

A DM view of person-driven auxiliary selection in Upper Southern Italian*

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Arregi and Nevins (2012):

In recent work on Basque, Arregi and Nevins argue for an account of person hierarchy effects that has *certain morphological constraints apply in the syntax*, specifically one that prevents multiple clitics from attaching to the same head.

In this talk, we show that **the same type of morphological constraint** conditions person-driven auxiliary selection in Upper Southern Italian.

Building on the work of D'Alessandro (2012 et prev.), we propose that these patterns involve subject clitics which compete for adjunction to T with the prepositional head which turns BE into HAVE (Kayne 1993).

In addition, we demonstrate that this type of constraint interacts predictably with additional syntactic structure in different ways, providing an explanation of variation in auxiliary selection in closely related languages.

The talk is structured as follows:

- Section 1 introduces auxiliary selection driven by person
- Section 2 presents the two foundational components of our theory:
 1. Subject agreement in Upper-Southern Italian is in fact clitic doubling (D'Alessandro 2012)
 2. A prepositional head associated with the participle combines with BE to form HAVE (Kayne 1993).
- Section 3 outlines our account of person-driven auxiliary selection
- Section 4 extends our analysis to more complex periphrastic tenses, and introduces some parameters of variation across Upper-Southern Italian varieties

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1 A participant split in auxiliary selection

1.1 Ariellese

We introduce our analysis using data from Ariellese (D'Alessandro 2012 et prev.), which is an example of the most common type of auxiliary split (Manzini & Savoia 2005). Regardless of verb type, the present perfect 1st & 2nd person auxiliaries are always BE, while 3rd person auxiliaries, are always HAVE (underlined):

(1) Present perfect of transitive verb:

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| a. | (ji) so magnatə
I am eaten.SG
'I have eaten.' | d. | (nu) seme magnitə
we are eaten.PL
'We have eaten.' |
| b. | (tu) si magnatə
you are eaten.SG
'You have eaten.' | e. | (vu) sete magnitə
you.PL are eaten.PL
'You(pl.) have eaten.' |
| c. | (essə) <u>a</u> magnatə
he/she has eaten.SG
'He/she has eaten.' | f. | (jissə) <u>a</u> magnitə
they have eaten.PL
'They have eaten.' |
- (D'Alessandro 2012:8)

This pattern obtains regardless of verb type (D'Alessandro 2012), so that an intransitive unaccusative has the same selectional pattern (2a–f):

(2) Present perfect of unaccusative:

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| a. | (ji) so cagnatə
I am changed.SG
'I have changed.' | d. | (nu) seme cagnitə
we are changed.PL
'We have changed.' |
| b. | (tu) si cagnatə
you are changed.SG
'You have changed.' | e. | (vu) sete cagnitə
you.PL are changed.PL
'You(pl.) have changed.' |
| c. | (essə) <u>a</u> cagnatə
he/she has changed.SG
'He/she has changed.' | f. | (jissə) <u>a</u> cagnitə
they have changed.PL
'They have changed.' |
- (D'Alessandro 2012:8)

In other words, Ariellese always has the pattern of auxiliary selection schematized in (3).¹

¹Although HAVE is not used as main verb, we can tell that this is differential auxiliary selection because BE has a full paradigm of which the 3rd person form is different, in copular constructions, for example. This paradigm is in (i).

(i) Ariellese paradigm for *be*

	SG	PL
1	so	seme
2	si	sete
3	je	je

(Adapted from D'Alessandro & Di Sciullo)

(3) Ariellese auxiliary selection

	SG	PL
1	BE	BE
2	BE	BE
3	HAVE	HAVE

Our proposal in this talk: This auxiliary split results from competition for merger to T between subject clitics and a prepositional head associated with the participle, whose adjunction to T BE into HAVE (Kayne 1993). BE auxiliaries surface when a subject clitic is present, which prevents attachment of this prepositional head.

