

Article

Residues and Extensions of Perfective Auxiliary BE: Modal Conditioning

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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 Romania, 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, the 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



Citation: Ledgeway, Adam. 2022. Residues and Extensions of Perfective Auxiliary BE: Modal Conditioning. *Languages* 7: 160. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages7030160>

Academic Editors: Cecilia Poletto and Tommaso Balsemin

Received: 15 January 2022

Accepted: 7 June 2022

Published: 29 June 2022

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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](#), pp. 292–99, 311–17; [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 2022](#), §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 Section 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](#), pp. 72–80, 88f.; [Ledgeway 2012](#), p. 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](#), pp. 269–70; [Kayne 1993](#); [Manzini and Savoia 2005](#), II: §5.5; [D'Alessandro and Roberts 2010](#); and Section 4.2 below), and argument structure (namely, verb class involving a binary active–stative split; cf. [Ledgeway 2012](#), pp. 319–23).

One pattern, however, which appears to have gone entirely unnoticed is the restricted use of auxiliary BE in specific irrealis modal contexts. Ledgeway (2000, p. 301, n. 22; 2001, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2009a, pp. 600–14) already 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 Section 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, p. XV) the 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)
- b. Si **fussa** statu io. (S.Adr.)
 if be.PST.SBJV.SG been I
 ‘If it had been me.’ (Voci 1994, p. 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 December 2021)
- b. **Són** arribats. (Alg.)
 be.3PL arrived.MPL
 ‘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.FSG never
 ‘He would never have married her.’ (<https://www.algheroeco.com/la-rundalla-de-u-que-pugariva-essar-tambe-un-altru/>; 19 December 2021)

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, p. 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, p. 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.)
 bad
 ‘Don’t act as if you had done something wrong!’ (Ledgeway 2012, p. 345)
- e. ainda que a implantação dos materiais fosse sido feita de
 still that the implantation of.the materials be.PST.SBJV.3SG been done of
 boa fé (EuPt., Lisbon)
 good faith
 ‘even if the introduction of the materials had been carried out in good faith’
 (<https://www.direitoemdia.pt/search/show/0365cba4a455186eec1732c3a22a17dedd0da0141ff56e2d8667c5609c9df49b>;
 accessed on 1 December 2021)

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 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, pp. 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

2.1. HAVE ⇒ BE

2.1.1. Andreolese: Residues of BE

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, p. XV) in all persons, temporal and aspectual forms, and across all verb classes, as the following examples illustrate (cf. Ledgeway 2000, p. 205f.; 2012, p. 344 n. 31):

- (4) a. **Àiu** venutu / avutu 'a friavi. (S.Adr.)
 have.1SG come had the influenza
 'I've been coming / suffering from influenza (for some time).' (Voci 1994, p. XV)
- b. **Avìa** statu / accattatu / vindutu. (S.Adr.)
 have.PST.1/3SG been bought sold
 'I/(s)he had been/bought/sold.' (Voci 1994, p. XVI)
- c. **Mi** dissa ca io l' **avia** aiutatu. (S.Adr.)
 me= say.PST.3SG that I him= have.PST.1SG helped
 'He told me that I had helped him.' (Voci 1994, p. 174)
- d. **Si** **avissa** avutu tiampu, **avissa** jutu. (S.Adr.)
 if have.PST.SBJV.1/3SG had time have.PST.SBJV.1/3SG gone
 'If I/(s)he had had time, I/(s)he would have gone.' (Voci 1994, p. XVII)
- e. **Si** **avissa** statu io, l' **avissa** fattu. (S.Adr.)
 if have.PST.SBJV.1SG been I it= have.PST.SBJV.1SG done
 'If it had been me, I would have done it.'

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)
 never you= have.PST.SBJV.1SG kown
 'If I had never known you' (Coletta di Amendolea, Grasso 1994, p. 113)
- b. ... che mai al mundo nata **sia!** (15th-c. Amendolea)
 that ever at.the world born.FSG be.PRS.SBJV.3SG
 '... who was ever born in this world!' (Coletta di Amendolea, Grasso 1994, p. 111)

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, pp. XV, XVII).

- (6) a. **Si** **avissa** / **fussa** statu io ... (S.Adr.)
 if have.PST.SBJV.1SG be.PST.SBJV.1SG been I
 'If it had been me, ...' (Voci 1994, p. XVII)
- b. **Si** **avissa** / **fussa** jutu iddu ... (S.Adr.)
 if have.PST.SBJV.3SG be.PST.SBJV.3SG gone he
 'If he had gone, ...' (Voci 1994, p. XVII)

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 Section 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, p. 62; Penny 2002, p. 166; Stolova 2006; Rosemeyer 2014, p. 18; Lopes and Brocardo 2016, p. 476; Loporcario 2016,

pp. 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, p. 145; Méndez García de Paredes 2011, p. 1016f.) and in particular for Colombia (7a; Montes Giraldo 1974, p. 424; 1976, 1996, p. 138; Aleza Izquierdo 2010, p. 170; Mištinová 2012, p. 237; Bernal Chávez and Díaz Romero 2017, p. 28); Costa Rica (7b; Castillo Venegas 2013, p. 323); Ecuador (7c; Toscano Mateus 1953, p. 287), Mexico (7d), including among second- and third-generation migrants in the US (7e; Sánchez 1982, p. 26f.; Gutiérrez 1997); Nicaragua (7f; Pato 2018, pp. 1070f., 1086); Panama (7g; Pacheco et al. 2013, p. 368; Pato 2019, p. 1055); Paraguay (7h; de Granda 1988, p. 46f.; 1991, p. 87f.; Aleza Izquierdo 2010, p. 169) and Venezuela (7i; Montes Giraldo 1976, p. 561; Navarro Correa 1991, p. 306).

- (7) a. si el oro fuera valido más hoy, yo fuera
 if the gold have 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, p. 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; accessed on 29 November 2021)
- 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 Mateus 1953, p. 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>; accessed on 29 November 2021)
- e. quizás no me fuera casado (Mex.Sp., 2nd generation USA)
 perhaps NEG me= be.PST.SBJV.1SG married
- f. Me encantaría que se fuera venido pa Nicaragua (Nic.Sp.)
 me= bewitch.COND.3SG that if be.PST.SBJV.3SG come for Nicaragua
- g. Si hubiera tenido dinero lo fuera comprado (Pan.Sp.)
 if have.PST.SBJV.1SG had money it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG bought
- h. si el fuera venido ayer (Pgy.Sp.)
 if he be.PST.SBJV.3SG come yesterday
 ‘if he had come yesterday’ (de Granda 1988, p. 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, p. 561)

