On Pseudo-Coordination
in the province of Catania

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Abstract

This paper discusses the preliminary results of an exploratory study based on acceptability judgments about Pseudo-Coordination (PseCo) as found in the province of Catania (Sicily). PseCo is a monoclausal verbal periphrasis where an inflected verb (V1), usually of motion, is followed by another inflected verb (V2) with an optional connecting element between them (cf. Giusti, Di Caro and Ross 2022). In western Sicilian varieties, the V1 GO can occur as an invariable form (i.e., *va-*, *vo-*, *uo-*, *o-* as in *Oppigghju u pani* 'I go and fetch the bread') prefixed to the V2. An online anonymous questionnaire was administered to 295 participants (180 female, 115 male; Age M: 20,95 years, Age SD: 2,73 years) to assess whether (i) PseCo with V1 GO in the present indicative is productive among younger speakers; (ii) different forms of

invariable V1 GO can cooccur in one and the same variety. The results show that PseCo in the province of Catania is still vital among younger generation of speakers and that invariable V1 GO generally occurs in at least two different forms but with no particular semantic specialization.

Keywords: Pseudo-Coordination, Sicilian dialects, verbal periphrasis, motion verbs, micro-variation.

1. Introduction

Southern Italo-Romance dialects display a group of periphrases where an inflected verb (V1) is followed by another inflected verb (V2), with an optional (covert or overt) connecting element between them. In these constructions both verbs generally display inflectional features, unlike most verbal periphrases where the second verb is either an infinitive or a gerund. For this reason, they are referred to as Multiple Agreement Constructions (or MACs; cf. Di Caro 2019a; Giusti, Di Caro and Ross 2022, and references therein).

Southern Italo-Romance MACs can appear in different configurations, but they mainly fall into two groups, according to their featuring the connecting element *ma/(m)i/m(u)/cu* (as in (1)) or a connecting element homophonous to the coordinator 'and' (as in (2)).[1] This latter kind of MAC, which is the one considered in the present study, is referred to as Pseudo-Coordination (or PseCo, cf. Di Caro 2017, 2019a; Ross 2021), since it formally appears as the coordination of two verbs but syntactically behaves as a monoclausal construction.[2]

In Sicilian PseCo, the connecting element between V1 and V2 is *a* (more rarely *e*; cf. Rohlfs 1969: 164).[3] This is generally omitted in the imperative (cf. (2c)), especially when the V1 is GO (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003; Di Caro and Giusti 2015, 2018; Di Caro 2019a, b).

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[1] In the first group of MACs, which can be found in Southern Calabria, Southern Apulia and North-Eastern Sicily (cf. De Angelis 2013, 2016; 2017; Ledgeway 2013; 2016, 2021; Ganfi 2021; Manzini & Savoia 2005: 698), the connecting element *ma/(m)i/(m)u/cu* functions as a complementizer or occurs in combination with a complementizer (as in Southern Calabrian *pe mu*; cf. Damonte 2010) and thus the resulting construction is to be considered as biclausal (see the discussion in Cardinaletti and Giusti 2020).

[2] PseCo is the most popular type of MAC among Sicilian dialects, but other MACs can be found in the area around Messina, in North-Eastern Sicily, featuring the connecting element *mi* (see the discussion in Di Caro 2019a: §2.2 and references therein).

[3] Sicilian also displays another PseCo featuring V1 TAKE, widespread among Italo-Romance varieties and Romance languages in general (cf. Coseriu 1966; Giusti and Cardinaletti 2022; Di Caro & Molinari 2024), in which the connecting element is always the coordinator *e* 'and'. This configuration, although still monoclausal, behaves differently from PseCo featuring other V1s, such as GO and COME. Giusti and Cardinaletti (2022) propose to call the former *e*PseCo and the latter *a*PseCo, irrespective of the fact that, in this latter construction, in some few varieties the connecting element can surface as *e*; see, e.g., Di Caro 2019a: 24 for the dialect of Furci Siculo (Messina). Since in this paper we only focus on GO *a*PseCo, we will simply call it PseCo.

(1)   a. Southern Calabrian, Rohlfs (1969:103)
          Vaju   mu   dormu
          go.PRS.1SG   MU   sleep.PRS.1SG
          'I go to sleep'
      b. Sorbo San Basile (Catanzaro), Manzini and Savoia (2005:654)
          Vinni   ma   ti   viju
          come.PST.1SG   MA   you=   see.PRS.1SG
          'I came to see you'
      c. Province of Messina, Rohlfs (1969:103)
          Pinsau   mi   parti
          think.PST.3SG   MI   leave.PRS.3SG
          'He thought about leaving'
      d. Salentino, Rohlfs (1969:103)
          Vulia   cu   ssacciu
          want.IMPRF.IMPRF.1SG   CU   know.PRS.1SG
          'I wanted to know'

(2)   a. Marsala (Trapani), Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003)
          Vaju   a   ppigghju   u   pani
          go.PRS.1SG A   fetch.PRS.1SG the bread
          'I go and fetch the bread'
      b. Vegnu   a   ffazzu   a   spisa
          come.PRS.1SG   A   do.PRS.1SG   the   shopping
          'I come and do the shopping'
      c. Va   pigghja   u   pani!
          go.IMP.2SG   fetch.IMP.2SG   the   bread
          'Go (and) fetch the bread!'