1.2 Arregi and Nevins (2012)

Arregi and Nevins (2012) develop an analysis of Person-Case Constraint (PCC) effects in Basque. In Basque, 1st and 2nd person absolutive arguments are restricted in the context of a dative clitic:

- (4) *1st and 2nd person banned in context of dative clitic:*
- a. Ni-ri Jon ondo jaus-ten g-a-t.
 me-DAT Jon.ABS well fall-IMP L-PRS.3SG-CL.DAT.1SG
 ‘I like Jon.’
- b. *Ni-ri su ondo jausten s-a-t.
 me-DAT you.ABS well fall-IMP CL.ABS.2SG-PRS.2SG-CL.DAT.1SG
 ‘I like you.’
 (Arregi and Nevins 2012:65)

1st and 2nd person DPs contain a clitic: Arregi and Nevins propose that 1st and 2nd person absolutive arguments are merged with a *subject clitic*, which must adjoin to a clitic host. In contrast, 3rd person agreement marking is just agreement and not the result of clitic doubling.

The proposal: The contrast in (4a–b) is due to constraint on the co-occurrence of two clitics on the same head:

- (5) **Condition on Clitic Hosts:**
 A clitic host in Basque can only attract one clitic.
 (Arregi and Nevins 2012:66)

As a result of (5), when a dative clitic is present, the clitic in 1st and 2nd person absolutive DPs has no host to adjoin to, causing ungrammaticality. In contrast, 3rd person absolutive DPs contain no clitic and so never cause a violation of (5).

We return to this account throughout and show that it provides a unified view of such effects and the person-driven auxiliary selection pattern under discussion.

2 Two main components of our account

Our proposal in a nutshell: Upper Southern Italian auxiliary splits arise from competition for merger to T between 1st & 2nd person subject clitics, and a prepositional head associated with the participle, whose adjunction to T BE creates HAVE (Kayne 1993).

1. BE auxiliaries surface when a subject clitic is present, which prevents merger of P to T,
2. HAVE auxiliaries surface when there is no clitic (ie. the subject is 3rd person) allowing P to reach T

We will first introduce the two main components of our approach, starting with the idea that subject agreement in these languages is actually the result of *clitic doubling*.

2.1 BE auxiliaries as subject clitics

D’Alessandro (2012):

Person-driven auxiliary selection in Upper Southern Italian, and in Ariellese, actually reflects the presence of *subject clitics*.

Our analysis builds on this work, but departs from it in identifying the subject clitics as the *agreement suffixes* of Ariellese.² In other words, we take subject agreement in these languages to be clitic doubling.

Clitic doubling will be seen to be restricted to 1st & 2nd persons. Specifically, we have the paradigm in (6) for the subject clitics of Ariellese:

(6) Ariellese subject clitics

	SG	PL
1	-o	-eme
2	-i	-ete

Before we can derive the BE paradigm, it is necessary to mention the initial *s-* of 1st and 2nd person auxiliaries. The subject clitic in Basque has a non-initiality requirement (A&N: 5.4, 5.6) - we propose the same for Ariellese. *s-* is a support morpheme inserted to prevent the clitic from being the leftmost item within the complex at T. Ariellese *be* then decomposes as follows:³

- (7) Decomposition of Ariellese *be*:
- a. $s + o = so$
 - b. $s + i = si$

²D’Alessandro treats the initial *s-* of the BE auxiliaries as the subject clitics. Our reason for assuming this ourselves is that the *s* is not present on main verbs. It should be emphasised, though, that our notion of subject clitic shares more with Arregi and Nevins (2012) than it does with other Romance literature (Poletto 2001, Rizzi 1982 et seq).

³We take the 3rd person form of *be* to be an elsewhere form, inserted when no clitic attaches to T.

- c. $s + eme = seme$
- d. $s + ete = sete$

Importantly, the subject clitics of our analysis also attach to finite verbs - note that the non-initiality requirement is satisfied and *s*- disappears:⁴

(8) Ariellese finite verb ('eat')

	SG	PL	
1	magnə	magnemə	
2	mignə	magnetə	
3	magnə	magnə	(D'Alessandro & Alexiadou 2003:168)

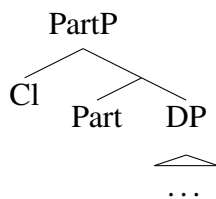
Why is clitic doubling restricted to 1st and 2nd persons?

Here we follow Arregi and Nevins' (2012) treatment of Basque. They propose that Basque only has 1st and 2nd person subject clitics, making use of the following assumptions:

1. Clitics originate in a *Big-DP* structure (A&N: §2.2 & references therein), so that the clitic is merged outside the DP proper.
2. In Basque, the only heads outside of the DP that provide a merge site for clitics are Part(icipant) and K(ase), so that all absolutive clitics must either be 1st or 2nd person.

