

# NON ROMANCE FEATURES IN ITALO-ROMANCE. A LOOK INTO SOUTHERN ITALIAN DIALECTS

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## 0. INTRODUCTION

### ISSUE

Some non prototypically Romance features in Upper Southern Italian Dialects (USIDs)

### PROPOSAL

Parameterization on the locus of Person

### BACK TO SQUARE 0

'We have considered four functional categories: T, C, D, and Agr. The first three have Interpretable features providing "instructions" at either or both interface levels. Agr does not; it consists of -Interpretable formal features only. We therefore have fairly direct evidence from interface relations about T, C, and D, but not Agr. Unlike the other functional categories, Agr is present only for theory-internal reasons'

[Chomsky 1995:349]

### INGREDIENTS

I. 'OMNIVOROUS' NUMBER in Abruzzese (Arielli, CH)

II. PERSON-DRIVEN AUXILIARY SELECTION in Upper Southern Italian dialects (USIDs)

III. SUBJECT CLITICS AND AUXILIARY SELECTION

## 0. 1. AGREEMENT RESTRICTIONS

### PERSON

Restrictions on PERSON combinations and/or the occurrence of some specific person [PCC, quirky datives, impersonal *se*, agreement displacement, ...] [Perlmutter 1971, Bonet 1991, Anagnostopoulou 2005, Bejar & Rezac 2009, D'Alessandro 2007, D'Alessandro *et al.* 2008]

### NUMBER

No restrictions on NUMBER combinations, BUT some languages show preference for agreement with the plural argument of transitive verbs - OMNIVOROUS NUMBER [D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010, Nevins 2010]

### *Omnivorous Agreement:*

A scenario where the marked member of a given agreement paradigm (e.g. a marker of plurality) can be triggered by the relevant feature whether it appears on the subject or on the object, or both. [Nevins 2010]

- (1)
- a. Giuwanne a pittate nu mure [Arielli, CH]  
 John-sg has-3rd.sg/pl painted-pp.sg a wall  
 ‘John has painted a wall’ [sg SUBJ-sg OBJ]
- b. Giuwanne a pittite ddu mure  
 John-sg has-3rd.sg painted-pp.pl two walls-pl  
 ‘John has painted two walls’ [sgSUBJ-plOBJ]
- c. 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]
- d. Giuwanne e Mmarije a pittite ddu mure  
 John and Mary-pl have-3rd.sg/pl painted-pp.pl two walls  
 ‘John and Mary have painted two walls’ [pl SUBJ-pl OBJ]

[D’Alessandro &amp; Roberts (2010:45)]

## GENDER

- (2) a. Babbu dice le verità [Ripatransone, AP]  
 dad-m sg says-3rd sg neu the-f sg truth-f sg  
 ‘Dad says the truth’
- b. Mamme e kkotte li makkaru’  
 mum- f sg is-3rd sg cooked- pp neu the- m pl pasta- m pl  
 ‘Mum cooked pasta’  
 [Mancini 1993: 107]

OBSERVATION: Argument agreement mismatches are quite frequent in ergative languages

2 languages: Kaqchikel and K’ichee’ [Mayan languages of the Quichean branch] [Preminger 2011:8]

- head-marking languages—no case-morphology on noun-phrases
- have an ergative agreement pattern
- in the Agent-Focus construction, the Quichean languages exhibit *omnivorous agreement* in [person] features—or *omnivorous person*

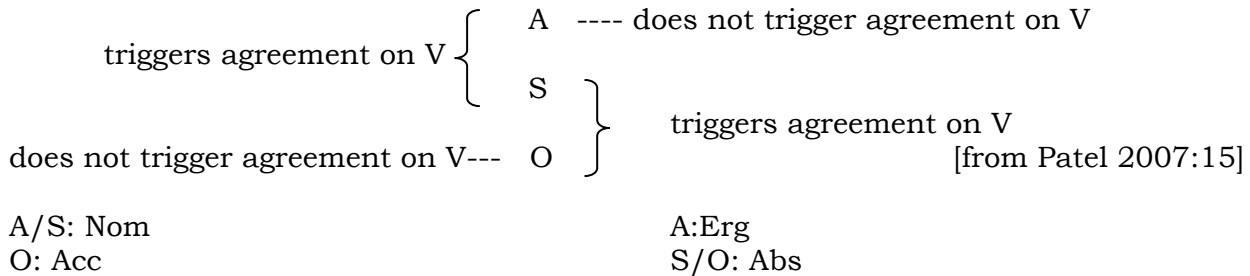
- (3) [Kaqchikel]
- ja rat x-at-etzela-n ri achin  
 FOC you(sg.) PRFV-2sg.ABS-hate-AF the man  
 ‘It was you(sg.) that hated the man.’
- ja ri achin x-at-etzela-n rat  
 FOC the man PRFV-2sg.ABS-hate-AF you(sg.)  
 ‘It was the man that hated you(sg.)’