     MACs are a great exception among Western Romance languages, where a construction with an infinitival V2 is generally preferred.[4] But while the varieties where other MACs occur do not allow for any infinitival V2 (a phenomenon known as 'the unpopularity of the infinitive'; cf. Rohlfs 1969: §717)[5], PseCo can always be replaced by a construction featuring an infinitival V2 (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003), although in the imperative this latter construction is strongly disfavored (cf. Di Caro 2019a: §4.3).

(3)   a. Marsala (Trapani)
          Vaju   a   ppigghjari   u   pani
          go.PRS.1SG   to   fetch.INF   the   bread
          'I go to fetch the bread'
      b. Vegnu   a   ffari   a   spisa
          come.PRS.1SG   to   do.INF   the   shopping
          'I come to do the shopping'

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4   Or a V2 in the gerund, in the case of the progressive periphrasis *stare* 'stay' + gerund such as *sto bevendo* 'I'm drinking' which can be rendered as a PseCo in some Apulian dialects (cf., e.g., Manzini and Savoia 2005: 694; Manzini and Lorusso 2022: 67-68).
5   But see De Angelis (2013: §1.1.1) for a discussion that softens Rohlfs's claim on the lack of infinitival forms in the relevant varieties.

    c. %Va   a   ppigghjari   u   pani!
       go.IMP.2SG   to   fetch.INF   the   bread
       'Go to fetch the bread!'

Sicilian PseCo displays a high degree of micro-variation operating on different parameters (cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2015; Di Caro 2019b). These are listed in (4):

(4)   Parameters of micro-variation in Sicilian PseCo
         a. the selection of V1;
         b. the selection of V2;
         c. the mood, tense and person restrictions of the whole construction;
         d. the degree of grammaticalization of V1;
         e. the different forms of V1;
         f. the presence vs. absence of the connector *a*.

Thus, as regards (4a), most varieties allow for only a restricted class of V1s (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003), usually of motion.[6] As for (4b), in some varieties PseCo favors transitive V2s, or allows for only a restricted class of V2s featuring imperfective roots (cf. Di Caro 2019b, c). As for (4c), PseCo never occurs in compound tenses, and it is generally restricted to the imperative and the present indicative (cf. Di Caro 2019b; Giusti and Cardinaletti 2022). As for (4d), when the V1 is GO, its semantics can be bleached to the extent that the whole construction can have the same meaning as the V2 alone, or it can be used as an emphatic marker conveying a sense of astonishment, wonder, regret, or irritation (cf. Sornicola 1976; Cruschina 2013; Di Caro 2019a).[7]

      The parameters of micro-variation regarding PseCo are generally orthogonal, so that any given variety can display, for instance, a type of PseCo featuring reduced V1 GO irrespective of whether it can appear in the past tense or whether it displays defective vs. fully-fledged paradigms. What is relevant in Di Caro's (2019b) distinction into three types is the parameter pertaining to the mood and tense restrictions, although some configurations seem to be more likely to be associated with one of the types identified:

  i.   Type 1 PseCo is typical of the western area of Sicily, where it is found only in the imperative and in the present indicative. It is generally associated with defective paradigms, following the morpheme (in the sense of Aronoff 1994) known as 'N-Pattern' (cf. Maiden 1995, 2004, 2005, 2011) that excludes 1PL and 2PL. It licenses only up to four V1s (i.e., GO, COME, COME BY and SEND);

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[6]   These are generally GO, COME, PASS and the andative causative SEND. Some (especially central) Sicilian varieties display a wider set of V1s, including, e.g., COME BACK and START (cf. Di Caro 2019a). Other PseCos in Southern Calabria and Southern Apulia also feature WANT and STAND (cf. Calabrese 1993; Ledgeway 2016).

[7]   The 'Surprise Effect' (also referred to as 'mirativity' in the literature; cf. DeLancey 1997) conveyed by the V1 GO is a property that holds for PseCo cross-linguistically (see, e.g. Josefsson 2014; Wiklund 2008, 2009 for Swedish, and Weiss 2007 for Russian; see Ross 2021 for a thorough cross-linguistic overview).

ii.   Type 2 PseCo is typical of the central area of Sicily. Like Type 1 PseCo, it is found in the imperative and the present indicative, but it can also be found in the preterite indicative, where it generally follows the W-Pattern (cf. Di Caro 2019a, 2022; Di Caro and Giusti 2015, 2018), which excludes 2SG and 2PL;

iii.   Type 3 PseCo is typical of the eastern area of Sicily. It displays fully-fledged paradigms in the imperative, in the present, imperfect and preterite indicative, and in the imperfect subjunctive with V1 GO. It rarely accepts V1s other than GO and, if it is the case, they follow the paradigm restrictions typically associated with Type 1, as described in Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001, 2003).[8]

As regards (4e), the V1 GO, cross-dialectally, can be reduced to an invariable form, which is subject to micro-variation.[9] Let us first consider the examples in (5) from Marsalese, where the invariable V1 GO can only appear as *va-* in the acceptable slots of the indicative present paradigm (i.e., 1SG, 2SG, 3SG and 3PL):

