dialect spoken in Grammichele, a town in the province of Catania.

²⁵ Marina di Ragusa is a *frazione* of Ragusa by the seaside whose dialect will be dealt with in chapter 3, as regards the peculiar short form paradigm of its inflected construction.

f. (*Iddi/Idde*) *va a pigghiano u pani.*
 (they) go-3pl to fetch-3pl the bread

- (19) a. (*Iu*) *va a ppigghiu u pani.*
 (I) go-1s to fetch-1s the bread
 b. (*Tu*) *va a ppigghi u pani.*
 (you) go-2s to fetch-2s the bread
 c. (*Idu/Ida*) *va a ppigghia u pani.*
 (he/she) go-3s to fetch-3s the bread
 d. (*Idi*) *va a ppigghiunu u pani.*
 (they) go-3pl to fetch-3pl the bread

Deliano only displays the ‘extended form’ of the motion verb *jiri*, in which the conjugation clearly shows the distinction among the inflected forms in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural. Any use of short forms is unallowed (20a’, f’)²⁶:

- (20) a. (*Iu*) *vaju a ppigliu lu pani.*
 (I) go-1s to fetch-1s the bread
 a’. (*Iu*) **va a ppigliu lu pani.*
 (I) go-1s to fetch-1s the bread
 b. (*Tu*) *va a ppigli lu pani.*
 (you) go-2s to fetch-2s the bread
 c. (*Iddru/Iddra*) *va a ppiglia lu pani.*
 (he/she) go-3s to fetch-3s the bread
 d. (*Nuantri*) **jammu a ppigliammu lu pani.*
 (we) go-1pl to fetch-1pl the bread
 e. (*Vuantri*) **jiti a ppigliati lu pani.*
 (you) go-2pl to fetch-2pl the bread
 f. (*Iddri*) *vannu a ppigglianu lu pani.*
 (they) go-3pl to fetch-3pl the bread
 f’. (*Iddri*) **va a ppigglianu lu pani.*
 (they) go-3pl to fetch-3pl the bread

²⁶ Notice that, while in the extended form of Marsalese the second person singular *vai* and the third person singular *va* differ, Deliano only has a unique form *va* for both persons. This fact could mistakenly lead to the conclusion that Deliano displays evidence of short forms too.

As for the derogation stated in (16b), a closer look at Marsalese is crucial once again. Marsalese, in fact, displays a double morphological restriction that does not allow the inflected construction to appear in the 1st and 2nd plural in the present indicative and, more widely, in all the persons of the other tenses and moods. This restriction, which in its second part is valid in general for all the dialects sharing the inflected construction, is explained by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 382) with the following generalization:

«The inflected construction is possible with the less marked forms of a verbal paradigm».

In this respect, a comparison between the conjugation in the present indicative of the verbs in the Group A (see Table 1) and their analogues in Deliano and Italian is essential to understand which verbal forms are to be considered as marked.

- (21) a. *vajo / vaju / vado*
 b. *vai / va / vai*
 c. *va / va / va*
 d. *emo / jammu / andiamo*
 e. *ite / jiti / andate*
 f. *vanno / vannu / vanno*
- (22) a. *veno / vjignu²⁷ / vengo*
 b. *veni / vjini / vieni*
 c. *vene / veni / viene*
 d. *vinemu / vinjimmu / veniamo*
 e. *vinite / viniti / venite*
 f. *venono / vjinnu / vengono*

(21) and (22) show the existence of two allomorphs in the conjugation of the verbs ‘to go’ and ‘to come’, which is quite common in Romance²⁸. Only the

²⁷ One of the two allomorphs of the verb *vèniri/viniri* (‘to come’) in Deliano has two renditions, *vij-* and *ve-*, for metaphonetic reasons.

²⁸ French displays the same couple of allomorphs in the present indicative: *v-* / *all-* in the verb *aller* (‘to go’) and *vien-* / *ven-* in the verb *venir* (‘to come’). Except for the 1st person plural of the verb *ir* (‘to go’), the verbs *ir* (‘to go’) and *vir* (‘to come’) in Portuguese display such allomorphs as well.

forms that contain the first of the two allomorphs, that is the unmarked form, can enter the inflected construction. This morphological restriction within the present indicative is extended to the conjugation of the other tenses and moods, since it is from the marked allomorphs that they are formed, with the exception of some forms of the imperative mood (see section 2.8). The derogation to that restriction displayed by Deliano can be found in some inflected construction forms of *jiri* and *vèniri/viniri* in the past indicative, although they are all formed with the marked allomorphs *j-* and *vin-*. Instances of such a derogation and a possible explanation will be provided in section 2.7.

2.4. Origin and evolution of *a*: from conjunction to preposition

There is a difference in the origin of the homophonous *a*'s in the inflected and in the infinitival construction in Sicilian dialects. On the one hand, the connecting element *a* before an infinitive comes from the Latin preposition *ad*. In this case, it keeps its original local meaning and is used with motion verbs to show the direction or the purpose of the action. Thus, it corresponds to the Italian preposition *a* in sentences such as (23a, b, c) (cf. Rohlfs 1969b: §710), which are put side by side with translations in Deliano in (23a', b', c'):

- (23) a. *Corro a chiamare il medico.*
 a'. *Curru a cchjamari a lu ddutturi*²⁹.
 'I rush to call the doctor.'
 b. *Comincia a nevicare.*
 b'. *Accumincia a nnivicari*³⁰.
 'It is starting to snow.'
 c. *Ti invito a venire da me.*
 c'. *T'ammitu a bbèniri / a bbiniri nni mia.*

²⁹ The consonantal gemination in *ddutturi* is not of phonosyntactic nature but seems to be an inherent characteristic of that noun. It is not triggered by the article *lu*, after which that kind of gemination does not generally occur, as the use of a synonym (i) and another noun starting with 'd' (ii) demonstrates:

- (i) *Vaju a cchjamu a lu mjidicu.*
 'I go to call the doctor.'
 (ii) *Vjignu a ppigliu a lu dentista.*
 'I come to take the dentist.'

³⁰ Further features of verbs like *accuminciari* ('to start') will be discussed in chapter 4.

‘I invite you to come at my house.’

On the other hand, what precedes the inflected verb is an element which has undergone a functional change over the centuries. It originates from the Latin coordinative conjunction *ac* and, in this very form, it is traceable in some marginal fix compounds like the numeral adjectives *diciassetti* (‘seventeen’) and *diciannovi* (‘nineteen’) in most Sicilian dialects and in their Italian counterparts, but also, at the same marginal level, somewhere else in Romance (cf. Rohlfs 1969b: §761). However, the actual function of this particle within the relevant construction is not that of a conjunction, since it does not connect two independent clauses. The following paragraph contains some arguments in favours of this view.

2.5. On the non-coordinating function of *a* in the inflected construction

The explanation provided by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2003: 32-35) for Marsalese to justify the fact that the particle *a* followed by an inflected verb does not coordinate it with the preceding motion verb uses some arguments that also apply to Deliano and Palermitano (cf. Sorrisi 2010: 114-116) and, more generally, to the rest of Sicilian dialects.

Firstly, while coordination with *a* is limited to the marginal cases shown in the previous section, the conjunction *e* coming from the Latin *et* is the element that all the Sicilian dialects dealt with in this work, together with the Italian language, use to coordinate two clauses (cf. Rohlfs 1969b: §759):

- (24) a. *Ogni matina vaju a lu furnu e pigliu lu pani.* (Deliano)
‘I go to the bakery and fetch the bread every morning.’
- b. *Iddu addisegna e si sianti a musica.* (Palermitano)
‘He draws and listens to music.’
- c. *Ci piace giocare a calcio e andare al cinema.* (Italian)
‘We like playing football and going to the cinema.’

Secondly, whereas one of the characteristics of coordinated verbs is the possibility to swap their position within the sentence – unless both verbs refer to the same event and thus are chronologically ordered –, the position of the two verbs in the inflected construction is strictly hierarchical. In that

case, the motion verb must precede the lexical one, as the following examples in Deliano show:

- (25) a. *Va mpalestra³¹ e joca a lu palluni.*
 ‘He/She goes to the gym and plays football.’
- a’. *Joca a lu palluni e va mpalestra.*
 ‘He/She plays football and goes to the gym.’
- b. *Va a gghjoca a lu palluni.*
 ‘He/She goes to play football.’
- b’. **Joca a lu palluni a bba.*

Thirdly, it is not possible to put a frequency adverb between the two verbs of the inflected construction. The adverb, in fact, must follow the motion verb. Frequency adverbs, on the contrary, can freely occur both before *a* and after the lexical verb in the infinitival construction. Examples in (26a, a’) are from Palermitano, while examples in (26b, b’) are from Deliano:

- (26) a. *Vaju (*siempre) a ppigghiu (siempre) u pisci nu stissu mercatu.*
 a’. *Vaju (siempre) a ppigghiari (siempre) u pisci nu stissu mercatu.*
 ‘I always go to fetch the fish at the same market.’
- b. *Lu mpirmjiri nummeni (*mai) a ppiglia (mai) st’ignizioni cca.*
 b’. *Lu mpirmjiri nummeni (mai) a ppigliari (mai) st’ignizioni cca.*
 ‘The nurse never comes to take these syringes.’

Fourthly, Cardinaletti and Giusti³² (2003: 34) consider a particular case that could lead to the conclusion that the two verbs of the inflected

³¹ The proclitic preposition *n* (‘in’ or ‘to’) in Deliano can get assimilated to the starting consonant of the following noun, but in any cases it is written together with the noun it precedes:

- (i) *Neucina* (*n* + *cucina*)
 ‘In the kitchen’ or ‘to the kitchen’
- (ii) *Mbrasili* (*n* + *Brasili*)
 ‘In Brazil’ or ‘to Brazil’

This preposition has an alternative form, namely *nmi* (see also section 1.2), which is used before definite articles and before personal names with the meaning of ‘at’.

Notice that in older versions of Deliano the preposition *a* followed by a definite article had a wider use in directional descriptions than *n*.

³² The authors take into account Benincà and Cinque (1993).

constructions be coordinated heads. When two verbs behave as coordinated heads, they can share their object and this object can take the form of a proclitic pronoun. This is a special condition in Romance which requires that the two verbs are morphologically related, as shown in the following examples taken from Italian and French (cf.: Cardinaletti 1999: 40):

(27) a. *Lo leggo e rileggo in continuazione.*

‘I read and re-read it continuously.’

b. *Jean le lit et relit sans cesse.*

‘Jean reads and re-reads it without interruption.’

When the verbs are not morphologically related, they are not coordinated and cannot share any object proclitic pronoun, hence the ungrammaticality of (28). Conversely, what characterises the inflected construction is a different feature, since the starting motion verb does not require the following verb to belong to a specific category in order for the object sharing to occur. The clitic masculine pronoun in (29) and the feminine one in (30), then, are the argument of the second verb and their position before the motion verb demonstrates that the interpretation of the whole construction as an instance of coordination cannot be accepted:

(28) **Lo compro e leggo.*

‘I buy and read it.’

(29) *Lu passu a ppigliu a li cinqu.* (Deliano)

‘I come by to take him at five ‘o clock.’

(30) *A vegnu a chiamu rumani.* (Palermitano)

‘I will come to call her Tomorrow.’

Fifthly, if the connecting element *a* worked as a real coordinating conjunction within the inflected construction, the wh-extraction of one of the two conjuncts should be unallowed – coordination being an ‘island’ –, as is the case in (31b) where the conjunction *e* is used. The only possible exception in this case is an extraction ‘across the board’, that is the extraction of both of the conjuncts, as in (32b). The grammaticality of the wh-extraction of the inflected construction with *a* in (33b), which is not

‘across the board’, is then further evidence of the non-coordinating function of *a*:

- (31) a. *Vivi birra e canti.* (Deliano)
‘You drink beer and sing.’
b. **Chi birra vivi e canti?*
‘What beer do you drink and sing?’
- (32) a. *Vivi vinu e mangi simenta.* (Deliano)
‘You drink wine and eat seeds.’
b. *Socchi vivi e mangi?* (Deliano)
‘What do you drink and eat?’
- (33) a. *Manni a ppigli la birra.* (Deliano)
‘You send somebody to fetch the beer.’
b. *Socchi manni a ppigli?*
‘What do you send somebody to fetch?’

2.6. The behaviour of motion verbs as functional heads: testing the inflected construction in Deliano

The explanation on the non-coordinating function of the morpheme *a* in the inflected construction, shown in the previous section, can be included into a wider set of argumentations provided to demonstrate that those motion verbs do not head their own clauses. They must be rather considered as verbs which are «merged as functional heads in the extended projection of the lexical verb which follows them» (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001: 372). In fact, motion verbs belong, together with causative and perception verbs, to a group known as ‘restructuring verbs’. The latter are so called because, instead of taking an infinitival clause in their complement, they restructure the sentence in a monoclausal structure.

Such a view compares, although not completely³³, the behaviour of motion verbs to that of auxiliaries such as *aviri* (‘to have’) as the first

³³ In defining motion verbs as ‘quasi-functional verbs’, Cardinaletti and Shlonsky (2004) explain that these verbs behave like functional verbs because they can be restructuring predicates but, unlike functional verbs, they are

element of the present perfect in the Sicilian dialects, where it is incorporated to its lexical head, i.e. the past participle, to form a complex head (cf. Haegeman 1996: 513-519). Like the other functional verbs, in fact, motion verbs add to their lexical verbs some semantic property without having a complete argument structure. Both auxiliaries and motion verbs can be used as lexical verbs as well, but while auxiliaries used as functional verbs mainly add tense features to their following verbs, motion verbs add a thematic role to the argument structure.

The following argumentations which were tested by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) on Marsalese will be here verified on Deliano: the fix order of the verbs in the inflected construction, the position of floating quantifiers within the construction, clitic climbing, the single event interpretation of the two verbs, the lack of adjuncts and the impossibility of argument insertion for the motion verb.

2.6.1. Fix order of the elements

Now that the comparison between motion verbs and auxiliaries has been set, a look at the behaviour of the latter can serve as further argument to a monoclausal analysis of motion verbs. When in Deliano, as well as in Marsalese and in most Sicilian dialects, the verbs *aviri* and *stari* are used as auxiliaries, they become the first element of, respectively, the present perfect³⁴ and the present continuous³⁵. In these constructions the order

associated with their own auxiliary. On the other hand, motion verbs are similar to lexical verbs because they are associated with a position for clitics.

For the same reason, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) define motion verbs as semi-lexical heads, but underline the need to keep them into the lexical categories since they maintain their semantic content.