The phenomenon is not restricted to just these national varieties (see also Méndez García de Paredes 2011, pp. 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-lecciones/>;
 accessed on 29 November 2021)
- 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>; accessed on 29 November 2021)
- c. las palabras de trump, que aunque **fuera** 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/>; accessed on 29 November 2021)
- d. si desde hace años los centros educativos **fuera** 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>; accessed on 29
 November 2021)
- 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/yohaflor/activity/3022>; accessed on 29 November 2021)
- f. gran parte de las baterías almacenadas presentan filtraciones de ácido,
 big part of the batteries stored present.3PL leakages of acid
 sin que **fuera** 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>; accessed on 29 November 2021)
- g. si no **fuera** sido por EEUU la guerra **fuera** llegado
 if NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG been for USA the war be.PST.SBJV.3SG arrived
 a suramerica (Cub.Sp)
 to South.America
 'if it hadn't been for the USA, there would have been war in South America.'
 (<http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2010/11/26/china-advierte-a-estados-unidos-sobre-maniobras-militares-en-penisula-coreana/>; accessed on 29 November 2021)
- h. gracias por toda su colaboración sin ustedes mi pedido no
 thanks for all your collaboration without you my order NEG
fuera llegado (Dmn.Sp.)
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG arrived
 'thanks for your help, without you my order wouldn't have arrived.' (<https://www.amorossa.com/products/chivas-regal-18-anos>; accessed on 29 November 2021)
- i. lo han pagado como si **fuera** comprado chocolates
 it= have.3PL paid as if be.PST.SBJV.3PL bought chocolates
 suizos. (Per.Sp)
 Swiss
 'they paid for it as if they had been buying Swiss chocolates.'
 ([https://www2.congreso.gob.pe/Sicr/DiarioDebate/Publicad.nsf/SesinesPleno/05256D6E0073DFE905257EDF00575778/\\$FILE/PLO-2015-19.pdf](https://www2.congreso.gob.pe/Sicr/DiarioDebate/Publicad.nsf/SesinesPleno/05256D6E0073DFE905257EDF00575778/$FILE/PLO-2015-19.pdf); accessed on 29 November 2021)
- j. si no **fuera** sido por que mis padres, [...] hubiera
 if NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG been for that my parents have.PST.SBJV.3SG
 sido para reírse (Urg.Sp.)
 been for laugh.INF=self
 'if it hadn't been for my parents, [...] it would have been laughable.' (<https://www.mateamargo.org.uy/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Cuestion.-No-14-17-02-1972-.pdf>;
 accessed on 29 November 2021)

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 in just 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, pp. 1018–24), partially reflecting claims that this usage is typical of colloquial (Pato 2018, p. 1070) and above all uneducated and rural speech (de Granda 1988, p. 47; Aleza Izquierdo 2010, p. 170; Castillo Venegas 2013, p. 323), there are also a sizeable number of examples from more formal written sources, including official and

governmental documents and reports (8b,d–f). This is further substantiated by Méndez García de Paredes (2011, pp. 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, p. 169; Mištinová 2012, p. 237; Pato 2018, p. 1071) and hence treated as a ‘retention’ (de Grandá 1988, p. 1991). This follows in large part from their often explicit observation (cf. Montes Giraldo 1976, p. 562; de Grandá 1988, p. 46f.; Pato 2018, p. 1070f., 1086f.; 2019, p. 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 by Méndez García de Paredes (2011, pp. 1012–16), who documents the widespread use of counterfactual BE across Andalusia (9a; cf. also Ledgeway 2012, p. 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, p. XCVII; Guillén García 1974, p. 67; Gómez Ortín 2004, p. 20) and Extremadura (10d; cf. Flores del Manzano 1992).

- (9) a. si yo fu[er]lá e^htao allí, eso no fu[er]lá pasao. (Andalusia)
 if I be.PST.SBJV.1SG been there this NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG happened
 ‘If I had been there, this wouldn’t have happened.’ (Narbona Jiménez 2019, p. 560)
- b. Si fuéramos veni(d)o antes, te fuéramos
 if be.PST.SBJV.1PL come before you= be.PST.SBJV.1PL
 ayuda(d)o. (Ubrique, Cádiz)
 helped
 ‘If we had come earlier, we would have helped you.’ (Pérez Sánchez de Medina 2007, p. 35)
- c. fwéra abláo, fwéřä abláo (Cúllar-Baza, Granada)
 be.PST.SBJV.1SG spoken be.PST.SBJV.2SG spoken
 ‘I, you would have spoken.’ (Salvador 1959, p. 58)
- d. Si lo fuera sabío. (Baez, Jaén)
 if it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG known
 ‘If I had known.’ (Carrasco Cantos 1981, p. 127)
- e. ojala lo fuera visto antes! (Córdoba)
 if.only it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG seen before
 ‘if only I had seen it before!’ (<https://www.todocircuito.com/foro/compra-venta-equipacion-37/vendo-mono-berick-1pieza-oportunidad-17968/>;
 accessed on 9 December 2021)
- f. ¿en qué me fuera gustado trabajar? (Lucena)
 in what me= be.PST.SBJV.3SG pleased work.INF
 ‘What type of job would I have liked to do?’ (Méndez García de Paredes 2011, p. 1015)

- (10) a. Es lo que [...] **juera** dicho to ombre. (Murcia)
 be.3SG the that be.PST.SBJV.1SG said your man
 ‘It’s what [...] your husband would have said.’ (García Soriano 1932, p. XCVII)
- b. Si me lo **fuera** dicho, no te **fuera** pasao
 if me= it= be.PST.SBJV.2SG said NEG you= be.PST.SBJV.3SG happened
 eso. (Murcia)
 this
 ‘If you had told me, this wouldn’t have happened to you.’ (Gómez Ortín 2004)
- c. si yo lo **fuera** cogió ... (Orihuela, Murcia)
 if I it= be.PST.SBJV.1SG taken
 ‘if I had taken it ...’ (Guillén García 1974, p. 67)
- d. Si **fuera** venío. (Gredos, Extremadura)
 if be.PST.SBJV.2SG come
 ‘If you had come.’ (Flores del Manzano 1992, p. 131)

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

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 the 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 **fuera** sabido lo **fuera** denunciado? [...]
 if you it= be.PST.SBJV.2SG known him= be.PST.SBJV.2SG reported
 si lo **fuera** 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 **fuera** 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>; accessed on 9 December 2021)
- b. si **fuera** podido se la **fuera** 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>; accessed on 9 December 2021)
- 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.elsoldeantequera.com/antequera/32120-una-enfermera-salva-la-vida-de-un-bebe-en-plena-calle-cuando-su-madre-iba-en-coche-al-colegio-en-antequera.html>; accessed on 9 December 2021)