(5)   a. Marsala (Trapani)
           Vaju a ppigghju u pani > Vappigghju u pani
           'I go and fetch the bread'
       b. Vai a ppigghji u pani > Vappigghji u pani
           'You (SG) go and fetch the bread'
       c. Va a ppigghja u pani > Vappigghja u pani
           'S/he goes to fetch the bread'
       d. *Emu a ppigghjamu u pani > *Vappigghjamu u pani
           'We go and fetch the bread'
       e. *Iti a ppigghjati u pani > *Vappigghjati u pani
           'You (PL) go and fetch the bread'
       f. Vannu a ppìgghjanu u pani > Vappìgghjanu u pani
           'They go and fetch the bread'

While *va-* is the only invariable V1 GO attested in Type 1 and 2 PseCo, in Type 3 different forms besides *va-* can be found, namely *vo-*, *uo-* and *o-*. In some varieties in the area of Ragusa the form *adda-* can also occur (cf. Di Caro 2019b), but this variant has not been sufficiently documented. In those varieties that license more invariable V1s, some of them have become specialized forms for the imperative. In Pachino (prov. of Syracuse), for example, V1 *o-* is used in the imperative, whereas *va-* is used in the other contexts. Something similar happens in Ispica (prov. of Ragusa).

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[8]   The verb COME BACK has been documented in the dialects spoken in Delia (as a slightly acceptable V1; cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2015: 403), in Catania (cf. Di Caro and Menza 2023), in Sinagra (province of Messina; cf. Di Caro 2019a: 122-124) and in Eolian (cf. Cardullo 2022). It can retain its semantics of motion and be used in the sense of 'going back to a place and do something', but more frequently it is used as an iterative marker, following a grammaticalization path already attested in PseCos of unrelated languages (see, e.g., Edzard 2022: 233 for Arabic). However, its presence in the dialects of Western Sicily cannot be completely ruled out, as further research in a number of western varieties is still needed.

[9]   Other V1s (e.g., COME and SEND) can also display invariable forms in Sicilian PseCo (cf. Di Caro 2019a: 116-117; Cardinaletti and Giusti 2020: 136), although these forms are much less productive. However, this phenomenon will be addressed in future fieldwork.

However, once again, this semantic specialization has not been sufficiently covered in the literature.

Moreover, according to Manzini and Savoia (2005: 696), PseCo in Modica (Ragusa) with V1 GO displays a fully-fledged paradigm in the present, imperfect and preterite indicative, in line with the fact that western varieties fall under Type 3 PseCo. In this configuration, however, both verbs are fully inflected. Manzini and Savoia report partial paradigms, but the data of Modicano are confirmed by Cruschina (2013: 274). We can compare the data from Modicano in Manzini and Savoia (2005: 696) with those from Catanese in parentheses.

(6)   a. Modica (Ragusa)
            Jemu   a   mmanciamu   (Ommanciamu)
            go.PRS.1PL   A   eat.PRS.1PL
            'We go and eat'
        b. U   jèumu   a   ffascièumu   (U offacèumu)
            it   go.IMPRF.1PL A   do.IMPRF.1PL
            'We used to go and do it'
        c. U   ji   a   ffisci   (U offici).
            it   go.PST.3SG   A   do.PST.3SG
            'S/he went and did it.'

With the notable exception of Modicano, shown in (6), Type 3 PseCo with V1 GO is more likely to occur with an invariable V1. In this configuration, the construction: i) follows no morphomic patterns, i.e. displays fully-fledged paradigms (cf. the present indicative paradigm from Catanese in (7) with that of Marsalese in (5) featuring invariable V1 GO), and ii) is attested also in the imperfect indicative and in the imperfect subjunctive (cf. the examples in (8)):[10]

(7)   a. Catania
            Voppigghju/Uoppigghju/Oppigghju u pani
            'I go and fetch the bread'
        b. Voppigghji/Uoppigghji/Oppigghji u pani
            'You (SG) go and fetch the bread'
        c. Voppigghja/Uoppigghja/Oppigghja u pani
            'S/he goes to fetch the bread'
        d. Voppigghjamu/Uoppigghjamu/Oppigghjamu u pani
            'We go and fetch the bread'
        e. Voppigghjati/Uoppigghjati/Oppigghjati u pani
            'You (PL) go and fetch the bread'
        f. Voppìgghjunu/Uoppìgghjunu/Oppìgghjunu u pani
            'They go and fetch the bread'

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[10]   Note that in most Sicilian dialects, the imperfect subjunctive has also replaced the conditional, hence the English rendition of (8c).

(8)   a. Catania
        Voppigghjava   /   Uoppigghjava /   Oppigghjava   u   pani
        VO+fetch.IMPRF.1SG UO+fetch.IMPRF.1SG O+fetch.IMPRF.1SG the   bread
        'I used to go and fetch the bread'
     b. Voppigghjai   /   Uoppigghjai /   Oppigghjai   u   pani
        VO+fetch.PST.1SG   UO+fetch.PST.1SG   O+fetch.PST.1SG   the bread
        'I went to fetch the bread'
     c. Voppigghjassi   /   Uoppigghjassi   / Oppigghjassi   u   pani
        VO+fetch.SUBJ.1SG UO+fetch.SUBJ.1SG   O+fetch.SUBJ.1SG   the bread
        'I would go and fetch the bread'