³⁴ Contrary to Standard Italian, where both *essere* ('to be') and *avere* ('to have') can serve as auxiliaries for the 'passato prossimo', in the Sicilian dialects the only possible auxiliary for that tense is *aviri*. Moreover, another important difference between Italian and the Sicilian dialects with respect to present perfect is that in the latter it «does not express recent past or current relevance but rather durative or iterative situations encompassing the Speech Time» (Squartini 1998: 188). With the rather isolated exception of Ennese (the dialect spoken in the town of Enna), the present perfect is not used to describe past actions themselves, even when those actions are recent (See also Rohlf's 1969b §673 for Sothorn Calabrese). Compare the examples in (23a,b) in which the presence of an adverb of time is necessary for the sentence to make sense, with the following example in Deliano in the past simple:

(i) *Ajiri lu vitti vistutu di niuru.*
yesterday him see-PAST dressed in black

³⁵ Unlike English, the Present Continuous in the Sicilian dialects – on a par with Standard Italian – can only be used to describe something which is happening at the exact moment of speech. For this reason, the present continuous in Deliano does not allow for any adverb of frequency:

(i) *Staju (*sempri) mangianu (*sempri).*
stay-1s always eat-GER always

according to which they occur in the sentence is fixed: they must precede their lexical verbs, as in the following examples:

- (34) a. *A ssu carusu l'haiu vistu sempri vistutu di niuru.*
a'. **A ssu carusu vistu l'haiu sempri vistutu di niuru?*
'I have always seen that boy dressed in black.'
- b. *Iddru st'esami ancora nnu l'ha fattu.*
b'. **Iddru st'esami ancora fattu nnu l'ha.*
'He has not tried this exam yet.'
- c. *Stannu accattannu lu pani ppi ddumani.*
c'. **Accattannu stannu lu pani ppi ddumani.*
'They are buying the bread for tomorrow.'
- d. *Ti sta allurdannu tutu!*
d'. **Allurdannu ti sta tuttu!*
'You are getting all dirty!'

Other functional verbs, namely modal auxiliaries, display the same constraints in terms of syntactic order:

- (35) a. *Mi vuigliu accattari ssa telivisioni.*
a'. **Accattari mi vuigliu ssa telivisioni.*
'I want to buy that television set.'
- b. *Li carusi puinnu studiaru cca.*
b'. **Li carusi studiaru puinnu cca.*
'The children can study here.'

Motion verbs parallel auxiliaries and modal auxiliaries with regard to the syntactic order they display within the sentence. When they enter the inflected construction, they must precede the lexical verb they refer to, as in (36a). If the two verbs were coordinated by the morpheme *a*, which as a matter of fact is not the case, either order would be allowed, as already shown in (25a, a').

- (36) a. *Vaju a ppigliu lu pani.*
 a'. **Pigliu lu pani a bbaju.*
 'I go to fetch the bread.'

2.6.2. The position of floating quantifiers within the structure

The examples provided in (26) showed the impossibility to put a frequency adverb between the two verbs forming the inflected construction. The same constraint occurs with the only floating quantifiers the Sicilian dialects display, *tuttu*, *tutta* and *tutti* ('all'). In Standard Italian, which only allows for the infinitival construction, these elements can either appear between the motion verb and the lexical verb or follow the lexical verb.

- (37) *I ragazzi vanno (tutti) a prendere (tutti) il pane lì.*
 the boys go-3pl all to fetch-3pl all the bread there

In the inflected construction in the Sicilian dialects, on the other hand, floating quantifiers cannot be inserted between the two verbs, whereas no such an adjacency restriction is found in the infinitival construction (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2003: 35-36). Let us see some examples in, respectively, Marsalese, Palermitano (cf. Sorrisi 2010: 115) and Deliano:

- (38) a. *I picciotti vanno (*tutti) a pigghiano (tutti) u pani ne 'sta butìa.*
 the boys go-3pl all to fetch-3pl all the bread in this shop
 a'. *I picciotti vanno (tutti) a pigghiari (tutti) u pani ne 'sta butìa.*
 the boys go-3pl all to fetch-INF all the bread in this shop
- b. *I picciotti vannu (*tutti) a ppigghiano (tutti) u pisci nu stu mercatu.*
 the boys go-3pl all to fetch-3pl all the fish in this market
- b'. *I picciotti vannu (tutti) a ppigghiari (tutti) u pisci nu stu mercatu.*
 the boys go-3pl all to fetch-INF all the fish in this market
- c. *Li carusi vannu (*tutti) a ppiglianu (tutti) lu pani nni sta putìa.*
 the boys go-3pl all to fetch-3pl all the bread in this shop
- c'. *Li carusi vannu (tutti) a pigliari (tutti) lu pani nni sta putìa.*
 the boys go-3pl all to fetch-INF all the bread in this shop

Floating quantifiers cannot occur between two verbs either, when the first one is an auxiliary. Let us see an example in Deliano with the verbs inflected in the present perfect (39a) and in the deobligative construction (see also section 1.3) with the verb *aviri* serving as modal auxiliary (39b):

- (39) a. *Ci ammu (*tutti) jutu (tutti) a lu Canadà.*
 thereCL have-1pl all gone all to the Canada
- b. *Ammu (*tutti) a gghjiri (tutti) a ttravagliari.*
 have-1pl all to go-INF all to work-INF

2.6.3. Clitic climbing

In the infinitival construction in Standard Italian clitic pronouns can either occur in their original position, that is after the infinitive, or in front of the motion verb:

- (40) a. *Vado a prenderlo.*
 go-1s to fetch-INF-itCL
- b. *Lo vado a prendere.*
 itCL go-1s to fetch-INF

In the corresponding construction in the Sicilian dialects the position of the clitic after the infinitive results in a rather marginal but still allowed sentence, whose grammaticality is probably due to the influence of Standard Italian syntax. On the other hand, the clitic pronoun preceding the motion verb is the most frequently attested option and the marginal option in (41b) in Deliano still sounds not convincing:

- (41) a. *?Vajo a pigghiallo.* (Marsalese)
 go-1s to fetch-INF-itCL
- a'. *U vajo a pigghiari.*
 itCL go-1s to fetch-INF
- b. *??Vaju a ppigliarlu.* (Deliano)
 go-1s to fetch-INF-itCL

b'. *Lu vaju a ppigliari.*
 itCL go-1s to fetch-INF

Finally, in the inflected construction, clitic climbing is obligatory, as a result of the restructuring process triggered by the motion verb merged as functional head. Sorrisi (2010: 113) adds instances in Palermitano containing the clitic pronoun *ci* ('there') in (42b). The examples I have gathered for Deliano display the identical position of the clitic for the multifunctional pronoun *nni*, as well as for *la* ('her') and *li* ('them'):

(42) a. *U vaju a pigghiu.* (Marsalese)
 itCL go-1s to fetch-1s

a'. **Vaju a pigghiulu.*
 go-1s to fetch-1s-itCL

b. *Ci vaju a ppigghiu u pisci ogni matina.* (Palermitano)
 thereCL go-1s to fetch-1s the fish every morning

b'. **Vaju a ppigghiuci u pisci ogni matina.*
 go-1s to fetch-1s-thereCL the fish every morning

c. *Nni vijgnu a ppigliu nna puicu dumani matina.* (Deliano)
 themCL come-1s to fetch-1s some tomorrow morning

c'. **Vjignu a ppigliuni nna puicu dumani matina.*
 come-1s to fetch-1s-themCL some tomorrow morning

d. *La vjignu a ttruivu cchju tardu.*
 herCL come-1s to visit-1s later

d'. **Vjignu a ttruivula cchju tardu.*
 come-1s to visit-1s-herCL later

e. *Li passu a ppigliu stasira.*
 themCL come by-1s to fetch-1s tonight

e'. **Passu a ppigliuli stasira.*
 come by-1s to fetch-1s-themCL tonight

The effect of clitic climbing puts the example in (42a) in opposition to the examples adapted to Deliano in (43). In (43a) the clitic pronoun is found in front of the motion verb, in a case of coordination between two verbs that does not allow for such an option. In (43b) the motion verb is preceded by the clitic pronoun *minni*³⁶, which can occur exclusively in combination with *jiri* and *vèniri/viniri*. In this example, the clitic pronoun *lu* cannot be found before the motion verb, since the two verbs in the structure are coordinated (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2003: 33, 47).

- (43) a. ***Lu** *vaju e ppigliu*.
 itCL go-1s and fetch-1s
- b. *Minni vaju e lu pigliu*.
 REFLOC go-1s and it-CL fetch-1s

Furthermore, restructuring constructions such as the ones containing motion verbs followed by inflected verbs behave, once again, on a par with those containing auxiliaries like *aviri* and *stari* as well as modal auxiliaries. There, in fact, clitic climbing is the only grammatical possibility, whereas in the infinitival construction, as seen above, another marginal option is allowed as well. Let us consider the following examples in Deliano:

- (44) a. *L'ha fattu du voti*.
 itCL have-2s do-PAST.PART two times
- a'. **Ha fattulu du voti*.
 have-2s do-PAST.PART itCL two times
- b. *Lu stammu azzizzannu*.
 itCL stay-1pl fix-GER
- b'. **Stammu azzizzannulu*.
 stay-1pl fix-GER-itCL

³⁶ *Minni* as well as its counterparts *tinni*, *sinni*, *ninni* (sometimes only *nni*) and *vinni*, is a pleonastic cluster common to most Sicilian dialects, formed by a reflexive and the locative pronoun *nni* ('from here'). When *jiri* and *vèniri/viniri* are used without any construction and occur without any complement, this pronoun is obligatory, otherwise it is optional in the infinitival construction and agrammatical in the inflected construction (cf. the examples in Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001: 377). See also section 2.5.6.

c. *Li vuigliu vidi.*
 themCL want-1s see-INF

c.' **Vuigliu vidirli.*
 want-1s see-INF-themCL

2.6.4. The single event interpretation effect

So far, the arguments Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) provided to account for the monoclausality of the inflected construction in Marsalese have been successfully applied to Deliano and, to some extent, to Palermitano³⁷. However, there is an argument, namely the single event interpretation, which shows a certain degree of difference between Marsalese and Deliano, due to the fact that the inflected construction in the latter dialect has a wider usage or, at least, cannot always be successfully replaced by the infinitival construction³⁸. But before trying to capture the differences between the two dialects in this respect, it is necessary to report the definition of the single event interpretation (Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2001: 386):

(45) The two verbs in the inflected construction refer to a single event.³⁹

Since the two verbs in the inflected construction behave as a single head, they must refer to the same event or the whole sentence is ungrammatical. In this latter case, the only possible solution in Marsalese (46), as well as in American English⁴⁰ (47), is to turn to the infinitival construction:

(46) a. *Vaju a accattari a cicoria gnignornu, ma unn'a trovu mai.*
 b. **Vaju a accattu a cicora gnignornu, ma unn'a trovu mai.*
 'I go to buy the chicory everyday but I never find any.'

³⁷ Sorrisi (2010) accounts for a difference in the behaviour of transitive and intransitive verbs in Palermitano, so that the inflected construction in which the motion verb *iri* is followed by an intransitive lexical verb shows more constraints than its transitive counterparts. Section 2.7.2. will report some instances of that phenomenon.

³⁸ As a matter of fact, Cruschina (2013: 265) considers this preference for the inflected construction (called 'doubly inflected construction' or 'DIC' in his work) as typical of all the Sicilian dialects when he states that «The infinitival construction is also available in Sicilian, although it might be argued that its presence is due to an influence or a 'borrowing' from Italian».

³⁹ (34) corresponds to (40) in Cardinaletti and Giusti's work.

⁴⁰ The examples in Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) are from Shopen (1971: 258).

- (47) a. *They go to buy vegetables every day, but there never are any vegetables.*
 b. **They go buy vegetables every day, but there never are any vegetables.*
 c. **They go and buy vegetables every day, but there never are any vegetables.*

Essentially, the act of going somewhere and the act of purchasing something in the examples provided must be concomitant. If the purchase cannot be fulfilled after moving, then the only construction allowed to avoid the nonsense is the infinitival one. On the other hand, the inflected construction in Deliano turns out to be more flexible, in that examples like the one in (48b) occur as a marginal option, instead of being unallowed at all. In this case, the right alternative to such a construction is to use a different kind of infinitival construction, the one with the preposition *ppi*:

- (48) a. *?Vaju a accattari la cicoria ognigghjuirnu, ma nun la truivu mai.*
 b. *?Vaju a accattu la cicoria ognigghjuirnu, ma nun la truivu mai.*
 c. *Vaju pp'accattari la cicoria ognigghjuirnu, ma nun la truivu mai.*

‘I go to buy the chicory everyday but I never find any.’

2.6.5. No adjuncts

As already stated in the previous section when testing the effects of the single event interpretation on the inflected construction in Deliano, here again a different behaviour between this dialect and Marsalese must be highlighted. In Marsalese, the motion verb in the inflected construction does not allow for any conjuncts, whereas it is possible in the infinitival construction, as shown in the following sentences from Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 379):

- (49) a. *Peppe va a mangiari c'a machina.*
 Peppe go-3s to eat-INF by car

- b. **Pepppe va a mangia c'a machina.*
 Peppe go-3s to eat-3s by car

In (38a), *a mangiari* is a clausal complement and must precede the adjunct *c'a machina*. In (49b), on the contrary, *a mangia* does not behave as a clausal complement and thus the combination with the adjunct is not allowed. The corresponding sentences in Deliano show a divergent result in that the infinitival construction in (50a) is possible but not very frequent, and, importantly, the inflected construction in (50b) is not considered as ungrammatical by native speakers:

- (50) a. ?*Peppi va a mmangiari ccu la machina.*
 Peppi go-3s to eat-INF by the car
- b. *Peppi va a mmangia ccu la machina.*
 Peppe go-3s to eat-3s by the car

2.6.6. No arguments

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) account for the possibility for motion verbs in Marsalese to display a directional complement only when they are followed by an infinitive, whereas they cannot project their arguments when they are merged as functional heads. In order to demonstrate that, they take into account the fact that locative and stative prepositions in Romance generally have a unique rendition, while English displays dedicated prepositions, as clearly shown by the English translation of the sentences in (51):

- (51) a. *Ils vont à la poste.* (French)
 'They go **to** the postal office.'
- b. *Ils sont à la poste.*
 'They are **at** the postal office.'
- c. *Andiamo in banca.* (Italian)
 'We go **to** the bank.'
- d. *Siamo in banca.*
 'We are **at** the bank.'

e. *Vaju a lu mercatu.* (Deliano)

‘I go **to** the market.’

f. *Sugnu a lu mercatu.*

‘I am **at** the market.’