As noted by Méndez García de Paredes (2011, p. 1010), claims like those for Latin America that counterfactual BE represents a residual archaicism (cf. Narbona Jiménez et al. 2003, p. 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, p. 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 Rexiac provides for transitive *amar* ‘love’ (pp. 315–18) active compound perfective paradigms formed with auxiliary *haber* ‘have’ (e.g., *he/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., *he/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, 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, p. 221; Mackenzie 2006; Loporcaro 2007, pp. 177, 179f.; 2016, p. 815; Rosemeyer 2014, p. 32 n.8; Ledgeway 2019, p. 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, p. 83), 17th (Hricsina 2017, p. 176) or 18th (Carasco González 2020, p. 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 Andreolese (Section 2.1.1) and Latin American Spanish (Section 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.’
 (<http://www.dgsi.pt/jtrc.nsf/c3fb530030ea1c61802568d9005cd5bb/1a95735e95e912ec80257a9b00579083?OpenDocument>; accessed on 1 December 2021)
- b. se fosse sido menino não teria sido fácil. (EuPt.)
 if be.PST.SBJV.3SG been boy NEG have.COND.3SG been easy
 ‘if she had been a boy it would not have been easy.’ (<https://demaeparamae.pt/forum/mamas-dexembro2010?page=36>; accessed on 1 December 2021)
- c. mesmo que tivesse acabado de cometer algum crime ou
 even that have.PST.SBJV.3SG finished of commit.INF some crime or
 fosse fugido da cadeia. (Murgido, northern Portugal)
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG fled from.the prison
 ‘even if he had finished committing some crime or had escaped from prison’
 (<http://files.murgido-aldeia-serrana-candemil.webnode.pt/200001084-bc9even86bd91d/LENDAS%20DE%20MURGIDO.pdf>; accessed on 1 December 2021)
- d. ele poderia muito bem receber, se o caso avançasse
 he can.COND.3SG very well receive.INF if the case advance.PST.SBJV.3SG
 e não fosse cadido em esquecimento... 18 a 36 milhoes de
 and NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG fallen in oblivion 18 to 36 millions of
 dólares. (EuPt.)
 dollars
 ‘he might well receive 18 to 16 million dollars, if the case were to go ahead and if it hadn’t sunk into oblivion.’ (<http://apocamaisdoce.sapo.pt/2016/01/o-making-murderer-deu-comigo-em-doida.html>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- e. Lembre-se disso, se fosse ficado, eles ainda estariam
 remind=self of.this if be.PST.SBJV.3SG stayed they still be.COND.3PL
 juntos. (EuPt.)
 together
 ‘just remember this, if you had stayed, they would still be together.’
 (<https://ebstomasborba.pt/sera-que-o-silk-touch-funciona-nos-jogadores/>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- (13) a. Se fosse sido ao contrário, teríamos semanas de manifestações (BrPt.)
 if be.PST.SBJV.3SG been to.the contrary have.COND.1PL weeks of protests
 ‘if it had been the other way round, then we would have (had) weeks of protests.’ (<https://twitter.com/melccs>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- b. desde que, num prazo não superior a duas horas, o detido
 since that in.a period NEG more to two hours the detainee
 fosse sido entregue a uma autoridade judiciária (BrPt.)
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG been delivered to a authority judiciary
 ‘on condition that, within a period of no longer than two hours, the detainee had been handed over to a judiciary authority.’
 (<https://ruicastro.jusbrasil.com.br/artigos/152544827/codigo-de-processo-penal-portugues-justica-celere-mas-nao-tanto>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- c. se não fosse ido ao médico, poderia ter tido
 if NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG gone to.the doctor can.COND.3SG have.INF had
 problemas gravíssimos (BrPt.)
 problems very.serious
 ‘if he hadn’t gone to the doctor’s, he could have had very serious problems.’
 (https://pt-br.facebook.com/pg/ImportsLMoficial/posts/?ref=page_internal; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- d. é como se nada fosse acontecido (BrPt.)
 be.3SG as if nothing be.PST.SBJV.3SG happened
 ‘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>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- e. Era até necessário que as famílias fossem saídas 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-quineto>; accessed on 2 December 2021)

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, p. 178; Carasco González 2020, p. 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
 and live.3PL as if never be.PST.SBJV.3PL died and die.3PL as
 se nunca tivessem vivido (Balombo, Angola)¹⁰
 if never have.PST.SBJV.3PL lived
 ‘And they live as if they had never died and they die as if they had never lived.’
 (<https://www.findglocal.com/AO/Lobito/1632309003714149/Colectivo-NdingaNzol>; accessed on 6 December 2021)
- b. Lancelote nunca negou que não **fosse** chegado ao
 Lancelote never deny.PST.3SG that NEG be.PST.SBJV.3SG arrived at.the
 governo americano
 government American
 ‘Lancelote never denied that he hadn’t reached the American government.’
 (<https://jtm.com.mo/local/um-homem-grandioso-na-sua-simplicidade/>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- c. talvez **fosse** chegado a um acordo entre K e a 1^a
 perhaps be.PST.SBJV.3SG arrived at an agreement between K and the first
 ré (Macao)
 defendant
 ‘perhaps he had come to an agreement between K and the first defendant.’
 (<https://www.court.gov.mo/sentence/pt/20993>; accessed on 2 December 2021)

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
 these portraits never be.COND.3PL been burned even that the
 artista não tivesse sido presidente dos Estados Unidos (EuPt.)
 artista NEG have.PST.SBJV.3SG been president of.the states united
 ‘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>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- b. acredito que **seria** ficado melhor como dois livros
 believe.1SG that be.COND.3SG stayed better as two books
 separados. (BrPt.)
 separate
 ‘I think that it would have been better as two separate books.’
 (<https://www.skoob.com.br/livro/resenhas/513195/mais-gostaram>; accessed on 2 December 2021)

