

Residues and extensions of perfective auxiliary BE: modal conditioning

Abstract: This article provides both a diachronic and synchronic account of the generalization of perfective auxiliary BE in specific irrealis modal contexts across numerous Romance varieties spoken in Italy and more widely within the Romània which has essentially gone unnoticed in the descriptive and theoretical literature. In some cases (southern Calabrian, Latin American Spanish, Portuguese), the distribution of BE is to be interpreted as a residue of an original unaccusative syntax which was exceptionally preserved under higher V-movement in irrealis contexts, whereas in others (person-driven dialects of central and southern Italy, southern peninsular Spanish, Romanian) this original unaccusative signal has been reanalysed as a specialized marker of irrealis (lexicalizing a high Mood head) and extended to all verb classes. In the case of Alguerès, by contrast, generalization of irrealis be is argued to be the result of language contact with surrounding Sardinian dialects where a specific pattern of dedicated irrealis marking of Mood° has been replicated. Finally, the reverse pattern with generalization of irrealis HAVE, the reanalysis of an aspectual distinction between resultative and experiential perfects found in early Romance varieties (Neapolitan, Sicilian, Spanish, Catalan), is shown to involve a similar pattern of dedicated irrealis marking in Mood°.

Keywords: auxiliary selection; irrealis marking; unaccusativity; verb movement; southern Calabrian; central-southern Italo-Romance dialects; Alguerès; Sardinian; Spanish; Portuguese; Romanian

1. Introduction

An area of spectacular diachronic and synchronic microvariation in Italo-Romance and Romance more generally regards the numerous dimensions of variation characterizing the choice of auxiliary in the formation of various active perfective periphrases in conjunction with the past participle. Work over recent decades has brought to light a high degree of variation (for relevant bibliography, see Ledgeway 2012: 292–299, 311–317; 2019; Loporcaro 2016), the precise empirical limits of which still remain to be defined (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005: chs 5–6; Loporcaro and Pescarini in press: §4.3). The principal dimensions of variation in Romance perfective auxiliaries are summarized in Ledgeway (2019), who reveals five broad dimensions of mesoparametric variation. The simplest option is represented by those varieties which generalize one auxiliary, either HAVE (e.g., Sicilian) or BE (e.g., some central-southern dialects of Italy such as the Molisan variety of Pescolanciano). If, however, a dialect or language does present auxiliary alternation, this variation can, in order of complexity, be determined by mood (e.g., Romanian realis inflected HAVE vs irrealis invariable BE; cf. Ledgeway 2014; and §3.3.2 below), tense (e.g., dialect of San Leucio del Sannio where HAVE obtains with the present perfect and BE with the pluperfect; Iannace 1983: 72–80, 88f.; Ledgeway 2012: 342f.), person (typically involving a binary [\pm discourse participant] split with BE licensed by 1st/2nd persons and HAVE by 3rd person; cf. Tuttle 1986: 269–70; Kayne 1993; Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: §5.5; D’Alessandro and Roberts 2010; and §4.2 below), and argument structure (namely, verb class involving a binary active-stative split; cf. Ledgeway 2012: 319–23).

One pattern which however appears to have gone entirely unnoticed is the restricted use of auxiliary BE in specific irrealis modal contexts. Already Ledgeway (2000: 301 n. 22; 2001; 2002a,b; 2003; 2009a: 600–14) noted that in (late) medieval Romance texts of southern Italy the first extensions of HAVE to unaccusative syntax are licensed uniquely in irrealis modal contexts (cf. also Formentin 2001; Cennamo 2002), from where it gets a foothold in

the system before progressively spreading to realis contexts yielding the generalized extension of HAVE witnessed in the dialects today (cf. also Stolova 2006 for old Spanish, and the discussion in §4.1 below). By contrast, a number of modern Romance varieties exhibit a quite different type of modally-determined auxiliary alternation involving BE. For example, in the southern Calabrian dialect of Sant'Andrea Apostolo dello Ionio (cf. Voci 1994: XV) auxiliary HAVE has generalized to all verb classes, including unaccusatives, according to a pattern widespread in the dialects of southern Calabria and Sicily, as witnessed in (1a). However, BE persists in this same dialect as a perfective auxiliary of unaccusatives as a relic of an original active-stative split uniquely in past counterfactual modal contexts such as (1b).

- (1) a. **Àiu** statu fora / fattu. (S.Adr.)
 have.1SG been outside done
 'I have continuously been away / been doing.' (Voci 1994: XV)
- b. Si **fussa** statu io. (S.Adr.)
 if be.PST.SBJV.SG been I
 'If it had been me.' (Voci 1994: XVII)

Another pattern found in Italy, this time coming from the Sardinian variety of Catalan spoken in Alghero, is shown in (2) where we find a typical active-stative split, according to which transitives/unergatives license HAVE (2a) and unaccusatives BE (2b). However, this distribution is disrupted in counterfactual contexts such as (2c), where auxiliary BE generalizes, in this case in conjunction with a transitive.

- (2) a. Pino m' **ha** dat una cistella de pruna. (Alg.)
 Pino me= have.3SG given a basket of plums
 'Pino gave me a basket of plums.' (http://prosodia.upf.edu/coalgueres/it/corpus/bosch/bo_et_15.html; 19/12/21)
- b. **Són** arribats. (Alg.)
 be.3PL arrived
 'They have arrived.' (http://prosodia.upf.edu/coalgueres/it/corpus/bosch/bo_et_15.html; 19/12/21)
- c. No la **fóra** casara mai. (Alg.)
 NEG her= be.COND.3SG married never
 'He would never have married her.' (<https://www.algheroeco.com/la-rundalla-de-u-que-pugariva-essar-tambe-un-altru/>; 19/12/21)

These Andreolese and Alguerès patterns are reminiscent of a non-standard distribution found in Andalusian (3c) and Latin American (3d) Spanish as well as in European and Brazilian Portuguese (3e) where auxiliary HAVE, otherwise generalized to all verb classes in the standard (3a-b), may exceptionally be replaced by auxiliary BE in past counterfactuals (cf. Méndez García de Paredes 2011; Ledgeway 2012: 344f.).

- (3) a. **Habían** llorado / llegado / muerto. (Sp.)
 b. **Tinham** chorado / chegado / morrido. (Pt.)
 have.PST.3PL cried arrived died
 'They had cried/arrived/died.'
- c. si **fueras** hecho algo desde que llegastes a
 if be.PST.SBJV.2SG done something since that arrive.PST.2SG to
 Córdoba (And.Sp.)
 Córdoba
 'if you had done something since arriving in Córdoba' (Ledgeway 2012: 345)
- d. ¡No actues como si **fueras** hecho algo
 not do.PRS.SBJV.2SG as if be.PST.SBJV.2SG done something

malo! (Mex.Sp.)	101
bad	102
‘Don’t act as if you had done something wrong!’ (Ledgeway 2012: 345)	103
e. ainda que a implantação dos materiais fosse sido feita de	104
still that the implantation of.the materials be.PST.SBJV.3SG been done of	105
boa fé (EuPt., Lisbon)	106
good faith	107
‘even if the introduction of the materials had been carried out in good faith’	108
(https://www.direitoemdia.pt/search/show/0365cba4a455186eec1732c3a22a17ded0da0141ff56e2d8667c5609c9df49b; 01/12/21)	109
	110
	111

Dialectal Romance data like these from the Italian peninsula and beyond raise a number of important empirical and theoretical questions about the licensing of perfective auxiliaries and, in particular, the irrealis modal features involved in the licensing of auxiliary BE.¹ In particular, it remains to be understood: (1) how such modal features can override the otherwise regular licensing of generalized HAVE (Sant’Andrea, Andalusian/Latin American Spanish, Portuguese) or an active-stative HAVE-BE split (Alguerès); (2) whether the uses of counterfactual BE in dialects such as Andreolese should be considered a ‘residue’ of an erstwhile more productive distribution of stative BE in conjunction with unaccusative syntax, and, by the same token, whether the generalized counterfactual uses of BE in such varieties as Alguerès and Andalusian Spanish effectively represent a novel extension of the auxiliary and, if so, how these diachronic patterns of conservation and innovation arise; (3) what parallels, if any, can be established with the historical and synchronic generalization of auxiliary HAVE in irrealis contexts in (Italo-)Romance (Ledgeway 2003; 2019: §3.1), and whether these two cases can be unified by treating them as simply involving different lexicalizations; and (4) what similarities and differences there exist between this modally-determined pattern of BE licensing and the distribution of Romanian *fi* ‘be’ (Avram and Hill 2007; Ledgeway 2014) and central-southern Italo-Romance BE (Ledgeway 2019: 355-61) in irrealis contexts. These and other related questions will be investigated below where I propose an analysis which unites in diachrony and synchrony all these irrealis patterns of auxiliary selection across Romance, irrespective of whether the auxiliary surfaces as HAVE or BE.

2. Irrealis BE in Romance 133

2.1. HAVE ⇒ BE 134

2.1.1. Andreolese: residues of BE 135

On a par with most other dialects of central and southern Calabria, the central Calabrian dialect of Sant’Andrea Apostolo dello Ionio shows today a generalization of auxiliary HAVE (Voci 1994: XV) in all persons, temporal and aspectual forms, and across all verb classes, as the following examples illustrate (cf. Ledgeway 2000: 205f.; 2012: 344 n.31):

(4) a. Àiu venutu / avutu ‘a friavi. (S.Adr.)	141
have.1SG come had the influenza	142
‘I’ve been coming / suffering from influenza (for some time).’ (Voci 1994: XV)	143
b. Avìa statu / accattatu / vindutu. (S.Adr.)	144
have.PST.1/3SG been bought sold	145
‘I/(s)he had been/bought/sold.’ (Voci 1994: XVI)	146
c. Mi dissa ca io l’ avìa aiutatu. (S.Adr.)	147
me= say.PST.3SG that I him= have.PST.1SG helped	148
‘He told me that I had helped him.’ (Voci 1994: 174)	149

¹ In what follows I use irrealis as an informal cover term for non-actualized situations and events (for an overview and in-depth discussion, see Cristofaro 2012; Karawani 2014: 9-12; Sansò 2020: 403-06).

- d. Si **avissa** avuto *tì*mpu, **avissa** jutu. (S.Adr.) 150
 if have.PST.SBJV.1/3SG had time have.PST.SBJV.1/3SG gone 151
 ‘If I/(s)he had had time, I/(s)he would have gone.’ (Voci 1994: XVII) 152
- e. Si **avissa** statu io, I’ **avissa** fattu. (S.Adr) 153
 if have.PST.SBJV.1SG been I it= have.PST.SBJV.1SG done 154
 ‘If it had been me, I would have done it.’ 155

On comparative grounds and given the strong precedents already in Latin (cf. Vincent 1982), there are good reasons to assume that in Andreolese as elsewhere in Italy (and indeed historically across the Romània) there was historically an auxiliary alternation driven by argument structure aligning HAVE with active/transitive syntax and BE with stative/unaccusative syntax. Although there are no early Andreolese texts which attest this stage, we do have early examples from other central-southern Calabrian dialects with generalized HAVE today which formerly show the active-stative use of HAVE (5a) and BE (5b).

- (5) a. Mai v’ **avesse** canosciuto (15th-c. Amendolea) 165
 never you= have.PST.SBJV.1SG kown 166
 ‘If I had never known you’ (Coletta di Amendolea, Grasso 1994: 113) 167
- b. ... che mai al mundo nata **sia!** (15th-c. Amendolea) 168
 that ever at.the world born be.PRS.SBJV.3SG 169
 ‘...who was ever born in this world!’ (Coletta di Amendolea, Grasso 1994: 111) 170

As already noted, the sole exception to the generalized distribution of HAVE in (4a-e) is in past counterfactual contexts where selection of HAVE may optionally be overridden in favour of BE in conjunction with unaccusative participles (Voci 1994: XV, XVII).

- (6) a. Si **avissa** / **fussa** statu io... (S.Adr.) 176
 if have.PST.SBJV.1SG be.PST.SBJV.1SG been I 177
 ‘If it had been me,...’ (Voci 1994: XVII) 178
- b. Si **avissa** / **fussa** jutu iddu... (S.Adr.) 179
 if have.PST.SBJV.3SG be.PST.SBJV.3SG gone he 180
 ‘If he had gone,...’ (Voci 1994: XVII) 181

It is natural to assume therefore that this use of BE which, significantly, is restricted to unaccusative predicates in counterfactual contexts represents an isolated residue of the erstwhile active-stative alternation which has otherwise been lost in realis contexts. If it were an innovation, then *a priori* we might expect it to also involve active syntax, contrary to fact. Rather, what we see in examples such as (1b) and (6a-b) is a combination of contributing factors, namely unaccusativity and counterfactual modality which together, but not individually, license BE, the explanation for which we will come back to in §3.

2.1.2. Ibero-Romance varieties

The facts just reviewed for Calabrian do not seem isolated within Romance, but find a striking parallel in a number of substandard regional Spanish and Portuguese varieties where the generalization of HAVE, which from around the 16th-17th centuries replaces an earlier active-stative (HAVE-BE) alternation (Mattos e Silva 1994: 62; Penny 2002: 166; Stolova 2006; Rosemeyer 2014: 18; Lopes and Brocardo 2016: 476; Loporcario 2016: 803, 815), is also frequently replaced by BE in counterfactual contexts. Thus, before we turn to other varieties in Italy, it is instructive first to consider a number of regional varieties of Spanish and Portuguese spoken in Latin America, the Iberian Peninsula and beyond.

2.1.2.1. Latin American Spanish: residues of BE

- Beginning with Latin America, a number of scholars have observed, albeit only briefly in most cases, the optional but frequent use of auxiliary *ser* ‘be’ in the pluperfect subjunctive and/or the conditional perfect, henceforth referred to as the ‘counterfactual’. Such uses are reported for Latin America in general (Chumaceiro and Álvarez Muro 2004: 145; Méndez García de Paredes 2011: 1016f.), and in particular for Colombia (7a; Montes Giraldo 1974: 424, 1976, 1996: 138; Aleza Izquierdo 2010: 170; Mištinová 2012: 237; Bernal Chávez and Díaz Romero 2017: 28), Costa Rica (7b; Castillo Venegas 2013: 323), Ecuador (7c; Toscano Mateus 1953: 287), Mexico (7d) – including among second- and third-generation migrants in the US (7e; Sánchez 1982: 26f.; Gutiérrez 1997) –, Nicaragua (7f; Pato 2018: 1070f., 1086), Panama (7g; Quesada Pacheco and Tinoco Rodríguez 2013: 368; Pato 2019: 1055), Paraguay (7h; Granda 1988: 46f., 1991: 87f.; Aleza Izquierdo 2010: 169) and Venezuela (7i; Montes Giraldo 1976: 561; Navarro Correa 1991: 306).
- (7) a. si el oro **fuera** valido más hoy, yo **fuera**
 if the gold be.PST.SBJV.3SG been.worth more today I be.PST.SBJV.1SG
 sido más rico (Cmb.Sp.)
 been more rich
 ‘if the gold have been worth more today, I would have been richer.’ (Bernal Chávez and Díaz Romero 2017: 28)
- b. si **fuera** ido con mi silla eléctrica claro que si
 if be.PST.SBJV.1SG gone with my chair electric clear that yes
fuera podido. (CRic.Sp.)
 be.PST.SBJV.1SG been.able
 ‘If I had gone with my electric wheelchair then of course I would have managed.’
 (https://www.muniliberia.go.cr/muni/files/documents/73_583_actaextraord.142016.pdf; 29/11/21)
- c. si yo no me llamaría así, no se lo **juera** dicho (Ecd.Sp.)
 if I NEG me= call.COND.1SG thus NEG DAT.3= it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG said
 ‘If that weren’t my name, I wouldn’t have told him.’ (Toscano Mateu 1953: 287)
- d. se **fuera** ido directo a la basura si ella no me
 self=be.PST.SBJV.3SG gone direct to the rubbish if she NEG me=
fuera obligado a defender a Kanye (Mex.Sp.)
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG obliged to defend.INF DOM Kanye
 ‘it would have gone straight into the bin if she hadn’t forced me to defend Kanye.’
 (<https://www.revistaclase.mx/gente-con-clase/se-reaviva-la-guerra-entre-kim-kardashian-y-taylor-swift>; 29/11/21)
- e. quizás no me **fuera** casado (Mex.Sp., 2nd generation USA)
 perhaps NEG me= be.PST.SBJV.1SG married
 ‘perhaps I wouldn’t have got married.’ (Gutiérrez 1997: 263)
- f. Me encantaría que se **fuera** venido pa Nicaragua (Nic.Sp.)
 me= bewitch.COND.3SG that if be.PST.SBJV.3SG come for Nicaragua
 ‘I’d have loved it if she had come to Nicaragua.’ (Pato 2018: 1070)
- g. Si hubiera tenido dinero lo **fuera** comprado (Pan.Sp.)
 if have.PST.SBJV.1SG had money it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG bought
 ‘If I had had money, I would have bought it.’ (Pato 2019: 1055)
- h. si el **fuera** venido ayer (Pgy.Sp.)
 if he be.PST.SBJV.3SG come yesterday
 ‘if he had come yesterday’ (Granda 1988: 47)
- i. Si Emiliano **fuera** perdido por nocaut [...] yo **fuera**
 if Emiliano be.PST.SBJV.3SG lost by knockout I be.PST.SBJV.1SG
 quedao más conforme (Vnz.Sp.)
 stayed more satisfied
 ‘If Emiliano had lost by a knockout [...] I would have been happier.’ (Montes Giraldo 1976: 561)