Disregarding K(ase) for our purposes, this means that the structure of an absolutive clitic in Basque (which, by assumption, lacks K) must be (9):

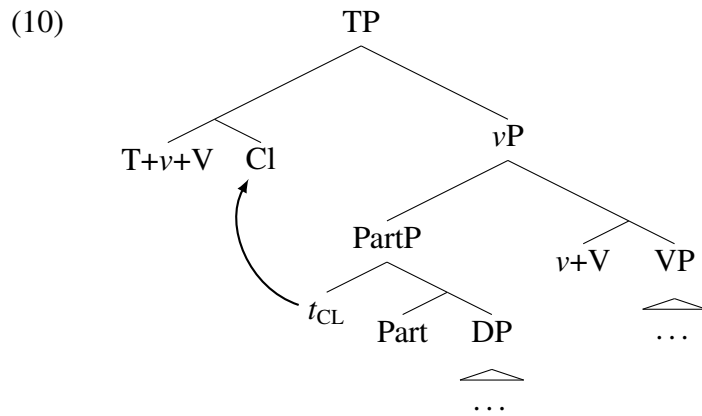
(9) Basque 1st or 2nd person subject DP:



The Participant Phrase provides a point of merger for a clitic that doubles the person and number features of the DP. 3rd person subject clitics are unavailable because 3rd person DPs lack a PartP. We adopt this account for Ariellese.

⁴Note that Ariellese reduces final unstressed vowels to schwas, obscuring the distinction between 1st and 2nd person singular. The 2nd person singular clitic can be detected in the umlaut in the verb root (D'Alessandro & Alexiadou 2003).

Summing up so far: Agreement endings on the Ariellese verb result from movement of a clitic originating in the specifier of Part (10):

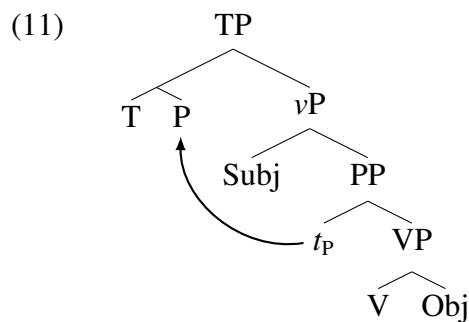


2.2 HAVE as BE + P

The second part of our approach derives HAVE auxiliaries. We follow theories in which BE is turned into HAVE by merger of a functional head associated with the participle (Kayne 1993).

Our implementation: We take this head to be prepositional in nature (Kayne 1993; Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000; see Bjorkman 2011 for discussion), and, following Kayne, we posit that it is merged *low* in the structure, directly with the participial verb.⁵

In addition, as in Kayne (1993), this P head moves to adjoin to T, causing it to spell out as HAVE:



We capture this with the simplified spell-out rules in (12):

- (12) *Auxiliary spell-out rules:*
 T=P → HAVE
 T → BE

⁵The semantics of the perfect appear to be introduced quite high (see Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou, and Izvorski 2002 and Bjorkman 2011 for discussion). If this is right, then this P head cannot be responsible for perfect semantics, but is indirectly associated with it by means of its role in creating the participle.

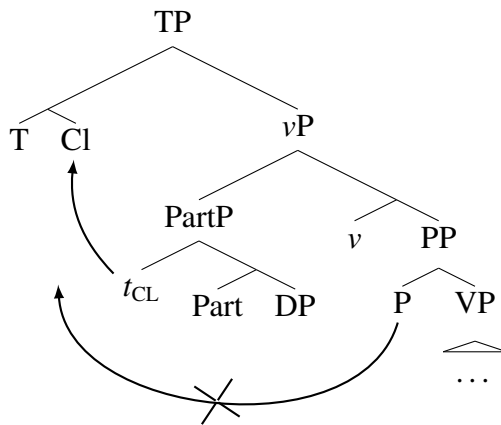
3 Deriving the split

We argue that *subject clitics block P from reaching T*, so that the preposition only reaches T when there is no clitic, i.e. when the subject is 3rd person. This is formalized as a condition on T, similar to Arregi & Nevins', which holds in Ariellese and all Upper-Southern Italian languages:

- (13) **Condition on Ariellese T:**
 Only one non-verbal head may adjoin to T.