Examples containing such ambiguous prepositions within the inflected construction would not allow us to distinguish between them being used as a locative complement of the motion verb – which is ungrammatical – and as a stative complement of the lexical verb. Therefore, locative complements such as *a casa* in Marsalese and *intra* in Deliano (see section 1.2) can be understood as their directional counterparts. To avoid such ambiguity, Cardinaletti and Giusti provide instances containing the complex preposition *agghiri* (‘towards’), which etymologically contains the verb *iri* and thus only retains a directional meaning. Using this preposition, it is easy to distinguish between the grammaticality of the directional complement in (52a)⁴¹ and its ungrammaticality in (52b) in the following examples in Marsalese:

(52) a. *Va agghiri a casa a mangiari.*
[he] go-3s towards to home to eat-INF

b. **Va agghiri a casa a mangia.*
[he] go-3s towards to home to eat-3s

The impossibility of the selection of an argument for the motion verb which is merged as functional head in the inflected construction also holds for Deliano, but the complex preposition *agghjiri*, analogous to that in Marsalese, is found preferably with the verb *vèniri/viniri*:

(53) a. *Veni agghjiri intra a mmangiari.*
[he] come-3s towards home to eat-INF

⁴¹ Since *agghiri a casa* is the directional complement of the motion verb, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2003) explain, its position after the verb *mangiari* is ungrammatical even in the infinitival construction, because this complement can only be found in the VP headed by the motion verb and not in the VP headed by the infinitive:

(i) **Va a mangiari agghiri a casa.*
[he] goes to eat-INF towards to home

- b. **Veni* *a mmangia agghjiri intra.*
 [he] come-3s to eat-3s towards home

As for the clitic cluster *minni* cited in (43b), in Marsalese and most Sicilian dialects it cannot combine with the motion verb of an inflected construction either, functioning as its argument. On the contrary, it can appear as an optional argument in the infinitival construction. This is the same for Deliano:

- (54) a. (*Minni*) *vaju a mangiari.* (Marsalese)
 REFL.CL-LOC.CL go-1s to eat-INF
- b. (**Minni*) *vaju a mangiu.*
 REFL.CL-LOC.CL go-1s to eat-INF
- c. (*Minni*) *vaju a accattari lu giornali.* (Deliano)
 REFL.CL-LOC.CL go-1s to buy-INF the newspaper
- d. (**Minni*) *vaju a accattu lu giornali.*
 REFL.CL-LOC.CL go-1s to buy-1s the newspaper

Cinque (2006) summarizes the constraints we have seen in sections 2.6.5 and 2.6.6 about the inflected construction by stating that motion verbs are a special case among restructuring verbs, since they display also genuine usages as lexical verbs, beside the functional usage I am discussing in this chapter. More precisely, he maintains (2006: 36) that when motion verbs

«take an internal argument (either a directional PP or a subject [...]), they cease to behave as restructuring verbs (e.g. they do not allow Clitic Climbing). [...] These data are still compatible with the idea that restructuring verbs are *always* functional if, when they take a complement, motion verbs [...] are actually different verbs, in fact *genuine* lexical verbs. This appears to be confirmed by the fact that the case with and the case without a complement display subtle differences in meaning. Motion verbs, when they take a complement of their own and an optional adjunct clause [...], are interpreted literally as verbs of locomotion, part of whose meaning is the means of transportation [...]. When they are used as restructuring verbs, instead, they are not verbs of locomotion for which one can ask the means of transportation [...]. They merely indicate that some distance is traversed before the action depicted by the lexical verb is carried out.»

The following example in Deliano refers to Cinque's (2006: 36-37) one in Italian:

- (55) a. A: *Cuimu ti veni a ttingi la porta?*
 ‘How will he come to paint your door?’
 a’. B: **Ccu la machina.*
 ‘By car.’
 b. B: *Ccu lu punzjiddru.*
 ‘With his paintbrush.’

The ill-formedness of (55a’) clearly demonstrates that the motion verb in the inflected construction in (55a) only indicates that the person who will come to *tingiri* (‘to paint’) the door must traverse some distance. Therefore, the indication of the means of transportation in response to the question in (55a) does not seem to be acceptable.

2.7. A derogation from the morphological restrictions: the verbs *jiri* and *vèniri/viniri* in the past indicative in Deliano

As already stated elsewhere in this chapter, the inflected construction is subject to some morphological restrictions that allow for it to occur only in selected persons of the indicative present and the second person singular of the imperative mood. Nevertheless, both diachronically and synchronically, Sicilian dialects display a wider use of this construction, so that more cells of its defective paradigm could and sometimes can be filled. On a diachronic base, Cruschina (2013: 273) reports some instances from the collection of Sicilian tales and short stories by the Sicilian folklorist Giuseppe Pitrè, in which the inflected construction occurs in the past simple⁴²:

- (56) a. *Ci lu iju a dissi* (Pitrè III, 229)
 to-himCL itCL go-PAST-3s to tell-PAST-3s
 b. *Iju a vitti lu Cummentu* (Pitrè III, 232)
 go-PAST-3s to see-PAST-3s the convent

⁴² The examples in Cruschina (2013) are from Wilson (1999)

On a synchronic base, he reports Manzini and Savoia's (2005) paradigm of the inflected construction in the dialect of Modica (province of Ragusa), where no tense and person restrictions occur. (57) and (58) are my adaptations from that paradigm and show, respectively, all the persons of the indicative imperfect and some of the indicative preterite. Notice that in (57a) and (57c) it is not possible to discern the person of the verb in the indicative imperfect without any explicit subject:

- (57) a. *U ia a ffascìa.*
 'I went to do it.'
- b. *U jeutu a ffascieutu.*
 'You went to do it.'
- c. *U ia a ffascìa.*
 'He went to do it.'
- d. *U jeumu a ffascieumu.*
 'We went to do it'
- e. *U jeubbu a ffascieubbu.*
 'You went to do it.'
- f. *U jeunnu a ffascieunu.*
 'They went to do it.'
- (58) a. *U ji a ffisci.*
 'I went to do it.' or 'I have gone to do it.'
- b. *U jeru a ffisciru.*
 'They went to do it.' or 'They have gone to do it.'

Deliano puts itself on a par with the dialect spoken in Modica to provide instances of derogation from the morphological restrictions displayed by Marsalese. Deliano does not feature such a rich paradigm for the inflected construction; nonetheless, it interestingly displays an alternation in the conjugation of the indicative preterite, so that some lexical verbs can enter the inflected construction in that tense, while others cannot. This alternation is possible only with the verbs of Group A, namely *jiri* and *vèneri/viniri*, whereas the other motion verbs only allow for the infinitival construction. Moreover, even the preterite paradigm of the verbs of Group A is defective. Let us see some examples:

- (59) a. *Jivu a ffici la spisa.*
 ‘I went to do the shopping.’
 b. *Vinni a ffici la spisa.*
 ‘I came to do the shopping.’
 c. *Ji a ffici la spisa ccu sa suiru.*
 ‘He went to do the shopping with his sister.’
 d. *Vinniru a fficiru la spisa ccu mia.*
 ‘They came to do the shopping with me.’
 e. *Jammu a fficimu tanticchjeddra di spisa .*
 ‘We went to do a little shopping.’
 f. *Vinniru a fficiru tanticchjeddra di spisa ccu mia.*
 ‘They went to do a little shopping with me.’
- (60) a. **Passavu a ffici la spisa.*
 ‘I came by to do the shopping.’
 b. **Lu mannavu a ffici nna cosa.*
 ‘I sent him to do something.’
- (61) a. **Jisti a ffacisti la spisa.* (singular)
 ‘You went to do the shopping.’
 b. **Vinisti a ffacisti la spisa.* (singular)
 ‘You came to do the shopping.’
 c. **Jistivu a ffacìstivu la spisa ccu iddra.* (plural)
 ‘You went to do the shopping with her.’
 d. **Vinìstivu a ffacìstivu la spisa ccu mia.* (plural)
 ‘You came to do the shopping with me.’

The sentences in (60) are unacceptable because the motion verbs used belong to Group B (see Table 1). Furthermore, the sentences in (61) show the ill-formedness of the inflected construction when the second persons of the motion verb of Group A and the following lexical verb are both inflected in the preterite. Following the paradigm emerging from the examples in (59-61), one could infer that:

- (i) the preterite of the inflected construction is possible only with the motion verbs of Group A;

- (ii) the only persons allowed to enter the inflected construction with the verbs of Group A are the first singular, the third singular, the first plural and the third plural.

On the contrary, the sentences in (62), even though fulfilling the requirements above mentioned, are unacceptable:

- (62) a. **Jivu a ppigliavu la spisa.*
'I went to fetch the shopping.'
- b. **Vinni a ppurtavu la spisa.*
'I came to hand over the shopping.'
- c. **Ji a ppiglià la spisa ccu sa suiru.*
'He went to fetch the shopping with his sister.'
- d. **Vìnniru a ppurtaru la spisa.*
'They came to hand over the shopping.'
- e. **Jammu a ttaljammu un firm .*
'We went to watch a film.'
- f. **Nni vinniru a aggiustaru lu rubbinettu.*
'They came to fix our faucet.'

The meaning of the lexical verbs in (62) – *pigliari* ('to fetch'), *purtari* ('to hand over'), *taljari* ('to watch') and *aggiustari* ('to fix') – does not tell us anything about the possibility for them to enter the inflected construction, so much so that the examples in (63) – see also (12a) – show that their use in the present indicative is fully grammatical with both the verb *jiri* and *vènniri/viniri*:

- (63) a. *Vaju a ppuirtu la spisa nni ma frati.*
'I go to hand over the shopping at my brother's.'
- b. *Vjignu a ttaliu la partita nni tia.*
'I come to watch the match at your house.'
- c. *Mi vjini a aggiusti la televisioni.*
'You come to fix my television set.'

A possible explanation to this peculiar behaviour is to look at the morphology of these verbs. The following is a comparison between the preterite paradigm of verbs like *fari* ('to do'), used in the examples in (59),

diri ('to say' or 'to tell'), *vidiri* ('to see') and *mìntiri* ('to put') shown in Table 2, and the lexical verbs in (51) shown in Table 3:

	<i>fari</i>	<i>diri</i>	<i>vidiri</i>	<i>mìntiri</i>
<i>Iu</i>	<i>fici</i>	<i>dissi</i>	<i>vitti</i>	<i>misi</i>
<i>Tu</i>	<i>facisti</i>	<i>dicisti</i>	<i>vidisti</i>	<i>mintisti</i>
<i>Iddru/iddra</i>	<i>fici</i>	<i>dissi</i>	<i>vitti</i>	<i>misi</i>
<i>Nuantri</i>	<i>ficimu</i>	<i>dissimu</i>	<i>vittimu</i>	<i>mìsimu</i>
<i>Vuantri</i>	<i>facìstivu</i>	<i>dicìstivu</i>	<i>vidìstivu</i>	<i>mintìstivu</i>
<i>Iddri</i>	<i>ficiru</i>	<i>dissiru</i>	<i>vittiru</i>	<i>mìsiru</i>

Table 2 The preterite paradigm of *fari*, *diri*, *vidiri* and *mìntiri*

	<i>pigliari</i>	<i>purtari</i>	<i>taljari</i>	<i>aggiustari</i>
<i>Iu</i>	<i>pigliavu</i>	<i>purtavu</i>	<i>taljavu</i>	<i>aggiustavu</i>
<i>Tu</i>	<i>pigliasti</i>	<i>purtasti</i>	<i>taljasti</i>	<i>aggiustasti</i>
<i>Iddru/iddra</i>	<i>piglià</i>	<i>purtà</i>	<i>taljà</i>	<i>aggiustà</i>
<i>Nuantri</i>	<i>pigliammu</i>	<i>purtammu</i>	<i>taljammu</i>	<i>aggiustammu</i>
<i>Vuantri</i>	<i>pigliàstivu</i>	<i>purtàstivu</i>	<i>taljàstivu</i>	<i>aggiustàstivu</i>
<i>Iddri</i>	<i>pigliaru</i>	<i>purtaru</i>	<i>taljaru</i>	<i>aggiustaru</i>

Table 3 The preterite paradigm of *pigliari*, *purtari*, *taljari* and *aggiustari*

The selected persons of the preterite paradigm (in bold) of the verbs like the ones in Table 2, which allow for the inflected construction, are either paroxytone disyllabic words or proparoxytone trisyllabic words. Combinations of number of syllables and stress position other than the two

just described do not seem to be available for the inflected construction in Deliano. Indeed, the verbs in Table 3 in the same persons display either paroxytone trisyllabic words or oxytone words, regardless of the number of syllables.

Interestingly, most of the verbs like the ones in Table 2 come from Latin third conjugation. This conjugation contains verbs ending in –*ĕre*, whose infinitive is proparoxytone. The verbs in Table 3 do not belong to that conjugation⁴³.

- (64) a. *fari* ('to do' or 'to make') < *facĕre*
 b. *vìviri* ('to drink') < *bibĕre*
 c. *scrìviri* ('to write') < *scribĕre*
 d. *mìntiri* ('to put') < *mittĕre*
 e. *diri* ('to say' or 'to tell') < *dicĕre*
 f. *pèrdiri* ('to lose') < *perdĕre*
 g. *chiùiri* ('to shut') < *cludĕre*

Although some of the verbs which behave like the ones in (64), namely *vìdiri* ('to see'), *dari* ('to give') and *mòriri* ('to die'), do not belong to the Latin third conjugation, their relevant inflected forms comply with the syllable/stress pattern combination which triggers the inflected construction in the preterite. See, for example, the verbs *jiri* and *vèniri/viniri* followed by *vìdiri*:

- (65) a. *(Iu) jìvu a bbitti / vinni a bbitti*
 'I went to see.' / 'I came to see.'
 b. *(Iddru/iddra) jì a bbitti / vinni a bbitti*
 'He/She went to see.' / 'He/She came to see.'
 c. *(Nuantri) jammu a bbittimu / vinnimu a bbittimu*
 'We went to see.' / 'We came to see.'
 d. *(Iddri) jiru a bbittiru / vinniru a bbittiru*
 'They went to see.' / 'They came to see.'

⁴³ Even though the etymology of the verb *taliari* is uncertain – some claim an Arabic origin for that verb –, it was evidently formed according to the rules of the Latin first conjugation or, at least, to the rules of the first conjugation in Deliano, ending in –*ari*.

2.8. The imperative mood of the inflected construction

The analysis so far has mainly dealt with the tenses of the indicative mood. Let us now take a look at the other relevant mood for the inflected construction in most Sicilian dialects. The second singular person of the imperative mood is, along with the persons of the indicative present pointed out in the previous sections, the form in which the inflected construction generally occurs and, not unexpectedly, among the most recurring verbal forms in everyday communication.

In the final part of this chapter, I will:

- (i) provide some evidence of the typical behaviour of the two most used motion verbs in Deliano – *jiri* and *vèniri/viniri* –, in comparison to the other verbs of this class, and the complete scheme of conjugation of the four persons available for the imperative mood, that is the second singular, the second singular with the politeness morpheme *Sa*, the first plural and the second plural;
- (ii) account for the structural difference between transitive and intransitive lexical verbs following the verb *iri* within the inflected construction in Palermitano, as outlined by Sorrisi (2010), for both the indicative and the imperative mood.

2.8.1. Different behaviours among motion verbs in Deliano

The imperative with motion verbs followed by lexical verbs in Deliano displays a varied paradigm featuring different combinations, according to the person and the motion verb selected. Particularly, what is interesting here is the discontinuous presence of the connecting element *a* between the two verbs, which combines with the alternating selection of inflected and infinitival lexical verb to generate a paradigm rich in forms.

Let us see some examples with the motion verbs of Group A:

- (66) a. *Va mangia!*
go-IMP-2s eat-IMP-2s

- b. *Sa va a mmangia!*
 youCL go-3s to eat-3s
- c. *Jammu a mmangiari!*
 go-IMP-1pl to eat-INF
- d. *Jiti a mmangiari!*
 go-IMP-2pl to eat-INF
- (67) a. *Vjini mangia!*
 come-IMP-2s eat-IMP-2s
- b. *Sa veni a mmangia!*
 youCL come-3s to eat-3s
- c. *Vinjimmu a mmangiari!*
 come-IMP-1pl to eat-INF
- d. *Viniti a mmangiari!*
 come-IMP-2pl to eat-INF

The motion verbs and the following lexical verbs in (66a) and (67a) are juxtaposed without the morpheme *a*. This occurs in the second person singular only. That the absence of *a* is real and not the result of its assimilation with the ending vowel of the motion verb *va* can be easily ascertained by two facts. Firstly, the missing *a* does not trigger the phonosyntactic gemination in the following lexical verb, which in the present work is always marked graphically in the examples from Deliano and in the original examples from other dialects. Secondly, the verb *vèniri/viniri* displays an ending vowel which is not homophonous to the morpheme *a* and remains clearly discernible when combined with the following verb in the second singular person of the imperative.