Crucially, most of the literature covering the Sicilian PseCo in all of its configurations lacks a sociolinguistic analysis that takes into consideration the age of the speakers, so that it is difficult to state with certainty to what degree PseCo is productive among younger generations. With this regard, Di Caro (2019a) underlines that some of the young speakers from the province of Catania he interviewed used the imperative PseCo with invariable V1 GO (e.g., *Opigghjia u pani!* 'Go (and) fetch the bread!') but could not tell it was related to the present indicative version featuring the extended V1 GO (e.g., *Vaju a ppigghju u pani* 'I go and fetch the bread'), in other words being unable to interpret *o-* as derived from *vaju* (or *va-*). This amounts to saying that those speakers might have learnt such imperative expressions in a non-productive way.[11]

The present study focuses on the specific configuration of PseCo attested in the western provinces of Sicily and especially in the province of Catania, i.e., Type 3 PseCo with V1 GO (cf. (7)-(8)). The aim of the study is to assess the productivity of this construction among the speakers of the province of Catania with an age range of 18-26. Moreover, it aims at investigating:

  i.   How many and what variants the V1 GO displays (cf. (4e));
 ii.   How many of these variants can appear in one and the same dialect;
iii.   Whether there are possible semantic differences among these variants (cf. (4d));
 iv.   The possible paradigmatic defectiveness of PseCo in the present indicative (cf. (4c)).

The rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section 2 presents the study and discusses how the questionnaire was designed; in Section 3 the data collected are displayed and discussed; the conclusions and some avenues for further research are dealt with in Section 4.

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[11]   This could indeed be the case for many young speakers when it comes to fixed expressions such as (i) (cf. Regional Italian *Vattelappesca!* 'Goodness knows! lit. 'Go and fish it!'; Ledgeway 1997: 256).

(i)   Catania
        Ocaca!
        O-shit.IMP.2SG
        'Give me a break!'

2. The study

Most of the data on Sicilian PseCo provided by the relevant literature are mainly based either on interviews to a small number of (usually older) informants or on few previously published occurrences, thus calling for the need of new data collection from a wider base of speakers.[12] Bearing this in mind, and considering the research questions indicated in Section 1, we designed a questionnaire that, given the preliminary nature of the study, was easy to complete, so that participants would be unlikely to abandon the task.

The first part of the online questionnaire is devoted to three basic pieces of the participants' biographical information (i.e., place, age, and gender) followed by an item which asks the participant to indicate in what percentage he or she speaks Italian and the relevant Sicilian dialect in an average week in general (i.e., with family, friends, at work, etc.), i.e..: 100% Italian and 0% Sicilian, 90% Italian and 10% Sicilian, and so on. The resulting score indicates whether a participant is dominant in either variety (-5 = strong dominance in Sicilian, +5 = strong dominance in Italian) or is a balanced bilingual (0), in the sense of Birdsong (2015).[13]

The second part of the questionnaire concerns the acceptability judgments on some PseCo sentences modelled on the dialect of Catania, featuring V1 GO and V2 FETCH (of the type exemplified in (7)).[14] The acceptability judgments are based on a simple yes/no scoring system and some of them are organized in paradigms (cf. (9d)).

The contents of the questionnaire items are listed in (9).[15]

(9)   The participants were asked to indicate:
a. what invariable forms of V1 GO they accept in their variety;[16]
b. whether there is a semantic difference among the forms accepted;
c. whether there are other variants they use that were not indicated in the questionnaire;
d. what slots of the present indicative paradigm they accept;
e. whether the construction is also possible with transitive V2s other than FETCH;
f. whether PseCo is also possible with intransitive V2s such as WORK or REST;[17]
g. what other V1s are possible in their variety;[18]

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[12]   The first occurrences of Sicilian PseCo in the relevant literature date back to the early descriptions of the phenomenon by Cremona (1895), Ascoli (1898, 1901), and Sorrento (1915, 1950).

[13]   Note that for Birdsong (2015), the construct of dominance has to do with how often a speaker uses a given variety and, as such, must not be confused with proficiency.

[14]   The participants were explicitly asked not to focus on the orthographic renditions of the dialectal items and the possible differences with their own varieties.

[15]   We base the discussion in the present paper on (9a)-(9d).

[16]   We included the invariable V1 GO forms *va-* and *adda-*, together with the extended form *vaju*.

[17]   In that case, the participants were asked to provide some examples, other than the ones already provided in the item.

[18]   The V1s provided are COME, COME BY, SEND, COME BACK, ARRIVE, START.

     h. which of the sentences featuring the Surprise Effect they accept in their variety;

     i. whether the MAC featuring the connecting element *mi* (or *mi*MAC; cf. (1c)) is accepted in their variety;[19]

     j. whether there is a semantic difference among PseCo and the *mi*MAC (in case the latter is accepted in their dialects).

The aim of the questionnaire was to gather as much feedback as possible from the participants, in order to finetune the tool for further research, especially for possible quantitative research on this topic. For this reason, we decided to avoid any Likert scale in the acceptability judgment task. In fact, the difficulty in eliciting judgments related to PseCo (already noted in Di Caro 2019a: 173) – and to Type 3 PseCo in eastern Sicily in particular – suggested a softer, i.e. less technical, approach.[20] In line with the preliminary nature of the study, we added eight open comments to make sure the participants did not feel forced to provide an answer when better options were not available in the questionnaire.

