

ДВОЙНЫЕ ФОРМЫ ПРИЧАСТИЙ ПРОШЕДШЕГО ВРЕМЕНИ В СИЦИЛИЙСКИХ ДИАЛЕКТАХ

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В данной работе изучается феномен двойных форм причастий прошедшего времени (образованных от определенных глаголов) в сицилийских диалектах. Статья начинается с определения причастия прошедшего времени. Далее предпринимается попытка изучить данное явление в других романских языках. Затем следует анализ результатов, собранных из современных литературных источников. В последней части данной статьи я анализирую результаты, полученные в ходе моей работы с носителями сицилийских диалектов. Участники моего эксперимента должны были перевести 52 предложения, в которых присутствуют причастия прошедшего времени, выполняющие различные функции, со стандартного итальянского на свой родной диалект.

Ключевые слова: морфология, причастие прошедшего времени, сицилийский диалект, синтаксис, части речи.

DOUBLE PAST PARTICIPLE FORMS IN THE SICILIAN DIALECTS

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This work sets out to explore the phenomenon of double past participle forms exhibited by certain verbs across the Sicilian dialects. It starts with the definition of the past participial class. It then attempts an overview of this phenomenon in various Romance varieties and moves to the analysis of the phenomenon of the past participial doublets in selected modern literary sources. The final part provides discussion of the second part of my data collection, in which I asked some native speakers of various Sicilian dialects to translate 52 sentences containing past participle (used in different functions) in standard Italian into their linguistic varieties.

Keywords: Italian, morphology, past participle, Sicilian dialect, syntax, lexical class.

1. Introduction

1.1. Past participle: definition and different functions

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

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

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

In the majority of the Romance varieties the form of past participle used in the periphrastic perfect tense forms, passive and predicative functions is iden-

tical¹. When two past participle forms of the same verb exist, they are often simply equivalent variants used for the same functional purpose. In her study of some past participial doublets encountered in standard Italian Thornton (2011) found very little syntactic or semantic grounding behind the choice between *perso/perduto* and *sepolto/seppellito*, which means that these forms are examples of overabundance — “a non-canonical situation in which certain lexemes exhibit cell-mates, i.e. more than one inflected form to fill one and the same cell of their paradigm (realize the same set of morpho-syntactic features)” [Thornton 2011: 1].

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

The difficulty of identifying patterns in the distribution of the Sicilian past participial doublets is further increased by the fact that it is impossible to refer to the Sicilian dialect as a homogeneous entity, as there is considerable dialectal variation across the island (hence the usage of ‘Sicilian dialects’ in the title of this work). This variation is found in the functional distribution of past participial doublets as well.

1.2. Past participle — a verb or an adjective?

I therefore argue that it is precisely this dual nature of the past participial class that has been one of the causes for the emergence of the past participial doublets cross-linguistically. In Russian, for example, the participle not only possesses regular verbal categories of voice, tense and aspect, but also the adjectival ones of case, number and gender agreement [Beck, Horn 2002: 34]. The same can be said of Italian where in certain cases agreement of the past parti-

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

ciple in gender and number is compulsory and in others not (refer to Maiden [1995] for a detailed summary of the history of the past participial agreement). The agreement is obligatory when the past participle carries passive and predicative functions and is optional when it is found as part of the *passato prossimo* construction. However, in some cases the agreement is compulsory even in the latter function. I therefore argue that it is impossible to ‘allocate’ past participles to a single word class. Secondly, I argue that, apart from the verbal and adjectival characteristics, past participles demonstrate other syntactic sub-functions.

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

Beard [1988] proposed syntactic test that allows distinguishing between adjectives and past participles in English:

Table 1. Adjectives vs. Past Participles (based on the classification by Beard [1988])

Adjectives	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They have comparative and superlative forms and can be nominalized 2. They are lexically derived
Past Participles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They are incompatible with the adjectival prefix <i>un-</i> and adjectival intensifiers (i.e. <i>very</i>) 2. They are inflectional derivations

Such a method, however, works well only when the analysed adjectives and past participle have the same form.