The plural persons only allow for the infinitival construction⁴⁴ (cf. (66c-d) and (67c-d)). Furthermore, a peculiar form which not many Sicilian dialects feature is the proclitic pronoun *Sa*⁴⁵ that serves as politeness morpheme in the second singular person of the imperative. This pattern

⁴⁴ The constraint of the allomorph *va* for the inflected construction with the motion verb *jiri*, that I have previously described for the indicative present following Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003), also holds for the imperative.

⁴⁵ This pronoun, which only appears in this case and together with the whole formula is totally obliterated among young speakers, usually combined with the honorific *Vossia*, a short form for *Vossignoria* ('your Lordship') (cf. Traina 1868, s.v. "Vossia"). The Sicilian *Vossia* parallels the Spanish *usía*, a short form for *usiría* meaning *Vuestra señoría*.

requires that the two verbs are conjugated in the third singular person of the indicative present. A competing pattern in the slot of polite imperative, very common among speakers of all ages, is past subjunctive⁴⁶ + *a* + infinitive, without the clitic *sa*, as in (68):

- (68) a. *Jissi a mmangiari! (Vossìa).*
 go-3s-SUB to eat-INF your Lordship
 b. *Vinissi a ttaljari! (Vossìa).*
 come-3s-SUB to watch your Lordship

When the motion verbs involved are from Group B, the imperative inflected construction, which again is only possible in the second person singular and in the second person singular with the politeness pronoun *Sa*, does not drop the morpheme *a*, as in (69a-d). Nowadays, this construction is in competition with the infinitival one, most likely as a consequence of the influence of Italian parallel construction (cf. (69a'-d')):

- (69) a. *Manna a ppiglia lu pani!*
 send-2s-IMP to fetch-2s-IMP the bread
 a'. *Manna a ppigliari lu pani!*
 send-2s-IMP to fetch-INF the bread
 b. *Sa manna a ppiglia lu pani (Vossìa)!*
 youCL send-3s to fetch-3s the bread your Lordship
 b'. *Sa manna a ppigliari lu pani (Vossìa)!*
 youCL send-3s to fetch-INF the bread your Lordship
 c. *Passa a ppiglia lu pani!*
 come by-2s-IMP to fetch-2s-IMP the bread
 c'. *Passa a ppigliari lu pani!*
 come by-2s-IMP to fetch-INF the bread
 d. *Sa passa a ppiglia lu pani (Vossìa)!*
 youCL come by-3s to fetch-3s the bread your Lordship

⁴⁶ Present subjunctive is not used in Deliano and most Sicilian dialects. Present indicative is used instead. Moreover, Past subjunctive is used in place of present conditional, so that the examples in (68) could also be interpreted as instances of second conditional apodosis, as in:

(i) *Jissi a mmangiari, s'avissi veru fami.*
 'I/He would go to eat, if I/he were really hungry.'

- d'. *Sa manna a ppigliari lu pani (Vossìa)!*
 youCL come by-3s to fetch-INF the bread your Lordship

When the sentences are negative – and in this case only the second persons are available – the inflected construction is unacceptable. In conformity with what happens in the imperative mood in Italian, where the negative form of the second person singular features a motion verb in the infinitive instead of an inflected one, as in (70a), in Deliano that person has an infinitive too, as shown in (70b).

- (70) a. *Non andare a mangiare!*
 NEG go-INF to eat-INF
 a'. *Non andate a mangiare!*
 NEG go-2pl to eat-INF
 b. *Nugniri a mmangiari!*
 NEG go-INF to eat-INF
 b'. *Nugniti a mmangiari!*
 NEG go-2pl to eat-INF

The polite imperative for the second person singular in the inflected construction does not simply occur. Here again, the competing pattern with the past subjunctive can be used. A further option is to use another peculiar construction in the Sicilian dialects, the negative pattern *senza* ('without') + infinitive. This option can only be followed by the infinite of the lexical verb:

- (71) a. *Nugnissi a ppigliari lu pani (Vossìa)!*
 NEG go-SUB-3s to fetch-INF the bread your Lordship
 b. *Senza jiri a ppigliari lu pani (Vossìa)!*
 without go-INF to fetch-INF the bread your Lordship

In negative imperative sentences, the behaviour of the other relevant motion verbs is the same, with all the patterns I have explained in this section.

2.8.2. The inflected construction with the motion verb *iri* in Palermitano: transitive vs. intransitive verbs

The analysis that Sorrisi (2010) has conducted on the inflected construction in Palermitano has revealed an uncommon difference in the behaviour of transitive and intransitive lexical verbs when the motion verb is *iri* ('to go'). The imperative form, he suggests, has something to do with this phenomenon. Moreover, it is important to point out that, unlike Deliano, the inflected (72a) and the infinitival construction (72b) in Palermitano display a rather equal rate of occurrence, when the lexical verb is transitive:

- (72) a. *Vaju a manciu a pasta.*
go-1s to eat-1s the pasta
b. *Vaju a manciari a pasta.*
go-1s to eat-INF the pasta

The difference arises when the lexical verb is intransitive. In this case, the inflected construction is unallowed. (73b) shows that the analogous version in Deliano is grammatical:

- (73) a. **Vaju a ttravagghiu.*
go-1s to work-1s
a'. *Vaju a ttravagghiari.*
go-1s to work-INF
b. *Vaju a ttravagliu.*
go-1s to work-1s

Notice that, contrary to the original sentences in Sorrisi (2010: 111), I have marked graphically the phonosyntactic gemination of the lexical verbs in the examples in Palermitano in (73) because this feature will turn out to be crucial in understanding the difference between the two constructions.

Like Marsalese, Palermitano displays the indistinct short forms with *va*, that Deliano lacks. This pattern allows for the intransitive lexical verb to appear in the inflected construction, but the lack of gemination in (74b) suggests us that it is a different construction, even without having to write the connecting element *a* in (74a):

- (74) a. *Va mmanciu a pasta.*
 go-1s eat-1s the pasta
 b. *Va travagghiu.*
 go-1s work-1s

To certify that intransitive verbs in the relevant construction do not display any gemination, Sorrisi (2010: 112-113) refers to the word initial rhotacism that words in Palermitano and in some other Sicilian dialects of both the Eastern and the Western coast undergo, so that starting *d* turns to *r* in verbs like *riri* ('to say') and *ruoimmiri* ('to sleep'). Rhotacism does not occur when the lexical verb is transitive and thus this verb undergoes the gemination when following a motion verb, as in (75a-b). On the other hand, when the lexical verb is intransitive, as in (76) we find the opposite situation:

- (75) a. *Vaju a ddicu chistu a iddu.*
 go-1s to tell-1s this to him
 a'. **Vaju a rricu chistu a iddu.*
 go-1s to tell-1s this to him
 b. *Va ddicu chistu a iddu.*
 go-1s tell-1s this to him
- (76) a. *Va ruoimmu.*
 go-1s sleep-1s
 b. **Va dduoimmu.*
 go-1s sleep-1s

That of having to appear exclusively in the indistinct short form is not the only constraint the inflected construction with an intransitive lexical verb displays. By drawing upon the same tests Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) have tried on Marsalese, Sorrisi (2010) points out further constraints with regard to clitic climbing (77a), the wh-extraction (77b), the position of floating quantifiers (77c) and frequency adverbs (77d), and the single event interpretation (77e). Basically, when the lexical verb is transitive, the inflected construction in Palermitano behaves exactly as the one in

Marsalese, but when the lexical verb is intransitive no inflected construction seems to be acceptable and the infinitival construction must be used instead:

- (77) a. **Ci va travagghiu ogni matina (ni ddu puostu).*
 thereCL go-1s work-1s every morning in that place
- a'. *Ci vaju a ttravagghiaru ogni matina (ni ddu puostu).*
 thereCL go-1s to work-INF every morning in that place
- b. **Unni va travagghi?*
 where go-2s work-2s
- b'. *Unni vai a ttravagghiaru?*
 where go-2s to work-INF
- c. **I picciotti va (*tutti) travagghianu (*tutti).*
 the boys go-3pl all work-3pl all
- c'. *I picciotti vannu (tutti) a ttravagghiaru (tutti).*
 the boys go-3pl all to work-INF all
- d. **Va (*siempre) travagghiu (*siempre).*
 go-1s always work-1s always
- d'. *Vaju (siempre) a ttravagghiaru (siempre).*
 go-1s always to work-INF always
- e. **Va travagghiu ogni matina c'a machina ma è sempre rutta.*
 go-1s work-1s every morning by car but be-3s always
 broken
- e'. *Vaju a ttravagghiaru ogni matina c'a machina ma è sempre rutta.*
 go-2s to work-INF every morning by car but be-3s always
 broken

Now that the peculiar behaviour of the inflected construction with intransitive lexical verbs has been presented, it is possible to compare it to that of the imperative in Palermitano. Sorrisi (2010: 117-118) puts the two constructions close in that both of them display the same constraints. Both of them, in fact:

- (i) do not allow for any frequency adverbs to occur in the sentence (compare the simple imperative in (78a) with that of the

inflected construction in (78a'), and the indicative present in (78a'');

- (ii) do not allow for clitic climbing to take place (compare (78b) with (78b'-b''));
- (iii) cannot be subject to any wh-extraction (compare (78c) with (78c'-c'')).

- (78) a. **Mancia sempre!*
eat-IMP-2s always
- a'. **Va travagghia sempre!*
go-IMP-2s work-IMP-2s always
- a''. **Va travagghiu sempre.*
go-1s work-1s always
- b. **U mancia!*
itCL eat-IMP-2s
- b'. **Ci va travagghia!*
thereCL go-IMP-2s work-IMP-2s
- b''. **Ci va travagghiu.*
thereCL go-1s work-1s
- c. **Unni travagghia?*
where work-IMP-2s
- c'. **Unni va travagghia?*
where go-IMP-2s work-IMP2s
- c''. **Unni va travagghi?*
where go-2s work-2s

Sorrisi (2010: 118) adds to the above mentioned list a fourth point in common between the two structures, pertaining to the person restriction. On the one hand, the imperative with *va* is only available for the second person singular (cf. 79a, a'). On the other hand the indicative present does not seem to produce grammatical sentences but in the first person singular (cf. 79b-b'').

- (79) a. *Va travagghia!*
go-IMP-2s work-IMP-2s

- a'. **Va travagghiati!*
go-IMP-2s work-IMP-2pl
- b. *Va travagghiu.*
go-1s work-1s
- b'. **Va travagghi.*
go-2s work-2s
- b'?. ?*Va travagghia.*
go-3s work-3s

Sorrisi's analysis does not take into account the other motion verbs that trigger the inflected construction in Marsalese: *viniri*, *passari* and *mannari*. As a matter of fact, no such a singular behaviour seems to be found in the inflected construction with motion verbs other than *iri*. With the verb *viniri*, this construction parallels the ones in Marsalese and Deliano, with exactly the same unavailability for the two plural persons in the indicative present:

- (80) a. *Vegnu a ppigghiu u pani.*
a'. *Vegnu a ppigghiari u pani.*
'I come to fetch the bread.'
- b. *Veni a ppigghi u pani.*
b'. *Veni a ppigghiari u pani.*
'You come to fetch the bread.'
- c. *Veni a ppigghia u pani.*
c'. *Veni a ppigghiari u pani.*
'He/She comes to fetch the bread.'
- d. **Vinemu a ppigghiamy u pani.*
d'. *Vinemu a ppigghiari u pani.*
'We come to fetch the bread.'
- e. **Viniti a ppigghiati u pani.*
e'. *Viniti a ppigghiari u pani.*
'You come to fetch the bread.'
- f. *Vennu a ppigghianu u pani.*
f'. *Vennu a ppigghiari u pani.*
'They come to fetch the bread.'

The verb *mannari* can also be followed by an inflected lexical verb but the competing infinitival form is common as well. On the contrary, *passari* can only enter the infinitival construction. This particular configuration puts Palermitano on a different level among the dialects entering the inflected construction, since it displays all the features described for Marsalese but assigns to intransitive lexical verbs a highly defective paradigm.

Sorrisi (2010: 119) finds a last point in common, which lies in the analysis of the subjects of both the imperative and the present indicative of the relevant construction. Palermitano being, as the rest of Sicilian dialects, a *pro-drop* language, the presence of an overt subject in the indicative present – which, however, can exclusively be a pronoun – must be interpreted as a contrastive focus, as in (81a). The same holds for the imperative, where an overt subject can be interpreted as an element, probably a vocative, that cannot take the position of SpecV, which is occupied by *pro* (cf. 81b)⁴⁷:

- (81) a. *Io va travagghiu, tu chiddu chi vo fari fai.*
 ‘I will go to work. You, do what you want.’
 b. *Tu, va travagghia!*
 ‘You! Go to work!’

The key to fully understanding this phenomenon, Sorrisi (2010: 120) concludes, is far from being detected. Nevertheless, he postulates that the inflected construction with an intransitive lexical verb in Palermitano gets a very high position in the syntactic structure, so that clitic climbing is unallowed in such a construction. Moreover, in relating the two relevant constructions, he draws upon the concept of *ForceP projection* (cf. Rizzi 1997, Zanuttini and Portner 2003). The Imperative mood represents a different clausal type, which cannot occur in interrogative sentences and cannot be subject to *wh*-extraction. The inflected construction with an intransitive lexical verb is likely to represent the same kind of clausal type, connected to the *ForceP* and characterised by a very high syntactic position.

⁴⁷ Sorrisi refers the interested reader to Zanuttini and Portner (2003).

2.9. In summary

Sicilian dialects feature a typical syntactic construction which is not attested in Italian. It is referred to as inflected construction and is formed by a motion verb followed by the connecting element *a* and an inflected lexical verb. Here, the motion verb behaves like a functional verb but retains some lexical properties which vary cross-linguistically. The inflected construction parallels the Italian control construction, in which the motion verb is followed by an infinitive and which is thus called infinitival construction. Sicilian dialects, however, can also enter the infinitival construction.

Notably, the inflected construction:

- (i) selects first position verbs which belong to a restricted class of high frequency motion verbs (Table 1 shows which member of this class is eligible in Deliano);
- (ii) is characterized by a defective paradigm (see section 2.3);
- (iii) can lack the connecting element *a* in certain circumstances (see section 2.8);
- (iv) shows a high degree of cross-linguistic variation which, so far in this thesis, has been highlighted by taking into consideration primarily Marsalese, Deliano and Palermitano (further evidence of this variation for other Sicilian dialects will be provided in chapter 3);
- (v) is not a prerogative of the Sicilian dialects, since it can be found also in some Germanic languages (e.g. English, Swedish) and has a counterpart in some languages that do not belong to the Indo-European family (as will be shown in chapter 4);
- (vi) is monoclausal, that is the motion verb it features, behaving as a functional verb, appears in the extended projection of the following lexical verb (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003).

I have taken into account the tests of monoclausality that Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) have singled out and applied to Marsalese, and Sorrisi (2010) has verified on Palermitano. These tests concern:

- (i) the fixed order between the motion verb and the lexical verb, which dismisses any possibility of coordination (see section 2.6.1);
- (ii) the distribution of clitic pronouns, floating quantifiers and frequency adverbs within the relevant structure (see sections 2.5 and 2.6.2-3);
- (iii) the impossibility for the motion verb and the following lexical verb to describe separate events, when occurring in the inflected construction (see section 2.6.4).