3. Results and discussion

3.1. The sample

We collected 450 questionnaires (295 from the province of Catania) from October 2020 to March 2021 via Google Forms. Table 1 shows the distribution of the questionnaires collected by province. The questionnaires from the western provinces of Agrigento (16 participants), Palermo (1) and Trapani (1) were not considered, since we did not expect to find any PseCo with mood/tense configurations other than those documented for Type 1. The age range of the sample is 18-26 years, as we did not allow for speakers who were under the age of 18 to take part in the study. The mean age of the sample is 20.9 years of age (SD = 2.75).

Table 2 shows how many questionnaires were collected for all the places of origin of the participants with at least 10 questionnaires.

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[19]   The connecting element *mi* in the MAC provided (i.e., *Vaju mi pigghju u pani* 'I go to fetch the bread') is the only one attested in Sicily among the different elements available for Southern Italo-Romance MACs, namely *ma/(m)i/(m)u/cu* (see Section 1).

[20]   As pointed out in Di Caro (2019a: §5.6.1.1.), when it comes to elicit PseCo, the competing Infinitival Construction (or InfCo), where an infinitival V2 is found instead of an inflected one, makes the task hard to accomplish. In particular, translation requests are ruled out by the fact that participants automatically render the Italian infinitival V2 into an infinitival V2 in their Sicilian dialect (e.g., Italian *Vado a prendere il pane* 'I go to fetch the bread' is always translated as *Vaju a ppigghjari u pani*). On the contrary, during an oral production (i.e., when they can speak their dialect naturally), they are more likely to produce instances of PseCo.

Table 1. Sample distribution by province

Province	Number of participants
1) Catania	295
2) Syracuse	47
3) Enna	25
3) Ragusa	25
5) Messina	22
6) Caltanissetta	18
7) Agrigento	16
8) Palermo	1
8) Trapani	1
Total questionnaires	**450**
Questionnaires analyzed	**432**

Table 2. Sample distribution by places (with at least 10 participants)

Places (cities, towns, villages)	Number of participants
1) Catania (CT)	74
2) Caltagirone (CT)	20
3) Misterbianco (CT)	16
4) Acireale (CT)	13
5) Syracuse (SR)	12
5) Tremestieri Etneo (CT)	12
7) Giarre (CT)	11
7) Gravina di Catania (CT)	11
7) Paternò (CT)	11
10) Adrano (CT)	10
10) Modica (RG)	10
10) Pedara (CT)	10

Participants were recruited by word of mouth. The study was anonymous and on a voluntary basis. The online questionnaire was conceived to be completed in 15 minutes ca., but participants were not timed. Participants were allowed to quit the study at any time without any consequences.

3.1.1. The participants' language dominance

The results of the item devoted to the participants' language dominance in the introducing biographical section of the questionnaire (ranging from -5 to +5; see Section 2) clearly indicate that the speakers in the sample are dominant in one of the two varieties of their repertoire, namely Italian (Mean: +2.4; SD: +1.68). In fact, 232 participants scored at least +3, while, on the other hand, none of the participants scored either -5 or -4 and only 2 of them scored -3.[21]

3.2. Reduced variants of V1 GO

We asked the participants to indicate which of the available variants of reduced V1 GO they accept in their own varieties (cf. (9a)). The results show that (i) *o-* and *uo-* are the variants that were selected more frequently (see Table 3),[22] (ii) if a dialect allows for more than one variant, two is the number of variants more likely to be allowed (see Table 4), and (iii) *o-* and *uo-* are the variants that are selected more frequently (see Table 5).

Table 3. Variants of reduced V1 GO allowed

Type of reduced V1 GO	Number of participants
o-	267 (61.8%)
uo-	223 (51.6%)
va-	173 (40.1%)
vo-	126 (29.7%)
adda-	17 (3.9%)

Table 4. Combinations of variants of reduced V1 GO allowed

Number of variants combined allowed	Number of participants
0 (i.e., only the extended V1 GO is allowed)	9 (2.1%)
1	138 (31.9%)
2	150 (34.7%)
3	89 (20.6%)
4	33 (7.6%)
5	11 (2.5%)
6	2 (0.5%)

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[21]   Here are the results in detail: -5 (0 participants), -4 (0), -3 (2), -2 (5), -1 (14), 0 (54), +1 (43), +2 (82), +3 (91), +4 (118), +5 (23).

[22]   10 out of the 17 participants who accepted the V1 GO variant *adda-* are from the provinces of Ragusa and Syracuse (5 participants each). This confirms the south-eastern origin of this variant (cf. Di Caro 2019b).

Table 5. Pairs of variants of reduced V1 GO allowed

Types of variant pairs	Number of participants
1) o- + uo-	179 (41.4%)
2) uo- + vo-	94 (21.8%)
3) o- + vo-	91 (21.1%)
4) o- + va-	66 (15.3%)
5) uo- + va-	62 (14.4%)
6) vo- + va-	54 (12.5%)
7) o- + adda-	10 (2.3%)
7) vo + adda-	10 (2.3%)
9) uo- + adda-	9 (2.1%)
10) va- + adda-	8 (1.9%)

We can observe the results by province (Table 6) and notice that in the province of Catania the most common combination of reduced V1 GO features two variants (chosen by 111 participants).