2. Double past participle forms in Portuguese and Spanish

An observation important for this dissertation made by Maiden [2013] concerns the instances of morphological change that affect past participle forms. He first says that if the morphological change takes place, then it tends to affect the past participle in all cases in which it is encountered. Secondly, if mor-

phological change causes a ‘split’ between new and old forms, then it rarely reflects the difference between passive and PPTF functions, but most commonly reflects the opposition between verbal uses of the past participle on the one hand and derived nominal and adjectival uses of the past participle (which display some extent of semantic unity among themselves) on the other hand.

However, it has been shown that Portuguese stands out from other Romance varieties in the way it distributes the usage of double past participle forms. The ‘split’ in the usage of short as opposed to long past participle forms in Portuguese (unlike in other Romance varieties where the split seems to lie along the line of verbal versus adjectival uses) is conditioned by passive versus active contexts [Thomas 2018]. A small group of verbs has developed (or has retained) a short rhizotonic form of the past participle, which is used in the passive context, alongside the arrhizotonic form that is associated with the periphrastic tense forms [Loporcaro et al. 2004]. However, in the first conjugation (verbs in *-ado*) it is the short form that is an innovation, not the long one. This is confirmed in Thomas [2018], where the data obtained for Portuguese demonstrates that the long past participle form is more acceptable in active contexts than in passive contexts, while overall still being less accepted than the short form. Furthermore, some verbs (all *-er* verbs) whose short form is used in passive contexts show even greater usage of the long form in the active context.

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

Spanish shows a trend similar to Portuguese, since there also exist past participle forms that are known as ‘truncated’, which should be regarded as parallel to the Portuguese short forms. The Real Academia Española recognizes the existence of such doublets in the earlier stages of the language’s development,

noting that in the synchronic language the truncated forms function purely as adjectives [Thomas 2018: 100]. These forms in Spanish are also known as ‘perfective adjectives’ [Gibert Sotelo 2018: 237]. It is highly debatable whether they can be classified as participles at all, since Gibert Sotelo describes them as “stative participles”, which show “different morphophonology with respect to the one displayed by verbal past participles” (ibid.):

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

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

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

3. Past participial doublets in the modern sources

3.1. Data collection from the literary sources

In this work I undertook analysis of selected textual corpora in order to test whether the choice of short versus long past participle forms has a specific pattern in the Sicilian dialect. A subset of fourteen verbs encountered in the Sicilian dialects and known to exhibit two past participle forms was selected and searched for in the selected texts: *aprire*, *chiudere*, *dividere*, *vincere*, *rompere*, *vedere*, *perdere*, *cogliere*, *morire*, *mettere*, *leggere*, *scrivere*, *confondere*, *piangere* (see Table 2). For this purpose, Giuseppe Pitrè's *Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* was consulted, as well as *Canti popolari siciliani* by the same author, alongside other literary sources from the late 19th and from the 20th centuries. An extract of the data collection for the past participial doublet of *aprire* is shown in Figure 1.

Table 2. Summary of the analysis of literary sources

Verb (in Italian)	Modern	
	Short form	Long form
<i>aprire</i>	<i>apertu</i> Pred. — 5; PPTF — 1	<i>graputu</i> Pred. — 1; PPTF — 8
<i>chiudere</i>	<i>chiusu</i> Pred. — 6; PPTF — 0	<i>chiudutu</i> Pred. — 1; PPTF — 2
<i>dividere</i>	<i>divisu</i> Pred. — 3; PPTF — 0	<i>dividutu</i> Pred. — 0; PPTF — 1
<i>vincere</i>	<i>vintu</i> Pred. — 1; PPTF — 0; Passive — 1	<i>vinciutu</i> Pred. — 0; PPTF — 6; Passive — 0
<i>rompere</i>	<i>ruttu</i> Pred. — 3; PPTF — 1; Passive — 1	<i>rumputu</i> Pred. — 0; PPTF — 2; Passive — 0
<i>vedere</i>	<i>vistu</i> Pred. — 1; PPTF — 18; Passive — 3	<i>vidutu</i> Pred. — 0; PPTF — 6; Passive — 1
<i>perdere</i>	<i>persu</i> Pred. — 7; PPTF — 5; Passive — 0	<i>pirdutu</i> Pred. — 3; PPTF — 8; Passive — 3
<i>cogliere</i>	<i>cotu/cortu</i> Pred. — 1; PPTF — 0	<i>cugghiutu</i> Pred. — 5; PPTF — 2
<i>morire</i>	<i>mortu</i> Pred. — 11; PPTF — 6	<i>murutu</i> Pred. — 0; PPTF — 15
<i>mettere</i>	<i>misu/missu</i> Pred. — 6; PPTF — 67; Passive — 15	<i>mittutu</i> Pred. — 0; PPTF — 3; Passive — 0
<i>leggere</i>	<i>lettu</i> Pred. — 0; PPTF — 1	<i>liggiutu</i> Pred. — 1; PPTF — 8
<i>scrivere</i>	<i>scrittu</i> Pred. — 2; PPTF — 5; Passive — 3	<i>scrivutu</i> Pred. — 0; PPTF — 3; Passive — 0
<i>confondere</i>	<i>cunfusu</i> Pred. — 4; PPTF — 0	<i>cunfunnutu</i> Pred. — 4; PPTF — 1
<i>piangere</i>	<i>chiantu</i> Pred. — 0; PPTF — 1; Passive — 0	<i>chianciutu</i> Pred. — 1; PPTF — 4; Passive — 2