A further test of monoclausality is the impossibility for the motion verb to feature person, tense and mood specifications other than the ones displayed by the lexical verb it refers to. This can be easily verified by looking at all the acceptable instances of inflected construction in all the Sicilian dialects concerned that have been provided throughout the whole chapter. All these instances, in fact, show that the motion verb must share the inflectional features of the lexical verb (e.g. indicative present + indicative present, indicative imperfect + indicative imperfect, imperative + imperative, and the like).

Chapter 3. Some cases of indistinct forms with a complete six-person paradigm

In this chapter I will provide further instances of the indistinct short form of the motion verb ‘to go’ in the inflected construction of some Sicilian dialects, giving evidence of the extension of this defective paradigm to the first and second persons plural of the present tense. Such a derogation to the paradigm constraint explained in chapter 2 is analogous to that shown in the examples provided by Cruschina (2013) for the dialect of Modica (cf. Section 2.7). In section 3.3 I will take into account a dialect at the borders of the area of Salento, namely Tarantino, which displays the inflected construction. This dialect also features one of the main characteristics of the dialects of Salento, that is the ‘finite construction’; nonetheless the infinitival construction in Tarantino seems to be more in competition with

the inflected than with the finite construction. I will briefly account for this phenomenon in the final part of this chapter.

3.1. Some preliminary remarks

Although the analysis of dialects such as Marsalese, Palermitano and Deliano has given evidence of the fact that the motion verbs entering the inflected construction can be at least four⁴⁸, most dialects of the Eastern coast of Sicily show a different trend that can be summarized as follows:

- (i) as far as the inflected construction is concerned, the motion verb which best resists the tendency to fully conform with the Italian infinitival construction is the verb ‘to go’;
- (ii) of the two possible versions that the inflected construction displays, namely the extended and the indistinct short version (see chapter 2), the latter seems to have overcome the former, so that young speakers are likely to fail to recognize the two versions as being morphologically correlated.

The phenomenon described in (ii) can provide an explanation for the increasing unacceptability of the inflected construction in the extended form (like the one in (1b)), among young speakers, who do not consider the versions displayed in (1c) as being formed by two different verbs (i.e. a motion verb and a lexical verb). Consequently, the only acceptable alternative to the infinitival construction in (1a) is the inflected construction in the indistinct short form:

- (1) a. *Vaju a ppigghjari u pani.*
- b. **Vaju a ppigghju u pani.*
- c. *Voppigghju u pani / oppigghju u pani / dappigghju u pani.*
 ‘I go to fetch the bread.’

⁴⁸ An example from the Sicilian poet Nino Martoglio, written in an old version of Catanese, features the verb *turnari* (‘to come back’) – here used with an iterative sense – which allows for the inflected construction:

(i) *Ti l'haju scrittu e ti lu tornu a scrivu.* (Martoglio 1948)
to youCL itCL have-1s writtenPAST.PART and to youCL itCL come back-1s to write-1s
‘I wrote it to you once and I write it to you again.’

As to the point in (i), Eastern Sicilian dialects show anything but a homogeneous behaviour, probably because of the different history and cultural influences each of these centres can claim.

3.1.1. The dialects of Marina di Ragusa and Acireale

The two dialects I account for in this paragraph show a different behaviour as to the possibility for motion verbs other than ‘to go’ to enter the inflected construction. The examples in (2) are grammatical in the dialect of Marina di Ragusa⁴⁹, whereas they are not in Acese:

- (2) a. *Vegnu a ppigghju u pani.*
‘I come to fetch the bread.’
b. *Passu a ppigghju u pani.*
‘I come by to fetch the bread.’

Moreover, while in the former dialect the extended inflected construction in (1b), although not frequent, is still used, Acese is one of the dialects which allow for the indistinct short form only. However, what is relevant here is what these two dialects have in common, that is a complete paradigm for the inflected construction with the verb ‘to go’. The differences between Ragusano (3a-f) and Acese (3a’-f’) are minimal in this respect. Observe the complete paradigms for the indicative present:

- (3) a. *Voppigghju u pani.*
a’. *Oppigghju u pani.*
‘I go to fetch the bread.’
b. *Voppigghji u pani.*
b’. *Oppigghji u pani.*
‘You go to fetch the bread.’
c. *Voppigghja u pani.*
c’. *Oppigghja u pani.*
‘He/She goes to fetch the bread.’

⁴⁹ The dialect spoken in Marina di Ragusa (see also note 11 of chapter 2) does not have an official name in the Italian language and then neither has it one in English. The small village was formerly known as Mazzarelli and has a Sicilian derived name, namely *mazzariddaru*. The term Ragusano should only refer to the dialect spoken in the inland Ragusa; nevertheless I will occasionally use it to refer to the former dialect too.

- d. *Voppigghjamu u pani.*
‘We go to fetch the bread.’
- d’. *Oppigghjamu u pani.*
‘We go to fetch the bread.’
- e. *Voppigghjati u pani.*
- e’. *Oppigghjati u pani.*
‘You go to fetch the bread.’
- f. *Voppigghjanu u pani.*
- f’. *Oppigghjunu u pani.*
‘They go to fetch the bread.’

Probably, once the indistinct form *vo-/o-* has lost its morphological distinctive trait for person and number, its extension to the first and second persons plural is facilitated, since there is no more distinction between marked and unmarked forms. Compare the complete paradigms of Ragusano and Acese in (3) with the excerpt in (4) from Deliano, a dialect (already dealt with in the previous chapter) that does not feature indistinct forms and in which the inflected forms of the motion verb *jiri* (‘to go’) do not use the allomorph *va-* and thus can only be followed by an infinitive:

- (4) a. *Vaju a ppigliu lu pani.*
‘I go to fetch the bread.’
- b. *Jammu a ppigliari lu pani.*
‘We go to fetch the bread.’
- c. *Jiti a ppigliari lu pani.*
‘You go to fetch the bread.’

3.1.2. The shift to other tenses and moods

In chapter 2, instances of tense constraint infraction on a synchronic base were provided by the dialect spoken in Modica (cf. Cruschina 2013), which is another centre in Eastern Sicily, and to a lesser extent by Deliano. Both the inflected construction in Modicano and in Deliano only occur with fully inflected motion verbs, while dialects such as Marsalese and Palermitano also display a paradigm with a unique short form patterned after the third person singular of the verb ‘to go’. One may reasonably

suppose that dialects displaying that typical feature could *a fortiori* allow for a complete paradigm in the indicative imperfect and preterite, given that there are no competing allomorphs for the verb ‘to go’ in that structure. It is indeed the case of the dialects of Marina di Ragusa and Acireale. (5) shows the paradigm of the two dialects with regard to the indicative imperfect, while the indicative preterite is shown in (6):

- (5)
- a. *Voppigghjava u pani.*
 - a’. *Oppigghjava u pani.*
‘I went to fetch the bread.’
 - b. *Voppigghjàutu u pani.*
 - b’. *Oppigghjavi u pani.*
‘You went to fetch the bread.’
 - c. *Voppigghjava u pani.*
 - c’. *Oppigghjava u pani.*
‘He/She went to fetch the bread.’
 - d. *Voppigghjàumu u pani.*
 - d’. *Oppigghjavamu u pani.*
‘We went to fetch the bread.’
 - e. *Voppigghjàuvu u pani.*
 - e’. *Oppigghjavati u pani.*
‘You went to fetch the bread.’
 - f. *Voppigghjàvanu u pani.*
 - f’. *Oppigghjàvunu u pani.*
‘They went to fetch the bread.’
- (6)
- a. *Voppigghjai u pani.*
 - a’. *Oppigghjai u pani.*
‘I went to fetch the bread.’
 - b. *Voppigghjasti u pani.*
 - b’. *Oppigghjasti u pani.*
‘You went to fetch the bread.’
 - c. *Voppigghjau u pani.*
 - c’. *Oppigghjau u pani.*
‘He/She went to fetch the bread.’
 - d. *Voppigghjammu u pani.*

- d'. *Oppigghjammu u pani.*
 'We went to fetch the bread.'
- e. *Voppigghjastivu u pani.*
- e'. *Oppigghjastiru u pani.*
 'You went to fetch the bread.'
- f. *Voppigghjarru u pani.*
- f'. *Oppigghjaru u pani.*
 'They went to fetch the bread.'

The tense constraint infraction these two dialects display goes beyond the indicative mood. The following is the paradigm of the present conditional (which corresponds to the subjunctive preterite) showing again a complete pattern:

- (7) a. *Voppigghjassi u pani.*
 a'. *Oppigghjassi u pani.*
 'I would go to fetch the bread.'
- b. *Voppigghjàssitu u pani.*
- b'. *Oppigghjassi u pani.*
 'You would go to fetch the bread.'
- c. *Voppigghjassi u pani.*
- c'. *Oppigghjassi u pani.*
 'He/She would to fetch the bread.'
- d. *Voppigghjàssimu u pani.*
- d'. *Oppigghjàssimu u pani.*
 'We would go to fetch the bread.'
- e. *Voppigghjàssivu u pani.*
- e'. *Oppigghjàssiru u pani.*
 'You would go to fetch the bread.'
- f. *Voppigghjàssiru u pani.*
- f'. *Oppigghjàssiru u pani.*
 'They would go to fetch the bread.'

Further evidence of the acceptability of the inflected construction with the indistinct short form in all the slots of the paradigm is provided by the imperative mood of both Ragusano and Acese. We have seen in the

previous chapter that dialects like Marsalese, Palermitano and Deliano feature a defective imperative mood paradigm, in which the inflected construction alternates with the infinitival construction, according to whether the allomorph *va-* of the verb ‘to go’ is present or not. (8) provides an example of this phenomenon taken from Deliano. On the other hand, Ragusano and Acese do not feature such an alternation when the motion verb is ‘to go’; therefore, the infinitive of the lexical verb is never found in the imperative mood, as shown in (9):

- (8) a. *Va piglia lu pani!*
 ‘Go to fetch the bread!’
 b. *Sa va a ppiglia lu pani!*
 ‘Go to fetch the bread.’
 c. *Jammu a ppigliari lu pani!*
 ‘Let us go to fetch the bread!’
 d. *Jiti a ppigliari lu pani!*
 ‘Go to fetch the bread!’
- (9) a. *Voppigghja u pani!*
 a’. *Oppigghja u pani!*
 ‘Go to fetch the bread!’
 b. *Voppigghjassi u pani!*
 b’. *Oppigghjassi u pani!*
 ‘You would go to fetch the bread.’
 c. *Voppigghjamu u pani!*
 c’. *Oppigghjamu u pani!*
 ‘Let us go to fetch the bread!’
 d. *Voppigghjati u pani!*
 d’. *Oppigghjati u pani!*
 ‘Go to fetch the bread!’

3.2. Inflected construction: the difference between Tarantino and the dialects of Salento

The varieties of the Extreme Southern Dialects of Continental Italy, together with some dialects spoken in Messina and the surrounding area (see chapter 1, figure 2) are characterized by an extensive loss of the infinitive (cf. Rohlfs 1969b: §717), heritage of the Greek substratum of the areas involved⁵⁰. In these varieties, the infinitive is replaced by the particle *ku/mu/mi/u* followed by a second finite verb. Contrary to the inflected construction of the dialects I have accounted for so far, this latter construction, referred to as ‘finite construction’, is not monoclausal, because the second finite verb is a full clausal complement (cf. Cardinaletti & Giusti 2001: 373-4). Moreover, the classes of verbs triggering the finite construction are much more than the ones triggering the inflected construction. Let us see some examples⁵¹:

- (10) a. *Lu Karlu ole ku bbene krai.*
The Karlu want-3s that come-3s tomorrow
‘Karlu wants to come tomorrow.’
- b. *Jamu u pigghjamu u pani.*
go-1pl to fetch-1pl the bread
‘We go to fetch the bread.’
- c. *Ncignu u fazzu.*
start-1s to do-1s
‘I start doing.’

Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 374) point out that, since the finite and the inflected construction are syntactically different, they could coexist in addition to the infinitival construction in one and the same language, which is the case of Milazzese⁵²:

⁵⁰ An interesting attempt at accounting for the complete linguistic situation of contemporary Salento, with a particular attention to the interaction between the Salentino dialect, Griko and the regional variety of Italian, is Golovko and Panov (2013).

⁵¹ (10a) is an example by Calabrese (1993) from a dialect spoken in the Northern part of the province of Lecce (Apulia). The examples in (10b, c) are taken from the dialect spoken in Cittanova, a small centre in the province of Reggio Calabria.

⁵² Milazzese is the dialect spoken in Milazzo, another town in the province of Messina.

- (11) a. *Vaju a pigghiari u pani.* (infinitival construction)
 go-1s to fetch-INF the bread
- b. *Vaju a pigghiu u pani.* (inflected construction)
 go-1s to fetch-1s the bread
- c. *Vaju mi pigghiu u pani.* (finite construction)
 go-1s MI fetch-1s the bread
 ‘I go to fetch bread.’

Although owing much, from both the lexical and the morphosyntactic point of view, to the Greek foundation of the town dating from the Magna Graecia period (8th century B.C.), the dialect spoken in Taranto does not select the type of finite construction exemplified in (10) as a first option. In this sense, it resembles dialects like Milazzese.

Anyway, what is relevant to the present work is the hybrid paradigm that the verb *sce* (‘to go’) entering the inflected construction in Tarantino yields in the indicative present. (12) shows the complete inflection of *sce*⁵³, from which it is possible to recognize the alternation of allomorphs (in this case *vo-* / *ve* vs. *scia-* / *sce*) we had previously seen for the Sicilian dialects in chapter 2:

- (12) a. *Ijə voghə.*
 ‘I go.’
- b. *Tu ve.*
 ‘You go.’ (singular)
- c. *Jiddə/Jeddə ve.*
 ‘He/She goes.’
- d. *Nujə sciamə.*
 ‘We go.’
- e. *Vujə sciatə.*
 ‘You go.’ (plural)
- f. *Lorə vonnə.*
 ‘They go.’

⁵³ The phonology of Tarantino is rather complex. For an easy reading of the examples, I have used a simplified transcription with the only “ə” as an extra feature.

Unexpectedly, the alternation of the two allomorphs of the verb *sce* in the indicative present does not function as a constraint on the occurrence of the inflected construction. As a matter of fact, the first and second persons plural which feature the allomorph [ʃ-] still allow for the inflected construction and they do so by undergoing a two-step process:

- (i) *sciamə* ('we go') and *sciatə* ('you go', plural) are replaced by the indistinct form *sce*;
- (ii) the inflectional features of mood, tense, person and number are transferred to the following lexical verb, in exactly the same way as in the dialects of Marina di Ragusa and Acireale.

The resulting hybrid paradigm is grammatical for both transitive and intransitive verbs⁵⁴:

- (13) a. *Ijə voghə a ppigghjə u panə / a ffatijə.*
 'I go to fetch the bread / to work.'
- b. *Tu ve ppigghijə u panə / ffatijə.*
 'You go to fetch the bread / to work.' (singular)
- c. *Jiddə/Jeddə ve ppigghijə u panə / ffatijə.*
 'He/She goes to fetch the bread / to work.'
- d. *Nujə sce ppigghjamə u panə / ffadjamə.*
 'We go to fetch the bread / to work.'
- e. *Vujə sce ppigghjatə u panə / ffadjatə.*
 'You go to fetch the bread / to work.' (plural)
- f. *Lorə vonnə ppigghjenə u panə / ffatjanə.*
 'They go to fetch the bread / to work.'