Table 6. Variants of reduced V1 GO allowed by province

	CL	CT	EN	ME	RG	SR
0	2	4	0	1	1	1
1	14	81	16	10	5	12
2	2	111	4	3	12	18
3	0	65	5	5	6	8
4	0	27	0	3	1	2
5	0	7	0	0	0	4

3.2.1 V1 o-, uo- and vo- as allomorphs of the same morpheme

Figures 1, 2 and 3 represent the geographical distribution of V1 *o-*, *uo-* and *vo-*, respectively, in Eastern Sicily. Although *o-* almost seems the only form allowed in the Simeto Plain (the strip of land roughly separating the northern part from the southern one), the three V1s substantially overlap, as highlighted in Figure 4.
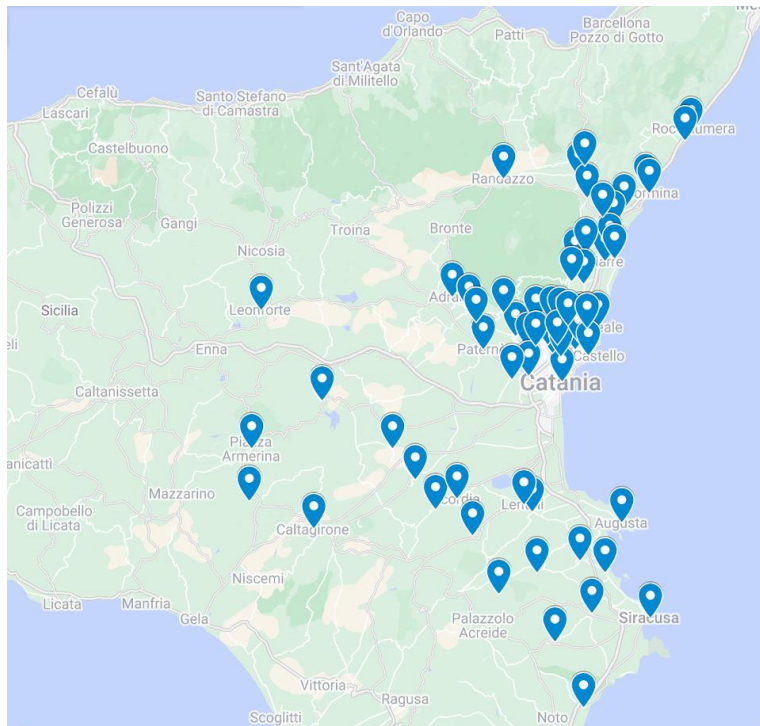
Figure 1. Geographical distribution of V1 *o-*
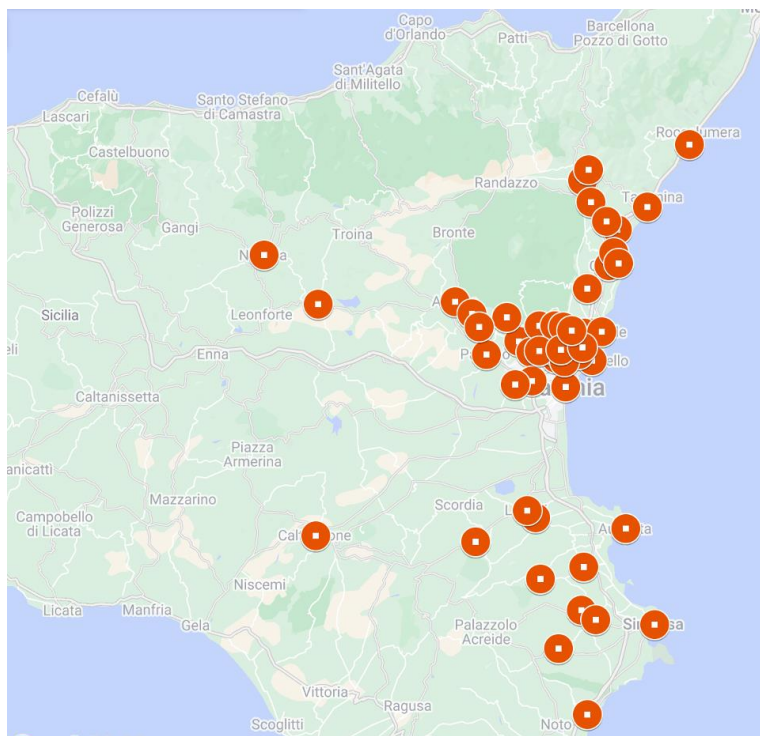