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

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

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

Despite the fact that in the modern literary data the situation of the coexistence of past participial doublets is not rare, it is still very difficult to draw a clear-cut defining line between the uses of short and long past participle forms.

In order to attempt a more nuanced description of this pattern, I therefore assigned every instance of the participial usage in the texts studied to one of the three categories — whether in any given instance is it used in the predicative, PPTF or passive function. The general pattern that emerged from this study is that there is a tendency in modern literary data to use long arrhizotonic forms in the PPTF function ('more verbal' function) and use short rhizotonic forms in the predicative function ('more adjectival' function).

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

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

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

In the majority of other doublets the short form is more often used in the predicative function as well: *apertu* (5) — *graputu* (1), *chiusu* (6) — *chiudutu* (1), *divisu* (3) — *dividutu* (0), *vintu* (1) — *vinciutu* (0), *ruttu* (3) — *rumputu* (0), *persu* (7) — *pirdutu* (3), *mortu* (11) — *murutu* (0). Again, this is not an exceptionless

rule, since in some doublets it is the long arrhizotonic form that is being used in the predicative function more often than the short rhizotonic one: *cotu* (1) — *cugghiutu* (5), *lettu* (0) — *liggiutu* (1), *chiantu* (0) — *chianciutu* (1). There is also one doublet in which both forms are equally often encountered in both functions: *cunfusu* (4) — *cunfunnutu* (4). However, the difference between no occurrence and one occurrence is not substantial enough to form the counter-claim to the general tendency of the short form being more preferred in the predicative function. This has to be explored further, probably making use of a wider range of modern literary sources.

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

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

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

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

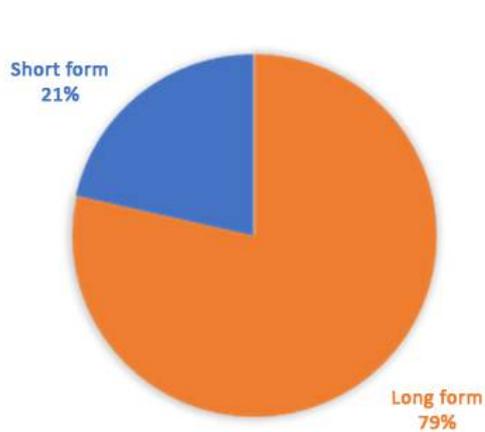


Figure 2. Preference of the past participial form in the PPTF function (based on the analysis of the literary sources)

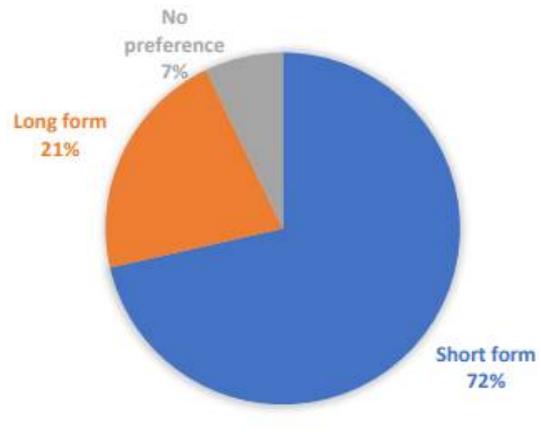


Figure 3. Preference of the past participial form in the predicative function (based on the analysis of the literary sources)

