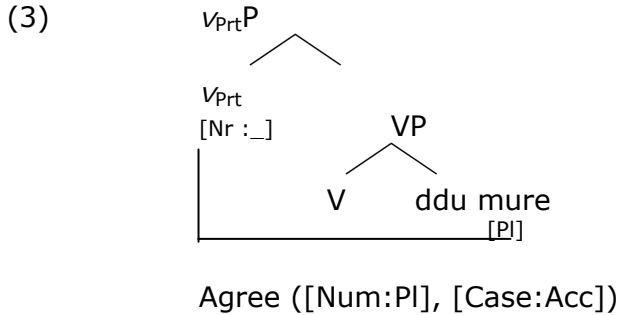


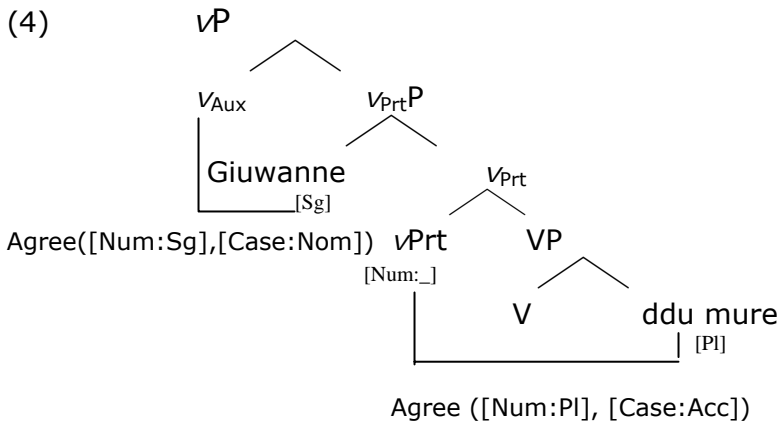
1.2. THE ANALYSIS

(2) *Giuwanne a pittite ddu mure*
 John-sg has-3rd sg painted-pp pl two walls-pl
 'John has painted two walls'

→ VP is merged with v_{Prt} , which bears unvalued number-features and so probes the object inside VP:



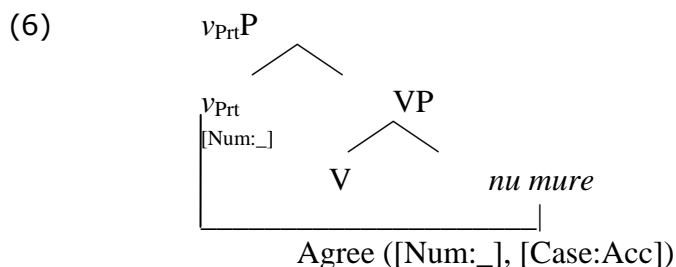
→ The subject is merged in the spec, $v_{Prt}P$. The auxiliary is merged in a higher v , which selects v_{Prt} :



If we have a plural subject and a singular object, as in (4), the past participle agrees with the subject.

(5) *Giuwanne e Mmarije a pittite nu mure*
John and Mary-pl have-3rd sg/pl **painted-pp pl** a wall
 'John and Mary have painted a wall' pl SUBJ- sg OBJ]

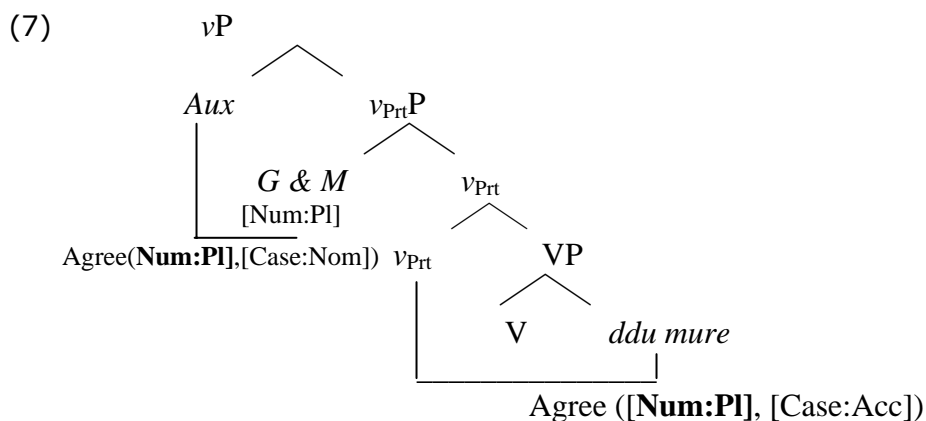
The $v_{Prt}P$ in (5) is as follows:



However: Sg is plausibly the Spellout of the unvalued [Num] feature, so the number feature on the object *nu mure* is unvalued, as such it can't value v_{Prt} 's [Num] in (6)

- **[Num: _]** on singular DPs

Following Chomsky (2005), feature-copying from a phase-head to a selected functional head is possible. In EA, the Pl-value of Num is copied from the higher v to v_{Prt} .



Here v_{Prt} shows up as plural, thanks to feature-copying from the higher (phase-head) v , which selects it.

2 possibilities:

1. IN EA, v_{PRT} DOESN'T HAVE NUM AT ALL; this feature is always "inherited" from v_{Aux} ; valuation takes place before transfer, where a value is specified.
2. MATCH OF UNVALUED FEATURES IS ASSIGNED A VALUE AT THE INTERFACE : when both subject and object have a [Num: _] and they Match with [Num: _] on v_{Prt} and v the Match of uF is enough for a default value to be assigned at the interface

QUESTION: why does Abruzzese v_{Prt} show agreement with the object while Italian doesn't?

RECALL the Condition on the Morphophonological Realisation of Agreement

A. Given an Agree relation A between Probe P and Goal G, morphophonological agreement between P and G is realised iff P and G are contained in the complement of the minimal phase-head H.

B. XP is the complement of a minimal phase head H iff there is no distinct phase head H' contained in XP whose complement YP contains P and G.

What's the difference between Abruzzese and Italian?

The participle is in a higher position in Italian than in EA:

- (8) a. *Le so poche capite*
it am-1st sg little understood
'I understood it little'
- b. ??? *L'ho poco capito*
it-have-1st sg little understood
'I understood it little'
- c. *L'ho capito poco*
it-have-1st.sg understood little
'I understood it little'

Cinque's hierarchy:

(9) *W poco X bene Y VP*

It seems that movement to the head immediately above the lowest functional head – the one specified by *bene* according to Cinque (1999) – is enough to take the participle out of the domain in which the Agree relation with the direct object can be morphologically realised.

→ X and Y are contained in the same spell-out domain as VP but W is not (and the rest of hierarchy is presumably outside the *vP* phase)

→ W = v_{prt} in Italian

→ X = v_{prt} in EA

Italian: pp and direct object are not in the same Spell-out domain

EA: pp and direct object are in the same Spell-out domain

We made several assumptions:

- subject and object are somehow both visible to the *v* head(s)
- the subject can determine agreement if it is more specified than the object.

Are these licit assumptions? Why should a language behave like this?

A new puzzle: Agreement mismatch in Ripatransone

2. Agreement mismatch in Ripatransone

Subject-verb agreement in Romance usually involves person and number features:

- (10) Maria mangia [Italian]
Maria-3rd sg fem eats-3rd sg
'Maria eats'
- (11) Tu dormi
you-2nd sg sleep-2nd sg
'You sleep'

No gender agreement between the subject and the verb (the verb shows no gender).

Ripatransone¹(RT) dialect: **GENDER AGREEMENT**

- (12) a. I' ridu ('I laugh'-masc) b. ìa ride ('I laugh'-fem)
tu ridu ('you laugh'-masc) tu ride ('you laugh'-fem)
issu ridu ('he laughs'-masc) esse ride ...
noja ridemi noja ridema
voja rideti voja rideta
issi ridi essa ride
[from Rossi 2008: 31]
- c. se ride ('it is laughed'-neuter)

Moreover: **AGREEMENT MISMATCH**

- (13) a. Babbu dice le verità
dad-m sg says-3rd sg neu the-f sg truth-f sg
'Dad says the truth'
- b. Mamme e kkottè li makkaru'
mum- f sg is-3rd sg cooked- pp neu the- m pl pasta- m pl
'Mum cooked pasta'
[Mancini 1993: 107]

QUESTION

Where do these unusual agreement patterns stem from?