The phenomenon is not restricted to just these national varieties (see also Méndez García de Paredes 2011: 1019-22), but is found widely across the continent, as can be readily verified by an internet search. Without making any claims to exhaustivity, it was not possible to identify any online examples for Belize, Puerto Rico and only a relatively small number for Bolivia (8a), El Salvador (8b), Guatemala (8c) and Honduras (8d), whereas for Argentina (8e), Chile (8f), Cuba (8g), the Dominican Republic (8h), Peru (8i) and Uruguay (8j) examples are more numerous.²

- (8) a. menos hubiera avanzado tanto, si fuera sido
 less have.COND.3SG advanced so.much if be.PST.SBJV.3SG been
 gobernada por un grupo de incompetentes (Bol.Sp)
 governed by a group of incompetents
 '[Bolivia] would have made much less progress, if it has been governed by a bunch of incompetents.' (<https://www.la-epoca.com.bo/2016/12/05/el-agua-y-sus-lecturas/>; 29/11/21)
- b. aun cuando fuera sido orientada a otro centro
 even when be.PST.SBJV.3SG been oriented to other centre
 hospitalario (Slv.Sp)
 hospital
 'even if she had been sent to another hospital' (<https://www.transparencia.gob.sv/>; 29/11/21)
- c. las palabras de trump, que aunque fueran sido hechas en
 the words of Trump that although be.PST.SBJV.3PL been done in
 estado de ebriedad (Gtm.Sp.)
 state of drunkenness
 'Trump's words which, although they were said in a state of intoxication' (<https://lahora.gt/posturas-sobre-el-matrimonio-gay/>; 29/11/21)
- d. si desde hace años los centros educativos fueran sido mejorados,
 if since ago years the centres educational be.PST.SBJV.3PL been improved
 creo que la educación no se hubiera atrasado (Hon.Sp.)
 believe.1SG that the education NEG self=have.PST.SBJV.3SG delayed
 'if years ago educational centres had been improved, I believe that education wouldn't have fallen so behind.' (<https://www.elinformativo.hn/archivos/96169/>; 29/11/21)
- e. si fuera existido una estrategia adecuada y oportuna, donde
 if be.PST.SBJV.3SG existed a strategy adequate and timely where
 [...] el personal fuera sido capacitado apropiadamente; se
 the staff be.PST.SBJV.3SG been trained appropriately self=
 fuera permitido prevenir esta serie de acontecimientos. (Arg.Sp.)
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG permitted prevent.INF this series of events
 'if there had been an adequate and timely strategy where [...] the staff would have been appropriately trained; we would have been able to avoid this series of events.' (<https://codeinep.org/miembros/yohaflo/activity/3022/>; 29/11/21)
- f. gran parte de las baterías almacenadas presentan filtraciones de ácido,
 big part of the batteries stored present.3PL leakages of acid
 sin que fueran sido retiradas y almacenadas en bins (Ch.Sp.)
 without that be.PST.SBJV.3PL been withdrawn and stored in bins
 'many stored batteries leak, but hadn't been taken out and stored in bins.' (08 Informe de Fiscalización Ambiental, <https://snifa.sma.gob.cl/>; 29/11/21)
- g. si no fuera sido por EEUU la guerra fuera llegado

² It would appear that the phenomenon is at its strongest among speakers from Colombia, Mexico and, above all, Venezuela (see also Méndez García de Paredes 2011: 1019-21).

- if NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG been for USA the war be.PST.SBJV.3SG arrived 307
 a suramerica (Cub.Sp) 308
 to South.America 309
 ‘if it hadn’t been for the USA, there would have been war in South America.’ 310
 (<http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2010/11/26/china-advierte-a-estados-unidos-sobre-maniobras-militares-en-penisula-coreana/>; 29/11/21) 311
- h. gracias por toda su colaboración sin ustedes mi pedido no 313
 thanks for all your collaboration without you my order NEG 314
fuera llegado (Dmn.Sp.) 315
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG arrived 316
 ‘thanks for your help, without you my order wouldn’t have arrived.’ 317
 (<https://www.amorossa.com/products/chivas-regal-18-anos>; 29/11/21) 318
- i. lo han pagado como si fueran comprado chocolates 319
 it= have.3PL paid as if be.PST.SBJV.3PL bought chocolates 320
 suizos. (Per.Sp) 321
 Swiss 322
 ‘they paid for it as if they had been buying Swiss chocolates.’ ([https://www2.congreso.gob.pe/Sicr/DiarioDebates/Publicad.nsf/SesionesPleno/05256D6E0073DFE905257EDF00575778/\\$FILE/PLO-2015-19.pdf](https://www2.congreso.gob.pe/Sicr/DiarioDebates/Publicad.nsf/SesionesPleno/05256D6E0073DFE905257EDF00575778/$FILE/PLO-2015-19.pdf); 29/11/21) 323
- j. si no fuera sido por que mis padres, [...] hubiera 326
 if NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG been for that my parents have.PST.SBJV.3SG 327
 sido para reírse (Urg.Sp.) 328
 been for laugh.INF=self 329
 ‘if it hadn’t been for my parents, [...] it would have been laughable.’ 330
 (<https://www.mateamargo.org.uy/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Cuestion.-No-14-17-02-1972-.pdf>; 29/11/21) 331

As the examples in (7)-(8) illustrate, BE most readily and frequently surfaces in the protasis of conditional clauses (7h, 8a-b,d,j), but it may also surface in both protasis and apodosis (7a-b,d,i, 8e,g), and more rarely just in the latter (7c,g).³ More generally, it can also occur in past counterfactual clauses outside of conditional sentences where the pluperfect subjunctive is typically licensed (7e-f, 8c,f,h-i). Although most of the available examples come from oral sources (e.g., 7c,e,i, 8i) and highly colloquial and linguistically uncontrolled sources such as online fora, blogs, discussion sites and social media such as Instagram, Facebook and Twitter (7d,f, 8a,c,g-h,j; cf. Méndez García de Paredes 2011: 1018-24), partially reflecting claims that this usage is typical of colloquial (Pato 2018: 1070) and above all uneducated and rural speech (Granda 1988: 47; Aleza Izquierdo 2010: 170; Castillo Venegas 2013: 323), there is also a sizeable number of examples from more formal written sources, including official and governmental documents and reports (8b,d-f). This

³ More rarely the conditional form of BE (e.g., *sería* ‘be.COND.1/3SG’) is also found in the protasis (i.a), as well as in other root and embedded clauses (i.b).

- (i) a. si un tiempo determinado no se compraría el lote sería regresado a su dueño (Córdoba, Cmb.)
 if a time determined NEG self= buy.COND.3SG the lot be.COND.3SG returned to its owner
 ‘if after a set time the plot of land had not been bought, it would have returned to its owner.’
 (<https://www.lalenguacaribe.co/2016/region/cordoba/terminal-de-lorica-lleva-11-anos-convertido-en-elefante-blanco/>;
 29/11/21)
- b. Pocos habrían podido predecir que Sami Zayn sería sido la persona que habría
 few have.COND.3PL been.able predict.INF that Sami Zayn be.COND.3SG been the person that have.COND.3SG
 tenido el mayor impacto (Vnz.)
 had the bigger impact
 ‘Few would have been able to foresee that Sami Zayn would have been the person to have most impact.’
 (https://www.espn.com.ve/luchalibre/nota/_id/3605974/que-depara-el-futuro-para-ganadores-y-perdedores-en-el-hiac;
 29/11/21)

is further substantiated by Méndez García de Paredes (2011: 1019-21) who reports many examples from the oral and written language of highly educated speakers coming from socioeconomically prestigious professions and backgrounds, including doctors, politicians and managers. This shows how for many speakers this feature of their grammar passes under the prescriptive radar and is perceived to be a core feature of the language.⁴ It is therefore surprising, given the frequency of such forms in spoken and even written varieties of Latin America, as well as their occasional brief acknowledgement in a number of studies since at least the 1970s, that they have gone unnoticed in the otherwise vast formal literature on Romance auxiliary selection and, in particular, on Spanish (cf. Rosemeyer 2014; MacKenzie 2006).

It is striking, however, that in the handful of studies that do briefly mention the distribution of *ser* 'be' in Latin American varieties of Spanish, it is typically referred to as an 'archaism' (Montes Giraldo 1976; Aleza Izquierdo 2010: 169; Mištinová 2012: 237; Pato 2018: 1071) and hence treated as a 'retention' (Granda 1988; 1991). This follows in large part from their often explicit observation (cf. Montes Giraldo 1976: 562; Granda 1988: 46f.; Pato 2018: 1070f., 1086f.; 2019: 1055 n.18) that this use of *ser* principally involves intransitive participles (viz. unaccusatives), the same class of verbs that regularly occurred with *ser* in both irrealis and realis contexts until the 16-17th centuries. Even where this is not explicitly acknowledged, most (if not all) of the examples reported involve unaccusative participles, as do the majority of examples above (7a-b,f,h, 8e,g-h,j), including passives (8a-f) and reflexives (7e). That is not to say, however, that we do not find examples of *ser* in conjunction with transitives and unergatives (7c, 8i), albeit inconsistently (7g) and often alongside unaccusatives (7b,d,i), but they are statistically much rarer, suggesting a more recent development, namely an extension of the residual use of *ser* with unaccusatives to transitives/unergatives.⁵

2.1.2.2. Spain: extension of BE

Turning now to Spain, the most extensive study of the phenomenon to date is Méndez García de Paredes (2011: 1012-16) who documents the widespread use of counterfactual BE across Andalusia (9a; cf. also Ledgeway 2012: 344f.), including in and around the cities of Almería, Granada, Jaén, Málaga, Córdoba, Jerez de la Frontera, Seville and Huelva (9b-g),⁶ as well as in various areas of Murcia (10a-c; cf. also García Soriano 1932: XCVII; Guillén García 1974: 67; Gómez Ortín 2004: 20) and Extremadura (10d; cf. Flores del Manzano 1992).

⁴ This is further highlighted by the large number of online discussions where speakers debate the grammatical correctness or otherwise of forms such as *si fora llegado* ('if be.PST.SBJV.1SG arrived') in relation to *si hubiera llegado* ('if have.PST.SBJV.1SG arrived'). See, for example, such sites as <https://forum.wordreference.com/threads/fuera-fuese-participio.2928933/>, <http://bloglenguacolombia.blogspot.com/2017/01/fuera-sido.html> (accessed on 29/11/21); see also Méndez García de Paredes (2011: 1021f.).

⁵ Note furthermore that, although counterfactual BE in Latin America represents an archaicism, this residual rule of auxiliary selection is no longer tied to the original rule of active participle agreement which required participle agreement with the surface subject, witness the default masculine singular agreement in examples (7f, 8e,g) in contrast to the persistence of non-active participle agreement in the passive examples (8a-d,f). This highlights how the parameters involved in auxiliary selection and active participle agreement, although they frequently cluster together, can also operate independently, as demonstrated by those central-southern Italo-Romance dialects which have lost an earlier active-stative auxiliary alternation in favour of a person-based auxiliary system but retain an active-stative alignment in the distribution of active participle agreement (cf. Loporcaro 1998: 9-12; 2016: 806f.; Ledgeway 2012: 327; see also §4.2 below). Note finally that the lack of agreement also incontrovertibly excludes any possibility of a copular resultative interpretation.

⁶ Cf. Salvador (1958-59: 58), Bustos Tovar (1980: 232), Raya Castillo (1985: 265), Narbona Jiménez (1986: 238; 2014: 139; 2018: 160; 2019: 560), Narbona Jiménez and Morillo-Velarde (1987), López de Aberasturi Arregui, Galán Alcaide and Naveros Sánchez (1992), Mondéjar (1992: 517), Narbona Jiménez, Cano Aguilar and Morillo-Velarde (2003: 237), Peñalver Castillo (2006: 259f., 265), Pérez Sánchez de Medina (2007: 35). See also the website *El español hablado en Andalucía* (http://grupo.us.es/ehandalucia/que_es_el_andaluz/05_gramatica_del_habla_andaluz_ext.html; 09/12/21).

- (9) a. si yo **fu[er]lá** e^htao allí, eso no **fu[er]lá** pasao. (Andalusia) 381
 if I be.PST.SBJV.1SG been there this NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG happened 382
 ‘If I had been there, this wouldn’t have happened.’ (Narbona Jiménez 2019: 560) 383
- b. Si **fuéramos** veni(d)o antes, te **fuéramos** 384
 if be.PST.SBJV.1PL come before you= be.PST.SBJV.1PL 385
 ayuda(d)o. (Ubrique, Cádiz) 386
 helped 387
 ‘If we had come earlier, we would have helped you.’ (Pérez Sánchez de Medina 2007: 35) 388
- c. **fwéra** abláo, **fwérä** abláo (Cúllar-Baza, Granada) 390
 be.PST.SBJV.1SG spoken be.PST.SBJV.2SG spoken 391
 ‘I, you would have spoken.’ (Salvador 1958-59: 58) 392
- d. Si lo **fuera** sabío. (Baeza, Jaén) 393
 if it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG known 394
 ‘If I had known.’ (Carrasco Cantos 1981: 127) 395
- e. ojala lo **fuera** visto antes! (Córdoba) 396
 if.only it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG seen before 397
 ‘if only I had seen it before!’ (<https://www.todocircuito.com/foro/compra-venta-equipacion-37/vendo-mono-berick-1pieza-oportunidad-17968/>; 09/12/21) 398
- f. ¿en qué me **fuera** gustado trabajar? (Lucena) 400
 in what me= be.PST.SBJV.3SG pleased work.INF 401
 ‘What type of job would I have liked to do?’ (Méndez García de Paredes 2011: 1015) 402
- (10) a. Es lo que [...] **juera** dicho to ombre. (Murcia) 404
 be.3SG the that be.PST.SBJV.1SG said your man 405
 ‘It’s what [...] your husband would have said.’ (García Soriano 1932: XCVII) 406
- b. Si me lo **fueras** dicho, no te **fuera** pasao 407
 if me= it= be.PST.SBJV.2SG said NEG you= be.PST.SBJV.3SG happened 408
 eso. (Murcia) 409
 this 410
 ‘If you had told me, this wouldn’t have happened to you.’ (Gómez Ortín 2004: 20) 411
- c. si yo lo **fuera** cogío... (Orihuela, Murcia) 412
 if I it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG taken 413
 ‘if I had taken it...’ (Guillén García 1974: 67) 414
- d. Si **fuera** venío. (Gredos, Extremadura) 415
 if be.PST.SBJV.2SG come 416
 ‘If you had come.’ (Flores del Manzano 1992: 131) 417

The shared distribution of counterfactual BE in both southern Spain and in Latin 419
 America is hardly surprising given the traditional view that the Spanish of Latin America 420
 historically represents in some sense a continuation of Andalusian Spanish, inasmuch as 421
 the first Spanish settlers in America predominantly came from Andalusia (Penny 2000: 422
 139-44). Also similar to the Latin American situation are frequent claims (see Méndez 423
 García de Paredes 2011: 1010f.) that this usage characterizes rural areas and the speech of 424
 the elderly, the poorly educated and the illiterate,⁷ although once again such traditional 425
 claims are contradicted by the observation (cf. Méndez García de Paredes 2011: 1010 n.2) 426
 that the distribution of irrealis BE is not at all recessive, but, rather, is widespread across 427
 Andalusia, including in the speech of younger speakers, as well as on the internet where 428
 at least a degree of literacy is required (Méndez García de Paredes 2011: 1019-24). 429

⁷ See López de Aberasturi Arregui, Galán Alcaide and Naveros Sánchez (1992), Mondéjar (1992: 517), Narbona Jiménez, Cano Aguilar and Morillo-Velarde (2003: 237), and Peñalver Castillo (2006: 265).

One important respect, however, in which the peninsular data differ from those of Latin America is the distribution of *ser* 'be' beyond unaccusative syntax.⁸ Above we saw how in Latin America counterfactual *ser* was principally, though not exclusively, found with unaccusative participles, whereas in the peninsular data *ser* is found equally with unaccusatives (9a-b,f, 10b,d) and transitives/unergatives (9b-e, 10a-c); again internet searches readily confirm this, witness the following selection of representative examples.