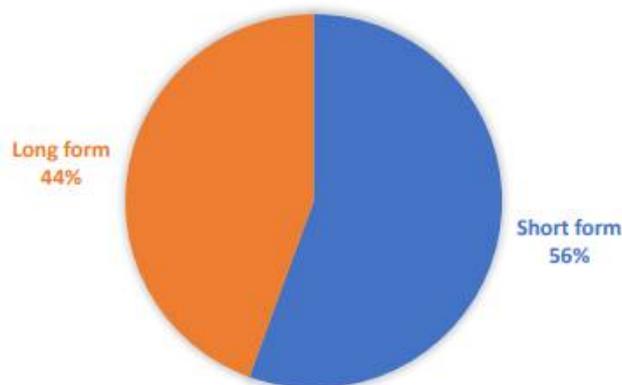


Figure 4. Preference of the PP form in the passive function (based on the analysis of the literary sources)

3.2. Analysis of the native speakers' judgements

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

particular variety he speaks in the beginning of the questionnaire), 2) every participant has to be over 20 year old to comply with the ethics regulations required by the University of Oxford.

One of the issues that have been encountered during the questionnaire circulation and completion, is the general reluctance of southern Italian dialects' speakers to use such forms as *passato prossimo*. However, it was crucial to ensure that when translating these sentences speakers used the same forms as the ones used in standard Italian — therefore, if a sentence contained *passato prossimo* in standard Italian, *passato prossimo* had to be used in the translation, and if a sentence contained *trapassato prossimo* in the standard Italian version, *trapassato prossimo* had to be used in the Sicilian translation. Upon the completion of the questionnaire by the first four participants, however, it became clear that the usage of *passato prossimo* seems so unnatural to the native speakers of the Sicilian dialects that it might have a negative impact on the quality of my research. Therefore, the decision was made to modify the questionnaire and to turn all instances of *passato prossimo* into the *trapassato prossimo*, which is much more widespread across Sicily.

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

Verbs that are known to exhibit past participial doublets in the Sicilian dialects were selected based on the analysis of the written sources above. In the analysis below I refer to them with their standard Italian name, since there is a lot of local variation.

Table 3. Summary of the past participial forms encountered in the questionnaires

Standard Italian infinitive form	Sicilian variants of the infinitive form	Long arrhizotonic past participle forms	Short rhizotonic past participle forms
<i>aprire</i>	<i>ap̄riri, gr̄ap̄iri, īap̄riri, r̄ap̄iri</i>	<i>grap̄ùtu, iap̄r̄ùtu, rap̄ùtu, apr̄ùtu</i>	<i>ap̄èrtu, ap̄èttu, ap̄ièrtu</i>
<i>chiudere</i>	<i>chiùdiri, chiùiri, chiùriri, ciùriri</i>	<i>chiudùtu, chiuiùtu, chiurùtu</i>	<i>chiùsu, ciùsu</i>
<i>dividere</i>	<i>divìdiri</i>	<i>dividùtu</i>	<i>divìsu</i>
<i>vincere</i>	<i>vìnciri</i>	<i>vinciùtu</i>	<i>vìntu</i>
<i>rompere</i>	<i>rùmpiri / rump̄iri, rùppiri</i>	<i>rump̄ùtu, rupp̄ùtu</i>	<i>rùttu</i>
<i>vedere</i>	<i>vìriri</i>	<i>vir̄ùtu, vist̄ùtu</i>	<i>vìstu</i>
<i>perdere</i>	<i>pèrdiri</i>	<i>pir̄dùtu, pid̄dùtu</i>	<i>pèrsu, pèssu, pièrsu</i>
<i>morire</i>	<i>mòriri / mur̄iri</i>	<i>mur̄ùtu</i>	<i>mòrtu, mòttu, muòrtu</i>
<i>leggere</i>	<i>lègghiri / lèggiri</i>	<i>ligghiùtu, liggìùtu</i>	<i>lèttu</i>
<i>scrivere</i>	<i>scriv̄iri</i>	<i>scriv̄ùtu</i>	<i>scrìttu</i>
<i>confondere</i>	<i>cunf̄unniri</i>	<i>cunf̄unnùtu</i>	<i>cunf̄ùsu</i>
<i>piangere</i>	<i>chiàngiri / chiànciri / ciànciri</i>	<i>chiangiùtu, chianciùtu, cianciùtu</i>	<i>chiàntu, ciàntu</i>