2.1. AGREEMENT WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS

NO MISMATCH

SUBJECT (m sg) – OBJECT (m sg):

[all examples are taken from Mancini 1993:106-107]

¹ I wish to thank Antonio Giannetti and Alfredo Rossi for their help with Ripatransone data.

(14) ___ so ngundratu n amigu
 pro-m sg am met-m sg a friend – m sg
 'I met a friend'

SUBJECT (f sg) – OBJECT (f sg)

(15) le frækine e vvélute ne mele
 the- f sg girl-f sg is wanted-f sg an-f sg apple-f sg
 'The girl wanted an apple'

✓ MISMATCH

GENDER

SUBJECT (m sg) – OBJECT (f sg)

(16) I' maɲɲə le pələnde
 I-m sg eat-n the- f sg polenta- f sg
 'I eat the polenta'

SUBJECT (f sg) – OBJECT (m sg)

(17) mamme e rrəlavatə lu mendi'
 mum- f sg is washed- n the-m sg tablecloth-m sg
 'Mum has washed the tablecloth'

NUMBER

SUBJECT (m sg) – OBJECT (m pl)

(18) ___ mazzə li keppu'
 pro-m sg kills-n the-m pl capons-m pl
 'He kills the capons'

SUBJECT (f sg) – OBJECT (f pl)

(19) Semə maɲɲata/ə læ pera
 we-are eaten-f pl/n the-f pl pears- f pl
 'We ate the pears'

SUBJECT (f pl) – OBJECT (f sg)

(20) ___ maɲɲemə le pələnde
 we-f pl eat-n the- f sg polenta- f sg
 'We eat the polenta'

GENDER + NUMBER

SUBJECT (f pl) – OBJECT (n sg)

- (21) oggia læ femmæna pijjə læ sola
today the-f pl women-f pl take-n the-f sg sun- n sg
'Today the women catch the sun'

SUBJECT (f pl) – OBJECT (m sg)

- (22) ____ semə maɲɲatə lu prəsciutta
pro- f pl are eaten-n the- m sg ham-m sg
'We-fem have eaten the ham'

→ AGREEMENT MISMATCH BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND THE OBJECT IS MARKED ON THE VERB

EXCEPTION

SUBJECT IS 3RD PL MASC ⇒ ALWAYS subject agreement

- (23) li frəkì maɲɲi læ nucia e ll
the-m pl boys-m pl eat-m pl the-f pl nuts-f pl and the
uve
grapes- f pl
'The boys eat nuts and grapes'

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATION:

Masculine plural subject wins over everything else

[Speculation: Are masculine and plural ranked higher in some sort of animacy hierarchy?

Not quite! Masculine is not higher ranked: see (13a) and (16).

Plural is not higher ranked: see (22)]

2.2. 'CONTAGIOUS' AGREEMENT

RT also features inflection on items that usually don't display agreement.

The following examples are taken from Ledgeway (2005:4):

GERUNDS AND INFINITIVES

- (24) Chissà chə vva fæcennu
who-knows what he-goes doing-msg
'Who knows what he's doing'
(25) Mamma stieve cucənenne
mum was-fem cooking-sg fem
'Mum was cooking'

- (26) Sai skrivu?
can-you write-masc
'Can you write?'

INTERROGATIVES

-
- (27) Ndovu / ndovi va?
where-msg where-mpl goes/go
'Where does he/do they go?'

PREPOSITIONS

- (28) Dopu lu ddi / dope le notte
after-msg the-msg day-msg after-fsg the-fsg night-
fsg
'After the day/after the night'

...
What are these?

