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Double past participle forms in the Sicilian dialects

This paper aims to analyse the phenomenon of the past participial doublets, i.e. the situation when a single verb can show two past participle forms in different contexts. This is attested in various Romance varieties, including Portuguese, Spanish, Venetian and Sicilian dialects, as well as, very marginally, in standard Italian (Thornton 2011). The current work implements the notion of gradience outlined in Aarts (2007), alongside Aronoff's morphomic approach, since both highlight a rather fluid nature of the past participle. We explore the number of different functions past participles perform in modern Romance varieties and show that even when one form is used in all contexts, it can nevertheless belong to different lexical classes. An original Latin 'stative' (and very 'adjectival') meaning of the past participle has been subject to change in modern Romance, where the emergence of various analytical structures led to the usage of past participle as part of the verbal paradigm. Thus, through a thorough analysis of the theoretical background and impossibility of rigid classification of past participles in terms of lexical classes, this work shows how the past participle's dual nature leads to the emergence of the studied doublets.

This work then shows various types of the past participial doublets' distributional patterns and argues that the one found in Spanish seems to be the canonical one (Maiden 2013), since there the long arrhizotonic past participle form is used in verbal contexts, while the short rhizotonic form is used in the predicative contexts. There is no split between the periphrastic perfect tense form (referred to as PPTF) and the passive usage of the past participle, unlike in Portuguese where such split does arise. There the choice of the past participle form seems to be conditioned by the passive vs. active contexts (Thomas 2018). This work also cites Venetian dialects, where the situation is even more complex, because of their development of the third past participial form. Furthermore, it seems that there might be a link between the verb's conjugational class and the distributional pattern of the past participial forms.

This paper finally proceeds to the analysis of the Sicilian dialects (which were also recently discussed in Bentley 2019; Bentley and Ledgeway 2014; 2015; Maiden 2013). It starts with the analysis of modern literary data (mainly Giuseppe Pitrè's *Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani*) where the distribution of the past participial forms of fourteen chosen verbs (known to exhibit past participial doublets) is studied. The second part discusses the results of my fieldwork, during which I asked native speakers

of various Sicilian dialects to translate 52 sentences (containing past participle forms of the chosen twelve verbs used in the PPTF, passive and predicative functions) from standard Italian to their linguistic variety.

The results seem to indicate general preference of the native speakers to choose one form over the other – mainly the long arrhizotonic one. The short rhizotonic form tends to be limited in usage to the predicative context, which is consistent with the general trend of the short rhizotonic past participle forms moving in the adjectival direction on the grammatical continuum.

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