Consider the syntactic derivation of the present perfect when the subject is 1st or 2nd person (14). A subject clitic is present, because the subject contains a Part head. This clitic raises to T, and, due to the Condition in (13), blocks P from doing the same:

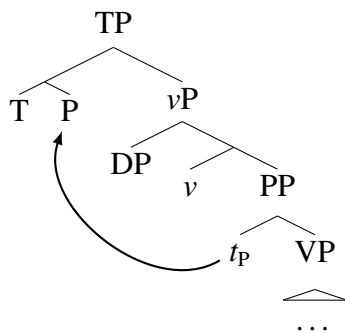
- (14) Only one head may adjoin to T:



As a result, T surfaces as BE.

When the subject is 3rd person, there is no subject clitic present (because the requisite Part structure is missing). This means that adjoining P to T does not violate the condition in (13), so that the auxiliary surfaces as HAVE:

- (15) P adjoins to T in absence of subject clitic:



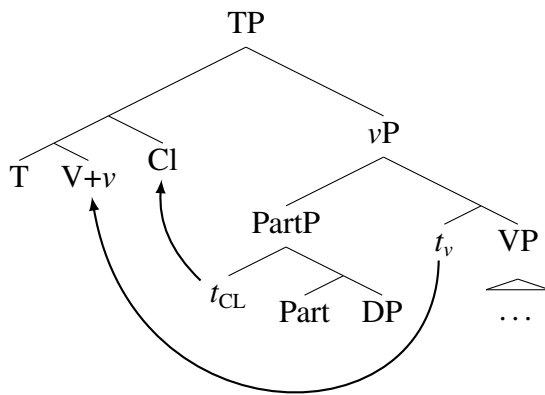
The split seen in (1–2) can now be derived. The BE auxiliaries of 1st & 2nd person forms are simply derived by raising the clitic to T, where it must be prefixed by /s/. HAVE auxiliaries are derived when the clitic is unavailable, as P can reach T. P does not have a Non-Initality requirement and spells out simply as [a].

	Features	Input	Output		Features	Input	Output
1st sg:	/T=1/	/θ=o/	[so]	1st pl:	/T=1PL/	/θ=eme/	[seme]
2nd sg:	/T=2/	/θ=i/	[si]	2nd pl:	/T=2PL/	/θ=ete/	[sete]
3rd sg:	/T=P/	/θ=a/	[a]	3rd pl:	/T=P/	/θ=a/	[a]

In this way, person-driven auxiliary selection is the result of competition between subject clitics and P for adjunction to T.

Note: An important qualification in our definition of the condition on adjunction to T in (13) is that this restriction only applies to *non-verbal* heads. This is to allow movement of the verb to T to co-occur with movement of the subject clitic, thus deriving the form of the finite verbs:

(16) Verb movement may co-occur with clitic movement:



4 Parameters of variation in Upper Southern Italian

4.1 3rd person plural

In some Upper Southern Italian languages, we also see BE with 3rd person plural subjects. We find this pattern, for example, in Vastogirardese (Isernia, Molise):

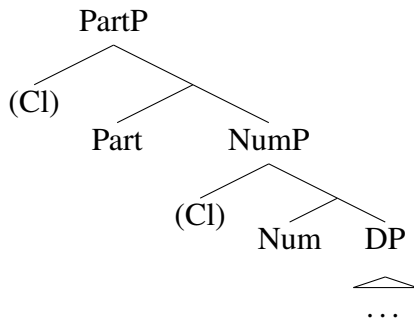
(17) 3rd person present perfect in Vastogirardese:

- a. r a camatə
him have.3SG called
's/he have called him'
 - b. rə so ccamatə
him be.3PL called
'they have called him'
- (Manzini & Savoia 2005: §5.5)

For Ariellese, we proposed that BE auxiliaries are subject clitics prefixed by a non-initiality morpheme *s-*. This is also what we claim is true in the case of 3PL *so* above.