3.2.1. The dialect of Catania

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

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

The table 4 below provides a summary of the verbs for which both Participants used only one PP form. Respective examples are then provided for each verb separately as an illustration. In the case of subsequent dialects this step will be omitted.

Table 4. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form for both Participants in the dialect of Catania

Verbs that showed only long arrhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used	Verbs that showed only short rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used
<i>aprire (rap̄utu)</i>	PPTF, passive, pred.	—	—
<i>scrivere (scriv̄utu)</i>	PPTF, passive	—	—
<i>piangere (chiangiutu)</i>	PPTF, passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity	—	—

The table 5 summarizes instances, where a single PP form was used by at least one Participant. The discussion of the encountered doublets then follows.

Table 5. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form for at least one Participant in the dialect of Catania

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

Verbs that demonstrated past participial doublets for both Participants are: *rompere, vedere, perdere, leggere*.

Preliminary conclusions for the dialect of Catania are shown in the tables 6 and 7 and figures 5 and 6.

Table 6. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Catania (P1)

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

Table 7. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Catania (P2)

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

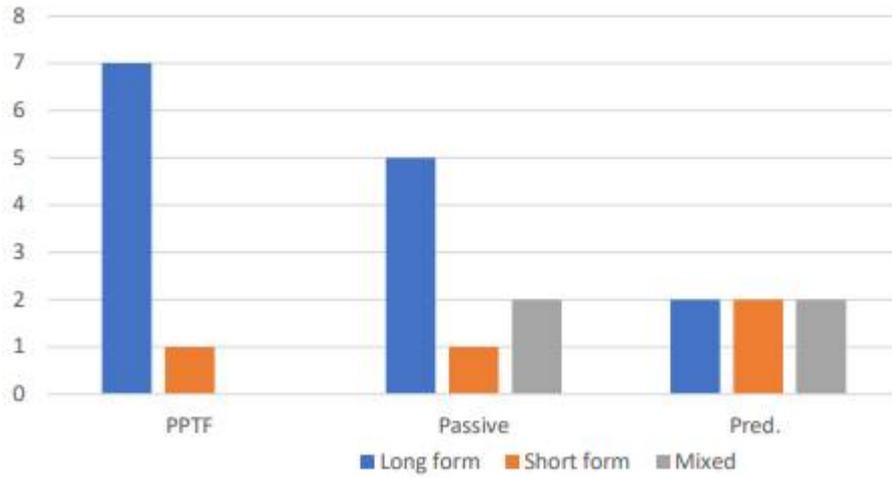


Figure 5. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Catania (P1)