We have seen in the previous chapter that the inflected construction in most Sicilian dialects is possible only when the motion verb 'to go' is inflected with the allomorph [v-], which can be found in the infinitive, too. It does not occur, then, in tenses and moods other than the indicative present and the second person singular (either normal or with the politeness prefix *sa*) of the imperative. Although Tarantino displays the same distribution of

⁵⁴ When the lexical verb is intransitive (i.e. when it is unergative, since unaccusative verbs do not allow for the inflected construction), the third person plural followed by the infinitive is more common.

allomorphs, and the indicative imperfect and preterite are formed with the allomorph [ʃ-], this does not prevent the inflected construction from occurring in one of these tenses too, namely in the preterite. Thus, Tarantino shares with Ragusano and Acese the same type of derogation from the morphological restriction, with the noteworthy difference that the former dialect does not select the less marked root (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti, 2001: 381), that is *vo-* / *ve*, to build the inflected construction in the indicative preterite, whereas the latter dialects do so (cf. the examples in (5)-(7)).

The following is the paradigm of the indicative preterite in Tarantino:

- (14) a. *Ijə sce ppigghjevə u panə.*
 ‘I went to fetch the bread.’
- b. *Tu sce ppigghjastə u panə.*
 ‘You went to fetch the bread.’ (singular)
- c. *Jiddə/Jeddə sce ppigghjò u panə.*
 ‘He/She went to fetch the bread.’
- d. *Nujə sce ppigghjammə u panə.*
 ‘We went to fetch the bread.’
- e. *Vujə sce ppigghjastə u panə.*
 ‘You went to fetch the bread.’ (plural)
- f. *Lorə sce ppigghjàrənə u panə.*
 ‘They went to fetch the bread.’

Notwithstanding the abundance of available tenses for the inflected construction with the verb ‘to go’ in Tarantino, that does not mean that this construction encounters no constraints at all. As for the indicative imperfect, for example, this dialect allows for the infinitival construction only. Compare the first and second persons singular (15a, a’) with their equivalents in Deliano (15b, b’):

- (15) a. *Scevə a ppigghjà u panə.*
 ‘I went to fetch the bread.’
- a’. *Scivə a ppigghjà u panə.*
 ‘You went to fetch the bread.’

- b. *Jiva a ppigliari lu pani.*
 ‘I went to fetch the bread.’
- b’. *Jivatu a ppigliari lu pani.*
 ‘You went to fetch the bread.’

The only acceptable construction for the indicative future is the infinitival one as well. It is important to point out that Tarantino share with the Sicilian dialects the deobligative periphrasis built with the verb ‘to have’ which can be used as a means to construe either the sense of futurity or the sense of obligation. Actually, none of the Extreme Southern dialects accounted for in the present work allows for the inflected construction in the deobligative future. Presumably, the fact that this periphrasis already contains an infinitive – which follows the verb ‘to have’ and the preposition *a* (‘to’) – prevents the following lexical verb from occurring in the inflected form, the infinitive being the most legitimate option:

- (16) a. *Ijə agghja scejə ppigghià u panə.*
 I have-1s go-INF fetch-INF the bread
 ‘I will fetch the bread.’
- b. *Tu ha scejə ppigghià u panə.*
 you have-2s go-INF fetch-INF the bread
 ‘You will fetch the bread.’
- c. *Jiddə/Jeddə adda scejə ppigghià u panə.*
 he/she have-3s go-INF fetch-INF the bread
 ‘He/She will fetch the bread.’
- d. *Nujə amma scejə ppigghià u panə.*
 we have-1pl go-INF fetch-INF the bread
 ‘We will fetch the bread.’
- e. *Vujə avite scejə ppigghià u panə.*
 you have-2pl go-INF fetch-INF the bread
 ‘You will fetch the bread.’
- f. *Lorə hanna scejə ppigghià u panə.*
 they have-3p go-INF fetch-INF the bread
 ‘They will fetch the bread.’

Besides, the other two motion verbs which can instantiate the inflected construction in Tarantino, namely ‘to come’ and ‘to send’, behave in exactly the same way as Marsalese. That means that the first and second persons plural of the indicative present, together with all the persons of the other tenses and moods, can only enter the infinitival construction⁵⁵. It is clear that, when it comes to the inflected construction, the motion verb featuring the unevenest paradigm, i.e. ‘to go’, is also the most occurring one in everyday communication. When is it possible for less frequent motion verbs to enter that particular construction, they are likely to display a more regular paradigm. That is the case of ‘to come’ and ‘to send’ in Tarantino⁵⁶. (17) offers some instances with the verb *avənè* (‘to come’):

- (17) a. *Ijə avəŋhə a ppigghjə u panə.*
 I come-1s to fetch-1s the bread
 ‘I come to fetch the bread.’
- b. **Vujə avənitə a ppigghjatə u panə.*
 you come-2pl to fetch-2pl the bread
 ‘You come to fetch the bread.’ (plural)
- b’. *Vujə avənitə a ppigghjà u panə.*
 you come-2pl to fetch-INF the bread
 ‘You come to fetch the bread.’ (plural)

Except that morphological restrictions affect the inflected construction in Tarantino less than they affect the one in the Sicilian dialects accounted for in the previous chapter, if we apply the same tests of monoclausality to motion verbs in the inflected construction in Tarantino, we get positive results too: first, these motion verbs force clitic climbing, as in (18a,) and (18b), where the action of going to bed is rendered by the reflexive verb

⁵⁵ The inflected construction in the second person singular of the imperative mood in Tarantino is acceptable but not the first choice of the speakers.

⁵⁶ This time, an analysis of the competing allomorphs for the verb *avənè* (‘to come’) is not likely to provide a good explanation for the fact that the only available persons for the inflected construction are the first, second and third persons singular and the third person plural (and only in the indicative present). Moreover, the verb *mannà* (‘to send’) does not display such allomorphs. On the other hand, a look at the stress pattern of the whole paradigm crucially unveils which forms are available for the inflected construction, that is the ones whose stress is rhizotonic. Compare the forms in (i) which enter the inflected construction with the ones in (ii) which do not:

- (i) *Avəŋhə* / *mannə*
 (I) come-1s / (I) send-1s
- (ii) *Avenimə* / *mannamə*
 (we) come-1pl / (we) send-1pl

corcàrasə; second, the insertion of a floating quantifier between the motion and the lexical verb produces an ill-formed sentence (compare (19a) with the grammatical sentence in (19b)); third, the insertion of a sentential adverb in the same position generates an equally ungrammatical result (cf. (20a, b)):

- (18) a. *U voghe a ppigghjə.*
 itCL go-1s to fetch
 ‘I go to fetch it.’
- b. *Mə voghe a ccorchə.*
 myselfCL go-1s to lay down-1s
 ‘I go to bed.’
- (19) a. *Le uagnunə vonnə (*tuttə) a ppigghjanə (tuttə) u panə ‘ndra*
 the boys go-3pl all to fetch-3pl all the bread in
quedda putea.
 that shop
- b. *Le uagnunə vonnə (tuttə) a ppigghjà (tuttə) u panə ‘ndra*
 the boys go-3pl all to fetch-INF all the bread in
quedda putea.
 that shop
 ‘The boys all go to fetch the bread in that shop.’
- (20) a. **Voghe (*semprə) a ppigghjə (sempre) u panə ‘ndra*
 (I) go-1s always to fetch-1s always the bread in
quedda putea.
 that shop
- b. *Voghe (semprə) a ppigghjà (sempre) u panə ‘ndra*
 (I) go-1s always to fetch-INF always the bread in
quedda putea.
 that shop
 ‘I always go to fetch the bread in that shop.’

Naturally, the fix order of the two verbs resulting from the functional nature of the motion verbs in the inflected construction holds for Tarantino too and need not be demonstrated. As for the single event interpretation, finally, it is necessary to refer to what I have pointed out for Deliano in

section 2.6.4: when the action expressed by the following sentence conflicts with the sense of the sentence containing the motion verb, Tarantino still allows for the inflected construction but prefers the finite construction:

- (21) a. *?Tuttə le giurnə voghə a ppigghjə u panə 'ndra quedda putea*
 all the days (I) go-1s to fetch-INF the bread in that shop
ma nongə l'acchjə majə.
 but not itCL find-1s never
- b. *?Tuttə le giurnə voghə a ppigghjə u panə 'ndra quedda putea*
 all the days (I) go-1s to fetch-1s the bread in that shop
ma nongə l'acchjə majə.
 but not itCL find-1s never
- c. *Tuttə le giurnə voghə cu ppigghjə u panə 'ndra quedda putea*
 all the days (I) go-1s to fetch-1s the bread in that shop
ma nongə l'acchjə majə.
 but not itCL find-1s never
- 'I go to fetch the bread in that shop every day, but I never find any.'

3.3. In summary

When entering the inflected construction, some of the Extreme Southern dialects diverge from the standard behaviour pointed out for Marsalese, and verified on Deliano. Basically, the three dialects accounted for in this chapter display the following characteristics:

- (i) as in Marsalese, in the dialect spoken in Marina di Ragusa there are two competing versions, the extended one and the indistinct short one, of the inflected construction with the verb 'to go' (cf. *Vaju a ppigghju u pani* vs. *Voppigghju u pani*). Unlike Marsalese, this indistinct short version can occur in the indicative imperfect and preterite and in the present conditional too. The other motion verbs enter the inflected construction following exactly the same constraints as Marsalese;
- (ii) in Acese, the only motion verb allowing for the inflected construction is 'to go'. Moreover, this verb occurs only in the

indistinct short form and follows the same distribution of tenses and moods as the equivalent version in Ragusano;

- (iii) the paradigm displayed by Tarantino – a non-Sicilian dialect sharing the relevant structure – is manifold. The motion verb ‘to go’ features a hybrid inflected construction in the indicative present (cf. (13)) and an Acese-like construction in the indicative preterite (cf. (14)), in the imperative and in the conditional, but only allows for the infinitival construction in the remaining slots (cf. (15-16)). The other motion verbs available for the relevant construction behave as in Marsalese.

However, the many paradigms of the dialects I have singled out in this chapter just give evidence of the wide cross-linguistic variety the inflected construction displays and do not invalidate the status of functional heads of the motion verbs involved. In fact, the monoclausality tests already used for the dialects in the previous chapter produce here positive results as well (see, for example, (18-20)).

Chapter 4. Inchoative and motion verbs followed by inflected lexical verbs in some Neo-Arabic languages

This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the motion verbs in the inflected construction in some Arabic dialects (also referred to as Neo-Arabic languages) in an attempt to provide further evidence of the functional behaviour of these verbs in that particular construction. After a quick introduction to the relationship between Sicily, the Arabic language and the Arab-Muslim culture, and a short explanation of the behaviour of Standard Arabic with regard to some verbal possible constructions, I will account for motion verbs in the inflected construction in dialects from different parts of the Arab world⁵⁷. I will also take into consideration another class of verbs, namely the inchoative verbs, whose construction in Arabic displays a behaviour which resembles that of a particular inchoative verb in Deliano.

⁵⁷ I will take into account mostly the dialects of Tunis, Benghazi, Beirut and the one spoken in Khouribga (Morocco).

4.1. Sicily and Arabic: a brief historical and cultural overview

One of the most significant periods in the history of Sicily, especially from the cultural point of view, was undeniably the Islamic rule, which lasted for more than two centuries, from 827 to 1091⁵⁸. This period influenced the language and the culture of the island as well as its countryside landscape (Muslims expanded citriculture throughout Sicily). It left some traces of linguistic contamination mainly in toponomastics (including the origin of a number of Sicilian centres, such as Marsala, Caltagirone and Misilmeri), in onomastics (affecting surnames but not first names), in some culinary and agricultural names, and in the maritime terminology. Any demographic estimate of the number of Muslim settlers is based on uncertain data but it is likely that almost half a million people came to populate mainly the Western and South-Eastern provinces of the island (cf. Mack Smith 1976). Interestingly, the North-Eastern edge of Sicily, where the Greek influence was stronger and the presence of Muslim settlers lower, is the only area where the local dialects feature the finite construction (see section 3.2).

Differently from the well known and well documented Arab domination in al-Andalus (Spain), of the Arab domination in Sicily little tangible evidence has survived. Most of the buildings and the paper documents of public and private archives of that period were destroyed or lost, except for some pieces of poetry that were kept in libraries in Spain or in Damascus. Moreover, the Christian chroniclers of the following period underestimated or ignored the importance of the Arab domination, probably because of their bias against the Islamic culture (cf. Mack Smith 1976). Nevertheless, at the end of the 19th century the Sicilian historian Michele Amari managed to collect a corpus of literary, geographical and historical accounts of Sicily during the Islamic rule, together with some biographical data, which he referred to as ‘Siculo-Arabic’ (cf. Amari 1880).

⁵⁸ Traditionally, the two events that delimit the history of the Arab domination of Sicily are the landing in Mazara del Vallo of the Arab conquerors in 827 and the fall of the town of Noto in 1091 by the Normans. It is important to make clear that slightly different dates are also used when referring to the Emirate of Sicily. Moreover, it is likewise important to point out that the Arab influence in Sicily’s life did not stop with the end of the Emirate. For more than a century after the Norman rule began, in fact, Arabs and Muslims held high clerical positions in Palermo (cf. Mack Smith 1976).

Although analyzing the same syntactic construction in two languages or two groups of languages which do not belong to the same family, as is the case here, does not necessarily imply any kind of direct linguistic contact between them, one cannot ignore the possibility that the languages spoken by the Muslim settlers coming from North Africa and the Levant during their long stay in Sicily could influence or foster the use of the inflected construction, in the same way as Greek favoured the use of the finite construction.

4.2. Motion verbs: the state of affairs in Standard Arabic

Modern Standard Arabic, or simply Standard Arabic, is the official language of all the countries in the League of the Arab States. It is the language used in writing, the language of mass media and of all political and formal speech but it is the mother tongue of no people in the Arab world, who use their dialects in everyday communication. In Standard Arabic motion verbs can enter both the infinitival and the finite construction. In the former, the infinitive of the lexical verb (called *maṣdar*⁵⁹) is preceded by the preposition *li* ('to', 'for'). In the latter, we find a verb inflected in the subjunctive mood instead of the infinitive and again the preposition *li*. The following sentences provide some instances of the Arabic infinitival (1a-c) and finite construction (1a'-c'):

- (1) a. *Aḍhabu li-širā'i l-ḥubz.*
 (I) go-1s to buy-INF the bread
- a'. *Aḍhabu li-aštari l-ḥubz.*
 (I) go-1s to (I) buy-SUB-1s the bread
 'I go to buy the bread.'
- b. *Taḍhabu li-širā'i l-ḥubz.*
 (you) go-2s to buy-INF the bread
- b'. *Taḍhabu li-taštariya l-ḥubz.*
 (you) go-2s to (you) buy-SUB-2s the bread
 'You go to buy the bread.' (referred to a male hearer)

⁵⁹ I will use a dedicated font (*Timlj*) for the transliteration of Arabic and dialectal Arabic words and sentences.