2.1. TRYING TO ANALYZE THESE DATA

TRADITIONAL SPEC/HEAD AGREEMENT

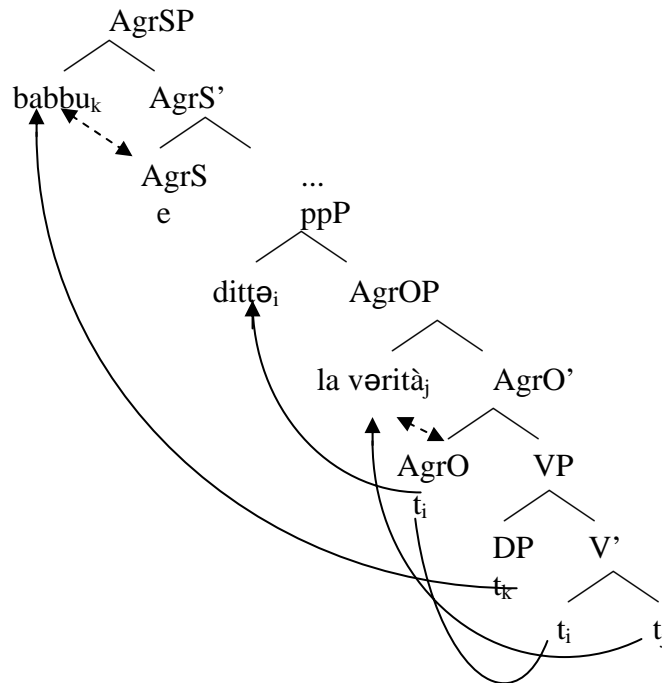
Let's take the sentence in (13a) again:

- (13) a. Babbu e dditte la vèrità
dad-m sg is-3rd sg said-pp neu the-f sg truth-f sg
'Dad told the truth'

- I. The object agrees with the pp in Spec, AgrO
II. The subject agrees with the aux in Spec, AgrS

How do we end up with the -ə ending?

(29)



Two different heads are responsible for agreement--> how does the \emptyset end up on the past participle?

How can the past participle "see" the subject?

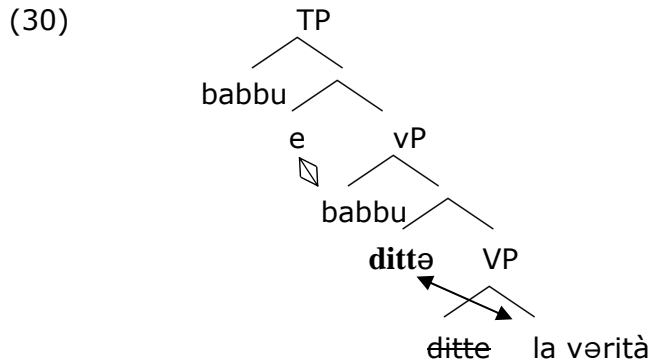
2.2. CHOMSKY (2001) DBP PROBE-GOAL AGREE

Brief recap:

- (i) Agree is not symmetric, but an **asymmetric** relation between a Probe and a Goal. The Probe has uF features while the Goal has 'matching' iF features. Agree eliminates the uF features on the Probe by 'valuing' them and 'removing them'/'spelling them out phonologically'. Valuing is **unification** of the values of the features.
- (ii) uF features have ATTRIBUTES WITH EMPTY VALUES in their feature structures, i.e. [F: $_$], while iF features have attributes with specified values, [F:x].
- (iii) Conditions on the Probe-Goal relation:
 1. Probe and Goal must be sufficiently **LOCAL** to each other (*Locality*) [CLOSEST C-COMMAND]
 2. Probe and Goal must be 'matched' in terms of attributes of features that enter into Agreement. However, match need not be identity. Specifically, the attributes on the Probe must **SUBSUME** those on the Goal. This allows the Probe to have a subset of the attributes on the Goal. Defective Probes do not block Probing by a non-local complete Probe (*Maximize Match*).