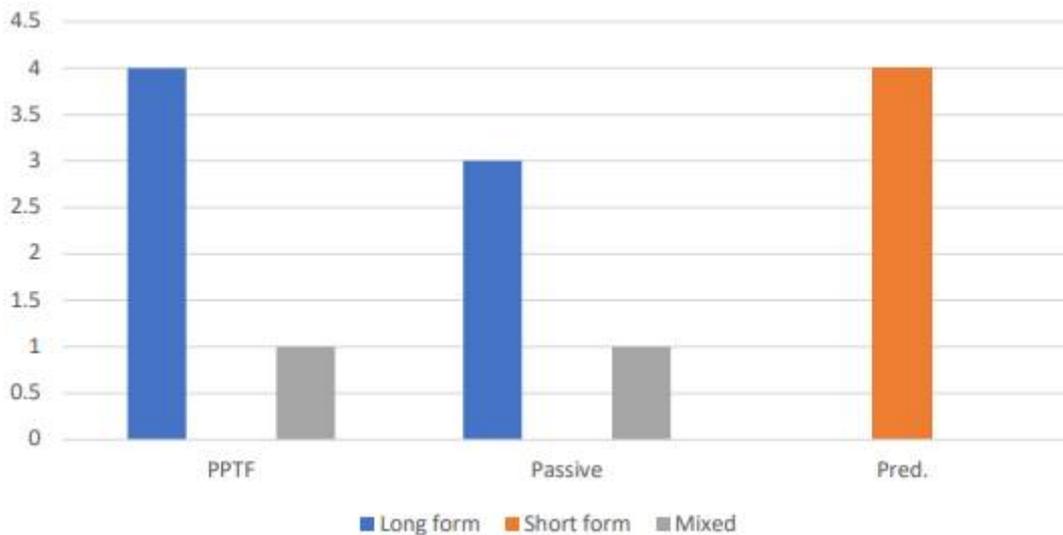


Figure 6. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Catania (P2)

3.2.2. The dialect of Siracusa

One native speaker of the dialect of Siracusa filled in the Questionnaire Type 1. I will refer to him as the Participant in this section.

The table 8 summarizes the verbs where only one past participial form was used by the Participant.

Verbs that demonstrated past participial doublets are: *rompere*, *vedere*, *perdere*, *morire*, *leggere*.

Preliminary conclusions for the dialect of Siracusa are shown in the table 9 and figure 7.

Table 8. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form in the dialect of Siracusa

Verbs that showed only long ar-rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used	Verbs that showed only short rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used
<i>aprire (raputu)</i>	PPTF, passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity	<i>vincere (vinto)</i>	PPTF, passive
<i>chiudere (chiurutu)</i>	PPTF, passive, pred.	<i>scrivere (scrittu)</i>	PPTF, passive
<i>dividere (spattutu)</i>	PPTF, passive	—	—
<i>confondere (cunfunnutu)</i>	PPTF, passive, pred.	—	—
<i>piangere (chianciutu)</i>	PPTF, passive	—	—

Table 9. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Siracusa

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

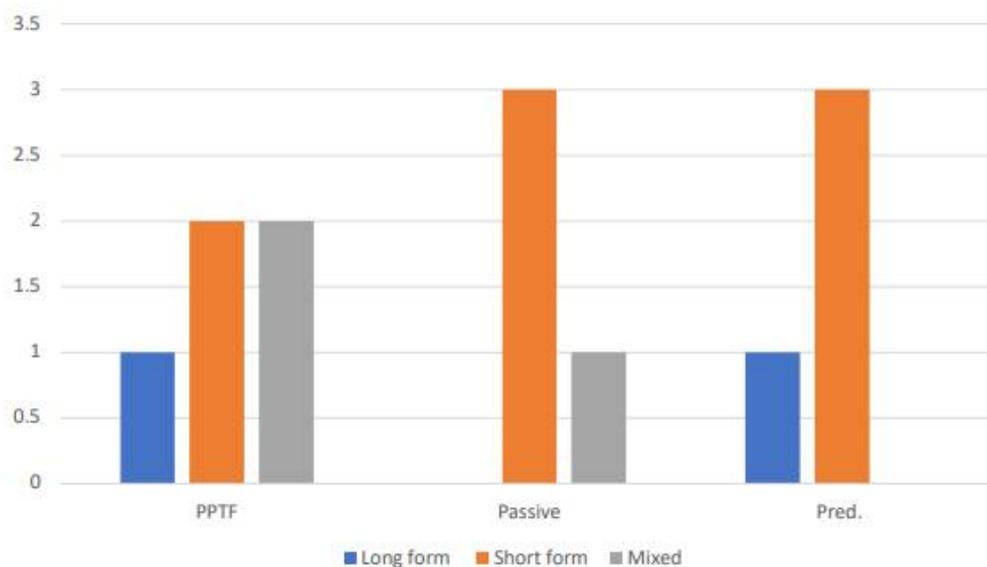


Figure 7. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Siracusa

3.2.3. The dialect of Acireale (province of Catania)

One speaker from Acireale completed the Questionnaire Type 2, indicating that sometimes he had to disregard my advice to use *passato prossimo* and *trappassato prossimo* in his translations from standard Italian to his local variety, because it sounded too artificial to him. Generally, this Participant only used one past participle form — either long or short one — very rarely demonstrating usage of the participial doublets, see the table 10. Verb that demonstrated past participial doublets is only *morire*. Preliminary conclusions for the dialect of Acireale are shown in the table 11 and figure 8.