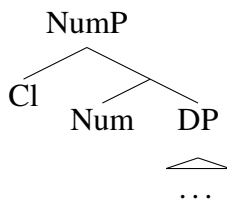
That a 3rd person clitic is attested in Vastogirardese we attribute to a difference in the syntax of DPs in the two languages. In particular, the Vastogirardese DP differs from Ariellese by allowing for Num(ber) in the Big-DP. This provides an additional merge site for clitics (18):

(18) Vastogirardese DP:



This head privatively doubles the number of a plural DP. The consequence of this is that it provides a point of merger for a clitic which expresses plural unassociated with a participant:

(19) Vastogirardese 3rd person plural clitic:



4.2 Other periphrastic tenses

An additional head: Suppose that we added a functional head to the extended verbal projection we have assumed so far. On our analysis, we might expect the presence of an additional projection to have one of these three effects:

1. The functional head does not interact with clitic movement or movement of P, so that the person-conditioned pattern of auxiliary selection persists.
2. The functional head introduces an additional host for P, so that we see HAVE across the board.
3. This functional head is an independent barrier for movement of P, yielding BE always.

All three of these possibilities are instantiated in periphrastic tenses more complex than the present perfect. In particular, we focus here on the behavior of the *pluperfect* across Upper Southern Italian, which involves the participle and a past imperfective auxiliary (also referred to as the ‘imperfect’ auxiliary). (Similar remarks apply to the conditional and future perfect.)

The past imperfective auxiliary requires the presence of an Asp head, which we will show can have all of the consequences enumerated above.

Person-driven auxiliary selection persists:

Although rare, this pattern is found in S. Benedetto del Tronto. In S. Benedetto del Tronto, like in Arielli, 1st and 2nd person subjects appear with BE auxiliaries, while 3rd person subjects appear with HAVE in the present perfect:

(20) S. Benedetto del Tronto present perfect:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>a. sə dərmi:tə
be.1SG slept
'I have slept.'</p> <p>b. ʃi dərmi:tə
be.2SG slept
'You have slept.'</p> <p>c. a dərmi:tə
have.3SG slept
'He/she has slept.'</p> | <p>d. ʃəmə dərmi:tə
be.1PL slept
'We have slept.'</p> <p>e. ʃətə dərmi:tə
be.2PL slept
'You(pl.) have slept.'</p> <p>f. a dərmi:tə
have.3PL slept
'They have slept.'</p> <p>(Manzini & Savoia 2005:682)</p> |
|--|--|

In the pluperfect, this pattern is maintained:

(21) S. Benedetto del Tronto pluperfect:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. səvə dərmi:tə
be.IMPF.1SG slept
'I had slept.'</p> <p>b. ʃivə dərmi:tə
be.IMPF.2SG slept
'You had slept.'</p> <p>c. avi dərmi:tə
had.3SG slept
'He/she had slept.'</p> | <p>d. ʃavamə dərmi:tə
be.IMPF.1PL slept
'We had slept.'</p> <p>e. ʃavatə dərmi:tə
be.IMPF.2PL slept
'You(pl.) had slept.'</p> <p>f. avi dərmi:tə
had.3PL slept
'They had slept.'</p> <p>(Manzini & Savoia 2005:683)</p> |
|---|--|

This means that the Asp head associated with the pluperfect does not interact with our analysis, but just affects the shape of the auxiliary.

Only HAVE:

In contrast, in Ariellese, as in many other dialects, the pluperfect takes only HAVE auxiliaries:

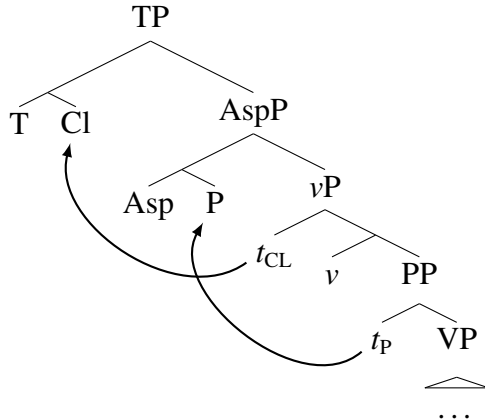
(22) Ariellese pluperfect:

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. (ji) avè fatijatə
I had worked.SG
'I had worked.' | d. (nu) avavèmə fatijitə
we had worked.PL
'We had worked.' |
| b. (tu) avì fatijatə
you had worked.SG
'You had worked.' | e. (vu) avavètə fatijitə
you.PL had worked.PL
'You(pl.) had worked.' |
| c. (esse) avè fatijatə
he/she had worked.SG
'He/she had worked.' | f. (jisse) avè fatijitə
they had worked.PL
'They had worked.' |
- (D' Alessandro 2012:9–10)

An additional adjunction site: We propose that, in Ariellese, the additional Asp head associated with the imperfect auxiliary provides an additional adjunction site for P.