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, p. 329) and Brazil (Thomas 1969, p. 133). In the past, and still today in some set expressions and in the literary language (Thomas 1969, p. 136; Teyssier 1984, p. 212; Cunha and Cintra 1985, p. 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
 although have.PST.SBJV.3SG left clear that be.COND.3SG been
 confrontado com algumas propostas bem interessantes de outros
 confronted with some proposals well interesting from other
 clubs (EuPt.)
 clubs
 ‘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>;
 accessed on 2 December 2021)
- b. a vítima já **fora** sido alvo de seis tiros, mas havia
 the victim already be.COND.3SG been target of six shots but have.PST.3SG
 sobrevivido (Ipatinga, State of Minas Gerais)
 survived
 ‘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>; accessed on 2
 December 2021)
- c. James Franco já **fora** sido notícia quando se soube
 James Franco already be.COND.3SG been news when self= know.PST.3SG
 que o filme já havia estreado na Rússia (EuPt.)
 that the film already have.PST.3SG premiered in.the Russia
 ‘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/>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- d. Ao longo destes anos, entraram elementos novos, **foram** saído
 to.the length of.these years enter.PST.3PL elements new be.COND.3PL exited
 outros tantos, mas o importante era avançar (Lisbon)
 other so.many but the important be.PST.3SG advance.INF
 ‘Throughout these years, new elements came in, many others had allegedly been lost, but the important thing was to move forward.’
 (<https://www.medicina.ulisboa.pt/newsfmul-artigo/100/os-principais-equipas-que-foram-construindo-newsletter>; accessed on 2
 December 2021)
- e. Se o cellista **fora** saído da orquestra, eu seria
 if the cellist be.PST.SBJV.3SG exited from.the orchestra I be.COND.1SG
 no mínimo degolada em cena (São Paulo)
 in.the minimum beheaded on scene
 ‘If the cellist had left the orchestra, I would at the very least be destroyed on the scene.’
 (<http://www.alexandresanttos.com.br/RitaLeeAutobiografia.pdf>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- f. Tinha o rosto sulcado de rugas, como se já
 have.PST.3SG the face furrowed of wrinkles as if already
fora entrado em anos (BrPt.)
 be.PST.SBJV.3SG entered in years
 ‘His face was covered in wrinkles, as if he had already aged considerably.’
 (http://www.educadores.diaadia.pr.gov.br/arquivos/File/2010/literatura/obras_completas_literatura_brasileira_e_portuguesa/VISCONDEDETAUNAY/INOCENCIA/INOCENCIA_TEXTO.HTML; accessed on 2 December 2021)

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

2.1.3. Summary

In summary, we have seen how the erstwhile distribution of BE with unaccusatives has been exceptionally retained as a frequent option exclusively in counterfactual contexts in the Calabrian variety of Sant’Andrea and in non-standard varieties of Latin American Spanish and European and Brazilian Portuguese. In these latter varieties the distribution of counterfactual BE in stative syntax neither appears to be recessive nor restricted to informal registers, despite not being reported in the formal literature on Romance auxiliary selection. In Latin American varieties of Spanish, we also noted some rarer cases of extension of

counterfactual BE to transitive and unergative participles, a development which has been taken to its ultimate conclusion in southern peninsular Spanish varieties (particularly those of Andalusia but also Murcia and Extremadura), where counterfactual BE now surfaces indiscriminately with all verb classes. The relevant developmental stages of residual retention and progressive extension of counterfactual BE can be plotted as in (17).

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

2.2. *Alguerès*: HAVE/BE ⇒ BE

We now turn to the Catalan variety spoken in Alghero in northwestern Sardinia. The few available descriptions of *Alguerès* auxiliary selection usually present a situation identical to that of Italian and Sardinian with *haver* ‘have’ and *ésser* ‘be’ distributed according to an active–stative alignment (Pais 1970, pp. 58f., 64, 77f.; Blasco Ferrer 1984, pp. 157f.; Palomba 2000, pp. 155f., 159f.; Moll 2006, p. 290), continuing an archaic pattern found in old Catalan (Sendra i Molió 2013, pp. 54, 56; GLC = Institut d’Estudis Catalans 2016, pp. 249, 847f.; Loporcaro 2016, p. 813). The most detailed and accurate description is found in Loporcaro (1998, pp. 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 Bozzolo 1996, p. 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., *siguerioa/fóra* ‘be.COND.1SG’ and *fossi* ‘be.PST.SBJV.1SG’ (Scala 2003b, pp. 41–43).¹² An identical picture emerges from Scala’s (2003a) 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’ (p. 92f.) and unaccusative *anar* ‘go’ (p. 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/sigueu/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/fóssi/fóssin	
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 2000–2008; Viaplana and Perea 2003; Corbera and Chessa 2009), digital atlases (Martínez Celdrán et al. 2003–2020; Prieto and Cabré 2010), online newspapers (*Alguer.cat* 13 December 2019–20 September 2021; ‘Narracions an algherés de Saldeyna’ 19 November 2014–19 June 2019 of *Alghero Eco*), online magazines (*Revista de l’Alguer* December 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 aqueeta cosa! (Alg.)
 never me= be.PST.SBJV.1SG said this thing
 ‘I never would have imagined such a thing!’ (Ballone 2000–2008, *Etnotesto 4*)
- c. si al mes d’ abril m’ havessin dit que **forém**
 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
 succeeded.MPL to organize.INF the feasts 31 of August NEG DAT.3SG=
fóra escomitit (Alg.)
 be.COND.1SG bet.PTCP
 ‘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>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- d. Si jo no **fossi** tengut menester de advocats jo no **fóra**
 if I NEG be.PST.SBJV.1SG had need of lawyers I NEG be.COND.1SG
fet lo tràfic. (Alg.)
 done the traffic
 ‘If I hadn’t needed (to pay) lawyers, I wouldn’t have got involved in money laundering.’ (Sari Bozzolo 1996, p. 216)
- e. ningú **fóra** mai sabut arrés, ningú **fóra** mai pansat
 no.one be.COND.3SG ever known nothing no.one be.COND.3SG ever thought
de rubà lu fil de Misipel.li [. . .], ningú **fóra** mai anat an
 of steal.INF the son of Misipel.li no.one be.COND.3SG ever gone in
garera, ningú **fóra** molt i, aspeixalment, ningú **fóra** paldut
 jail no.one be.COND.3SG died and especially no.one be.COND.3SG lost
lu bon *trabal* [. . .], i no **fóra** mai ragallata ma la mullé. (Alg.)
 the good work and NEG be.COND.3SG ever gifted to me the wife
 ‘nobody would ever have known anything, nobody would ever have thought about kidnapping Misipel.li’s son [. . .], nobody would have ever 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-cunent-rundalla-de-capalla-7/>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- f. primé no’ l **fóran** pistat, sagon lu **fóran** ajurat, talcé
 first NEG him= be.COND.3PL beaten second him= be.COND.3PL helped perhaps
lu **fóran** salvat acumpanyant-lu a l’ hospital. (Alg.)
 him= be.COND.3PL saved accompanying=him to the hospital
 ‘first they wouldn’t have beaten him up, second they would have helped him, perhaps they would have saved him by taking him to hospital.’ (*Alghero Eco*,
<https://www.algheroeco.com/rundalla-de-capalla-24/>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- g. Ja el sabiva que vos **fóra** ofesa ‘Espia dels
 already it= know.PST.1SG that you= be.COND.3SG offended.FSG spy of.the
morts. (Alg.)
 dead.PL
 ‘I knew that “Spy of the dead” would have offended you.’ (Ceccotti 2006, scene 2a)

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 Section 2.1, the generalization of BE in counterfactual contexts, although today predominant (cf. Scala 2003a, p. 41f.), is ultimately optional, inasmuch as HAVE is still found (for explanation, see Section 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’ ativitát. (Alg.)
 given.FSG 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/>; accessed on 2 December 2021)
- b. an vira d’ ella **havariva** pugut fé qual sa sia cosa. Tot
 in life of her have.COND.3SG been.able do.INF her 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/>; accessed on 2 December 2021)