Same problem as upstairs:

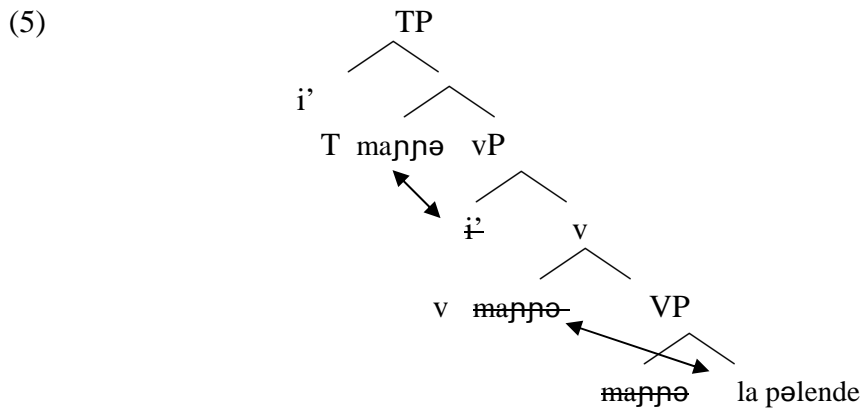
- (13) a. Babbu e dditə la vərità
 dad-m sg is-3rd sg said-past part neu the-f sg truth-f sg
 'Dad told the truth'



How do we express the feature mismatch between T and v?

In a simpler sentence this is even more straightforward:

- (31) I' maŋŋə le pələnde
 I-m sg eat-n the- f sg polenta- f sg
 'I eat the polenta'



v Agrees with the object, T Agrees with the subject

WORKING HYPOTHESIS:

- ① We need to express a condition on feature uniformity on two different heads

or

- ② one head has to "see" two Goals [Multiple Agree]

① how would these two heads see each other?

② if a Probe Agrees with a ϕ -complete object how can it still Probe? [Cyclic Agree? We'll come back to this later]

2.3. CONCORD OR FEATURE CHECKING?

- (32) a. Agree-check is a matching relation under which feature checking takes place.
b. Agree-concord is a matching relation under which no feature checking takes place. [from Di Sciullo 2005:189]

Concord = Match of valued features

Concord = feature spread

- (33) La bella casa rossa
the-f sg beautiful-f sg house- f sg red-f sg
'The beautiful red house'

This Concord is the original feature checking.

Would it help here?

Not really: we have a feature mismatch marker; no feature copying

Before the "solution": a short note on Multiple Agree

2.4. MULTIPLE AGREE

Recall:

AGREE is a syntactic feature-checking operation which eliminates the 'feature-movement' part of ATTRACT (cf. Chomsky 1995).

uFs of a probe α and a goal β are erased under the structural relation (1), subject to the Matching Condition (2):

- (34) AGREE
 $\alpha > \beta$
AGREE (α , β), where α is a probe and β is a matching goal, '>' is a c-command relation and uninterpretable features of α and β are checked/deleted.
(Chomsky 2000, MI)

- (35) *Match*

- a. Matching is feature identity.
b. D(P) is the sister of P.
c. Locality reduces to 'closest c-command' (Chomsky 2000:122)

What happens if the closest c-commanded element is inactive? Can α still Agree with γ if an intervening inactive β is present?

NO.

DEFECTIVE INTERVENTION CONSTRAINT

(36) The Defective Intervention Constraint

$\alpha > \beta > \gamma$

(*AGREE (α , γ), α is a probe and β is a matching goal, and β is inactive due to a prior Agree with some other probe.)

Checked features still matter for locality

However, syntactic operations are taken to happen SIMULTANEOUSLY within the same phase. The DIC is a representational constraint.

Hiraiwa (2000, 2001), Ura (2000)

(37) MULTIPLE AGREE (multiple feature checking) with a single probe is a single simultaneous syntactic operation; AGREE applies to all the matched goals at the same derivational point *derivationally simultaneously*. MULTIPLE MOVE (movement of multiple goals into multiple specifiers of the same probe H) is also a single simultaneous syntactic operation that applies to all the AGREEd goals.

MULTIPLE AGREE IS A SINGLE SIMULTANEOUS OPERATION

$\alpha > \beta > \gamma$

(AGREE (α , β , γ), where α is a probe and both β and γ are matching goals for α .)

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