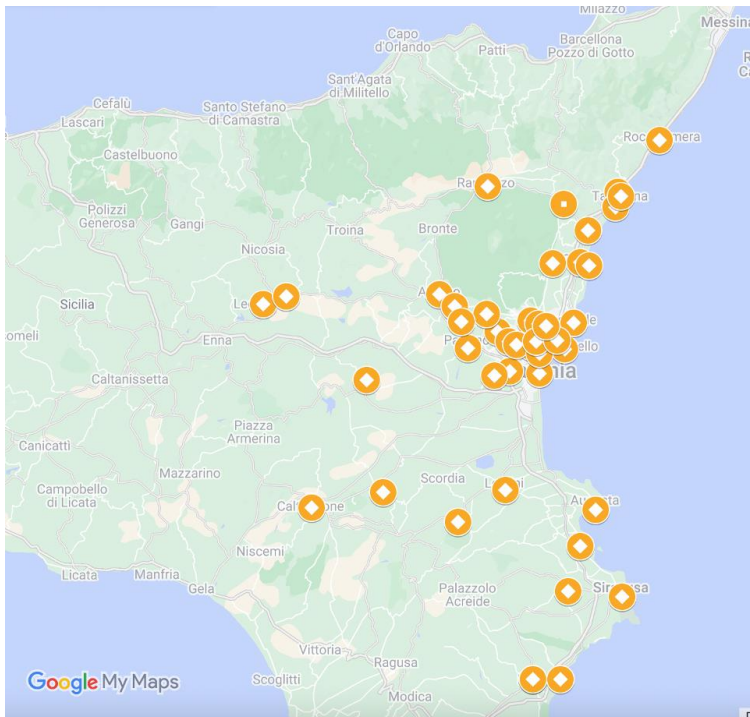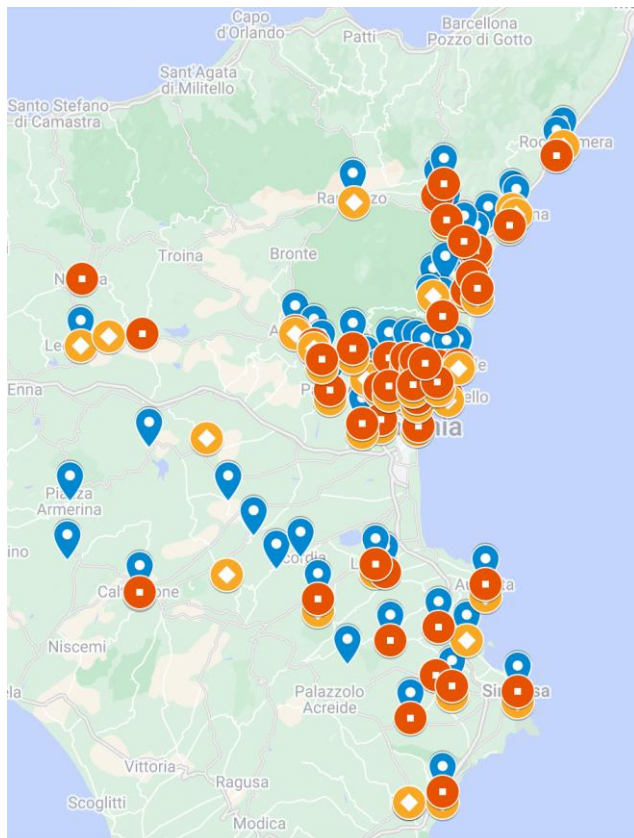**Figure 2.** Geographical distribution of V1 *uo-*

Figure 3. Geographical distribution of V1 *vo-*

Figure 4. Geographical distribution of V1 *o-* (blue point)*, uo-* (red square) and *vo-* (yellow diamond)

This suggests that *o-*, *uo-* and *vo-* might be allomorphs of the same morpheme. This morpheme probably corresponds to *vo-* or *uo-*, as shown by the fact that it is the accusative clitic pronoun *u* 'it' that occurs when the V1 is *o-* (the same clitic that occurs with verbs beginning with consonant), instead of *l* 'it', which occurs with verbs beginning with vowel (e.g. *l aveva* lit. '(I) it had', properly 'I had it'). See examples (6b-c): *u offacèumu* (vs. **l offacèumu*; *u offici* (vs. **l offici*).

Moreover, *vo-/uo-*, in turn presumably derives from *va-* (<*vaju* 'I go'). This is confirmed by the geographical distribution of *va-*, which appears more extended than that of *o-/uo-/vo-* (see Figure 5).

Figure 5. Geographical distribution of V1 *va-*
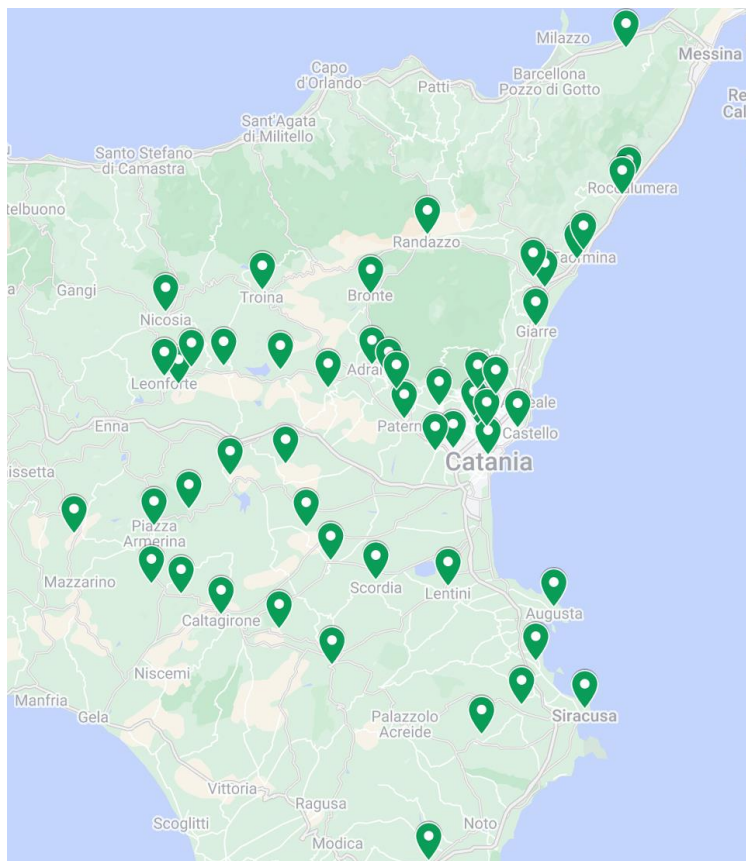
3.3. Cells of the paradigm available

As regards the property of the paradigms of Type 3 PseCo of being fully-fledged, we have tested the reduced V1 GO with the variant *o-* followed by the V2 FETCH in the present indicative (cf. (7)).