The resulting complex head, consisting of Asp and P, can then raise to T, effectively 'smuggling' P to T:

(23) Asp provides an adjunction site for P:



How P is smuggled to T: Moving P to T through Asp does not violate of our condition to T, because we said it only applies to *non-verbal* heads. The complex head containing Asp, the verb, and P is a verbal head, however, so does not count for this restriction.

Only BE:

Some varieties show a third pattern in the periphrastic tenses. Amandolese has the same pattern of auxiliary selection as Ariellese for transitives and unergatives, with BE for 1st and 2nd persons and HAVE for 3rd persons (24a–f).

(24) Amandolese present perfect in transitive:

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. so pparl'lato
be.1SG talked
'I have talked' | d. simo parl'lato
be.1PL talked
'we have talked' |
| b. si pparl'lato
be.2SG talked
'you have talked' | e. sete parl'lato
be.2PL talked
'you have talked' |
| c. a pparl'lato
have talked
's/he has talked' | f. a pparl'lato
have talked
'they have talked' |

However, unlike Ariellese and S. Benedetto del Tronto, the Amandolese pluperfect is uniformly BE (Manzini & Savoia 2005):

(25) Amandolese pluperfect:

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. ero parlato
be.IMPF.1SG talked
'I had talked' | d. semo parlato
be.IMPF.1PL talked
'we had talked' |
| b. eri parlato
be.IMPF.2SG talked
'you had talked' | e. sete parlato
be.IMPF.2PL talked
'you had talked' |
| c. era parlato
be.IMPF.3SG talked
's/he had talked' | f. era parlato
be.IMPF.3PL talked
'they had talked' |

Asp as an intervener: We posit that, in such languages, the additional Asp head present does not introduce an additional adjunction site, but rather *acts as a defective intervener* for movement of P, thus providing an independent barrier for the creation of HAVE.⁶ The result of this is a uniform BE paradigm.

4.3 Unaccusatives

Commonly, auxiliary splits in other Upper Southern Italian languages are sensitive to verb type. We will show that this is independent of person-driven auxiliary selection and should be taken to an independent parameter of variation, which disrupts movement of P to T, preventing derivation of HAVE (*cf.* Kayne 1993; Bjorkman 2011).

This can be illustrated by looking again at Amandolese. We saw above that Amandolese has the same pattern of auxiliary selection as Ariellese. However, this only obtains with transitives and unergatives. With unaccusatives (and passives), all auxiliaries are BE:

⁶We could attribute this to shared aspectual features between P and Asp. Alternatively, under the proposal that all aspectual predicates are at some level prepositional (Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000), we could imagine that Asp may be “more prepositional” in some languages than in others. Having some prepositional content could cause Asp to act as an intervener.

(26) Amandolese present perfect in unaccusative:

- | | |
|---|--|
| a. so vvi'nutu
be.1SG come
'I have come' | d. simo vi'nutu
be.1PL come
'we have come' |
| b. si vvi'nutu
be.2SG come
'you have come' | e. sete vi'nutu
be.2PL come
'you have come' |
| c. ε vvi'nutu
have come
's/he has come' | f. ε vvi'nutu
have come
'they have come' |

Between them, Amandolese and Ariellese show us that person-driven auxiliary selection is independent of auxiliary selection by verb type. There must then be an independent syntactic factor which prevents HAVE from showing up in passives and unergatives (e.g. Kayne 1993; Bjorkman 2011).

A suggestion: Suppose that, in some languages (e.g. Amandolese), P can disrupt φ -probing and concomitant case licensing of the subject DP from T. In other words, in some languages, P counts as an *intervener* for φ -probing, perhaps because it may carry some φ -features itself (*cf.* Rezac 2008).

In transitives and unergatives, this is not problematic as the subject DP is in subject position (Spec-*v*P), where P cannot intervene in its Agree relation with T. By contrast, in unaccusatives (and passives), the subject DP is merged with the verb and is lower than P. This means P intervenes between the subject DP and T. In this case, P prevents case licensing of the subject DP. As a result, the derivation will not converge. We posit that, to remedy this, languages such as Amandolese allow P to be deleted, as a Last Resort.