- (11) a. ¿Si tu lo fueras sabido lo fueras denunciado? [...] if you it= be.PST.SBJV.2SG known him= be.PST.SBJV.2SG reported si lo fueran acusado el que lo fuera hecho [...] no if him= be.PST.SBJV.3PL accused he that it= be.PST.SBJV.3SG done NEG sale de rositas, aunque lo fuera demostrado todo y exit.3SG for free although it= be.PST.SBJV.3SG shown all and aunque lo fueran metido en la cárcel (Seville) although him= be.PST.SBJV.3PL put in the prison 'If you had known, would you have reported him? [...] if they had accused him, the one that allegedly did it [...] won't get off scot-free, although he had proven it entirely and had been thrown in jail.' (<https://www.foro-ciudad.com/sevilla/paradas/mensaje-11446001.html>; 09/12/21)
- b. si fueran podido se la fueran cargado. (Olvera, Cádiz) if be.PST.SBJV.3PL been.able self=it= be.PST.SBJV.3PL loaded 'if they had been able to, they would have got rid of it.' (<https://www.foro-ciudad.com/cadiz/olvera/mensaje-12190957.html>; 09/12/21)
- c. si se fuera parado, si no fuera respondido. (Antequera) if self=be.PST.SBJV.3SG stopped if NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG replied 'if the heart had stopped, if the baby hadn't shown any response' (<https://www.el-soldeantequera.com/antequera/32120-una-enfermera-salva-la-vida-de-un-bebe-> 456

⁸ Another difference between peninsular and Latin American varieties is the availability in the former of alternative past subjunctive forms in (*fue*)-*se* (i.a) alongside those in (*fue*)-*ra* (i.b), although they are much rarer.

- (i) a. si fueses girado un poco más la izquierda la cámara, lo fueses cogido. (Málaga) if be.PST.SBJV.2SG turned a little more the left the camera it= be.PST.SBJV.2SG taken 'if you had turned the camera a little more to the left, you would have got it all in.' (<https://www.eltiempo.es/fotos/en-provincia-malaga/rayo-en-malaga-1.html>; 09/12/21)
- b. si lo fuese sabido me fuera comprado una talla más chica. if it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG known me= be.PST.SBJV.1SG bought a size more small 'if I had known, I would have bought a smaller size.' (<https://www.amazon.es/ask/questions/asin/B072J8KF4R>; 09/12/21)

As with Latin American Spanish (cf. note 3 above), in peninsular varieties auxiliary *ser* 'be' can also occur in the conditional (e.g., *sería* 'be.COND.1/3SG'):

- (ii) a. Sin su respaldo al baloncesto nada de lo que es hoy el Unicaja sería sido posible. (Málaga) without his support to.the basketball nothing of the that be.3SG today the Unicaja be.COND.3SG been possible 'Without his support for basketball nothing of what Unicaja is today would have been possible.' (<https://www.diario-sur.es/unicaja/unicaja-20190828233535-nt.html>; 09/12/21)
- b. una parte del dinero que se defrauda o blanquea sería sobrado para dar trabajo a part of.the money that self= defraud.3SG or launder.3SG be.COND.3SG remained for give.INF work en La Línea. (Andalusia) in the line 'some of the defrauded or laundered money would have been left over to give work to those in *La Línea*.' (https://www.europasur.es/gibraltar/Verja-jornada-consecutiva-fluidez-trafico_0_634736761.html; 09/12/21)

en-plena-calle-cuando-su-madre-iba-en-coche-al-colegio-en-antequera.html;
09/12/21)

As noted by Méndez García de Paredes (2011: 1010), claims like those for Latin America that counterfactual BE represents a residual archaicism (cf. Narbona Jiménez, Cano Aguilar and Morillo-Velarde 2003: 237) simply do not hold for southern Spain, inasmuch as perfective BE was historically never an option with transitive and unergative syntax. Rather, examples such as (11a-c) must be interpreted as an analogical extension of the distribution of BE which was originally restricted to unaccusatives (Méndez García de Paredes 2011: 1012). Indeed, this interpretation of the facts finds further support in Reixac’s (1749) *Instruccions per la ensenyansa de minyons*, a manual written in Fontcoberta (province of Girona) regarding some basic principles in the teaching of Catalan-speaking children through the medium of Spanish. Significantly, in the relevant sections on the conjugation of verbs Reixac provides for transitive *amar* ‘love’ (pp. 315-18) active compound perfective paradigms formed with auxiliary *haber* ‘have’ (e.g., *hel/habia* [sic]/*habré/haya/hubiese* [sic] /*hubiera* *amado* ‘have.PRS.IND.1SG/PST.IPFV.1SG/FUT.1SG/PRS.SBJV.1SG/PST.SBJV.1SG/PST.SBJV-COND.1SG loved’), whereas in the case of *ser/estar* ‘be’ (pp. 312-14) he gives auxiliary *haber* ‘have’ for the present and past indicative and the past subjunctive/conditional in *-ra* (e.g., *hel/habia* [sic] /*hubiera sido/estado* ‘have.PRS.IND.1SG/PST.IPFV.1SG/PST.SBJV-COND.1SG been’), but both *haber* and *ser* ‘be’ for the past subjunctive in *-se* and the future (e.g., *hubiese* [sic]/*habré sido/estado* ‘have.PST.SBJV.1SG/FUT.1SG been’ or *fuese/seré sido/estado* ‘be.PST.SBJV.1SG/FUT.1SG been’). Although the distribution of BE with the future is an aberration from the patterns witnessed above (though crucially still involving an irrealis modal form), we nonetheless see some quite compelling mid-18th evidence from Spain for a once more restrictive distribution of irrealis BE limited to unaccusatives, a stage still largely preserved in Latin American Spanish and, as we shall see directly, in substandard Portuguese.

2.1.2.3. Portuguese: residues of BE

As in the case of Spanish, the formal literature on Romance auxiliary selection simply assumes that in modern Portuguese the auxiliary HAVE – today typically *ter* < TENERE ‘hold, keep’, more rarely *haver* < HABERE ‘have’ now principally restricted to formal written registers – has generalized to all verbs and contexts, replacing a previous active-stative alignment of the auxiliaries (*haver*>)/*ter* ‘have’ and *ser* ‘be’ (Huber 1933: 221; MacKenzie 2006; Loporcaro 2007: 177, 179f.; 2016: 815; Rosemeyer 2014: 32 n.8; Ledgeway 2019: 349). Even specific studies examining the progressive retraction of Portuguese *ser* fail to recognize anything different and variously conclude that auxiliary *ser* with unaccusative participles was lost during the course of the 16th (cf. Guilherme. 2009: 83), 17th (Hricsina. 2017: 176) or 18th (Carasco González 2020: 86) century. However, this characterization is simply incorrect, in that *ser* is still widely employed today, albeit in non-standard usage, an observation which continues to fall under the radar of those working on Portuguese morphosyntactic variation (cf. Scherre and Duarte 2016). In particular, my data come from the internet since, as already noted, the use of *ser* in modern Portuguese is simply not reported, not even in passing, in either standard grammars and manuals or specific linguistic studies. On a par with what was observed for Androlese (§2.1.1) and Latin American Spanish (§2.1.2.1), auxiliary *ser* continues to occur in the past subjunctive in past counterfactual contexts with unaccusative participles, but not with transitives or unergatives, in both European (12a-e) and Brazilian (13a-e) Portuguese.

- (12) a. mesmo que o cheque fosse sido devolvido [...] não
even that the cheque be.PST.SBJV.3SG been returned NEG
teria igualmente sido pago (Coimbra)
have.COND.3SG equally been paid

- 'even if the cheque had been returned [...] it still wouldn't have been paid.' 510
<http://www.dgsi.pt/jtrc.nsf/c3fb530030ea1c61802568d9005cd5bb/1a95735e95e912ec80257a9b00579083?OpenDocument>; 01/12/21) 511
 512
- b. se **fosse** sido menino não teria sido fácil. (EuPt.) 513
 if be.PST.SBJV.3SG been boy NEG have.COND.3SG been easy 514
 'if she had been a boy it would not have been easy.' (<https://demaeparamae.pt/forum/mamas-dexembro2010?page=36>; 01/12/21) 515
 516
- c. mesmo que tivesse acabado de cometer algum crime ou 517
 even that have.PST.SBJV.3SG finished of commit.INF some crime or 518
fosse fugido da cadeia. (Murgido, northern Portugal) 519
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG fled from.the prison 520
 'even if he had finished committing some crime or had escaped from prison' 521
 (<http://files.murgido-aldeia-serrana-candemil.webnode.pt/200001084-bc9even86bd91d/LENDAS%20DE%20MURGIDO.pdf>; 01/12/21) 522
 523
- d. ele poderia muito bem receber, se o caso avnancasse 524
 he can.COND.3SG very well receive.INF if the case advance.PST.SBJV.3SG 525
 e não **fosse** caído em esquecimento... 18 a 36 milhoes de 526
 and NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG fallen in oblivion 18 to 36 millions of 527
 dólares. (EuPt.) 528
 dollars 529
 'he might well receive 18 to 16 million dollars, if the case were to go ahead and if 530
 it hadn't sunk into oblivion.' (<http://apipocamaisdoce.sapo.pt/2016/01/o-making-murderer-deu-comigo-em-doida.html>; 02/12/21) 531
 532
- e. Lembre-se disso, se **fosse** ficado, eles ainda estariam 533
 remind=self of.this if be.PST.SBJV.3SG stayed they still be.COND.3PL 534
 juntos. (EuPt.) 535
 together 536
 'Just remember this, if you had stayed, they would still be together.' (<https://ebstomasborba.pt/sera-que-o-silk-touch-funciona-nos-jogadores/>; 02/12/21) 537
 538
 539
- (13) a. Se **fosse** sido ao contrário, teríamos semanas de 540
 if be.PST.SBJV.3SG been to.the contrary have.COND.1PL weeks of 541
 manifestações (BtPt.) 542
 protests 543
 'If it had been the other way round, then we would have (had) weeks of protests.' 544
 (<https://twitter.com/melccs>; 02/12/21) 545
- b. desde que, num prazo não superior a duas horas, o detido 546
 since that in.a period not more to two hours the detainee 547
fosse sido entregue a uma autoridade judiciária (BrPt.) 548
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG been delivered to a authority judiciary 549
 'on condition that, within a period of no longer than two hours, the detainee had 550
 been handed over to a judiciary authority.' (<https://ruicastro.jusbrasil.com.br/artigos/152544827/codigo-de-processo-penal-portugues-justica-celere-mas-nao-tanto>; 551
 02/12/21) 552
 553
- c. se não **fosse** ido ao médico, poderia ter tido 554
 if NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG gone to.the doctor can.COND.3SG have.INF had 555
 problemas gravíssimos (BrPt.) 556
 problems very.serious 557
 'if he hadn't gone to the doctor's, he could have had very serious problems.' 558
 (https://pt-br.facebook.com/pg/ImportsLMoficial/posts/?ref=page_internal; 559
 02/12/21) 560
- d. é como se nada **fosse** acontecido (BrPt.) 561
 be.3SG as if nothing be.PST.SBJV.3SG happened 562

‘it’s as if nothing had happened.’ (<https://patriciateixeiraadvogada.jusbrasil.com.br/noticias/536387584/carmen-lucia-suspende-a-posse-de-cristiane-brasil-no-ministerio-do-trabalho>; 02/12/21)

- e. Era até necessário que as famílias **fossem** saído do meio urbano (BrPt.)
 be.PST.3SG even necessary that the families be.PST.SBJV.3PL exited from.the centre urban
 ‘It was even necessary for families to move out of the city centre.’
 (<https://clubedeautores.com.br/livro/o-decimo-quinto>; 02/12/21)

Although further detailed research is required, an internet search for similar examples in other Portuguese-speaking countries (Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, and São Tomé and Príncipe) returned no results,⁹ save the now lexicalized use of *chegar* ‘arrive’ with a temporal subject (cf. Hricsina. 2017: 178; Carasco González. 2020: 82f.) in the isolated Angolan example *Quando fosse chegado o momento* ‘When the moment/time had come’. The exceptions are Angola (14a) and Macao (14b-c) where the use of counterfactual *ser* was found in three examples with *morrido* ‘died’ and *chegado* ‘arrived’.

- (14) a. E vivem como se nunca **fossem** morrido e morrem como se nunca tivessem vivido (Balombo, Angola)¹⁰
 and live.3PL as if never be.PST.SBJV.3PL died and die.3PL as if never have.PST.SBJV.3PL lived
 ‘And they live as if they have never died and they die as if they had never lived.’
 (<https://www.findglocal.com/AO/Lobito/1632309003714149/Colectivo-NdingaNzol>; 06/12/21)
- b. Lancelote nunca negou que não **fosse** chegado ao governo americano
 Lancelote never deny.PST.3SG that NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG arrived at.the government American
 ‘Lancelote never denied that he hadn’t reached the American government.’
 (<https://jtm.com.mo/local/um-homem-grandioso-na-sua-simplicidade/>; 02/12/21)
- c. talvez **fosse** chegado a um acordo entre K e a 1^a ré (Macao)
 perhaps be.PST.SBJV.3SG arrived at an agreement between K and the first defendant
 ‘perhaps he had come to an agreement between K and the first defendant.’
 (<https://www.court.gov.mo/sentence/pt/20993>; 02/12/21)

As with Spanish (cf. notes 3, 8 above), alongside the past subjunctive (e.g., *fosse* ‘be.PST.SBJV.1/3SG’), we also find occasional examples of counterfactual *ser* in the conditional (e.g., *seria* ‘be.COND.3SG’) such as (15a-b).

- (15) a. Estes retratos [...] nunca **seriam** sido queimados, mesmo que o artista não tivesse sido presidente dos Estados Unidos (EuPt.)
 these portraits never be.COND.3PL been burned even that the artista NEG have.PST.SBJV.3SG been president of.the states unites
 ‘These portraits [...] would never have been burned, even if the artist hadn’t been the president of the United States.’ (<https://expresso.pt/cultura/2017-04-22-A-expiacao-de-Bush>; 02/12/21)

⁹ Google does not currently offer a search of East Timor websites.

¹⁰ As noted in footnote 5, the lack of participial agreement with the surface subject rules out a copular resultative reading, an observation further supported by the selection of the formally distinct active participle *morrido* ‘died’ in (14a), in contrast to *morto* employed in resultative (viz. ‘dead’) and passive (viz. ‘killed’) functions (Willis 1971: 364).

- b. acredito que **seria** ficado melhor como dois livros 612
 believe.1SG that be.COND.3SG stayed better as two books 613
 separados. (BrPt.) 614
 separate 615
 ‘I think that it would have been better as two separate books.’ 616
 (<https://www.skoob.com.br/livro/resenhas/513195/mais-gostaram; 02/12/21>) 617

While some of the examples above (and many others not reported here) clearly reflect a casual, relaxed register, inasmuch as they are taken from public discussion sites (12b, 13b,d,e, 15b), blogs (12d-e) and social media (13a,c), in many other cases the examples occur in controlled formal spoken and above all written registers including, for example, online newspapers (14a, 15a), published short stories (12c), and official court proceedings and judgements (12a, 14b). Indeed, the most frequent examples in my corpus of online examples occur in the passive (cf. 12a, 13b, 15a), a construction which is independently known to be occur most frequently in formal and especially written registers (Ledgeway 2021: §2.1, §2.3). This conclusion is further supported by the observation that the counterfactual use of *ser* ‘be’ can also occur in a form continuing the Latin pluperfect indicative, e.g., *FUERAM/-T > fora* ‘I/(s)he had been’. In modern Portuguese, this paradigm today functions mainly as a pluperfect indicative and is limited to written and above all literary registers, both in Portugal (Cunha and Cintra 1985: 329) and Brazil (Thomas 1969: 133). In the past, and still today in some set expressions and in the literary language (Thomas 1969: 136; Teyssier 1984: 212; Cunha and Cintra 1985: 329f.), this same form may also function as a past subjunctive and a conditional (cf. related Spanish form *fuera* above). Significantly, this otherwise marked, formal paradigm of *ser* occurs with a surprisingly high degree of frequency as an alternative subjunctive or conditional form of the auxiliary alongside the more usual *fosse* (and *seria*) forms, both in the passive (16a-b) and more generally with other unaccusative predicates (16c-f).