Table 7. Paradigm cells in the pres. indicative accepted by participants for the total sample

	Number of participants (Total sample, N=432)
1SG	**390** (90,3%)
2SG	**329** (76,2%)
3SG	**377** (87,3%)
1PL	**339** (78,5%)
2PL	**351** (81,3%)
3PL	**338** (78,2%)

Table 8. Paradigm cells in the pres. Ind. accepted by participants for the province of Catania

	Number of participants (Province of Catania, N=295)
1SG	**278** (94,3%)
2SG	**233** (79,0%)
3SG	**270** (91,5%)
1PL	**247** (83,7%)
2PL	**251** (85,1%)
3PL	**247** (83,7%)

Tables 7 and 8 show that the fully-fledged paradigm in the present indicative is confirmed across the whole sample, with the percentages relating each person of the paradigm raising in the subsample of the province of Catania. The fact that 2SG has lower percentages both in the main sample and in the subsample from the province of Catania calls for further research. The interference of 2SG of the imperative, which is similar when V1 GO is reduced (cf. *Oppigghji u pani* 'You go and fetch the bread' vs. *Opigghja u pani!* 'Go (and) fetch the bread!') could play a role in this respect (for Type 2 PseCo cf. Di Caro 2019a).[23]

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[23]   In the imperative, the connecting element *a* with V1 GO is generally not present cross-dialectally (cf. Cardinaletti and Giusti 2001, 2003; Di Caro 2019a, b). Note, however, that in the imperative of Type 3 PseCo, a covert *a* can be detected by the presence of 'Raddoppiamento Fonosintattico' on the initial consonant of the V2 (cf. *Opigghja* in (ib) vs. *Oppigghja* in (ib')):

(i)   Delia (Caltanissetta)
        a.   Va   piglia   lu   pani!
              go.IMP.2SG   fetch.IMP.2SG   the   bread
              'Go (and) fetch the bread!' [Delia (Caltanissetta)]
        Catania
        b.   Opigghja   u   pani!
              O+fetch.IMP.2SG   the   bread
        b'.   Oppigghja   u   pani!
              O+A+fetch.IMP.2SG   the bread
              'Go (and) fetch the bread!'

3.4. The semantic specialization of the reduced V1 GO

Participants were explicitly asked to indicate whether they thought there were semantic differences among the variants of reduced V1 GO selected. This was done by means of two items of the questionnaire, shown in (10).

(10)   Items of the questionnaire on the semantic specialization of the reduced V1 GO

   a. If you've judged more than one sentence as acceptable in the previous question, do you find any differences in the meaning of those sentences? (Question 2; Item 8; yes/no question);[24]
   b. Could you provide some examples to explain this difference? (Question 3; open question).

An extremely small number of participants answered positively to that question. However, none of them was able to provide any relevant example. That of the semantic specialization of the variants of V1 GO remains then an open question to be addressed in future research with new dedicated tools.

4. Conclusions and avenues for future research

The results of the present study show that PseCo is still productive in the area of Catania, even in younger speakers. This was confirmed by the results in the acceptability judgment task (see Table 3 and Table 4) and the qualitative comments the participants left in the dedicated sections, which show that younger speakers can provide examples with PseCo, when properly prompted, even though they are mostly dominant in Italian (see Section 1.1.1.).

   The tendency of Type 3 PseCo to resort to more than one variant of GO in one and the same dialect (cf. Di Caro and Giusti 2015; Di Caro 2019a) is also confirmed. In particular, the variants *o-* and *uo-* are those that occur the most often in the sample considered. Displaying a fully-fledged paradigm is another feature of Type 3 PseCo (cf. Di Caro 2019b) that is confirmed by the data collected. This is very well represented in the area of Catania.

   Naturally, one single research tool would never be able to account for such a high degree of micro-variation with respect to such a high number of parameters (cf. (4) supra), which is why this study is to be considered as a preliminary qualitative way to guide further research. The choice to avoid fillers, on the one hand, and the simple yes/no layout for the acceptability judgments is in line with the explorative nature of the study and so is the light biographical section.

   A dedicated, more fine-grained, questionnaire based on an acceptability judgment task could help shed some light on the semantic specialization of the different forms of V1 GO in Type 3 PseCo. On the other hand, fieldwork interviews with young speakers in the area of Catania could provide a more detailed

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[24]   In the previous question (Question 1; Items 1-7; yes/no question), participants were asked to select any of the forms corresponding to 'I go and fetch the bread' judged as acceptable in their variety: *Oppigghju / Uoppigghju / Voppigghju / Vappigghju / Addappigghju / Vajappigghju / Vaju a ppiggju u pani*.

sociolinguistic overview of the target population. Finally, among the desiderata this study wishes to foster is the creation of a spoken corpus of the dialects in the relevant area, to overcome the difficulties in eliciting PseCo (see fn. 19) and be able to assess the extent to which this construction is used in everyday speech, especially by the younger population.

Acknowledgments

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