- c. *Tadhabīna li-širā'i l-ḥubz.*
 (you) go-2s to buy-INF the bread
- c'. *Tadhabīna li-taštari l-ḥubz.*
 (you) go-2s to (you) buy-SUB-2s the bread
 'You go to buy the bread.' (referred to a female hearer)

It is also possible to find instances of the infinitival construction with motion verbs in Classical or Quranic Arabic (the language from which Standard Arabic originates). In this case too, the action expressed by the infinitive is parallel to a final clause because it indicates the aim or goal of the action:

- (2) *Dahabtu li-ziyāratī Rašīd.* (Cantarino 1975a)
 (I) go-PAST-1s to visit-INF Rashid
 'I went to visit Rashid.'

Notice that, on the other hand, verbs like 'to want' or 'to desire' can be followed either by an infinitive (here the infinitive, considered as a verbal noun, is preceded by the definite article) or by the complementizer 'an ('that') and a lexical verb inflected in the subjunctive mood:

- (3) a. *Urīdu li-širā'i l-ḥubz.*
 (I) want-1s buy-INF the bread
- a'. *Urīdu 'an aštariya l-ḥubz.*
 (I) want-1s that (I) buy-SUB-1s the bread
 'I want to buy the bread.'
- b. *Turīdu li-širā'i l-ḥubz.*
 (you) want-2s buy-INF the bread
- b'. *Turīdu 'an taštariya l-ḥubz.*
 (you) want-2s that (you) buy-SUB-2s the bread
 'You want to buy the bread.' (referred to a male hearer)
- c. *Nurīdu li-širā'i l-ḥubz.*
 (we) want-1pl buy-INF the bread
- c'. *Nurīdu 'an naštariya l-ḥubz.*
 (we) want-1pl that (we) buy-SUB-1pl the bread
 'We want to buy the bread.'

The infinitival and the finite constructions with either motion or desiderative verbs in both Classical and Standard Arabic always instantiate a biclausal structure.

Finally, Arabic also features another construction, referred to as asyndetical, in which the motion verb and the following verb are juxtaposed without any preposition. Again, this construction does not imply any kind of monoclausal structure, in fact it is used when the meaning of the action expressed by the second verb, that is the subordinate clause, «is future in relation to that of the main clause in which the action represents a necessary preparation as requirement for the subordinate. Generally, this construction is equivalent in meaning to an expression of purpose or finality in English» (Cantarino 1975b: 249):

- (4) *Tumma dahabat tad'ū umma-hā.* (Cantarino 1975b)
then (she) go-PAST-3s (she) call-3s mother of her
'Then she went to call her mother.'

The sentence in (4) features two verbs with different tense inflection, since the motion verb is in the perfective – which corresponds to the English preterite – whereas the following verb is inflected in the imperfective. The various combinations of perfective and imperfective tenses is a typical feature of Arabic syntax, whose verbal tense system differs from the one of the Italian language and the Sicilian dialects. However, this type of asyndetical construction cannot be considered as an example of inflected construction. On the other hand, in the following paragraphs I will take into account instances from Arab dialects in which motion verbs, although displaying a different tense inflection from the following verbs, enter a construction which instantiates a monoclausal structure and thus can be considered as representatives of the inflected construction.

4.3. Motion verbs and inflected lexical verbs in some Arabic dialects

That of the Arabic dialects is a wide-ranging world that displays a high degree of cross-linguistic variation, especially in the lexical and phonological domains. Nevertheless, what seems to be a constant of all these varieties is a syntactic feature, that is the juxtaposition of two verbs

without any preposition or complementizer between them as the sole available option, whereas in Standard Arabic – as we have seen in the previous paragraph – such elements usually occur between the two verbs. The mere presence of two verbs in a serial construction in the Arabic dialects does not imply that they must always instantiate a monoclausal structure, but it seems to be the case of some motion verbs:

«Certain core members of the category verbs of motion (also called translocative verbs) exhibit special syntactic characteristics. Some grammars call these verbs auxiliaries, referring perhaps to the absence of temporal embedding exhibited by some of these verbs in narrative contexts. Harrell lists /mša/ *to go* and /ža/ *to come* as the most common “auxiliary verbs of motion” in Moroccan (1982: 182). Mitchell and El-Hassan specify /ʔām/, *to get up* /rāḥ/ *to go*, /iža/ *to come*, and /riži/ *to return* as punctual auxiliaries common in Egypt and the Levant (1994: 76-7)» (Brustad 2000: 147).

The following sentences show some examples of inflected construction from the dialects spoken in Tunis (5a-a”) and Benghazi (5b-b”):

- (5) a. *Nemši ngīb hobz.* (dialect of Tunis)
 (I) go-1s (I) fetch-1s bread
 ‘I go to fetch the bread.’
- a’. *Timši tğīb hobz.*
 (you) go-2s (you) fetch-2s bread
 ‘You go to fetch the bread.’
- a”. *Meši yğīb hobz.*
 (he) go-3s (he) fetch-3s bread
 ‘He goes to fetch the bread.’
- b. *Maši inğīb el-ħəbza.* (dialect of Benghazi)
 (I) go-1s (I) fetch-1s the bread
 ‘I go to fetch the bread.’
- b’. *Yemši iğīb el-ħəbza.*
 (you) go-2s (you) fetch-2s the bread
 ‘You go to fetch the bread.’
- b”. *Mši eğīb el-ħəbza.*

(he) go-3s (he) fetch-3s the bread
 ‘He goes to fetch the bread.’

The verb ‘to go’ in the above mentioned dialects corresponds to the Standard Arabic *mašā*, the most frequently used motion verb, whose phonological and then graphical rendition varies from dialect to dialect. The following is an example from a dialect spoken in North-Western Morocco, taken from Brustad 2000:

(6) *Mša* *šrā-lha* *l-mskīn l-‘tūr*.
 (he) go-PAST-3s (he) buy-PAST-3s to her the dear the incense
 ‘He went and bought her, the dear soul, the incense.’

All the Arabic dialects cited so far feature a paradigm complete in all its slots for both the present tense and the preterite. The same holds for the Eastern dialects, like the one spoken in Beirut, as shown in (7a-c) for the indicative present and in (7d) for the preterite:

(7) a. *Trūh* *tǧīb* *el-ḥebez*. (dialect of Beirut)
 (you) go-2s (you) fetch-2s the bread
 ‘You go to fetch the bread.’
 b. *Rayḥīn* *tǧībo* *el-ḥebez*.
 (you) go-2pl (you) fetch-2pl the bread
 ‘You go to fetch the bread.’
 c. *Rayḥīn* *yǧībo* *el-ḥebez*.
 (they) go-3pl (they) fetch-3pl the bread
 ‘They go to fetch the bread.’
 d. *Rāḥ* *yǧīb* *el-ḥebez*.
 (he) go-PAST-3s (he) fetch-1s the bread
 ‘He went to fetch the bread.’

If the juxtaposition of the motion verb and the lexical verb is the only possible configuration in the Arabic dialects, the presence of the connecting element *a* between the two inflected verbs is the norm in the Sicilian dialects. In fact, we have seen in chapter 2 that the imperative is the mood where the two verbs of the inflected construction in the Sicilian dialects can appear without *a* between them (see e.g. (13a, b) of section 2.2). It is

undoubtedly the most recurring circumstance but it is not the only one. Cruschina (2013) provides examples from Pantesco, the dialect spoken in the Sicilian island of Pantelleria⁶⁰ (province of Trapani), where the inflected construction can optionally occur without this connecting element also in the indicative present:

- (8) a. *Vaju vidu.* (Cruschina 2013: 271)⁶¹
 (I) go-1s (I) see-1s
 ‘I go to see.’
 b. *Vegnu manciu.*
 (I) come-1s (I) eat-1s
 ‘I come to eat.’

Another Sicilian dialect in which the optional omission of the connecting element *a* is available in the indicative present, when the motion verb in the inflected construction is either ‘to go’ or ‘to come’, is Ennese. Notice that the actual omission of *a* can be ascertained by the lack of phonosyntactic consonantal gemination of the following lexical verb. Compare (9a, b) with (9a’, b’):

- (9) a. *Vaju pigliu u pani.*
 (I) go-1s (I) fetch-1s the bread
 a’ *Vaju a ppigliu u pani.*
 (I) go-1s to (I) fetch-1s the bread
 ‘I go to fetch the bread.’
 b. *Vignu pigliu u pani.*
 (I) come-1s (I) fetch-1s the bread
 b’. *Vignu a ppigliu u pani.*
 (I) come-1s to (I) fetch-1s the bread
 ‘I come to fetch the bread.’

⁶⁰ Not surprisingly, Pantelleria is the closest Sicilian island to Tunisia. Its name itself is from the Arabic *Bint ar-riyāḥ* (‘Daughter of the Winds’)

⁶¹ The examples in Cruschina (2013) are from Tropea (1988).

4.3.1. The inflected construction of the Arabic dialects in the imperative mood

The previous paragraph has shown that it is possible to find a contact point between the inflected construction in the Arabic dialects and the one in some Sicilian dialects even in the indicative present, where, however, most of the latter dialects traditionally feature a connecting element between the two verbs. Nevertheless, the mood where the two constructions find a widely shared pattern matching is the second person singular of the imperative of all the motion verbs meaning ‘to go’. Here, the structure of all the Arabic dialects cited so far is the same: imperative + imperative. The sentences in (10) provide some examples of imperative for the second person singular⁶² that can be easily compared with the already mentioned Sicilian counterparts of section 2.2:

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----|--------------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (10) | a. | <i>Imšī</i> | <i>ğīb</i> | <i>el-ħobz.</i> | (dialect of Tunis) |
| | | go-IMP-2s | fetch-IMP-2s | the bread | |
| | b. | <i>Emšī</i> | <i>ğīb</i> | <i>el-ħəbzə.</i> | (dialect of Benghazi) |
| | | go-IMP-2s | fetch-IMP-2s | the bread | |
| | c. | <i>Rūḥ</i> | <i>ğīb</i> | <i>el-ħebez.</i> | (dialect of Beirut) |
| | | go-IMP-2s | fetch-IMP-2s | the bread | |
| | c’. | <i>Rūḥī</i> | <i>ğībī</i> | <i>el-ħebez.</i> | |
| | | go-IMP-2s | fetch-IMP-2s | the bread | |
| | | ‘Go to fetch the bread!’ | | | |

When it comes to the second person plural, on the contrary, the Arabic dialects display the same inflected construction format (imperative +

⁶² Notice that only some Arabic dialects share with Standard Arabic morphologic distinct traits for the masculine and the feminine of the second person singular in the imperative mood. The dialect of Beirut is one of these varieties; therefore, (10c) is to be intended as addressed to a male hearer while (10c’) is the feminine version. The dialect spoken in Cairo shows a similar behaviour:

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------------|--------------|----------------|
| (i) | <i>Rūḥ</i> | <i>ğīb</i> | <i>el-‘iš!</i> |
| | go-IMP-2s | fetch-IMP-2s | the bread |
| (ii) | <i>Rūḥī</i> | <i>ğībī</i> | <i>el-‘iš!</i> |
| | go-IMP-2s | fetch-IMP2s | the bread |
| | ‘Go to fetch the bread!’ | | |

On the other hand, there is no such a distinction in the second person plural in all the Arabic dialects above mentioned.

imperative) as the second person singular, whereas in the Sicilian dialects it is the infinitival construction that occurs in most cases⁶³:

- (11) a. *Imšiw* *ǧībū* *el-ħobz.* (dialect of Tunis)
 go-IMP-2pl fetch-IMP-2pl the bread
 b. *Emšū* *ǧībū* *el-ħəbza.* (dialect of Benghazi)
 go-IMP-2pl fetch-IMP-2pl the bread
 c. *Rūḥū* *ǧībū* *el-ħebez.* (dialect of Beirut)
 go-IMP-2pl fetch-IMP-2pl the bread
 ‘Go to fetch the bread!’

As for Standard Arabic, the paradigm of the imperative mood formed by two verbs both inflected in the imperative that Arabic dialects display is not acceptable. In (12a-d) the motion verbs inflected in the imperative are followed by the preposition *li* and the lexical verbs inflected in the subjunctive. This is the only grammatical option in Standard Arabic⁶⁴:

- (12) a. *Idħab* *li-ta’ħudā* *l-ħubz.* (masculine singular)
 go-IMP-2s to fetch-SUB-2s the bread
 b. *Idħabī* *li-ta’ħudī* *l-ħubz.* (feminine singular)
 go-IMP-2s to fetch-SUB-2s the bread
 c. *Idħabū* *li-ta’ħudū* *l-ħubz.* (masculine plural)
 go-IMP-2pl to fetch-SUB-2pl the bread
 d. *Idħabna* *li-ta’ħudna* *l-ħubz.* (feminine plural)
 go-IMP-2pl to fetch-SUB-2pl the bread
 ‘Go to fetch the bread!’

The presence of the preposition *li* and a lexical verb inflected in the subjunctive in (12) can be considered as an instance of finite construction and thus it prevents the imperative mood in Standard Arabic from being monoclausal. On the other hand, the similar syntactic behaviour of the imperative in the Arabic dialects and in some Sicilian dialects provides us with an argument in favour of the monoclausality of the inflected

⁶³ We have seen in chapter 3 that those Eastern dialects featuring the indistinct short form display this form also in the second person plural of the imperative mood (see section 3.1.2, example (9d, d’)).

⁶⁴ The imperative mood in Standard Arabic has different marks for the feminine of both the second person singular and plural.

construction of the former dialects and, then, of the functional role of motion verbs⁶⁵. In the following section I will provide further evidence in favour of the monoclausality of the relevant structure.

4.3.2. Some evidence for the monoclausality of the inflected construction in the Arabic dialects

Trying to apply the same monoclausality tests that have been previously used for the inflected construction in the Sicilian dialects is a difficult task. As a matter of fact, the two systems differ syntactically in many points. For example, neither Standard Arabic nor its dialects allow for clitic climbing, the object pronoun⁶⁶ always having to follow the verb it refers to. Compare the Arabic examples in (13a, b) with the one in Deliano in (13c):

- (13) a. *Adhabu li-ta'ḥuḍa -hu/-hā.* (Standard Arabic)
 (I) go-1s to (I) fetch-SUB-1s itCL
- b. *Nemši nǧīb-hu/-hā.* (dialect of Tunis)
 (I) go-1s (I) fetch-1s itCL
- c. *Lu/La vaju a ppigliu.* (Deliano)
 itCL (I) go-1s to (I) fetch-1s
 'I go to fetch it.'

Moreover, the fact that Arabic dialects feature the inflected construction with motion verbs as the default construction allows them to have arguments and adjuncts, contrary to what happens in most Sicilian dialects (cf. sections 2.6.5-6)⁶⁷. As to the insertion of sentential adverbs and floating quantifiers between the two verbs of the inflected construction, the different syntactic structure of Arabic and its dialects requires some preliminary remarks:

- (i) in Standard Arabic the non-marked syntactic position of frequency adverbs like *dā'iman* ('always') is before the two verbs of the infinitival, the finite and the asyndetic construction.

⁶⁵ Recall that American English displays the same V + V scheme in the imperative mood.

⁶⁶ Arabic object pronouns are enclitic elements which are fused graphically with the preceding verb.

⁶⁷ In chapter 2, however, I have explained that also the Sicilian dialects, such as Deliano, that display a wider use of the inflected construction (rather than switching to the infinitival one) are more flexible towards the no-adjuncts and no-arguments constraints.