- (16) a. embora tivesse deixado claro que **fora** sido 640
 although have.PST.SBJV.3SG left clear that be.COND.3SG been 641
 confrontado com algumas propostas bem interessantes de outros 642
 confronted with some proposals well interesting from other 643
 clubs (EuPt.) 644
 clubs 645
 ‘although he had made it clear that he would have been confronted with some very interesting proposals from other clubs’ (<https://www.record.pt/futebol/futebol-nacional/liga-bwin/v--guimaraes/detalhe/transferencia-de-alex-pode-resolver-se-hoje; 02/12/21>) 647
- b. a vítima já **fora** sido alvo de seis tiros, mas havia 650
 the victim already be.COND.3SG been target of six shots but have.PST.3SG 651
 sobrevivido (Ipatinga, State of Minas Gerais) 652
 survived 653
 ‘the victim had allegedly already been the target of six shootings, but had survived.’ (<https://www.diariodoaco.com.br/noticia/0009911-vitima-de-tentativa-de-homicidio-morre-apos-um-novo-atentado; 02/12/21>) 655
- c. James Franco já **fora** sido notícia quando se soube 657
 James Franco already be.COND.3SG been news when self=know.PST.3SG 658
 que o filme já havia estreado na Rússia (EuPt.) 659
 that the film already have.PST.3SG premiered in.the Russia 660
 ‘James Franco had allegedly already become the news story when it was discovered that the film had already premiered in Russia.’ (<https://www.insider.pt/2019/09/24/san-sebastian-em-zeroville-um-james-franco-punk-sonha-com-new-hollywood-mas-volta-a-ser-um-disaster-artist; 02/12/21>) 662
- d. Ao longo destes anos, entraram elementos novos, **foram** saído 665

- to.the length of.these years enter.PST.3PL elements news be.COND.3PL exited 666
 outros tantos, mas o importante era avançar (Lisbon) 667
 other so.many but the important be.PST.3SG advance.INF 668
 ‘Throughout these years, new elements came in, many others had allegedly 669
 been lost, but the important thing was to move forward.’ ([https://www.medicina.ulisboa.pt/newsfmul-artigo/100/os-principais-equipas-que-foram-](https://www.medicina.ulisboa.pt/newsfmul-artigo/100/os-principais-equipas-que-foram-construindo-newsletter) 670
[construindo-newsletter](https://www.medicina.ulisboa.pt/newsfmul-artigo/100/os-principais-equipas-que-foram-construindo-newsletter); 02/12/21) 671
 e. Se o cellista **fora** saído da orquestra, eu seria 673
 if the cellist be.PST.SBJV.3SG exited from.the orchestra I be.COND.1SG 674
 no mínimo degolada em cena (São Paulo) 675
 in.the minimum beheaded on scene 676
 ‘If the cellist had left the orchestra, I would at the very least be destroyed on the 677
 scene.’ (<http://www.alexandresanttos.com.br/RitaLeeAutobiografia.pdf>; 02/12/21) 678
 f. Tinha o rosto sulcado de rugas, como se já 679
 have.PST.3SG the face furrowed of wrinkles as if already 680
fora entrado em anos (BrPt.) 681
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG entered in years 682
 ‘His face was covered in wrinkles, as if he had already aged considera- 683
 bly.’ ([http://www.educadores.diaadia.pr.gov.br/arquivos/File/2010/literatura/obras_completas_literatura_brasileira_e_portuguesa/VISCONDEDE-](http://www.educadores.diaadia.pr.gov.br/arquivos/File/2010/literatura/obras_completas_literatura_brasileira_e_portuguesa/VISCONDEDE-TAUNAY/INOCENCIA/INOCENCIA_TEXTO.HTML) 684
[TAUNAY/INOCENCIA/INOCENCIA_TEXTO.HTML](http://www.educadores.diaadia.pr.gov.br/arquivos/File/2010/literatura/obras_completas_literatura_brasileira_e_portuguesa/VISCONDEDE-TAUNAY/INOCENCIA/INOCENCIA_TEXTO.HTML); 02/12/21) 685
 686
 687

But as these examples show, *fora* and related forms occur once again in both informal 688
 and formal registers and a variety of styles: sports webpage (16a), online newspaper (16b), 689
 entertainment website (16c), online newsletter (16d), autobiography (16e), and a novel 690
 (16f). The most natural explanation of these facts, and the distribution of counterfactual 691
 BE in general in Portuguese, is to interpret them as a residue of a once more generalized 692
 use of BE with unaccusatives on par with what was argued for Latin American Spanish. 693
 In this light, the otherwise exceptional retention of *fora* and related forms with subjunctive 694
 and conditional value across a variety of registers and styles now finds a natural explana- 695
 tion, inasmuch as they have been preserved as part and parcel of the retention of the ar- 696
 chaicising distribution of unaccusative BE when these subjunctive and conditional values 697
 of *fora* were still very much productive. 698
 699

2.1.3. Summary 700

In summary, we have seen how the erstwhile distribution of BE with unaccusatives 701
 has been exceptionally retained as a frequent option exclusively in counterfactual contexts 702
 in the Calabrian variety of Sant’ Andrea and in non-standard varieties of Latin American 703
 Spanish and European and Brazilian Portuguese. In these latter varieties the distribution 704
 of counterfactual BE in stative syntax neither appears to be recessive nor restricted to in- 705
 formal registers, despite not being reported in the formal literature on Romance auxiliary 706
 selection. In Latin American varieties of Spanish we also noted some rarer cases of exten- 707
 sion of counterfactual BE to transitive and unergative participles, a development which 708
 has been taken to its ultimate conclusion in southern peninsular Spanish varieties (partic- 709
 ularly those of Andalusia, but also Murcia and Extremadura) where counterfactual BE 710
 now surfaces indiscriminately with all verb classes. The relevant developmental stages of 711
 residual retention and progressive extension of counterfactual BE can be plotted as in (17). 712
 713

- (17) Stative -----Active 714
 Sant’ Andrea, Portuguese > LA Spanish > southern peninsular Spanish 715
 716

2.2. Alguerès: HAVE/BE ⇒ BE 717

We now turn to the Catalan variety spoken in Alghero in northwestern Sardinia. The 718
 few available descriptions of Alguerès auxiliary selection usually present a situation 719

identical to that of Italian and Sardinian with *haver* ‘have’ and *ésser* ‘be’ distributed according to an active-stative alignment (Pais 1970: 58f., 64, 77f.; Blasco Ferrer 1984: 157f.; Palomba 2000: 155f., 159f.; Moll 2006: 290), continuing an archaic pattern found in old Catalan (Sendra i Molió 2013: 54, 56; GLC 2016: 249, 847f.; Loporcaro 2016: 813). The most detailed and accurate description is found in Loporcaro (1998: 117-24) who notes the selection of *haver* with transitives (18a) and unergatives (18b) in contrast to the use of *ésser* with unaccusatives (18c), inherent retroherent reflexives (18d), direct transitive reflexives (18e) and indirect unergative reflexives (18f). By contrast, indirect transitive reflexives oscillate between *haver* (18g) and, less frequently, *ésser* (18h). This same active-stative alignment is further evidenced in the distribution of participle agreement which can be controlled by UNDERGOERS such as clitic direct objects (18a,g) and unaccusative subjects (18c-f), but not by AGENTS such as transitive (18a,g) and unergative (18b) subjects.

- (18) a. la pera [...] Si l' **ha** presa vostè, dongui-me-la (Alg.)
 the.FSG apple.F if it.FSG=have.3SG taken.FSG you give.IMP=me=it.FSG
 ‘the pear [...] If you’ve taken it, give it to me!’ (Bosch i Rodoreda and Sanna 1996, *Les dues peres i el carretoner*)
- b. després que ella **ha** ballat (Alg.)
 after that she have.3SG danced.MSG
 ‘after she has been dancing.’ (Armangué and Scala 1997, *Conte del Sidaru de la dona del carrer de Sant Francesc*)
- c. Vengut **és** a l' Alguer (Alg.)
 come.MSG be.3SG to the Alghero
 ‘He came to Alghero.’ (Armangué and Scala 1997, *Al país de l'Alguer hi habita una minyona*)
- d. No me **só** mai pentida. (Alg.)
 NEG me= be.1SG never repented.FSG
 ‘I’ve never repented.’ (Armangué and Scala 1997, *La rondalla del cafiter del rei*)
- e. Mos **sem** coneixuts (Alg.)
 us= be.1PL known.MPL
 ‘We made each other’s acquaintance.’ (Corbera and Chessa 2009, *Intervista 1*)
- f. um problema que no me **só** posat (Alg.)
 a problema that NEG me= be.1SG posed.MSG
 ‘a problem which I haven’t considered’ (Sari Bozzoli 1986: 194)
- g. a ella se l' **ha** esposada (Alg.)
 DOM her self= her= have.3SG married.FSG
 ‘He married her.’ (Armangué and Scala 1997, *La rondalla del cafiter del rei*)
- h. se **són** esballats lo camí (Alg.)
 self=be.3PL mistaken.MPL the way
 ‘they took the wrong road.’ (Prieto and Cabré 2010, Task 2)

As already noted in (2a-c), this is not however the full story in that BE may surface across the board in past counterfactual contexts,¹¹ extending from unaccusative to transitive/unergative syntax. The only recognition of this situation is found in the two studies by Scala: he explicitly notes that the conditional and past subjunctive forms of HAVE, e.g., *hauria* ‘have.COND.1SG’ and *hagués* ‘have.PST.SBJV.1SG’, are not generally used today in the spoken language in the formation of the conditional perfect and pluperfect subjunctive, but are replaced by the corresponding forms of BE, e.g., *sigueriva / fóra* ‘be.COND.1SG’ and *fossi* ‘be.PST.SBJV.1SG’ (Scala 2003b: 41-43).¹² An identical picture emerges from his (2003a)

¹¹ Pace Blasco Ferrer (1984: 206) who claims that Alguerès past counterfactuals do not present any noteworthy characteristics.

¹² Scala (2003a: 87ff.; 2003b: 42) also includes the future perfect among the paradigms which show the generalization of BE over HAVE, e.g., *haveré/hauré begut* ‘have.FUT.1SG drunk’ > *sigueré begut* ‘be.FUT.1SG drunk’ (cf. Table 1). This distribution is coherent with the idea that the extension of auxiliary BE holds across all irrealis paradigms. In my Alguerès corpus there were only 7 examples of this rather

study where he provides, without further comment, from p. 87 onwards the complete paradigms of 131 regular and 72 irregular verbs which highlight the preferred use of BE over HAVE in the future perfect, conditional perfect and pluperfect subjunctive. This is illustrated in Table 1 with the compound paradigms for transitive *admitir* ‘admit’ (pp. 92f.) and unaccusative *anar* ‘go’ (pp. 96f.).

Table 1. Alguerès active compound paradigms of *admitir* ‘admit’ and *anar* ‘go’.¹³

	<i>admitit</i> ‘admitted’	<i>anat(s)/-da/-des</i> ‘gone.MSG(PL)/FSG/FPL’
prs.pfv.ind.	he/has/ha/havem/haveu/han	só/sés/és/sem/séu/sónt
prs.pfv.sbjv.	hagi/hagis/hagi/hàgim/hàgiu/hagin	sigui/siguis/sigui/siguem/siguiu/siguin
plpf.ind.	havia/havies/havia/haviem/havieu/havien	era/eres/era/érem/éreu/eren
fut.pfv.	sigueré/siguerés/sigueré/siguerem/sigueres/sigueran	
plpf.sbjv.	fossi/fossis/fossi/fóssim/fóssiu/fossin	
cond.pfv.	fora/fores/fora/fórem/fóreu/foren	

Although a phenomenon which once again has failed to attract the attention of both descriptive and theoretical linguists, the incidence of counterfactual BE in Alguerès is pervasive. An examination of a range of sources, including oral copora (Bosch i Rodoreda and Sanna 1996; Armangué and Scala 1997; Ballone 2000-08; Viaplana and Perea 2003; Corbera and Chessa 2009), digital atlases (Martínez Celdrán, Fernández Planas, Romera Barrios and Roseano 2003-2020; Prieto and Cabré 2010), online newspapers (*Alguer.cat* 13/12/19 – 20/09/21; ‘Narracions an algherés de Saldeyna’ 19/11/14 – 19/06/19 of *Alghero Eco*), online magazines (*Revista de l’Alguer* Decembre 2019 – April 2021), and modern plays (Ceccotti 2006; Sari Bozzolo 1996; Sari 2006), has brought to light 159 examples of counterfactual *ésser* ‘be’ in conjunction with transitives, unergatives and indirect transitive reflexives, verb classes which otherwise license *haver* ‘have’ outside of this irrealis context. This number rises even higher (by a further 110 examples) if we include unaccusative verb classes, but because they do not involve a detectable switch in auxiliary, their incidence is less significant to the outside observer. In (19) I illustrate a selection of representative examples of counterfactual BE (namely, conditional forms in *fora* and past subjunctive forms in *fossi*) from a range of sources.

- (19) a. No el **fossi** mantovat, jo, ara (Alg.)
 NEG it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG mentioned I now
 ‘I wouldn’t have mentioned it now.’ (Bosch i Rodoreda and Sanna 1996, *La dona del minudu*)
- b. Mai me **fossi** dit aquesta cosa! (Alg.)
 never me= be.PST.SBJV.1SG said this thing

infrequent compound paradigm, 5 with BE in conjunction with an unaccusative participle (i.a) and 2 with a transitive participle (i.b). Given their rarity in the corpus, little more will be said about the future perfect in the rest of this study.

- (i) a. **Siguerà** estada calqui ànima que me vol bé. (Alg.)
 be.FUT.3SG been some soul that me= want.3SG well
 ‘It was probably somebody who’s fond of me.’ (Ceccotti 2006, sc. 8a)
- b. lu criminólogo que **sigarà** més patit d’ él (Alg.)
 the criminologist that be.FUT.3SG more suffered of he
 ‘the criminologist who will no doubt have suffered more than him.’ (<https://www.algheroeco.com/tore-miserel-lo-de-dia-rundalla-de-capalla-17/>; 02/12/21)

¹³ For alternative forms of the past subjunctive (e.g., *siguessi*) and conditional (e.g., *sigueri(v)a*) of *ésser* ‘be’ and of the present subjunctive (e.g., *havagi*) of *haver* ‘have’, see Scala (2003a,b). Note furthermore that the most common form of the conditional of BE in Alguerès is the *fóra* paradigm and related forms, unlike in standard Catalan where such forms are more typical of the written language (Wheeler, Yates and Dols 1999: 580) and/or subject to diachronic and diatopic factors and personal preferences (Badia i Margarit 1994: 562f.; GLC 2016: 1143).

- 'I never would have imagined such a thing!' (Ballone 2008-08, Etnotesto 4) 799
- c. si al mes d' abril m' havessin dit que **forém** 800
 if to.the month of April m= have.PST.SBJV.3PL said that be.COND.1PL
 reseixits a organitzar les Festes 31 de agost [...] no li 802
 succeeded.MPL to organize.INF the feasts 31 of August NEG DAT.3SG=
fóra escomitit (Alg.) 804
 be.COND.1SG bet.PTCP 805
 'if back in April they had told me that we would have succeeded in organising the
 celebrations for 31 August [...] I wouldn't have bet on it.' (Alguer.cat., <http://cat.alguer.it/noticies/n.php?id=154086>; 02/12/21) 806-808
- d. Si jo no **fossi** tengut menester de advocats jo no **fóra** 809
 if I NEG be.PST.SBJV.1SG had need of lawyers I NEG be.COND.1SG 810
 fet lo tràfic. (Alg.) 811
 done the traffic 812
 'If I hadn't needed (to pay) lawyers, I wouldn't have got involved in money laun-
 dering.' (Sari Bozzolo 2006: 216) 813-814
- e. ningú **fora** mai sabut arrés, ningú **fora** mai pansat 815
 no.one be.COND.3SG ever known nothing no.one be.COND.3SG ever thought 816
 de rubà lu fíl de Misipel.li [...], ningú **fóra** mai anat an 817
 of steal.INF the son of Misipel.li no.one be.COND.3SG ever gone in 818
 garera, ningú **fóra** molt i, aspetxalment, ningú **fora** paldut 819
 jail no.one be.COND.3SG died and especially no.one be.COND.3SG lost 820
 lu bon trabal [...], i no **fóra** mai ragallat a ma la 821
 the good work and NEG be.COND.3SG ever gifted to me the 822
 mullé. (Alg.) 823
 wife 824
 'nobody would ever have known anything, nobody would ever have thought
 about kidnapping Misipel.li's son [...], nobody would ever have gone to prison,
 nobody would have died and, above all, nobody would have lost their job [...],
 and nobody would ever have given me their wife.' (Alghero Eco, <https://www.algheroeco.com/llao-cuntent-rundalla-de-capalla-7/>; 02/12/21) 825-829
- f. primé no' l **fóran** pistat, sagon lu **fóran** ajurat, talcé 830
 first NEG him= be.COND.3PL beaten second him=be.COND.3PL helped perhaps 831
 lu **fóran** salvat acumpanyant-lu a l' hospital. (Alg.) 832
 him= be.COND.3PL saved accompanying=him to the hospital 833
 'first they wouldn't have beaten him up, second they would have helped him, per-
 haps they would have saved him by taking him to hospital.' (Alghero Eco,
<https://www.algheroeco.com/rundalla-de-capalla-24/>; 02/12/21) 834-836
- g. Ja el sabiva que vos **fóra** ofesa 'Espia dels 837
 already it= know.PST.1SG that you= be.COND.3SG offended.FSG spy of.the 838
 morts. (Alg.) 839
 dead.PL 840
 'I knew that "Spy of the dead" would have offended you.' (Ceccotti 2006, sc. 2a) 841-842

Note that the active-stative alignment in the distribution of participle agreement reviewed in (18a-h) remains unaffected by the licensing of counterfactual BE, witness the agreement of transitive participle *ofesa* with the 2SG feminine reference of the object clitic *vos* in (19g) and of unaccusative *reseixits* with the understood 1PL null subject in (19c). However, in line with the other varieties reviewed in §2.1, generalization of BE in counterfactual contexts, although today predominant (cf. Scala 2003a: 41f.), is ultimately optional inasmuch as HAVE is still found (for explanation, see §3.3.4). Illustrative in this respect are examples such as (20): in (20a), for instance, HAVE (viz. *havessi*; cf. also 19c) occurs in the protasis rather than BE (cf. *fossi* in 19d), but not in the apodosis where the expected

counterfactual BE surfaces. Similarly, (20b) offers us a near minimal pair where counterfactual HAVE in the first sentence is replaced by BE in the second.