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 2009a; 2012, pp. 140–50; Ledgeway 2020; Forthcoming; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005, pp. 103–6, 2014; Schifano 2015, 2018; Ledgeway and Schifano Forthcoming). 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, p. 257)
- b. jo **tenc** sempa 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, p. 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, pp. 38–40), D’Alessandro and Ledgeway (2010a, pp. 2053–56), Ledgeway and Lombardi (2014), Taylor (2016, pp. 96–101) and Schifano (2018, pp. 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, p. 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, p. 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, p. 38)
- b. Speru cu u **sape** già. (NSal.)
 hope.1SG that_{IRREALIS} it= know.3SG already
 ‘I hope that she already knows.’ (Ledgeway 2020, p. 38)
- (24) a. (Spun că) mereu **muncește**. (Ro.)
 say.3PL that always work.3SG
 ‘(They say that) he always works.’ (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014, p. 37)
- b. Vor să **muncească** mereu. (Ro.)
 want.3PL that work.SBJV.3 always
 ‘They want him to always work.’ (Ledgeway and Lombardi 2014, p. 37)

- (25) a. *Piedro me ha dicho que su mujer siempre hace el postre.* (Sp.)
 Pedro me= have.3SG said that his wife always make.3SG the dessert
 ‘Pedro has told me that his wife always makes the dessert.’ (Schifano 2018, p. 99)
- b. *Piedro quiere que su mujer prepare siempre el postre.* (Sp.)
 Pedro want.3SG that his wife prepare.SBJV.3SG always the dessert
 ‘Pedro wants his wife to prepare the dessert.’ (Schifano 2018, p. 99)

As Schifano (2018, p. 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 Section 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, pp. 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, pp. 190 n. 27) proposes that the conditional be interpreted as a result of the relevant verb raising from T^o_{Future} to T^o_{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^o_{Past} (27b) and, similarly, the future auxiliary is licensed by raising to T^o_{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^o_{Past} or T^o_{Future}.

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

3.2. Romance Auxiliary Selection

As argued at length in Ledgeway (2020, pp. 45–47; Forthcoming, §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 what we have observed 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.	səŋgə / be.1SG	si / be.2SG	ε... map'neetə / be.3SG eaten	mə'nu:tə . (Pescolanciano, Molise) come
b.	So / be.1SG	si / be.2SG	a... magnate / have.3 eaten	minute. (Arielli, eastern Abruzzo) come

'I have/you have/(s)he has... eaten/come.'

In traditional work on the 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. Section 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 regarding 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). 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 that 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 straightforwardly to modern Romanian, another low V-movement language (cf. [Ledgeway Forthcoming](#)), where the former active–stative alignment in the auxiliaries ([Dragomirescu and Nicolae 2009; 2013; Ledgeway 2019](#), p. 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 / have.1SG	ai / have.2SG	a / have.3SG	am / have.1PL	ați / have.2PL	au / have.1PL	mâncat / eaten		venit. (Ro.) come
	'I/you/(s)he/we/you/they have (/has) eaten/come.'								
b.	Voi / FUT.1SG	vei / FUT.2SG	va / FUT.3SG	vom / FUT.1PL	veți / FUT.2PL	vor / FUT.3PL	fi / be	mâncat / eaten	venit. (Ro.) come
	'I/you/(s)he/we/you/they will have eaten/come.'								
c.	Aș / COND.1SG	ai / COND.2SG	ar / COND.3SG	am / COND.1PL	ați / COND.2PL	ar / COND.3PL	fi / be	mâncat / eaten	venit. (Ro.) come
	'I/you/(s)he/we/you/they would have eaten/come.'								
d.	Nu / NEG	cred / believe.3PL	să / that	fi / be	mâncat / eaten	venit. (Ro.) come			
	'They don't believe that I/you/(s)he/we/you/they have (/has) eaten/come.'								

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 the 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 \(2014, pp. 6, 42\)](#) 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](#), p. 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 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** avuto kju ssuardi m **avia** akkatthatu na
 if have.PST.IPFV.1SG had more money me= have.PST.IPFV.1SG bought a
 makkina nuova. (Polistena, SCal.)
 car new (<https://www.asica2.gwi.uni-muenchen.de>; accessed on 15 December 2021)
- b. Si **avessi** avuto più soldi mi **sarei** comprato una
 if have.PST.SBJV.1SG had more money me= be.COND.1SG bought a
 macchina nuova. (It.)
 car new
 ‘If I had had more money I would have bought a new car’.

Following Iatridou’s (2000, p. 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, p. 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 the ‘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 et al. 2002, p. 752; Dancygier and Sweetser 2005, pp. 63–65; Ippolito 2013, p. 98; Zencak 2018, p. 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 obtain’ (Dancygier and Sweetser 2005, p. 64). Similarly, Karawani (2014, p. 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 \(1999, pp. 84–86\)](#) 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).

$$(33) \quad [\text{MoodP} > \text{TP}_{\text{Past}} > \text{TP}_{\text{Future}} > \text{MP}_{\text{Irrealis}} > \text{MP}_{\text{Root}} > \text{AspP} \dots [\text{v-VP } V]]$$

The three core values conflated within MoodP correspond precisely to the key uses of irrealis BE reviewed above in Sections 2.1 and 2.2 for southern Calabrian, Spanish, Portuguese, Alguerès 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 $T^{\circ}_{\text{Future}}$ to T°_{Past} (cf. 27a) and, by the same token, the past subjunctive form of the auxiliary involves raising from the head of $\text{MP}_{\text{Irrealis}}$ to T°_{Past} (cf. 27b) and the future auxiliary raising to $T^{\circ}_{\text{Future}}$ (cf. 27c), such that licensing of the relevant irrealis auxiliary involves movement to either T°_{Past} or $T^{\circ}_{\text{Future}}$. I take this to represent the unmarked situation which obtains under default licensing of irrealis auxiliary forms, such as was seen in (32a), which raises to T°_{Past} (34a), whereas marked structures, such as (32b), involve the additional lexicalization of Mood° (34b).

$$(34) \quad \begin{array}{llllll} \text{a.} & \dots & [\text{MoodP} & [\text{TP}_{\text{Past}} \text{had} & [\text{TP}_{\text{Fut}} & [\text{MP}_{\text{Irrealis}} \text{had} \dots & [\text{v-VP} \text{had} \dots]]]]] \\ & & & & & & \\ \text{b.} & \dots & [\text{MoodP} \text{'d} & [\text{TP}_{\text{Past}} \text{'ve} & [\text{TP}_{\text{Fut}} & [\text{MP}_{\text{Irrealis}} \text{'ve} \dots & [\text{v-VP} \text{'ve} \dots]]]]] \end{array}$$