5 Conclusion

In this talk, we have shown that, if we adopt D'Alessandro's (2012) proposal that person-driven auxiliary selection reflects the presence of subject clitics, we can explain this pattern as competition for attachment between subject clitics and the prepositional head associated with the perfect (Kayne 1993).

Take-home message: Putting some morphological constraints in the syntax, as proposed by Arregi and Nevins (2012), allows us to explain the commonalities and differences between person effects in Basque and person-conditioned auxiliary selection in Upper Southern Italian.

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Appendix: More on P deletion

Vastogirardese, discussed above in the context of third person plural clitics, also shows a pattern which provides indirect support for P deletion in unaccusatives: 1st person singular takes HAVE, obligatorily in transitive verbs, optionally in unaccusatives.

Transitives have the paradigm in (27a–f), in which 1st and 3rd person singular take HAVE:

(27) Present perfect of Vastogirardese simple transitive:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. r ajə camatə
him have.1SG called
'I have called him'</p> <p>b. rə si camatə
him be.2SG called
'you have called him'</p> <p>c. r a camatə
him have.3SG called
's/he have called him'</p> | <p>d. rə semə camatə
him be.1PL called
'we have called him'</p> <p>e. mə setə camatə
me be.2PL called
'you have called me'</p> <p>f. rə so ccamatə
him be.3PL called
'they have called him'</p> <p>(Manzini & Savoia 2005: §5.5)</p> |
|--|---|

This is schematized in (28):

(28) Vastogirardese auxiliary selection in simple transitives

	SG	PL
1	HAVE	BE
2	BE	BE
3	HAVE	BE

Unaccusatives have a different split (29a–f). With the exception of 1st person singular, all persons take BE. The 1st person singular is optionally a HAVE form or an irregular 1st person form *siəŋgə*:

(29) Present perfect of Vastogirardese unaccusative:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. ajə/siəŋgə mənutə
have.1SG/be.1SG come
'I have come'</p> <p>b. si mənutə
be.2SG come
'you have come'</p> <p>c. ɛ mənutə
be.3SG come
's/he have come'</p> | <p>d. semə mənutə
be.1PL come
'we have come'</p> <p>e. setə mənutə
be.2PL come
'you have come'</p> <p>f. so mənutə
be.3PL come
'they have come'</p> <p>(Manzini & Savoia 2005: §5.5)</p> |
|---|---|

Abstractly, unaccusatives then look like (30):

(30) Vastogirardese auxiliary selection in unaccusatives

	SG	PL
1	HAVE/BE	BE
2	BE	BE
3	BE	BE

Our condition on T states that a 1st person subject clitic should block P from creating HAVE. We propose here that a morphophonological constraint is at play, which prevents *s* from serving as the support morpheme for 1st person singular clitics, to satisfy its Non-Initiality requirement. This constraint blocks the sequence *s=1SG*, motivated by an avoidance of would-be BE auxiliary *sə*. This constraint is stated in (31).

(31) **No *s+1SG* Clitic:**
 **s=1SG*

This condition would be violated in simple transitives. According to our theory, the 1SG clitic would raise to T where it would require prefixation because of the clitics' non-initiality requirement. A repair strategy is now required. In this instance, we propose that Vastogirardese can break the Condition on T we proposed previously, and exceptionally move P to T, to serve as the support morpheme for the 1st person singular clitic. This creates a HAVE auxiliary with the structure [*a=ə*], which becomes [*ajə*] through epenthesis:

	Features	Input	Output		Features	Input	Output
1sg:	/T=1/	/θ=ə/	*[sə]	→	/T=P=1/	/θ=a=ə/	[ajə]

As a result, 1st person singular exceptionally surfaces with HAVE in Vastogirardese.

If Vastogirardese exceptionally uses P to satisfy Non-Initiality with the 1st person singular clitic, though, then unaccusatives, which we have argued delete P, are still in need of repair.

This results in the observed optionality. Either P is inserted regardless, ignoring intervention, or the 1SG auxiliary appropriates the phonology of an irregular verb, *tiəŋgə*, the 1st person of *tenere* 'to hold,' inserting *iəŋg*.

In this way, our suggestion that P deletion happens in unaccusatives provides a way of explaining this unusual optionality with the 1st person singular in Vastogirardese.