- (20) a. **havessi** tangut la pussibiritat, ja hi **fóra**
 have.PST.SBJV.1SG had the possibility already DAT.3= be.COND.1SG
 dunara la munera pé sa ubrí un' ativitiat. (Alg.)
 given the money for self=open.INF an activity
 'had I had the possibility, I certainly would have given him the money to start up
 a company.' (Alghero Eco, <https://www.algheroeco.com/antoni-arca-lu-raso-rundalla-de-capalla-39/>; 02/12/21)
- b. an vira d' ella **havariva** pugut fé qual sa sia cosa. Tot
 in life of her have.COND.3SG been.able do.INF whatever all
fóra pugut fé an vira d' ella. (Alg.)
 be.COND.3SG been.able do.INF in life of her
 'in her life she could have done anything. She could have done absolutely anything in her life.' (Alghero Eco, <https://www.algheroeco.com/rundalla-del-capalla-28/>; 02/12/21)

In summary, we see that, in contrast to southern Calabrian, Spanish and Portuguese, the distribution of counterfactual BE in Alguerès does not have its roots in an archaicizing residue of a once generalized use of the auxiliary with unaccusatives, but, rather, represents the extension and concomitant generalization of the still fully productive stative auxiliary of an active-stative split which is exceptionally suspended under marked modal conditions.

3. Marking the irrealis

3.1. Verb movement in realis and irrealis contexts

A major dimension of variation between northern and southern Romance concerns the ability of T to probe V (Ledgeway 2009b; 2012: 140-50; Ledgeway 2020; in press; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005: 103-06, 2014; Schifano 2015, 2018; Ledgeway and Schifano in press: §21.2.3). For example, in Gallo-Romance varieties such as Milanese (21a) and in Alguerès (21b) the finite verb raises to a clause-medial position within the T-domain from where it precedes all lower adverbs such as ALWAYS and many higher adverbs. In southern varieties such as southern Calabrian (21c), Spanish (21d) and Portuguese (21e), by contrast, T does not probe the finite verb which remains low within the *v*-domain, as shown by its position to the right of higher adverbs and, in particular, many lower adverbs such as ALWAYS.

- (21) a. La sua miè la **cuzina semper**. (Mil.)
 the his wife SCL.3FSG cook.3SG always
 'His wife always cooks.' (Schifano 2018: 257)
- b. jo **tenc** sempre fam. (Alg.)
 I have.1SG always hunger
 'I'm always hungry.' (Armangué and Scala 1997, *La rondala del cafiter del rei*)
- c. Francu **sempa fumava**. (SCal.)
 Franco always smoke.PST.IPFV.3SG
 'Franco always used to smoke.'
- d. El niño **siempre llora**. (Sp.)
 the child always cry.3SG
 'The child always cries.'
- e. O Pedro **sempre vê** muitos filmes. (BrPt.)
 the Pedro always see.3SG many films
 'Pedro always watches lots of films.' (Schifano 2018: 72)

Turning now to irrealis contexts, we begin by noting that across Romance the finite verb targets a very high position within the clause. Evidence to this effect from a range of Romance varieties is adduced in Ledgeway (2009b; 2013; 2015; 2020: 38-40), D'Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010a: 2053-56), Ledgeway and Lombardi (2014), Taylor (2016: 96-101) and Schifano (2018: 42-51, 96-113, 237f.) where we witness, even in southern low V-movement varieties, a higher position of the verb in irrealis clauses than in realis clauses, as the examples in (22)-(25) illustrate where the verb precedes the relevant adverb in the former context but follows it in the latter.

- (22) a (Dicianu ca) Lello sempe **fatica**. (Cos.)
 say.3PL that Lello always work.3SG
 '(They say that) Lello always works.' (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 37)
- b Vuonnu ca Lello **fatica** sempe. (Cos.)
 want.3PL that Lello work.3SG always
 'They want Lello to always work.' (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 37)
- (23) a. Tice ca l' Anna già u **sape**. (NSal.)
 say.3SG that_{REALIS} the Anna already it= know.3SG
 'he says that Anna already knows.' (Ledgeway 2020: 38)
- b. Speru cu u **sape** già. (NSal.)
 hope.1SG that_{IRREALIS} it= know.3SG already
 'I hope that she already knows.' (Ledgeway 2020: 38)
- (24) a (Spun că) mereu **muncește**. (Ro.)
 say.3PL that always work.3SG
 '(They say that) he always works.' (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 37)
- b Vor să **muncească** mereu. (Ro.)
 want.3PL that work.SBJV.3 always
 'They want him to always work.' (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014: 37)
- (25) a. Piedro me ha dicho que su mujer siempre **hace** el postre. (Sp.)
 Piedro me= have.3SG said that his wife always have.3SG the dessert
 'Piedro has told me that his wife always makes the dessert.' (Schifano 2018: 99)
- b. Piedro quiere que su mujer **prepare** siempre el postre. (Sp.)
 Piedro want.3SG that his wife prepare.SBJV.3SG always the dessert
 'Piedro wants his wife to prepare the dessert.' (Schifano 2018: 99)

As Schifano (2018: 237f.) notes, this higher position of the verb in irrealis contexts is particularly characteristic of perfective auxiliaries in many Romance varieties, the verbal class which most interests us here. In what follows I assume that in irrealis contexts the perfective auxiliary verb targets one of two tense-related functional heads in Cinque's (1999) hierarchy (for a different cartographic implementation of a neo-Reichenbachian analysis of tense in terms of the heads T1 and T2, see also Giorgi and Pianesi 1997), although we shall revise this view slightly in §3.3.4. In particular, following Cinque's (1999: ch.4) claims about the fine structure of the sentential core, the highest portion of the IP-/T-domain includes projections specialized for past and future tenses, irrealis mood (viz. the indicative/subjunctive opposition; Cinque 1999: 78, 88), root modality and various aspectual categories, as sketched in (26).

- (26) [TP_{Past} > TP_{Future} > MP_{Irrealis} > MP_{Root} > AspP... [v-VP V]]

The three core paradigms we need to account for, the conditional (> conditional perfect, e.g., 2c), the past subjunctive (> pluperfect subjunctive, e.g., 1b) and the future (>

future perfect, e.g., note 11 i.a-b), can then be said to all target one of the two T-related projections situated in the highest layer of the sentential core. Within a compositional analysis, Cinque (1999: 190 n. 27) proposes that the conditional be interpreted as a result of the relevant verb raising from T°_{Future} to T°_{Past} , thereby also transparently deriving the future-in-the-past reading (27a; cf. also Iatridou’s 2000 diachronically-inspired account of the French conditional as a past imperfective attached to a future stem). By the same token, I assume that the past subjunctive form of the auxiliary raises from the head of $MP_{Irrealis}$ to T°_{Past} (27b) and, similarly, the future auxiliary is licensed by raising to T°_{Future} (27c). The result is that in all three cases the licensing of the relevant irrealis auxiliary form, whether conditional, subjunctive or future, requires movement to (one of) the highest positions of the sentential core, either T°_{Past} or T°_{Future} .

- (27) a. $[TP_{Past} Aux_{COND} [TP_{Fut} Aux_{COND} [MP_{Irrealis} [MP_{Root...}[AspP... [v-VP Aux_{COND}]]]]]]]$ 970
- b. $[TP_{Past} Aux_{SBJV} [TP_{Fut} [MP_{Irrealis} Aux_{SBJV} [MP_{Root...}[AspP... [v-VP Aux_{SBJV}]]]]]]]$ 971
- c. $[TP_{Past} [TP_{Fut} Aux_{FUT} [MP_{Irrealis} [MP_{Root...}[AspP... [v-VP Aux_{FUT}]]]]]]]$ 972

3.2. Romance auxiliary selection

As argued at length in Ledgeway (2020: 45-47; in press: §2.4), a correlation deriving from the variability of V-movement surfaces in perfective auxiliary selection (cf. Manzini and Savoia 2005,II-III; Ledgeway 2012: ch. 7; 2019; Loporcaro 2016). In most northern Romance varieties, including as we have seen in Alguerès (18a-h), we see the continuation of an inherited active-stative split, whereby predicates with AGENT subjects select auxiliary HAVE and predicates with UNDERGOER subjects select auxiliary BE. Simplifying somewhat, in southern Romance this active-stative distribution has in most cases been replaced by a nominative-accusative alignment variously involving the generalization of a single auxiliary, whether HAVE (cf. 1a, 3a-b) or BE (28a), or, alternatively, by a person-based system as in (28b) which generally contrasts BE in the first and second persons with HAVE in the third persons (though other patterns are attested).

- (28) a. $s\grave{a}n\eta\grave{g}\alpha / si / \epsilon\dots$ $ma\eta'j\eta\epsilon\tau\grave{a} / m\grave{a}'nu:t\grave{a}$. (Pescolanciano, Molise) 986
 be.1SG be.2SG be.3SG eaten come 987
- b. **So / Si / A...** $magnate / minute$. (Arielli, eastern Abruzzo) 988
 be.1SG be.2SG have.3 eaten come 989
 'I have/you have/(s)he has... eaten/come.' 990

In traditional work on active-stative patterns of auxiliary selection within the Unaccusativity Hypothesis (cf. Perlmutter 1978; Burzio 1986), it has generally been assumed that auxiliary BE represents the superficial reflex of a co-indexation relation between T and V in accordance with the idea that unaccusative structures involve raising of the object to the surface subject position, as formalized in (29).

- (29) Auxiliary BE is selected whenever (Spec)T is indexed with V(DP)

Now, we have seen that in northern Romance and in Alguerès verbs overtly raise to the T-domain, an operation that automatically results in the co-indexation of V and T which, in accordance with (29), produces the observed sensitivity of the perfective auxiliary to the active-stative distinction. By the same token, we now also have a natural and principled explanation for the typical absence of active-stative auxiliiation patterns in southern Romance varieties such as Calabrian, Spanish and Portuguese, since verbs do not raise to T in the south but, rather, remain within the *v*-domain (cf. 21c-e). It follows from the PIC that T and V will never be co-indexed in these southern varieties and auxiliary BE will never therefore surface as the result of an unaccusative structure. At the same time, this conclusion also explains why, alongside the generalization of one of the two auxiliaries as in (1a, 3a-b, 28a), many dialects of central and southern Italy (cf. §4.2)

and some northern Catalan dialects display a person-driven auxiliary pattern as in (28b): given that in these varieties the auxiliary fails to raise to T but remains in the *v*-domain, the auxiliary under *v* finds itself in a local Spec-Head configuration with the subject externally or internally merged in Spec*v*P (cf. D’Alessandro and Roberts 2010), whose person feature it spells out in the PF-lexicalization of the auxiliary.

3.3. Irrealis BE

3.3.1. Southern Calabrian, Latin American Spanish and Portuguese

Given our arguments above about the independently observed higher movement of irrealis verbs in Romance and the precondition on the availability of V-to-T movement for the licensing of an active-stative alignment in the perfective auxiliaries, we now have a principled diachronic and synchronic explanation for the occurrence of irrealis BE in southern Calabrian, Spanish and Portuguese. In particular, auxiliary BE with unaccusatives is predicted to be licensed in these low V-movement varieties only if the verb can exceptionally raise to the T-domain (cf. 29). And this is indeed what we find in these varieties with generalized HAVE where the auxiliary switches to BE uniquely in irrealis contexts where the verb exceptionally targets a high position within the sentential core. Focusing on southern Calabrian, Latin American Spanish and Portuguese, we have seen how in these varieties irrealis BE is restricted (almost) entirely to unaccusatives, a distribution which faithfully preserves an earlier synchronic stage when the former active-stative HAVE-BE alternation had given way to generalized HAVE following the establishment of low V-movement, but where BE could still exceptionally surface whenever the finite auxiliary was able to target a position within the T-domain. In short, when the varieties shifted to low V-movement grammars yielding generalized HAVE, the condition on BE licensing in (29) could only be met in irrealis contexts such as counterfactual conditionals when the verb was forced to raise to the highest position within the T-domain (cf. 27a-c) to license its marked modal interpretation. This explains why it is often claimed that the distribution of irrealis BE in these varieties represents an archaic feature, in essence the last residue of a former active-stative alignment.

3.3.2. Spanish of southern Spain and Romanian

We have also seen that there are a small number of examples of irrealis BE outside of unaccusative syntax in Latin American Spanish in accordance with a development which has been taken to its extreme in the Spanish of southern Spain. In these latter Spanish varieties irrealis BE is no longer a residual signal of an active-stative alignment but, rather, has been reanalysed as a distinctive marker of irrealis modality which has been extended and generalized to all verb classes irrespective of the transitive-unaccusative distinction. Indeed, this diachronic explanation also carries over stragithforwardly to modern Romanian, another low V-movement language (cf. Ledgeway in press), where the former active-stative alignment in the auxiliaries (Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2009; 2013; Ledgeway 2019: 376) has been replaced by generalized HAVE (30a), except in the future (30b) and conditional perfect (30c) and in the subjunctive (30d) where the higher position of the irrealis auxiliary (cf. 24a-b) correlates with the selection of BE (Avram and Hill 2007; Ledgeway 2014).

- (30) a. **Am** / **ai** / **a** / **am** / **ați** / **au** mânca**t** / veni**t**. (Ro.)
 have.1SG have.2SG have.3SG have.1PL have.2PL have.1PL eaten come
 ‘I/you/(s)he/we/you/they have (/has) eaten/come.’
- b. **Voi** / **vei** / **va** / **vom** / **veți** / **vor** **fi** mânca**t** / veni**t**. (Ro.)
 FUT.1SG FUT.2SG FUT.3SG FUT.1PL FUT.2PL FUT.1PL be eaten come
 ‘I/you/(s)he/we/you/they will have eaten/come.’
- c. **Aș** / **ai** / **ar** / **am** / **ați** / **ar** **fi** mânca**t** /
 COND.1SG COND.2SG COND.3SG COND.1PL COND.2PL COND.3PL be eaten

venit. (Ro.)	1063
come	1064
‘I/you/(s)he/we/you/they would have eaten/come.’	1065
d. Nu cred să fi mâncat / venit. (Ro.)	1066
NEG believe.3PL that be eaten come	1067
‘They don’t believe that I/you/(s)he/we/you/they have (/has) eaten/come.’	1068

Once again, we can interpret the presence of BE (viz. *fi*) in (30b-d) as a residue of an original unaccusative syntax which was exceptionally preserved under higher V-movement in irrealis contexts but which was subsequently reanalysed as a specialized marker of irrealis modality and extended to all verb classes.

3.3.3. Alguerès

Like southern Calabrian, Spanish, Portuguese and now also Romanian, Alguerès also shows generalization of BE in irrealis contexts but, differently from these, we cannot interpret irrealis BE as a residue of an original unaccusative syntax exceptionally preserved under high V-movement in irrealis contexts, inasmuch as Alguerès still has a fully productive active-stative (HAVE-BE) alternation (cf. 18a-h) with generalized high V-movement (cf. 21b). Rather, the origins of the distribution of irrealis BE in Alguerès must be sought elsewhere and, in particular, I argue in PAT(tern) borrowing (cf. Matras and Sakel 2007) from the surrounding indigenous Sardinian dialects which also exhibit a marked strategy of irrealis – and more specifically counterfactual – marking. However, before exploring this assumption, we must first outline some core assumptions about counterfactuality.