3.3.3.2. Sardinian and Alguerès: Dedicated Irrealis Markers

Above I suggested that the generalized use of irrealis BE in Alguerès 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 if imparis. (Lula, Srd.) together	fis be.PST.IPFV.2SG	vénnitu come	pruskitho, earlier	aíamos have.PST.IPFV.1PL	mandicatu eaten	
b.	Si if mandicatu eaten 'If you had come earlier, we would have eaten together.' (Jones 1993, p. 308)	fis be.PST.IPFV.2SG imparis. (Lula, Srd.) together	istatu been	vénnitu come	pruskitho, earlier	aíamos have.PST.IPFV.1PL	áppitu had

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, pp. 112, 156f.; Jones 1993, p. 83; Pisano 2010; 2016; Loporcaro 2016, p. 818; Mensching and Remberger 2016, pp. 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, p. 129f.), but are excluded from realis contexts and compound paradigms outside of the pluperfect (cf. Pisano 2010, p. 125).¹⁸

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

Although Jones (1993, p. 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, p. 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
 if be.PST.IPFV.2SG come you NEG there= be.PST.IPFV.1SG gone
 'ðeo. (Nuoro, Srd.)
 I
 'If you had come, I wouldn't have gone.' / 'If you came, I wouldn't go.'
- b. si viz is'tau 'βen:iu 'tue nom bi vip: is'tau
 if be.PST.IPFV.2SG been come you NEG there= be.PST.IPFV.1SG been
 an'dau 'ðeo
 gone I
 'If you had come, I wouldn't have gone.' /*'If you came, I wouldn't go.'

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 therefore take this as evidence for treating these latter structures as exhibiting a dedicated emphatic marker of irrealis, which involves the 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, p. 321) in all areas of the language, including its morphosyntax (Corbera 2003, pp. 325–28; Dessì Schmid 2017, pp. 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 et al. 1999, pp. 355, 410; Moll 2006, p. 290; GLC = Institut d’Estudis Catalans 2016, pp. 249, 847f.; Loporcaro 2016, p. 813) but apparently preserved in Alghero under the pressure of the Sardinian model (Corbera 2003, p. 325; Dessì Schmid 2017, p. 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, p. 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/>; accessed on 2 December 2021)

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 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 the localities of northern Logudorese and Anglona in close vicinity to the city (Pisano 2010, p. 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.A.Sp.)
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 as a residue of an unaccusative syntax, albeit alongside HAVE whose generalization in realis contexts may also extend to irrealis contexts. Consequently, in Andreolese and Portuguese irrealis BE represents nothing more than the optional output of an unaccusativity trigger residually licensed in contexts of modally-driven high V-movement. This same state of affairs is broadly attested in Latin American varieties of Spanish (41b) but with the difference that irrealis BE is occasionally extended beyond unaccusative syntax to include transitive and unergative participles, the first signs of an incipient stage of reanalysis in which unaccusative auxiliary BE progressively regrammaticalizes as a dedicated marker of irrealis lexicalizing the head of MoodP. Latin American Spanish therefore represents an intermediate diachronic stage between Andreolese and Portuguese on the one hand and Spanish varieties of southern Spain (in particular Andalusia) on the other. In the latter the extension of erstwhile unaccusative BE has now been taken to its logical conclusion and reanalysed as a full-fledged dedicated marker of irrealis, completely divorced from its original stative syntax and semantics (41c'), which now functions as a marked emphatic strategy for strengthening non-actual veridicality in contrast to the unmarked strategy with generalized HAVE (41c). The final stage in this development is represented by Romanian where the previous alternation between an unmarked strategy with HAVE and a marked strategy with BE has been lost in favour of the generalization of the latter, weakening its semantic force in the process. Consequently, irrealis BE in Romanian no longer functions as an emphatic marker of non-actual veridicality since it no longer enters into a contrast with a non-emphatic HAVE but, rather, is now an unmarked generalized marker of irrealis, presumably lexicalizing the head of one of the two highest T-related projections rather than Mood°, a case of downward regrammaticalization (cf. Roberts and Roussou 2003, ch. 5; Quinn 2009).

4. Other Patterns of Irrealis HAVE and BE in Romance

4.1. BE ⇒ HAVE

In a number of early dialects of southern Italy (Ledgeway 2000, p. 301 n. 22; 2003; 2009a, pp. 600–14; Formentin 2001; Cennamo 2002), as well as in old Spanish (Stolova 2006) and old Catalan (Massanell i Messalles and Mateu 2018, pp. 106–8; Massanell i Messalles 2020, p. 158; Salvà i Puig 2021, pp. 320f.),²³ there operates a traditional active/stative split in the system of perfective auxiliiation, whereby transitives/unergatives typically align with HAVE and unaccusatives with BE (42a–d). Nonetheless, the same texts show a progressive extension of the active auxiliary HAVE to unaccusative syntax, replacing, in part, the traditional stative auxiliary BE. However, the replacement is not random but shows a gradual encroachment of HAVE on BE in accordance with a sensitivity to a realis/irrealis modal distinction (for a discussion of similar Germanic facts, see Shannon 1995; McFadden and Alexiadou 2006a, 2006b, 2006c; 2010, pp. 394–99; Alexiadou 2015). In particular, the initial spread of HAVE with unaccusatives in early texts appears, with very few exceptions, quite consistently to affect only those clauses marked as [–realis], typically containing a verb in the subjunctive or conditional (42a'–d').

- (42) a. **erano** fuyute a li templi (ONap., LDT 74.27–8)
 be.PST.IPFV.3PL fled.MPL to the temples
 ‘they had run to the temples.’
- a’. ben che **avessero** puro foyuto (ONap., LDT 238.29–30)
 although have.PST.SBJV.3PL even fled.MSG
 ‘although they had even fled.’
- b. li pili ià li **eranu** caduti (OSic., LDSG 117.25.2)
 the hairs already DAT.3= be.PST.IPFV.3PL fallen.MPL
 ‘he had already lost his hair.’
- b’. si killa dirrupa **avissi** caduta (OSic., LDSG 178.16.25)
 if that cliff have.PST.SBJV.3SG fallen.FSG
 ‘if that cliff had collapsed’
- c. Si el sieruo que **es** fuydo mora mucho (OSp., Ff)
 if the servant that be.3SG fled.MSG remain.3SG much
 ‘If the servant who has fled stays a long time’
- c’. si ladrones que furtan de dia & de noche **ouissen**
 if thieves that steal.3PL of day and of night have.PST.SBJV.3PL
 entrado (OSp., GE IV)
 entered.MSG
 ‘if thieves who steal by day and night had entered’
- d. totz aquels qui **eren** vengutz per él (OCat., Vides, 159)
 all those who be.PST.IPFV.3PL come.MPL for him
 ‘all those who had come for him’ (Massanell i Messalles and Mateu 2018, p. 107)
- d’. si vós, sényer, vos **agéssets** vengut (OCat., Sereneta, Cartes II, c.15)
 if you lord you have.PST.SBJV.2PL come.MSG
 ‘if you, sire, had come’ (Massanell i Messalles and Mateu 2018, p. 107)

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
 declare.3SG=self still in this history which kings and which dukes of
 Grecia [. . .] e in altra gente **avessero** andate co lloro exercito
 Greece and other people have.PST.SBJV.3PL gone.PL with their army
 contra Troyani [. . .] e quali ri e quali duca de parte de Troyani
 against Trojans and which kings and which dukes of part of Trojans
fosseronce andati in loro defensa (ONap. LTD 48.11-5)
 be.PST.SBJV.3PL gone.MPL in their defence
 ‘It is claimed in this (hi)story which kings and dukes of Greece [. . .] and other people had (been said to have) gone with their army against the Trojans [. . .] and which kings and which dukes of Troy had gone to their defence.’