Table 10. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form in the dialect of Acireale

Verbs that showed only long ar-rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used	Verbs that showed only short rhizotonic PP form	Functions in which it was used
<i>dividere (spartutu)</i>	PPTF, passive	<i>aprire (apertu)</i>	PPTF, pred.
<i>vincere (vinciutu)</i>	PPTF	<i>chiudere (chiusu)</i>	PPTF, pred.
<i>leggere (liggiutu)</i>	PPTF	<i>rompere (ruttu)</i>	PPTF, pred.
<i>piangere (cianciutu)</i>	PPTF, passive, pred.	<i>vedere (vistu)</i>	PPTF, passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity
—	—	<i>perdere (persu)</i>	PPTF, pred.
—	—	<i>scrivere (scrittutu)</i>	PPTF
—	—	<i>confondere (cunfusu)</i>	passive, pred. with a hint of agentivity

Table 11. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Acireale

Verb	Preference of the PP form in the PPTF	Preference of the PP form in the passive	Preference of the PP form in the pred.
<i>morire</i>	long	—	short

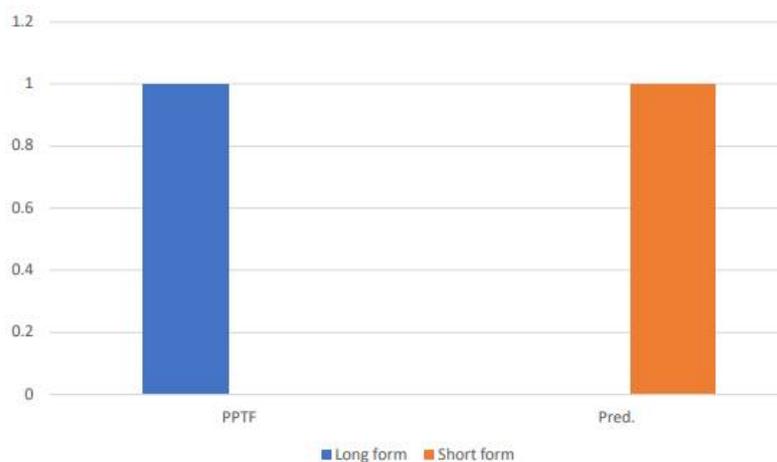


Figure 8. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Acireale

3.2.4. The dialect of Monti Nebrodi (*messinese occidentale*)

One Participant from Monti Nebrodi completed Questionnaire Type 2. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form are represented in the table 12. Verbs that demonstrated past participial doublets are: *aprire*, *chiudere*, *rompere*, *perdere*, *morire*, *scrivere*, *confondere*. Preliminary conclusions for the dialect of Monti Nebrodi are shown in the table 13 and figure 9.

Table 12. Verbs that demonstrated single past participle form in the dialect of Monti Nebrodi

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

Table 13. General preference of PP forms in different functions in the dialect of Monti Nebrodi

Verb	Preference of the PP form in the PPTF	Preference of the PP form in the passive	Preference of the PP form in the pred.
<i>aprire</i>	long	short	short
<i>chiudere</i>	long	short	short
<i>rompere</i>	long	long	short
<i>perdere</i>	long	long	short
<i>morire</i>	long	—	short
<i>scrivere</i>	long	short	—
<i>confondere</i>	long	short	short