3.3.3.1. Ingredients of counterfactuality

Crosslinguistically there is a strong tendency for languages to develop specialized or dedicated markers of irrealis and, in particular, counterfactual modality (for an overview, see Karawani 2014: ch. 1; Sansò 2020), including specialized verbal morphemes (e.g., Hungarian), temporal morphemes (e.g., Romance), spatial morphemes (e.g., Burmese) and person morphemes (e.g., Blackfoot). As Karawani (2014: 6, 42) notes, the temporal morphemes typically employed in counterfactuals are those borrowed from the past tense (cf. also Steele 1975; James 1982; Fleischman 1989; Dahl 1997; Sansò 2020: 410) – to which we can also add the conditional, the so-called future-in-the-past –, although in some languages past tense morphology is a necessary though not a sufficient ingredient of counterfactuality which must be further combined with additional temporal, aspectual or modal morphemes (cf. Givón 1990). Consequently, while the imperfective past indicative is sufficient to license a past counterfactual reading of the auxiliaries in conjunction with the participle in the Calabrian example in (31a), in Italian the past auxiliaries must variously be bundled with subjunctive and future (> conditional) in order to convey counterfactuality with the participle in (31b).

(31) a. Si nd avia avutu kju ssuardi m avia akkatthatu na	1105
if have.PST.IPFV.1SG had more money me= have.PST.IPFV.1SG bought a	1106
makkina nuova. (Polistena, SCal.)	1107
car new (https://www.asica2.gwi.uni-muenchen.de ; 15/12/21)	1108
b. Si avessi avuto più soldi mi sarei comprato una	1109
if have.PST.SBJV.1SG had more money me= be.COND.1SG bought a	1110
macchina nuova. (It.)	1111
car new	1112
‘If I had had more money I would have bought a new car.’	1113

Following Iatridou's (2000: 244) seminal study of counterfactuality, if the pluperfect is taken to include two past morphemes (cf. Steedman 1997), viz. the past auxiliary (marking the relation between event and speech time) and the past participle (marking the relation between event and reference time), then the participle can be taken to express a genuine temporal past interpretation (encoding an anterior event argument by virtue of its perfect aspect; cf. Karawani 2014: 108) whereas the past temporal form of the auxiliary represents a 'fake' tense,¹⁴ a key ingredient (together with the specialized IF complementizer in the protasis) in the semantic composition of counterfactuality. Accordingly, this 'fake' tense serves as a marker of modal remoteness, not of past time semantics (cf. Palmer 1986a; Schlenker 2005), denoting exclusion from the actual world/time, i.e., the here and now (Iatridou 2000), or a non-actual veridicality presupposition that specifies that the world-time pair in which the proposition is true is different from the actual world and time of utterance (Karawani 2014). Now, in some languages the structure of counterfactual sentences shows that there can even be an additional layer of 'fake' tense resulting in the stacking of several past temporal morphemes. Illustrative in this respect are substandard varieties of British and American English where more than two layers of 'fake' past may co-occur in the protasis of past counterfactuals (Lambert 1986; Palmer 1986b; Fillmore 1990; Mittwoch, Huddleston and Collins 2002: 752; Dancygier and Sweetser 2005: 63-65; Ippolito 2013: 98; Zencak 2018: 30),¹⁵ witness the contrast in (32a-b).

- (32) a. If he **had** told me, I'd have done it.
 b. If he **had've** ('d have/'d've/'d of/hadda/'da) told me, I'd have done it.

Whereas the protasis of the standard past counterfactual in (32a) contains just two layers of past, a 'fake' past *had* on top of a real past *told*, the substandard variant in (32b) presents three layers of past, a genuine past encoded by the participle *told* preceded by two layers of 'fake' past instantiated by various (reduced) forms of HAVE (themselves subject to considerable orthographic variation as non-standard forms), e.g., (*had* >) 'd + (> *have*) 've.¹⁶ Data like these beg the question of how to accommodate the third layer of past (cf. Ippolito 2013: 146 n.19), but arguably can be interpreted to suggest the existence of an additional functional projection within the highest layer of the sentential core to host this additional auxiliary morpheme. Indeed, based on data from languages such as Palestinian Arabic and Hebrew, Karawani (2014) argues for an additional functional projection (viz. TP2) to host such dedicated irrealis markers. This higher position needed to accommodate an additional ingredient of counterfactuality can be considered a marked option since, in contrast to the standard option in (32a), substandard examples such as (32b) 'seem to convey both strong counterfactuality, and strong alternativity: that is to say, they highlight not only the irrealis nature of the situation referred to, but also the contrast between that situation and the absolutely opposite one which is assumed to actually

¹⁴ See also Ritter and Wiltschko (2014). Other scholars such as Arregui (2009) and Ippolito (2013) argue that it is not a 'fake' tense but, rather, a genuine marker of temporal remoteness which serves to shift the reference time from the utterance time to the past such that the antecedent's presuppositions are compatible with what is possible at a contextually salient past time, but significantly not with the state of the actual world at the utterance time.

¹⁵ In spoken American English another common form found in the protasis is *would have/woulda*, which formally merges with *had have/had've/hadda* (typical of British English) when both are maximally reduced (viz. *d've*). For in-depth discussion, see Boyland (1995), Schulz (2007) and Zencak (2018: 29-34).

¹⁶ While it might be objected that the second form of HAVE appears to be a (reduced) form of infinitive *have*, hence not a past temporal morpheme, there are various cases in Romance of specialized reduced or unexpected forms of the HAVE participle (distinct from the lexical form of the same participle) employed in double compound (viz. *surcomposé*) paradigms (cf. Poletto 1992); cf. also the morphophonologically attrited form of HAVE (viz. 'vé) found in conjunction with a finite auxiliary in the eastern Abrezese dialect of Arielli, e.g., *so've* 'be.1SG have.PST.IPFV' (= 'I had'; D'Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010b). Also potentially relevant here is the phenomenon of *infinitivus pro participio*, particularly frequent in West Germanic, where infinitives regularly substitute for participles in certain verb clusters (I thank J.C. Smith and Nigel Vincent for suggesting this to me).

obtain' (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005: 64). Similarly, Karawani (2014: 86) observes, '[t]he addition of optional markers results in an emphatic effect – hence a semantic/pragmatic effect that we are familiar with in other areas of grammar where the employment of optional, and thus redundant, markers produces emphasis.' In short, I take substandard strings such as (32b) to instantiate a marked structure which includes an additional dedicated irrealis marker that is responsible for an emphatic effect which licenses a strengthening of the counterfactual inference and the impossibility of cancelling it.

Henceforth I take examples with marked irrealis morphemes such as (32b) to involve the activation of a specialized higher functional head lexicalized by dedicated irrealis markers which is not activated and hence unavailable in unmarked structures such as (32a). In particular, I follow Cinque (1999: 84-86) in assuming that the highest portion of the sentential core includes projections specialized for speech act mood (e.g., hypothetical, optative, jussive, exclamative), evidential (quotative) mood and epistemic modality which, for expositional convenience, I conflate here into a single projection MoodP (cf. also Karawani and Zeijlstra 2010) generated on top of the fine structure already identified in (27) above. On this view, the fine structure of the clause can now be sketched as in (33).

(33) [MoodP > TP_{Past} > TP_{Future} > MP_{Irrealis} > MP_{Root} > AspP... [v-VP V]]

The three core values conflated within MoodP correspond precisely to the key uses of irrealis BE reviewed above in §§2.1-2.2 for southern Calabrian, Spanish, Portuguese, Algerès and Romanian, namely (i) counterfactual, including the protases and apodoses of hypothetical clauses, by far the most frequent in our corpus (e.g., 1b, 3c,e, 7a, 9a, 12b, 19d), optatives (e.g., 9e), dubitatives (e.g., 7e, 14c, 19b,f), various types of dependent clause such as concessives and *as if* comparatives with the verb in the subjunctive (e.g., 3d-e, 7f, 8b-c,f,i, 11a, 12a,c, 13b,e, 14a-b, 16f, 30d) and embedded uses of the future-in-the-past (e.g., note 2 i.b, 16a, 19g),¹⁷ and root/embedded counterfactual uses of the conditional auxiliary (e.g., 2c, 8h, 9f, 10a, note 7 ii.a-b, 15a, 19a, 20b,e-f, 30c); (ii) evidential and quotative functions of the conditional (e.g., 11a, 16b–d); and (iii) epistemic uses of the future (e.g., note 11 i.a-b, 30b). In the representations in (27) above, we noted how the conditional can be interpreted as a result of the auxiliary raising from T^o_{Future} to T^o_{Past} (cf. 27a) and, by the same token, the past subjunctive form of the auxiliary involves raising from the head of MP_{Irrealis} to T^o_{Past} (cf. 27b) and the future auxiliary raising to T^o_{Future} (cf. 27c), such that licensing of the relevant irrealis auxiliary involves movement to either T^o_{Past} or T^o_{Future}. I take this to represent the unmarked situation which obtains under default licensing of irrealis auxiliary forms such as *had* in (32a) which raises to T^o_{Past} (34a), whereas marked structures such as (32b) involve the additional lexicalization of Mood^o (34b).

(34) a. ...[MoodP [TP_{Past} **had** [TP_{Fut} [MP_{Irrealis} **had** ... [v-VP **had** ...]]]]]
 b. ...[MoodP **'d** [TP_{Past} **'ve** [TP_{Fut} [MP_{Irrealis} **'ve** ... [v-VP **'ve** ...]]]]]

3.3.3.2. Sardinian and Algerès: dedicated irrealis markers

Above I suggested that the generalized use of irrealis BE in Algerès can be interpreted as an example of PAT(tern) borrowing under language contact with the surrounding indigenous Sardinian dialects. More specifically, Nuorese and, more importantly for the discussion here, (northern) Logudorese dialects show a remarkable parallelism with the English data in (32a-b), as shown in (35a-b).

(35) a. Si **fis** vénnitu pruskitho, **aíamos** mandicatu
 if be.PST.IPFV.2SG come earlier have.PST.IPFV.1PL eaten
 imparis. (Lula, Srd.)

¹⁷ It is unsurprising that there are fewer examples of the future-in-the-past in our corpus since the most natural way of expressing this in non-formal registers of Romance is by means of the imperfect indicative.

- together 1206
- b. Si **fis** **istatu** vénnitù pruskitho, **aíamos** **áppitu** 1207
 if be.PST.IPFV.2SG been come earlier have.PST.IPFV.1PL had 1208
 mandicatu imparis. (Lula, Srd.) 1209
 eaten together 1210
 ‘If you had come earlier, we would have eaten together.’ (Jones 1993: 308) 1211

Alongside the unmarked structure in (35a) in which the counterfactual reading is expressed by a single layer of ‘fake’ tense in the form of the imperfect past form of the auxiliary alone, we also find the marked strategy in (35b) with two layers of ‘fake’ past realized through a *surcomposé* (viz. doubly compound) form in which the finite auxiliaries *fis* ‘were’ and *aíamos* ‘had’ are reinforced by corresponding participial forms *istatu* ‘been’ and *áppitu* ‘had’. As noted in the literature (Pittau 1972: 112, 156f.; Jones 1993: 83, Pisano 2010; 2016; Loporcaro 2016: 818; Mensching and Remberger 2016: 285, 288), these forms are limited to past counterfactual conditionals such as (35a-b) and other past irrealis contexts such as unrealized wishes (36a) and main-/embedded-clause conditional perfects (36b; cf. Pisano 2010: 129f.), but are excluded from realis contexts and compound paradigms outside of the pluperfect (cf. Pisano 2010: 125).¹⁸

- (36) a. tam'bene si **a'iað** **'ap:iu** 'φrop:iu. (Dorgali, Srd.) 1225
 if.only if have.PST.IPFV.3SG had rained 1226
 ‘If only it had rained!’ (Pisano 2010: 130) 1227
- b. no **a'i** **'ap:iu** maj 'kret:iu k 'ere 1228
 NEG have.PST.IPFV.1SG had ever believed that be.PST.IPFV.3SG 1229
 'rik:u. (Nuoro, Srd.) 1230
 rich 1231
 ‘I never would have believed he was rich!’ (Pisano 2010: 130) 1232

Although Jones (1993: 308) considers these *surcomposé* forms ‘as purely stylistic, having no effect on meaning’, something of an odd observation for a variety which functions almost predominantly as a spoken code, Pisano (2010: 130f.) provides compelling evidence from minimal pairs such as (37a-b) to show that these forms have an emphatic strengthening effect very close to that noted above for substandard English counterfactual examples such as (32b).

- (37) a. si **vir** 'ben:iu 'tue nom bi **vip:** an'dau 1241
 if be.PST.IPFV.2SG come you NEG there= be.PST.IPFV.1SG gone 1242
 'ðeo. (Nuoro, Srd.) 1243
 I 1244
 ‘If you had come, I wouldn’t have gone.’ / ‘If you came, I wouldn’t go.’ 1245
- b. si **viz** **is'tau** 'βen:iu 'tue nom bi **vip:** **is'tau** 1246
 if be.PST.IPFV.2SG been come you NEG there= be.PST.IPFV.1SG been 1247
 an'dau 'ðeo 1248
 gone I 1249
 ‘If you had come, I wouldn’t have gone.’ / *‘If you came, I wouldn’t go.’ 1250

While at least for some speakers the unmarked structure in (37a) proves ambiguous between a past and simple counterfactual interpretation, this ambiguity is absent in the marked structure in (37b) where the additional layer of ‘fake’ tense forces an emphatic past counterfactual interpretation. We take this as evidence therefore for treating these latter structures as exhibiting a dedicated emphatic marker of irrealis which involves the

¹⁸ The conditional perfect *surcomposé* forms reported by Pittau (1972) for the latter half of the 20th century were categorically rejected by Pisano’s informants.

activation of MoodP whose head is lexicalized by the higher of the two ‘fake’ past tense morphemes.¹⁹ On this view, the difference between (35a-b) can be sketched as in (38a-b) on a par with the representation in (34a-b) for English.²⁰

- (38) a. ...[MoodP [TP_{Past} **fis/aíamos** [TP_{Fut} [MP_{Irrealis} **fis/aíamos**... [v-VP
fis/aíamos...]]]]
 b. ...[MoodP **fis/aíamos** [TP_{Past} **istatu/appitu** [TP_{Fut} [MP_{Irrealis} **istatu/appitu**... [v-VP
istatu/appitu...]]]]

Turning now to Alguerès, there is considerable evidence to suggest that it has been in contact with Sardinian since at least as early as the 15th century. Such has been the influence from the surrounding Sardinian dialects that today Alguerès is said to be ‘full of Sardinianisms’ (Corbera 2003: 321) in all areas of the language including its morphosyntax (Corbera 2003: 325-28; Dessì Schmid 2017: 466-68), witness its retention of an active-stative alignment in the perfective auxiliaries (cf. 18a-h), otherwise lost in most other Catalan varieties (Wheeler, Yates and Dols 1999: 355, 410; Moll 2006: 290; GLC 2016: 249, 847f.; Loporcaro 2016: 813) but apparently preserved in Alghero under the pressure of the Sardinian model (Corbera 2003: 325; Dessì Schmid 2017: 467). During the course of the 16th and 17th centuries there was also a notable Sardinianization of Alguerès following the repopulation of the city by Sardinian-speaking communities from the surrounding countryside (Dessì Schmid 2017: 462). Against this background I would like to suggest that the structural PAT(tern), but not the MAT(ter), of the Sardinian dedicated irrealis marker was transferred to Alguerès. By way of illustration, consider again the minimal contrast in (20b) repeated here as (39).

- (39) an vira d’ ella **havariva** pugut fé qual sa sia cosa. Tot **fóra**
 in life of her have.COND.3SG been.able do.INF whatever all be.COND.3SG
 pugut fé an vira d’ ella. (Alg.)
 been.able do.INF in life of her
 ‘in her life she could have done anything. She could have done absolutely anything in her life.’ (Alghero Eco, <https://www.algheroeco.com/rundalla-del-capalla-28/>; 02/12/21)

In the first clause the past counterfactual is marked by the conditional form of the HAVE auxiliary, but in the second clause the auxiliary switches to BE. Although the alternation could in principle be taken to represent a case of pure optionality given the minimally distinct nature of the two clauses, there is nonetheless a small but important difference between the two: the second involves a pragmatically marked word order in which the bare quantifier *tot* ‘everything’ is fronted to the left periphery, hence the English emphatic rendering ‘absolutely anything’, whereas the quantifier *qual sa sia cosa* ‘whatever’ in the first clause occurs in the unmarked postverbal object position and receives a more neutral reading. Significantly, this difference in information structure correlates with a differential selection of the two auxiliaries, ultimately suggesting as we saw in relation to Sardinian that there are two patterns of irrealis marking: (i) an

¹⁹ Note that these Sardinian *surcomposé* forms cannot be equated with the *surcomposé* paradigms found elsewhere in Romance which license specific aspectual readings such as experiential and resultative values (cf. Jolivet 1986; Poletto 1992; Paesani 2001; Apothélez 2010; Vincent 2011: 430-32; Melchior 2012; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016: 947) since they have no impact on aspectual interpretation but, rather, serve to convey specific modal readings. Consequently, while the former involve heads in the Modal and Tense fields of the highest layer of the sentential core, the latter involve the activation and lexicalization of specific heads within the lower Aspectual field.