As Shannon (1995, p. 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.

$$(44) \text{ [MoodP (HAVE) [TP}_{\text{Past/Fut}} \text{ (BE/)} \text{ HAVE [MP}_{\text{Irrealis}} \text{ (AUX) [v-VP Aux PtP}_{\text{Unacc/Tr}} \text{]]]]} \text{ (ONap.)}$$

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

- (45) If a language had a choice between HAVE vs. BE as a perfect auxiliary, in modal contexts HAVE replaced BE; the switch is unidirectional and is from BE to HAVE. ([Alexiadou 2015](#), p. 123)

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

4.2. Person-Based Systems

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

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

Pattern	*1	*2	3	4			b
				i	a 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 the 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 auxiliation 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, p. 268; Manzini and Savoia 2005, II, p. 729; D’Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010b, §4; Ledgeway 2019, p. 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, pp. 25f.](#)). In the second subtype (Pattern 4b), which is much rarer, we find distinct auxiliiation 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, pp. 688–90; III, pp. 22f.](#)).

- (46) a. sɔ / / fɪ / a / fɛmɔ / / fɛtɔ / 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 / / fivə / a'vi / / ja'vamə / / ja'vatə / / a'vi / dər'mi:tə / / və'nu:tə. (S.Benedetto del Tronto)
 be.PST.1G / / be.PST.2G / have.PST.3 / / be.PST.1PL / / be.PST.2PL / / have.PST.3 / / slept / / come
- c. sar'ri / / sar'riʃfə / / sar'ri / / sar'rɛssəmɔ / / sar'rɛʃfə / / sar'ri / / dər'mi:tə /
 be.COND.1SG / / be.COND.2SG / be.COND.3SG / / be.COND.1PL / / be.COND.2PL / / be.COND.3PL / / slept
 və'nu:tə. (S.Benedetto del Tronto)
 come
 'I/you/(s)he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have slept/come.' ([Manzini and Savoia 2005, II, p. 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 / / ε / / simo / / sete / / ε / (v)vi'nutu/a/i. (Amandola)
 be.1SG / / be.2SG / be.3 / / be.1PL / / be.2PL / / be.3 / / come.MSG/FSG/MPL
- c. ɛrɔ / / ɛri / / ɛra / / sɛmɔ / / sete / / ɛra / / par'lato / / vinutu/i. (Amandola)
 be.PST.1SG / / be.PST.2SG / be.PST.3 / / be.PST.1PL / / be.PST.2PL / / be.PST.3 / / spoken.MSG / / come.MSG/MPL
- d. sar'rio / / sar'riʃti / / sar'ria / / sar'rimmo / / sar'rete / / sar'ria /
 be.COND.1SG / / be.COND.2SG / be.COND.3 / / be.COND.1PL / / be.COND.2PL / / be.COND.3 /
 par'lato / / vi'nutu/-i. (Amandola)
 spoken.MSG / / come.MSG/MPL
 'I/you/(s)/he/we/you/they have/has//had//would have spoken/come.' ([Manzini and Savoia 2005, II, pp. 684f.](#))

- (48) a. sɔ/ajə / fi / a / sɛ:mə/a've:mə / sɛ:tə/a've:tə / annə
 be/have.1SG be.2SG have.3 be/have.1PL be/have.2PL have.3
 (p)par'la:tə. (Secinaro)
 spoken
- b. sɔ/ajə / fi / ε / sɛ:mə/a've:mə / sɛ:tə/a've:tə / annə
 be/have.1SG be.2SG be.3 be/have.1PL be/have.2PL have.3PL
 (m)mə'nu:tə. (Secinaro)
 come
- c. a'vevə / a'vi:və / a'vevə / εvə'va:mə / εvə'va:tə /
 have.PST.1SG have.PST.2SG have.PST.3SG have.PST.1PL have.PST.2PL
 a'vevənə par'la:tə / mə'nu:tə. (Secinaro)
 have.PST.3PL spoken come
- d. a'vessə / ε'vi:ffə / a'vessə / avas'sammə /
 have.PST.SBJV.1SG have.PST.SBJV.2SG have.PST.SBJV.3SG have.PST.SBJV.1PL
 avas'satə a'vissənə par'la:tə / mə'nu:tə. (Secinaro)
 have.PST.SBJV.2PL have.SBJV.3PL spoken come
 'I/you/(s)/he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have spoken/come.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II, pp. 691f.)
- (49) a. ajə/sɔ / fi / a / emə / etə / annə/avə
 have/be.1SG be.2SG have.3SG have.1PL have.2PL have.3PL
 (p)par'le:tə. (Castelvecchio Subequo)
 spoken
- b. ajə/sɔ / fi / e / emə / etə / annə/avə
 have/be.1SG be.2SG be.3SG have.1PL have.2PL have.3PL
 (v)və'neutə. (Castelvecchio Subequo)
 come.
- c. fevə/a'vevə / fivə/a'vivə. / fevə/a'vevə... par'le:tə /
 be/have.PST.1SG be/have.PST.2SG be/have.PST.3SG spoken
 və'neutə. (Castelvecchio Subequo)
 come
- d. fossə/a'vessə. / fu:ffə/ε'vi:ffə / fossə/avessə... par'le:tə / və'neutə. (Castelvecchio Subequo)
 be/have.SBJV.1SG be/have.SBJV.2SG be/have.SBJV.3SG spoken come
 'I/you/(s)/he/we/you/they have/has//had//would have spoken/come.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005, sec. II: 692f.)
- (50) a. sɔ / fi / a / semmə / sɛ:tə / ianə dər'mi:tə /
 be.1SG be.2SG have.3SG be.1PL be.2PL be.3PL slept
 mə'nu:tə. (Pescocostanzo)
 come
- b. ɛra / irə / ɛra / ɛra'vammə / ɛra'va:tə / 'ɛranə dər'mi:tə / mə'nu:tə. (Pescocostanzo)
 be.PST.1SG be.PST.2SG be.PST.3SG be.PST.1PL be.PST.2PL be.PST.3PL slept come
- c. a'vessə / ε'vi:ffə / a'vessə / avas'sassəmə /
 have.PST.SBJV.1SG have.PST.SBJV.2SG have.PST.SBJV.3SG have.SBJV.1PL
 avas'saftə a'vissərə dər'mi:tə / mə'nu:tə. (Pescocostanzo)
 have.PST.SBJV.2PL have.PST.SBJV.2PL slept come
 'I/you/(s)/he/we/you/they have/has // had // would have slept/come.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II, pp. 698f.)