Their insertion in the middle of the construction, although possible, is emphatic and typical of the spoken language. The same holds true for the dialects;

- (ii) in Standard Arabic the quantifier *kull* ('all') usually precedes the noun it refers to. It can float after this noun and in this case it is preceded by the definite article. Again, its insertion in the middle of the construction is possible but indeed emphatic, and requires the floating quantifier to occur together with an enclitic pronoun referring to the same noun. (14) shows the possible positions of the floating quantifier in Standard Arabic. In the Arabic dialects, where the second verb is not preceded by any preposition, the position of *kull* in the equivalent of (14c), rather than strongly marked, is considered as unacceptable by some speakers. This latter fact can be taken as evidence of the monoclausality of the dialectal inflected construction.

- (14) a. ***Kull al-awlādu yadhabūna li-širā'i l-ḥubz.***
 all the boys go-3pl to buy-INF the bread
- b. *Al-awlādu l-kull yadhabūna li-širā'i l-ḥubz.*
 the boys the all go-3pl to buy-INF the bread
- c. *Al-awlādu yadhabūna kullu-hum li-širā'i l-ḥubz.*
 the boys go-3pl all themCL to buy-INF the bread
 'The boys all go to buy the bread.'

Additionally, the fix order of the two verbs in the dialectal inflected construction with motion verbs provides evidence against a possible interpretation of this structure as a coordination, given that in this latter case the proclitic coordinative conjunction *w-* would be put between the two verbs. Compare the sentences in the dialect of Tunis in (15a, a') with those in (15b, b'):

- (15) a. *Nemši li-šālet es-spor w-naqra 'anglais'.*
 (I) go-1s to hall the sport and (I) study-1s English
 'I go to the gym and I study English.'

- a'. *Naqra* 'anglais' *w-nemši* *li-šālet es-spor.*
 (I) study-1s English and (I) go-1s to hall the sport
 'I study English and I go to the gym.'
- b. *Nemši* *nǧīb* *el-ħobz.*
 (I) go-1s (I) fetch-1s the bread
 'I go to fetch the bread.'
- b'. **Nǧīb* *el-ħobz* *nemši.*
 (I) fetch-1s the bread (I) go-1s
 'I fetch the bread and go.'

Finally, the necessity for the two actions expressed by the motion verb and the following lexical verb to refer to the same event, as is usually the case with the inflected construction, is confirmed by the fact that in the dialect of Tunis, when the second action negates the first one, the preposition *bāš* ('to', 'for') is put before the lexical verb, turning the whole construction into finite. The alternative version without the preposition *bāš* in (16b) yields an odd result:

- (16) a. *Nemši* *bāš nǧīb* *l-ħobz* *mal* *ħānūt hādā*
 (I) go-1s to (I) fetch-1s the bread from the shop this
kull yūm amma mā *nalqā-he-š* *bi-l-kull.*
 all day but NEG (I) find itCL NEGCL at the all
- b. *Nemši* *nǧīb* *l-ħobz* *mal* *ħānūt hādā*
 (I) go-1s (I) fetch-1s the bread from the shop this
kull yūm amma mā *nalqā-he-š* *bi-l-kull.*
 all day but NEG (I) find itCL NEGCL at the all
 'I go to fetch the bread in this shop every day but there is never any bread.'

If the syntactic differences between the multifaceted Arabic linguistic world and the Sicilian dialects do not make the comparison of the two systems easy with regard to the inflected construction, there is however a further interesting contact point that hints at a possible analogous behaviour of the functional verbs concerned. The following section will deal with this issue.

4.4. The inflected construction with inchoative verbs: the case of *accuminciari* in Deliano

Among the Sicilian dialects there is a representative of a class of functional verbs, namely the one meaning ‘to start’ / ‘to begin’, which still displays evidence of a formerly more productive inflected construction. The resulting paradigm is highly defective, occurring only in some persons of the indicative preterite and, more questionably, of the indicative present. It is important to point out that the paradigm slots featuring the inflected construction are increasingly replaced by the infinitival counterpart, especially by young speakers. Deliano, among the dialects I have taken into consideration in the present work, is the variety that resists more to this tendency.

Another necessary remark concerns the nature of the lexical verbs allowing for the inflected construction to occur. These are exactly the same verbs that can be found in the inflected construction with motion verbs in the indicative preterite (cf. (59) of section 2.7), that is verbs coming from the Latin third conjugation, such as *scriviri* (‘to write’ < *scribĕre*), *viviri* (‘to drink’ < *bibĕre*) and *diri* (‘to say’ < *dicĕre*). The sentences in (17) show the complete paradigm of the inchoative verb *accuminciari* (‘to start’) in Deliano, followed by the verb *fari*, which is another of the lexical verbs occurring in this particular inflected construction. Notice that, according to the syllable/stress pattern combinations allowing for the inflected construction to occur, the second singular and plural persons produce ill-formed results, since their inflected lexical verbs do not fall within these combinations, that is they are neither paroxytone disyllabic words nor proparoxytone trisyllabic words (see section 2.7, Table 2):

- (17) a. *Accuminciavu a ffici nna cosa.*
(I) start-PAST-1s to (I) do-PAST-1s a thing
‘I started doing something.’
- b. **Accuminciasti a ffacisti nna cosa.*
(you) start-PAST-2s to (you) do-PAST-2s a thing
‘You started doing something.’
- c. *Accumincià a ffici nna cosa.*

- (he) start-PAST-3s to (he) do-PAST-3s a thing
 ‘He started doing something.’
- d. *Accuminciammu a ffacimū nna cosa.*
 (we) start-PAST-1pl to (we) do-PAST-1pl a thing
 ‘We started doing something.’
- e. **Accuminciàstivu a ffacìstivu nna cosa.*
 (you) start-PAST-2pl to (you) do-PAST-2pl a thing
 ‘You started doing something.’
- f. *Accuminciaru a ffaciru nna cosa.*
 (they) start-PAST-3pl to (they) do-PAST-3pl a thing
 ‘They started doing something.’

What in the Sicilian dialects is a limited exception, since the inflected construction only occurs in few persons of mainly one tense, in Standard Arabic and its dialects is the rule: the inchoative verb is followed by a lexical verb with a varying combination of imperfective + perfective inflection and without any element occurring between them. The sentences in (18) show some instances from the dialect of Casablanca with the verb *bada’a* (‘to start’ / ‘to begin’), those in (19) are further examples from the dialect of Tunis:

- (18) a. *Bādīt nəkul taġīn.*
 (I) start-PAST-1s (I) eat-1s Tajine
 ‘I started eating Tajine.’
- b. *Bəda təkra dāba*
 start-IMP-2s (you) study-2s now
 ‘Start studying now!’
- c. *Nəbda nəħdam f s-səbāḥ*
 (I) start-1s (I) work-1s in the morning
 ‘I start working in the morning.’
- (19) a. *Nibda naqra.*
 (I) start-1s (I) read-1s
 ‘I start reading.’
- b. *Tibda taqra*

(you) start-2s (you) read-2s

‘You start reading.’

c. *Yibda yaqra*

(he) start-3s (he) read-3s

‘He starts reading.’

It is clear that in such an inflected construction, more than in the one with motion verbs, capturing the monoclausality of the structure is easy, since the first verb behaves as a functional verb and signals the beginning of the process, whereas the following lexical verb describes the type of action involved in that very process. However, the similarity of the two constructions in the Arabic world and in some Sicilian dialects is just one aspect that was worth showing. Whether this is a case of language contact (for the same reasons explained in section 4.1) or the manifestation of two independent phenomena it is hard to state at present and further investigation is needed.

4.5. In summary

Standard Arabic features different ways to combine motion verbs with lexical verbs:

- (i) in the infinitival construction, the inflected motion verb is followed by the proclitic preposition *li* and an infinitive (cf. (1a-c) and (2));
- (ii) in the finite construction, the inflected motion verb is followed by *li* and a lexical verb inflected in the subjunctive (cf. (1a'-c'));
- (iii) an asyndetic construction, in which the two verbs are juxtaposed without any intervening element (cf. (4)).

In none of the three constructions the two constituent verbs seem to instantiate a monoclausal structure. Even the third type, which resembles an instance of inflected construction, actually displays two verbs that are either in a subordination or in a coordination relationship.

On the other hand, the dialects from all of the regions of the Arabic speaking world invariably feature a syntactic construction in which the

motion verb and the following lexical verb are juxtaposed as in the asyndetic construction in (iii) but whose structure is monoclausal. In providing instances of this typical structure, I have taken into account dialects from Morocco, Libya, Tunisia and Lebanon, to find out an unvarying behaviour as regards the inflected construction (cf. (5)). The two verbs can show different combinations of imperfective and perfective and the construction can also occur in the imperative, where the similarity to the counterpart in the Sicilian dialects is straightforward. I have also provided evidence of such similarity in the indicative present of some Sicilian dialects (cf. (8) and (9)).

In order to demonstrate the monoclausality of the inflected construction in the Arabic dialects – which is not an easy task because of the syntactic differences between the Arabic system and the ones of the relevant European languages (namely, Sicilian dialects, English and Swedish) – I have taken into account mainly the fix order of the two verbs (cf. (15)) and the single event interpretation (cf. (16)).

Finally, I have pointed out another interesting similarity between the inflected construction based on inchoative verbs in the Arabic dialects and the one in Deliano, limited to the verb *accuminciari* ('to start' / 'to begin') in the indicative preterite (see the examples in (17-19)).

Chapter 5. Conclusions

In the present work I have tried to provide further evidence for the functional role some motion verbs display when they enter a special construction in combination with a lexical verb and, optionally, with a connecting element occurring between them. The influential work by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003) on the relevant structure as found in the Sicilian dialect spoken in Marsala (province of Trapani) has been taken as a constant point of reference throughout the chapters of this thesis. As I could rely on the analysis of Marsalese, I have decided to take a closer look at the syntactic behaviour of the analogous construction in Deliano, the dialect

spoken in Delia (province of Caltanissetta) and to include in the study other representatives of the group known as Extreme Southern dialects, also taking into consideration the different areas of Southern Italy subject to the influence of Greek and Arabic.

Chapter 1 is mainly devoted to the discussion of the graphical devices I have chosen to properly render the utterances in Deliano within the text. The chapter also contains a brief overview of the linguistic environment characterizing this dialect and its community.

In chapter 2, which is the core of the whole work, I have provided a detailed account of the syntactic behaviour of the inflected construction in the Sicilian dialects, drawing attention to which motion verbs usually trigger it. I have divided these verbs into two groups, according to: (i) whether the inflected construction they enter displays the connecting element *a* in the second person singular of the imperative mood or not (see Table 1); (ii) whether is it possible for them, under special conditions, to enter the inflected construction also in the indicative preterite (cf. (14)); (iii) the presence of two allomorphs in their paradigm with only one of them allowing for the inflected construction to occur. Furthermore, following a dedicated study by Sorrisi (2010) on the motion verb *iri* ('to go') in Palermitano, I have discussed a peculiar feature of the inflected construction with intransitive lexical verbs. The resulting syntactic structure resembles the one of the imperative mood. Afterwards, I have extended the analysis to the other three relevant motion verbs, namely 'to come', 'to come by' and 'to send', and explained that in Palermitano: (i) the inflected construction with the first two motion verbs does not feature this peculiarity; (ii) the only acceptable construction with the verb 'to send' is the infinitival one.

In chapter 3 I have taken into account two Sicilian dialects, namely the ones spoken in Marina di Ragusa and Acireale (province of Catania), which show a different behaviour with regard to the general constraint that prevents most Sicilian dialects from displaying the inflected construction in tenses and moods other than the indicative present and the imperative. These dialects display an indistinct short form of the motion verb 'to go', already accounted for in Marsalese and Palermitano, which can appear in all the six

persons of the paradigm. In the second part of the chapter, I have extended the analysis to Tarantino, a representative of the Extreme Southern dialects located in Apulia. The dialects of this area, under the influence of Greek, normally display a different construction, known as finite construction, featuring an intervening complementizer. Tarantino, however, displays a particular kind of inflected construction with the motion verb ‘to go’. This behaves in a similar way as Ragusano and Acese but features another type of indistinct form which does not select the less marked root of the verb.

Finally, in chapter 4 I have suggested that Neo-Arabic languages, such as the ones spoken in Tunis, Benghazi and Beirut, feature the inflected construction with motion verbs as well. In these dialects, the relevant construction is the only acceptable option, whereas Standard Arabic displays a wider range of possible structures, such as the infinitival, the finite and the asyndetic construction (similar to the inflected construction but generally not monoclausal). I have proposed a structural comparison between the inflected construction with motion verbs in the Arabic dialects, which features neither intervening preposition nor complementizer between the two verbs, and the construction attested in the Sicilian dialects, especially with reference to the imperative mood. In the final part of the chapter, I have singled out another class of functional verbs, namely the inchoative verbs, which interestingly enter the inflected construction in representatives of both the linguistic families investigated in the present work: on the one hand, all of the Arabic varieties taken into account display such a construction; on the other hand, some Sicilian dialects, such as Deliano, allow for this construction but only with just one specific verb (i.e. *accuminciari* ‘to start’) and in a strongly limited context (i.e. mostly in the indicative preterite).

The general syntactic differences between the two linguistic families have made difficult the task of finding some commonalities. For this reason, in verifying the monoclausality of the inflected construction in all of the varieties considered in the present thesis, some tests worked better than others. Clitic climbing has proved to be a valid test for the Sicilian dialects but was not applicable to the Arabic dialects at all. The adjacency

restriction, that is the impossibility to insert sentential adverbs and floating quantifiers between the two verbs of the construction, has been more effective with the former dialects than with the latter, but in general it has yielded interesting results. Moreover, the highly extended use of this construction in the Arabic dialects, where no infinitive is allowed after the motion verbs, has nullified the impossibility for them to have their own arguments and adjuncts. The last two constraints, among those I have taken into consideration, that failed because of the inherent syntactic system of the Arabic dialects were the one that requires the two verbs to share the inflectional features (these dialects displaying various combinations of imperfective and perfective within the relevant structure) and the one that assigns to only the less marked forms of the motion verbs the possibility to enter the inflected construction. On the other hand, the fix order of the two verbs and the fact that they must refer to the same event have held true for both of the dialectal systems.

Naturally, it is likely that the more evidence of inflected construction with motion verbs is detected throughout the languages of the world, the more it is necessary to reshape the general theoretical framework. In this sense, I believe that two factors to be taken into consideration are the importance of the possible contact between two linguistic systems in fostering the choice of a particular verbal structure (as I have suggested for the inflected construction in the Sicilian dialects during the Arab domination, in chapter 4), and the extent to which young speakers are subject to the constant pressure of the official language of the place where they live. It is for the latter reason that I have investigated the characteristics of the inflected construction by appealing especially to informants who are under 30. The results have shown two different trends: (i) on the Sicilian side, the inflected construction in all its various forms is still alive, but the pressure of the Italian infinitival construction on them is tangible, so that verbs like 'to come by' and 'to send' are increasingly losing the possibility to be followed by an inflected verb; (ii) on the Arabic side, vice versa, the inflected construction remains the only acceptable syntactic structure among all the many varieties spoken in this wide area.

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Web References

Figure 1 is taken from Google Maps (<https://maps.google.it/>).

Figure 2 is taken from Wikipedia

(http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dialetti_italiani_meridionali_estremi).