²⁰ Recall that in the English marked past counterfactual structure, it was argued above (cf. note 16) that the lower occurrence of HAVE (viz. *have/’ve*) should be analysed as a participle form, an observation which finds comparative support from the relevant Sardinian structure where the relevant verb forms do indeed appear in the canonical participle form.

unmarked strategy as exemplified in the first clause of (39) in which the irrealis auxiliary targets one of the two T-related heads (40a; cf. 37a), surfacing as HAVE or BE in accordance with the regular active-stative alignment; and (ii) a marked strategy as in the second clause of (39) where the irrealis auxiliary targets the head of MoodP (40b; cf. 37b) where it is invariably spelt out as BE in the guise of a marked dedicated irrealis formative.²¹

- (40) a. ...[MoodP [TP_{Past} **havariva** [TP_{Fut} **havariva** [MP_{Irrealis} ... [v-VP **havariva**...]]]]]
 b. ...[MoodP **fóra** [TP_{Past} ~~Aux~~ [TP_{Fut} ~~Aux~~ [MP_{Irrealis} ... [v-VP ~~Aux~~...]]]]]

At the appropriate level of abstraction, the relevant difference between Sardinian (together with substandard English; cf. 34b) and Alguerès is that the dedicated irrealis marker under Mood° in the former instantiates the first-merge option, hence the appearance of two layers of ‘fake’ tense, whereas in the latter case the dedicated irrealis marker represents the overt spell-out of an additional movement operation which raises the verb from a T-related head to Mood°. The relevant feature bundle (viz (M_{Irrealis}) + T_{Past/Fut} + Mood) produced by this latter head movement operation is lexicalized as BE, superficially yielding a single layer of ‘fake’ tense and overriding the underlying HAVE-BE auxiliary alternation. We thus see the extension and transferral of a Sardinian PAT(tern) of dedicated irrealis marking to the Catalan variety of Alghero, not a surprising result given the presence of the marked Sardinian irrealis structure in localities of northern Logudorese and Anglona in close vicinity to the city (Pisano 2010: 125). Further evidence for the role of language contact in this development comes from the observation that Alguerès is the only variety of Catalan to display the generalized licensing of auxiliary BE in irrealis contexts,²² thereby making the influence of Sardinian on this aspect of Alguerès grammar so much more plausible.

3.3.4. Southern Calabrian, Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian revisited

In light of the above discussion about the structural and pragmatic distinction between unmarked and marked strategies of irrealis marking, we can now return to the irrealis uses of auxiliary BE in southern Calabrian, Spanish, Portuguese and Romanian whose synchronic distributions can be arranged in terms of the residual and extensional patterns of diachronic change in (41).

- (41) a. [MoodP [TP_{Past/Fut} (BE)/HAVE [MP_{Irrealis} (~~Aux~~) [v-VP ~~Aux~~ PtP_{Unacc/Tr}]]]] (S.Adr., Pt.)
 b. [MoodP (BE) [TP_{Past/Fut} (BE)/HAVE [MP_{Irrealis} (~~Aux~~) [v-VP ~~Aux~~ PtP_{Unacc/Tr}]]]] (L.ASp.)
 c. [MoodP [TP_{Past/Fut} HAVE [MP_{Irrealis} (~~Aux~~) [v-VP ~~Aux~~ PtP_{Unacc/Tr}]]]] (And.Sp.)
 c'. [MoodP BE [TP_{Past/Fut} ~~Aux~~ [MP_{Irrealis} (~~Aux~~) [v-VP ~~Aux~~ PtP_{Unacc/Tr}]]]] (And.Sp.)
 d. [MoodP [TP_{Past/Fut} BE [MP_{Irrealis} (~~Aux~~) [v-VP ~~Aux~~ PtP_{Unacc/Tr}]]]] (Ro.)

In Andreolese and Portuguese low V-movement guarantees generalized HAVE in accordance with (29), except in irrealis contexts where verbs raise to a high T-related position (41a), the sole configuration in which auxiliary BE can still exceptionally surface

²¹ Clearly, the effects of generalized BE as a dedicated irrealis marker are neutralized in the case of unaccusative participles where there is no detectable surface switch in the lexicalization of the auxiliary. In theory, in an idealized system we might *a priori* expect a dual auxiliary reversal in irrealis contexts (namely, HAVE ⇒ BE with transitives/unergatives and BE ⇒ HAVE with unaccusatives), but this expectation is simply not borne out. See also Sansò (2021: 414-16, 423) for evidence that cross-linguistically BE verbs ‘more easily give rise to a special type of irrealis markers, namely those expressing situations that do/did not take place but might/might have, along with undesirable situations: [...] counterfactual conditionals, negated past situations and admonitive/apprehensive’ (pp. 415f.). On the generalization of HAVE as a dedicated marker of irrealis in early Romance, see §4.1.

²² The only exceptions to this generalization are the 7 examples of irrealis BE with transitive/unergative participles documented by Salvà i Puig (2021: 320-23) for Mallorcan Catalan in a collection of popular traditional songs (Ginard 1966-75), alongside 62 examples of the expected HAVE auxiliary. Significantly, no further examples of irrealis BE were found in any of the other written or oral sources of Mallorcan Catalan investigated by Salvà i Puig.

as a residue of an unaccusative syntax, albeit alongside HAVE whose generalization in 1343
 realis contexts may also extend to irrealis contexts. Consequently, in Andreolese and 1344
 Portuguese irrealis BE represents nothing more than the optional output of an 1345
 unaccusativity trigger residually licensed in contexts of modally-driven high V- 1346
 movement. This same state of affairs is broadly attested in Latin American varieties of 1347
 Spanish (41b), but with the difference that irrealis BE is occasionally extended beyond 1348
 unaccusative syntax to include transitive and unergative participles, the first signs of an 1349
 incipient stage of reanalysis in which unaccusative auxiliary BE progressively 1350
 regrammaticalizes as a dedicated marker of irrealis lexicalizing the head of MoodP. Latin 1351
 American Spanish therefore represents an intermediate diachronic stage between 1352
 Andreolese and Portuguese on the one hand and Spanish varieties of southern Spain (in 1353
 particular Andalusia) on the other. In the latter the extension of erstwhile unaccusative BE 1354
 has now been taken to its logical conclusion and reanalysed as a full-fledged dedicated 1355
 marker of irrealis, completely divorced from its original stative syntax and semantics 1356
 (41c') which now functions as a marked emphatic strategy for strengthening non-actual 1357
 veridicality in contrast to the unmarked strategy with generalized HAVE (41c). The final 1358
 stage in this development is represented by Romanian where the previous alternation 1359
 between an unmarked strategy with HAVE and a marked strategy with BE has been lost in 1360
 favour of the generalization of the latter, weakening its semantic force in the process. 1361
 Consequently, irrealis BE in Romanian no longer functions as an *emphatic* marker of non- 1362
 actual veridicality since it no longer enters into a contrast with a non-emphatic HAVE but, 1363
 rather, is now an unmarked generalized marker of irrealis, presumably lexicalizing the 1364
 head of one of the two highest T-related projections rather than Mood°, a case of 1365
 downward regrammaticalization (cf. Roberts and Roussou 2003: ch.5; Quinn 2009). 1366

4. Other patterns of irrealis HAVE and BE in Romance 1367

4.1. BE ⇒ HAVE 1368

In a number of early dialects of southern Italy (Ledgeway 2000: 301 n. 22; 2003a; 1369
 2009a: 600–14; Formentin 2001; Cennamo 2002), as well as in old Spanish (Stolova 2006) 1370
 and old Catalan (Massanell i Messalles and Mateu 2018: 106-08; Massanell i Messalles 1371
 2020: 158; Salvà i Puig 2021: 320f.),²³ there operates a traditional active/stative split in the 1372
 system of perfective auxiliiation, whereby transitives/unergatives typically align with 1373
 HAVE and unaccusatives with BE (42a-d). Nonetheless, the same texts show a progressive 1374
 extension of the active auxiliary HAVE to unaccusative syntax, replacing in part the 1375
 traditional stative auxiliary BE. However, the replacement is not random, but shows a 1376
 gradual encroachment of HAVE on BE in accordance with a sensitivity to a realis/irrealis 1377
 modal distinction (for a discussion of similar Germanic facts, see Shannon 1995; 1378
 McFadden and Alexiadou 2006a,b,c; 2010: 394–99; Alexiadou 2015). In particular, the 1379
 initial spread of HAVE with unaccusatives in early texts appears, with very few exceptions, 1380
 quite consistently to affect only those clauses marked as [-realis], typically containing a 1381
 verb in the subjunctive or conditional (42a'-d'). 1382

- (42) a. **erano** fuyute a li templi (ONap., LDT 74.27–8) 1383
 be.PST.IPFV.3PL fled.MPL to the temples 1384
 'they had run to the temples.' 1385
 a'. ben che **avessero** puro foyuto (ONap., LDT 238.29–30) 1386
 although have.PST.SBJV.3PL even fled.MSG 1387
 'although they had fled.' 1388
 b. li pili ià li **erano** caduti (OSic., LDSG 117.25.2) 1389
 the hairs already DAT.3= be.PST.IPFV.3PL fallen.MPL 1390
 1391

²³ Significantly, Guilherme (2009: 78f.) notes that in old Portuguese the majority of examples of BE with unaccusatives involve realis contexts with an indicative verb.

- 'he had already lost his hair.'
- b'. si killa dirrupa **avissi** caduta (OSic., *LDSG* 178.16.25) 1392
 if that cliff have.PST.SBJV.3SG fallen.FSG 1393
 'if that cliff had collapsed' 1394
 1395
- c. Si el sieruo que **es** fuydo mora mucho (OSp., *FJ*) 1396
 if the servant that be.3SG fled.MSG remains much 1397
 'If the servant who has fled stays a long time' 1398
- c'. si ladrones que furtan de dia & de noche **ouissen** 1399
 if thieves that steal.3PL of day and of night have.PST.SBJV.3PL 1400
 entrado (OSp., *GE IV*) 1401
 entered.MSG 1402
 'if thieves who steal by day and night had entered' 1403
- d. totz aquels qui **eren** vengutz per él (OCat., *Vides*, 159) 1404
 all those who be.PST.IPFV.3PL come.MPL for him 1405
 'all those who had come for him' (Massanell i Messalles and Mateu 2018: 107) 1406
- d'. si vós, sényer, vos **agéssets** vengut (OCat., *Sereneta, Cartes II*, c.15) 1407
 if you lord you have.PST.SBJV.2PL come.MSG 1408
 'if you, sire, had come' (Massanell i Messalles and Mateu 2018: 107) 1409
 1410

Such uses of HAVE in place of BE in irrealis contexts have typically been explained as a way of cancelling the unmarked implication associated with unaccusative auxiliary BE which generally entails achievement of the resultant state, a reading tendentially incompatible with the non-actualized nature of irrealis situations and events. By contrast, auxiliary HAVE is taken to mark a genuine experiential perfect and hence the only available form to express the perfect in irrealis contexts without forcing a resultant state interpretation. However, that is not to say that we do not find BE in irrealis contexts; rather, what we find is a degree of competition between the two auxiliaries, witness such minimal pairs as (43).

- (43) Declarasse ancora in questa ystoria quali ri e quali duca de 1421
 declare.3SG=self still in this history which kings and which dukes of 1422
 Grecia [...] e altra gente **avessero** andate co lloro exercito 1423
 Greece and other people have.PST.SBJV.3PL gone.PL with their army 1424
 contra Troyani [...] e quali ri e quali duca de parte de Troyani 1425
 against Trojans and which kings and which dukes of part of Trojans 1426
fosseronce andati in loro defensa (ONap. *LTD* 48.11-5) 1427
 be.PST.SBJV.3PL gone.MPL in their defence 1428
 'It is claimed in this (hi)story which kings and dukes of Greece [...] and other people 1429
 had (been said to have) gone with their army against the Trojans [...] and which kings 1430
 and which dukes of Troy had gone to their defence.' 1431
 1432

As Shannon (1995: 143) puts it, 'HAVE is the more marked auxiliary that specifically denies—or at least calls into question, defocuses [...]—the result. In this way there was a possible incipient semantic split here, with HAVE indicating that the change was not attained, and BE indicating that it was.' Assuming Shannon's interpretation of early Germanic to equally hold of early Romance, this would suggest that, at least for unaccusatives, we are once again dealing with an alternation between an unmarked strategy with auxiliary BE signalling a weak degree of counterfactuality (cf. *fossero-*) and a marked strategy with auxiliary HAVE (cf. *avessero*) which functions as a dedicated 'strong' marker of irrealis modality. Following our analysis above in (41) for the extension of irrealis BE, this generalization can be informally modelled in structural terms as in (44) where we take the switch from irrealis BE to HAVE with unaccusatives to represent the spell-out of a movement from the head TP_{Past/Fut} to the head of MoodP.

(44) [MoodP (HAVE) [TP_{Past/Fut} (BE)/HAVE [MP_{Irrealis} (AUX) [v-VP Aux PtP_{Unacc/Tr}]]]]] (ONap.) 1446

1447
 Significantly, the account developed here is able to accommodate both the residue 1448
 and extensions of irrealis BE seen above for southern Calabrian, Portuguese, varieties of 1449
 Latin American and southern peninsular Spanish and Romanian on the one hand and the 1450
 extension of irrealis HAVE to unaccusatives in the early dialects of southern Italy, old 1451
 Spanish and old Catalan on the other. As argued in Ledgeway (2003a; 2009a), once HAVE 1452
 begins to extend to unaccusative syntax in irrealis modal contexts, it can then gain a 1453
 foothold in the system from where it can progressively spread to realis contexts yielding 1454
 the generalized extension of HAVE witnessed in the relevant Romance varieties today. 1455
 Indeed, the data considered in this study highlight how the unidirectionality of the so- 1456
 called irrealis effect (Shannon 1995: 138-44), as formulated in (45), simply cannot be 1457
 upheld. 1458

(45) If a language had a choice between HAVE vs. BE as a perfect auxiliary, in modal 1460
 contexts HAVE replaced BE; the switch is unidirectional and is from BE to HAVE. 1461
 (Alexiadou 2015: 123) 1462

1463
 Rather, we have seen that the replacement (or encroachment) can proceed in both 1464
 directions and that there are (at least) three ways in which BE and HAVE can emerge as 1465
 specialized emphatic markers of irrealis modality lexicalizing the head of MoodP: (i) 1466
 through the reanalysis of a residual unaccusative trigger preserved under high V- 1467
 movement (cf. 41a-d); (ii) under language contact, as in the case of Sardinian influence on 1468
 Alguerès (cf. 38a-b, 40a-b); and (iii) through the reanalysis of an aspectual distinction 1469
 between resultative and experiential perfects (cf. 44). Indeed, not only are extensions in 1470
 both directions found in different Romance varieties, but even within varieties of the same 1471
 language. This is the case of Spanish where the reanalysis of an original aspectual 1472
 avoidance strategy brought about the extension of HAVE into the realm of unaccusative 1473
 syntax in irrealis contexts (cf. 42c') from where it was able to spread subsequently to realis 1474
 contexts. This is the situation found in the standard and in more northerly varieties of 1475
 peninsular Spanish (cf. 3a). By contrast, in more southerly varieties of peninsular Spanish, 1476
 in turn imported into Latin America, the isolated preservation of unaccusative BE under 1477
 the exceptional high V-movement associated with irrealis contexts was open to reanalysis 1478
 as a dedicated emphatic marker of irrealis and extended beyond unaccusative syntax (cf. 1479
 §2.1.2.2.). Ultimately, which of the two auxiliaries is extended beyond its original realm of 1480
 use and reanalysed as a dedicated emphatic marker of irrealis (lexicalizing the head of 1481
 MoodP) proves irrelevant; rather what is crucial is that the original paradigmatic 1482
 alternation between the two auxiliaries is (partially) overridden in favour of the 1483
 generalization of a single auxiliary, whether HAVE or BE. 1484

4.2. Person-based systems 1485

As noted in §1, a common pattern of auxiliary alternation in the dialects of central 1486
 and southern Italy involves a person split typically structured according to subdivisions 1487
 based around the discourse participants. This most frequently surfaces as a simple binary 1488
 split between the discourse participants (1st/2nd persons) marked with BE and the non-dis- 1489
 course participants (3rd persons) marked by HAVE (46a, 50a), although variations on this 1490
 distribution and other patterns are possible (47a-b, 48a-b, 49a-b; for an overview see 1491
 Ledgeway 2019: 354-62). In principle, we might expect such person splits to cut across all 1492
 temporal and modal specifications such that they occur not only in the present perfect, 1493
 but also in the pluperfect and the counterfactual perfect (= conditional perfect/pluperfect 1494
 subjunctive). However, contrary to the claims in Legendre (2010: 190), such a person- 1495
 based distribution across all three paradigms (cf. Pattern 1 in Table 2) is not attested. A 1496
priori that therefore leaves three other possible distributional patterns, as outlined in Table 1497
 2: 1498

Table 2. Patterns of auxiliary distribution in central and southern dialects with person-based auxili-
 iation.