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^o), 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 auxiliation. 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 of 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 Section 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 auxiliation 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. sɔŋgə / si / ε / sammə / sa:tə / sɔ / par'la:tə
 be.1SG be.2SG be.3SG be.1PL be.2PL be.3PL spoken
 mmə'niutə. (Miranda)
 come
- b. jɛva / jivə / jɛva / ja'vammə / ja'vatə / jɛvanə par'la:tə / mmə'niutə. (Miranda)
 be.PST.1SG be.PST.2SG be.PST.3 be.PST.1PL be.PST.2PL be.PST.3 spoken come
- c. sera / sera / sera / sar'rimmə / sar'ri:tə / 'seranə
 be.COND.1SG be.COND.2SG be.COND.3SG be.COND.1PL be.COND.2PL be.COND.3PL
 par'la:tə / mmə'niutə. (Miranda)
 spoken come
 'I/you/(s)/he/we/you/they have/has//had//would have spoken/come.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005, II, p. 761)
- (52) a. ad'ɕu / a / a / am'mu / a'litə / an'nu r/(dd)-ur'mutə / (v)və'nutə. (S.Maria a Vico)
 have.1SG have.2SG have.3SG have.1PL have.2PL have.3PL slept come
- b. a'levə / a'livə / a'levə / a'lemwə / a'levwə / a'levənə rur'mutə / və'nutə. (S.Maria a Vico)
 have.PST.1SG have.PST.2SG have.PST.3SG have.PST.1PL have.PST.2PL have.PST.3PL slept come
- c. a'lessə / a'lissə / a'lessə / a'lessəmə /
 have.PST.SBJV.1SG have.PST.SBJV.2SG have.PST.SBJV.3SG have.SBJV.1PL
 a'lesswə / a'lessənə rur'mutə / və'nutə. (S.Maria a Vico).
 have.PST.SBJV.2PL have.PST.SBJV.2PL slept come
 'I/you/(s)/he/we/you/they have/has//had//would have slept/come.' (Manzini and Savoia 2005, sec. II: 779f.)

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. Furthermore, note 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 auxiliation. 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 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.

Funding: The research received no external funding.

Informed Consent Statement: Not applicable.

Data Availability Statement: Not applicable.

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interest.

Notes

- 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, pp. 9–12; Sansò 2020, pp. 403–6).
- 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, pp. 1019–21).
- 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/>; accessed on 29 November 2021)
 - 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; accessed on 29 November 2021).
- 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 fuera 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 November 2021); see also Méndez García de Paredes (2011, pp. 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, pp. 9–12; 2016, pp. 806f.; Ledgeway 2012, p. 327; see also Section 4.2 below). Note finally that the lack of agreement also incontrovertibly excludes any possibility of a copular resultative interpretation.
- ⁶ Cf. Salvador (1959, p. 58), Bustos Tovar (1980, p. 232), Raya Castillo (1980, p. 265), Narbona Jiménez (1986, p. 238; 2014, p. 139; 2018, p. 160; 2019, p. 560), Narbona Jiménez and Morillo-Velarde (1987), López de Aberasturi Arregui et al. (1992), Mondéjar (1992, p. 517), Narbona Jiménez et al. (2003, p. 237), Peñalver Castillo (2006, pp. 259f., 265), Pérez Sánchez de Medina (2007, p. 35). See also the website *El español hablado en Andalucía* (http://grupo.us.es/ehandalucia/que_es_el_andaluz/05_gramatica_del_habla_andaluza_ext.html; 9 December 2021).

7 See López de Aberasturi Arregui et al. (1992), Mondéjar (1992, p. 517), Narbona Jiménez et al. (2003, p. 237), and Peñalver Castillo (2006, p. 265).

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>; 9 December 2021)
- 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>; accessed on 9 December 2021)

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
 without his support to.the basketball nothing of the that be.3SG today the Unicaja be.COND.3SG been
 possible. (Málaga)
 possible
 'Without his support for basketball nothing of what Unicaja is today would have been possible.' (<https://www.diariosur.es/unicaja/unicaja-20190828233535-nt.html>;
 accessed on 9 December 2021)
- 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; accessed on 9 December 2021)

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, p. 364).

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

12 Scala (2003a, pp. 87ff.; 2003b, p. 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 Algerian corpus there were only seven examples of this rather infrequent compound paradigm, five with BE in conjunction with an unaccusative participle (i.a) and two 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, scene 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/>; accessed on 2 December 2021).

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, 2003b). Note furthermore that the most common form of the conditional of BE in Algerian is the *fóra* paradigm and related forms, unlike in standard Catalan where such forms are more typical of the written language (Wheeler et al. 1999, p. 580) and/or subject to diachronic and diatopic factors and personal preferences (Badia i Margarit 1994, p. 562; GLC = Institut d'Estudis Catalans 2016, p. 1143).

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, pp. 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 Abrezzese dialect of Arielli, e.g., *so'veé* 'be.1SG have.PST.IPFV' (= 'I had'; D'Alessandro and Ledgeway 2010b). Also potentially relevant here is the phenomenon of *infinitous 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).

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.

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.

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; Apothéloz 2010; Vincent 2011, pp. 430–32; Melchior 2012; Bertinetto and Squartini 2016, p. 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.

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 \Rightarrow BE with transitives/unergatives and BE \Rightarrow HAVE with unaccusatives), but this expectation is simply not borne out. See also Sansò (2020, pp. 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' (p. 415f.). On the generalization of HAVE as a dedicated marker of irrealis in early Romance, see Section 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, pp. 320–23) for Mallorcan Catalan in a collection of popular traditional songs (Ginard i Bauça 1966, p. 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.

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

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 (Tuffillo, Secinaro, Montenerodomo, Colledimacine, Torricella Peligna, Padula), Puglia (Giovinazzo, Molfetta, Ruvo di Puglia, Bitetto) and Campania (Frigento).

25 However, the dialects of central and southern Italy are today typically low V-movement varieties (cf. Ledgeway 2009a; 2012, pp. 140–50; Ledgeway 2020; Forthcoming; Ledgeway and Lombardi 2005, pp. 103–6, 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. Section 2.1) or the reanalysis of an original aspectual distinction between resultative and experiential perfects in irrealis unaccusative structures (cf. Section 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.

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