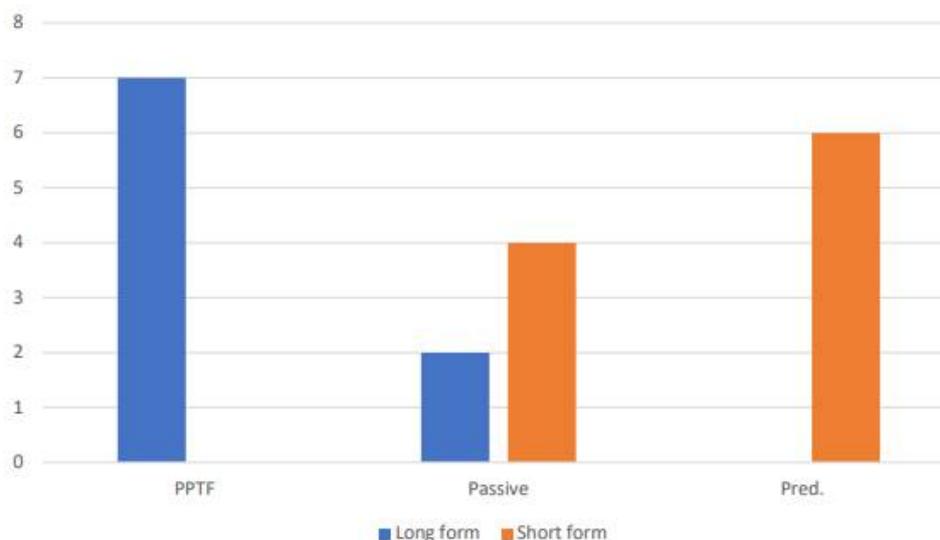


Figure 9. Summary of the preference of the PP form in different functions in the dialect of Monti Nebrodi

3.2.5. Summary of the native speakers' judgements

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

Table 14. Number and percentage of verbs showing PP doublets in different Sicilian dialects (out of twelve considered verbs). C(P1) stands for the dialect of Catania (Participant 1), C(P2) — the dialect of Catania (Participant 2), S — the dialect of Siracusa, A — the dialect of Acireale, MN — the dialect of Monti Nebrodi

	C(P1)	C(P2)	S	A	MN
Percentage of verbs showing PP doublets	8 verbs, 66,7%	5 verbs, 41,7%	5 verbs, 41,7%	1 verb, 8,3%	7 verbs, 58,3%

4. Conclusions

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

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

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

Table 15. Summary of the functional split between two past participle forms in verbs that demonstrated PP doublets in the literary sources

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

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

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

The results for the dialect of Catania should be considered more carefully, since in this case two native speakers filled in this questionnaire. As expected,

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

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

Table 16. Summary of the functional split between two past participle forms in verbs that demonstrated PP doublets in the questionnaire results. C(P1) stands for the dialect of Catania (Participant 1), C(P2) — the dialect of Catania (Participant 2), S — the dialect of Siracusa, A — the dialect of Acireale, MN — the dialect of Monti Nebrodi

	C(P1)	C(P2)	S	A	MN
Number of verbs showing no split between PPTF and passive functions (based on instances where passive PP usage was attested)	3 out of 8, 37,5%	3 out of 4, 75%	1 out of 4, 25%	—	2 out of 6, 33,3%
Number of verbs showing split between PPTF and passive in certain contexts	5 out of 8, 62,5%	1 out of 4, 25%	3 out of 4, 75%	—	4 out of 6, 66,7%
Number of verbs that generally use different PP forms in the PPTF and pred. (based on instances where pred. and PPTF PP usage was attested)	5 out of 5, 100%	4 out of 4, 100%	3 out of 4, 75%	1 out of 1, 100%	6 out of 6, 100%

As can be seen from the table, the only consistently and cross-dialectally high percentage (with the exception of the dialect of Siracusa) marks the split between PPTF and predicative functions. PPTF is a clear-cut verbal function of the PP, while predicative function is clearly an adjectival one. Passive function can be seen as lying in between these two extremes, aligning with one or the

other depending on the context. Thus, the question of the split between PPTF and passive is, on the contrary, more ambiguous. I cannot then conclude whether Sicilian dialects present substantial counterevidence to the morphomic nature of Romance past participle [Maiden 2013].

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

Abbreviations

3SG — 3rd person singular; LGPP — Long past participle form; P1 — Participant 1; P2 — Participant 2; PP — past participle; PPTF — periphrastic perfect tense forms; Pred. — predicative (function); PRES — present; SHPP — Short past participle form.

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