Pattern	*1	*2	3	4			b
				i	ii	iii	
present perfect	H/B	H/B	H/B	H/B	H/B	H/B	H/B
pluperfect	H/B	H or B	H/B	B	H	H~B	B
counterfactual perfect	H/B	H/B	B	B	H	H~B	H

In practice, what we find are two principal patterns: (i) Pattern 3 where, in accordance with a simple [\pm realis] distinction, the person split surfaces in the present (46a) and pluperfect (46b), but not in the counterfactual perfect which shows generalization of BE (46c), as in the Marchigiano dialect of S.Benedetto del Tronto; and (ii) Pattern 4 according to which the person split is restricted to just the present perfect, with different patterns of auxili-
 iation in the pluperfect and the counterfactual perfect. In this latter case we can recognize two subtypes: in the first, which is the most frequent in Manzini and Savoia’s (2005,II-III: §5.5, §5.9) survey, pluperfect and counterfactual perfect display the generalization of the same auxiliary (Tuttle 1986: 268; Manzini & Savoia 2005,II: 729; D’Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010b: §4; Ledgeway 2019: 357), typically BE (Pattern 4a.i) in western and central dialects (47c-d) and HAVE (Pattern 4a.ii) in eastern dialects (48c-d),²⁴ and much more rarely free variation between the two auxiliaries in both paradigms (Pattern 4a.iii) as in the Abruzzese dialect of Castelvecchio Subequo (49c-d) and the Campanian varieties of Giffoni and Montecorvino (Manzini and Savoia 2005,III: 25f.). In the second subtype (Pattern 4b), which is much rarer, we find distinct auxili-
 iation patterns in the pluperfect (> BE; 50c) and counterfactual perfect (> HAVE; 50d), a distribution found in the Abruzzese dialects of Pescocostanzo and Popoli and the Campanian dialect of Morcone (Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: 688-90; III: 22f.).

- (46) a. sɔ / ʃi / a / ʃɛmə / ʃɛtə / a dər'mi:tə /
 be.1SG be.2SG have.3 be.1PL be.2PL have.3 slept
 və'nu:tə. (S.Benedetto del Tronto)
 come
- b. sɔvə / ʃivə / a'vi / ʃa'vamə / ʃa'vatə / a'vi dər'mi:tə /
 be.PST.1G be.PST.2G have.PST.3 be.PST.1PL be.PST.2PL have.PST.3 slept
 və'nu:tə. (S.Benedetto del Tronto)
 come
- c. sar'ri / sar'riʃʃə / sar'ri / sar'rɛssəmə / sar'rɛʃʃə
 be.COND.1SG be.COND.2SG be.COND.3SG be.COND.1PL be.COND.2PL
 sar'ri dər'mi:tə / və'nu:tə. (S.Benedetto del Tronto)
 be.COND.3PL slept come
 'I/you/(s)he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have slept/come.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: 681)
- (47) a. so / si / a / simo / sete / a (p)par'lato. (Amandola)
 be.1SG be.2SG have.3 be.1PL be.2PL have.3 spoken.MSG
- b. so / si / ɛ / simo / sete / ɛ (v)vi'nutu/a/i. (Amandola)
 be.1SG be.2SG be.3 be.1PL be.2PL be.3 come.MSG/FSG/MPL

²⁴ Thus, in Manzini and Savoia’s sample we find in the pluperfect and counterfactual generalized BE in the Marche (Amandola, Ortezzano), Lazio (Borgorose Spedino, Sonino, Pontecorvo, S. Vittore), Molise (Vastogirardi, Roccasicura, Pàstena-Castelpetroso, Monteroduni), Abruzzo (Campli), and Campania (Gallo Matese, Sassinoro, S. Giorgio del Sannio), and generalized HAVE in Abruzzo (Tufillo, Secinaro, Montenerodomo, Colledimacine, Torricella Peligna, Padula), Puglia (Giovinazzo, Molfetta, Ruvo di Puglia, Bitetto) and Campania (Frigento).

- c. ero / eri / era / sɛmo / sɛte / ɛra par'lato / 1540
 be.PST.1SG be.PST.2SG be.PST.3 be.PST.1PL be.PST.2PL be.PST.3 spoken.MSG 1541
 vinutu/-i. (Amandola) 1542
 come.MSG/MPL 1543
- d. sar'rio / sar'riŋti / sar'ria / sar'rimmo / sar'rete / sar'ria 1544
 be.COND.1SG be.COND.2SG be.COND.3 be.COND.1PL be.COND.2PL be.COND.3 1545
 par'lato / vi'nutu/-i. (Amandola) 1546
 spoken.MSG come.MSG/MPL 1547
 'I/you(s)/he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have spoken/come.' (Manzini 1548
 and Savoia 2005,II: 684f.) 1549
 1550
- (48) a. sɔ/ajə / ʃi / a / sɛ:mə/a'vɛ:mə / sɛ:tə/a'vɛ:tə / annə 1551
 be/have.1SG be.2SG have.3 be/have.1PL be/have.2PL have.3 1552
 (p)par'la:tə. (Secinaro) 1553
 spoken 1554
- b. sɔ/ajə / ʃi / ɛ / sɛ:mə/a'vɛ:mə / sɛ:tə/a'vɛ:tə / annə 1555
 be/have.1SG be.2SG be.3 be/have.1PL be/have.2PL have.3 1556
 (m)mə'nu:tə. (Secinaro) 1557
 come 1558
- c. a'vevə / a'vi:və / a'vevə / ɛvə'va:mə / ɛvə'va:tə / 1559
 have.PST.1SG have.PST.2SG have.PST.3SG have.PST.1PL have.PST.2PL 1560
 a'vevənə par'la:tə / mə'nu:tə. (Secinaro) 1561
 have.PST.3PL spoken come 1562
- d. a'vessə / ɛ'viʃfə / a'vessə / avas'sammə / 1563
 have.PST.SBJV.1SG have.PST.SBJV.2SG have.PST.SBJV.3SG have.PST.SBJV.1PL 1564
 avas'satə / a'vissənə par'la:tə / mə'nu:tə. (Secinaro) 1565
 have.PST.SBJV.2PL have.SBJV.3PL spoken come 1566
 'I/you(s)/he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have spoken/come.' (Manzini 1567
 and Savoia 2005,II: 691f.) 1568
 1569
- (49) a. ajə/sɔ / ʃi / a / ɛmə / ɛtə / annə/avə 1570
 have/be.1SG be.2SG have.3SG have.1PL have.2PL have.3PL 1571
 (p)par'lɛ:tə. (Castelvecchio Subequo) 1572
 spoken 1573
- b. ajə/sɔ / ʃi / ɛ / ɛmə / ɛtə / annə/avə 1574
 have/be.1SG be.2SG be.3SG have.1PL have.2PL have.3PL 1575
 (v)və'nɛutə. (Castelvecchio Subequo) 1576
 come. 1577
- c. fɛvə/a'vevə / fivə/a'vivə / fɛvə/a'vevə ... par'lɛ:tə / 1578
 be/have.PST.1SG be/have.PST.2SG be/have.PST.3SG spoken 1579
 və'nɛutə. (Castelvecchio Subequo) 1580
 come 1581
- d. fossə/a'vessə / fuʃfə/ɛ'viʃfə / fossə/avessə ... par'lɛ:tə / 1582
 be/have.SBJV.1SG be/have.SBJV.2SG be/have.SBJV.3SG spoken 1583
 və'nɛutə. (Castelvecchio Subequo) 1584
 come 1585
 'I/you(s)/he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have spoken/come.' (Manzini 1586
 and Savoia 2005,II: 692f.) 1587
 1588
- (50) a. sɔ / ʃi / a / sɛmmə / sɛ:tə / 'ianə dər'mi:tə / 1589
 be.1SG be.2SG have.3SG be.1PL be.2PL be.3PL slept 1590
 mə'nu:tə. (Pescocostanzo) 1591
 come 1592
- b. ɛra / irə / ɛra / ɛra'vammə / ɛra'va:tə / 'ɛranə dər'mi:tə / 1593

	be.PST.1SG	be.PST.2SG	be.PST.3SG	be.PST.1PL	be.PST.2PL	be.PST.3PL	slept	1594
	mə'nu:tə. (Pescocostanzo)							1595
	come							1596
c.	a'væssə	/	ε'viʃfə	/	a'væssə	/	avas'sassəmə /	1597
	have.PST.SBJV.1SG		have.PST.SBJV.2SG		have.PST.SBJV.3SG		have.SBJV.1PL	1598
	avas'saftə / a'vissərə						dər'mi:tə / mə'nu:tə. (Pescocostanzo)	1599
	have.PST.SBJV.2PL		have.PST.SBJV.2PL		slept		come	1600
	'I/you/(s)/he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have slept/come.'						(Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: 698f.)	1601

Once again we observe how the tendency to generalize one of the two auxiliaries as a dedicated marker of irrealis (grammaticalized as the expression of Mood°), which we have seen to be a common development across Romance, is also robustly attested in the modern dialects of central and southern Italy displaying person-driven auxiliiation. In all cases, the choice of the non-alternating auxiliary is ultimately arbitrary; what is relevant is that a classic person split in the present perfect (and sometimes in the pluperfect) invariably contrasts with a single auxiliary in the counterfactual perfect. Significantly, however, Pattern 2 in Table 2, consisting in the generalization of the person split to both the present perfect and counterfactual perfect to the exclusion of pluperfect, is not attested. Given, however, the presence of Pattern 3 in which the person split ranges over both the present perfect and the pluperfect to the exclusion of the counterfactual perfect, we can deduce that the generalization of BE (4ai) or HAVE (4a_{ii}), or free variation between the two (4a_{iii}), in the pluperfect in Pattern 4 must represent an innovation based on an analogical extension of the relevant auxiliary from the counterfactual perfect. Presumably, this extension from the counterfactual to the pluperfect represents the initial step in a process of generalization which can lead to the eventual extension of the auxiliary across all paradigms, as was argued in §4.1 to have happened in the history of varieties such as Neapolitan, Sicilian, Spanish and Catalan. Indeed, it is not by chance, as originally observed by Tuttle (1986), that many of these dialects with person-driven auxiliiation are flanked by more innovative neighbouring dialects with generalized BE (51; Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: §5.7) or HAVE (52; Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: §5.8), where we can assume that the original dedicated irrealis auxiliary has now extended its distribution to penetrate all realis paradigms.

(51) a.	səŋgə	/	sī	/	ε	/	sammə	/	sa:tə	/	sə	par'la:tə	1628
	be.1SG		be.2SG		be.3SG		be.1PL		be.2PL		be.3PL	spoken	1629
	mmə'niutə. (Miranda)											1630	
	come											1631	
b.	jəva	/	jivə	/	jəva	/	ja'vammə	/	ja'vatə	/	'jəvanə	par'la:tə	1632
	be.PST.1SG		be.PST.2SG		be.PST.3		be.PST.1PL		be.PST.2PL		be.PST.3	spoken	1633
	mmə'niutə. (Miranda)											1634	
	come.											1635	
c.	sera	/	sera	/	sera	/	sar'rimmə	/	sar'ri:tə	/	'səranə		1636
	be.COND.1SG		be.COND.2SG		be.COND.3SG		be.COND.1PL		be.COND.2PL		be.COND.3PL		1637
	par'la:tə / mmə'niutə. (Miranda)											1638	
	spoken come											1639	
	'I/you/(s)/he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have spoken/come.'											(Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: 761)	1640
												1641	
												1642	
(52) a.	ad'dʒu	/	a	/	a	/	am'mu	/	a'litə	/	an'nu	r/(dd-)ur'mutə /	1643
	have.1SG		have.2SG		have.3SG		be.1PL		have.2PL		have.3PL	slept	1644
	(v)və'nutə. (S.Maria a Vico)											1645	
	come											1646	
b.	a'levə	/	a'livə	/	a'leva	/	a'lemwə	/	a'levwə	/	a'levənə	rur'mutə /	1647

	be.PST.1SG	be.PST.2SG	be.PST.3SG	be.PST.1PL	be.PST.2PL	be.PST.3PL	slept	1648
	və'nutə. (S.Maria a Vico)							1649
	come							1650
c.	a'lessə	/ a'lissə	/ a'lessə	/ a'lessəmə /				1651
	have.PST.SBJV.1SG	have.PST.SBJV.2SG	have.PST.SBJV.3SG	have.SBJV.1PL				1652
	a'lesswə	/ a'lessənə	rur'mutə /	və'nutə. (S.Maria a Vico).				1653
	have.PST.SBJV.2PL	have.PST.SBJV.2PL	slept	come				1654
	'I/you/(s)/he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have slept/come.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005,II: 779f.)							1655
								1656
								1657

In summary, deviations from the classic person split in the counterfactual and, in many cases, also in the pluperfect appear to support the idea that person splits, possibly once systematic across all three perfective paradigms (cf. Pattern 1),²⁵ have progressively been eradicated from the counterfactual in favour of the generalization of a single auxiliary (cf. Pattern 3). The latter represents a dedicated marker of irrealis lexicalizing the head of MoodP which in many cases has subsequently been analogically extended to the pluperfect (cf. Pattern 4a), leaving the person split intact only in the present perfect. In turn, this development can provide the catalyst for an additional extension of that same auxiliary to the present perfect, giving rise to consistent single auxiliary systems such as (51)-(52) in the same areas of central and southern Italy. Note furthermore that the analogical extension of the irrealis auxiliary first to the pluperfect (cf. Pattern 4a), rather than to the present perfect (cf. absence of Pattern 2), can be explained by the fact that the imperfect, and hence also the pluperfect whose auxiliary occurs in the imperfect, in these varieties (and in Romance more generally) is a very frequent competitor to the formal irrealis paradigms of the conditional/future-in-the-past. As such, the pluperfect too is frequently employed with irrealis value and hence presumably finds itself subject to the same mechanisms of dedicated irrealis marking.

5. Conclusions

This article has examined the irrealis-conditioned distribution of auxiliary BE across Italo-Romance and Romance more generally, a phenomenon which surprisingly has received little or no attention in either the descriptive or the vast theoretical literature on Romance perfective auxiliiation. In particular, irrealis contexts have been shown to be especially productive in licensing auxiliary BE, either as a residue of a former unaccusative syntax exceptionally retained under high V-movement (Andreolese, Latin American Spanish, Portuguese), or as an extension of this same residual unaccusative distribution to all verb classes (southern peninsular Spanish, Romanian) leading to its reanalysis as a dedicated marker of irrealis modality. Such specialized markers of irrealis modality lexicalizing the head of MoodP are known to be widespread crosslinguistically (e.g., substandard English, Palestinian Arabic, Hebrew), including in many Sardinian dialects which have grammaticalized a *surcomposé* construction involving two layers of 'fake' past as a dedicated emphatic marker of irrealis marking. Significantly, we have seen how extensive centuries-old contact between Sardinian and Alguerès has led to the transferal of this Sardinian pattern of specialized irrealis marking to Alguerès which, uniquely among Catalan dialects, has generalized auxiliary BE to all verb classes as an emphatic marker of irrealis. Finally, it was argued that the apparently distinct cases of generalization of irrealis HAVE exhibiting the so-called 'irrealis effect' (Shannon 1995; Alexiadou 2015), where the

²⁵ However, the dialects of central and southern Italy are today typically low V-movement varieties (cf. Ledgeway 2009; 2012: 140-50; Ledgeway 2020; in press; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005: 103-06, 2014), hence the generalization of auxiliary BE or HAVE in the irrealis might represent either the residue of an original unaccusative trigger retained under exceptional high V-movement associated with irrealis contexts (cf. §2.1) or the reanalysis of an original aspectual distinction between resultative and experiential perfects in irrealis unaccusative structures (cf. §4.1). The plausibility of this alternative analysis is strengthened by the fact that there are no attestations of Patterns 1 and 2 (cf. Table 2) in the documented evidence of the dialects.

resultative aspectual reading associated with auxiliary BE is cancelled by the use of auxiliary HAVE, are ultimately not unrelated to the cases of irrealis BE: in both cases the auxiliary lexicalizes a specialized high functional head (Mood°) dedicated to the licensing of irrealis mood. This same line of reasoning can also be extended to many dialects of central and southern Italy where a person-driven alternation in the present perfect, and sometimes preserved in the pluperfect, contrasts once again with the generalization of one of the two auxiliaries in the counterfactual perfect which functions as a dedicated marker of irrealis.

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