Whether the *2nd-person* argument is the subject or the object, the verb carries the “-at-” (“2abs”) agreement morpheme

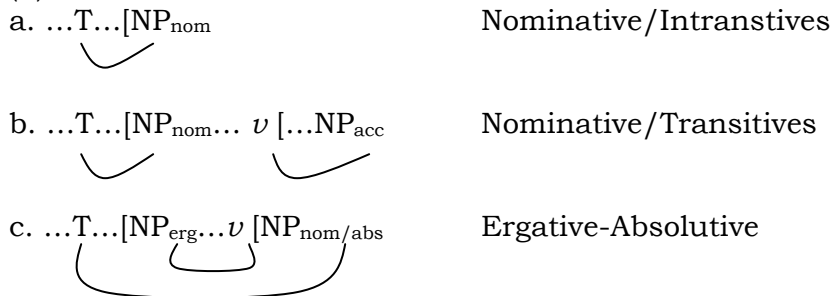
0.2. ERGATIVITY

*Nominative/accusative system*

*ergative/absolutive system*



ERGATIVE/NOMINATIVE CASE ASSIGNMENT [Mahajan (1993), Nash (1995), ...in Bobaljik 2007:8]  
(4)



1. MODELLING AGREEMENT MISMATCHES

Some background considerations

- Many ergative languages present some form of agreement displacement/restriction/mismatch [Basque (Rezac 2008, Bejar & Rezac 2009 a.o.), Kutchi Gujarati (Patel 2007, 2010), Kaqchikel and K'ichee (Preminger 2011)...]
- In Marathi, Kham, Yup'ik, Warlpiri a transitive verb carries the agreement morphemes corresponding to the two arguments
- Nevins (2010): DO/IO agreement restrictions are more frequent than SU/OB ones because the two elements are IN THE SAME DOMAIN

What's so special with ergative languages?

- Ergative case is assigned only when an object is present (dependent case). T targets the IA → extended agreement domain, which includes EA and IA [see also Cocchi 1999 for a reverse view on ergativity whereby both T and v are responsible for agreement marking on the V in some ergative languages but not in Nom/Acc languages, where both obligatory case and subjecthood are controlled by T]

- A. THEORETICAL QUESTION: Is agreement mismatch related to ergativity?
- B. TYPOLOGICAL QUESTION: Are USIDs ergative then?

D'Alessandro (2011a)

A. ANSWER: NO

It is only the extension of the agreement domain which allows the emergence of agreement mismatch phenomena [see Müller (2004), (2010) for a definition of ergativity in terms of order of elementary operations]

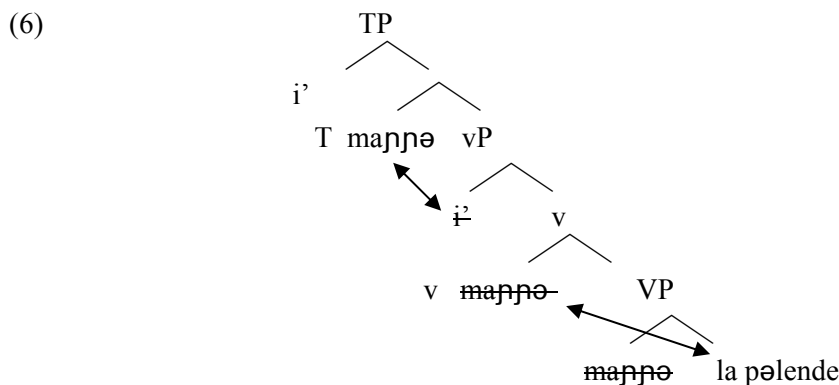
B. ANSWER: NO

But USIDs have a **complex  $\nu$**  field which 'extends' the agreement domain of V

1.1. THE ANALYSIS

Consider again the RT data.

(5) I'                    mappə            le                    pələnde  
       I-m sg eat-n            the- f sg            polenta- f sg  
       'I eat the polenta'



$\nu$  Agrees with the object, T Agrees with the subject. How do we express the feature mismatch between T and  $\nu$ ?

Working hypothesis:

① We need to express a condition on feature uniformity on two different heads  
 [But how would the two heads see each other?]

OR

② one head has to "see" two Goals [Multiple Agree]  
 [But if a Probe Agrees with a  $\varphi$ -complete IA how can it still Probe?]

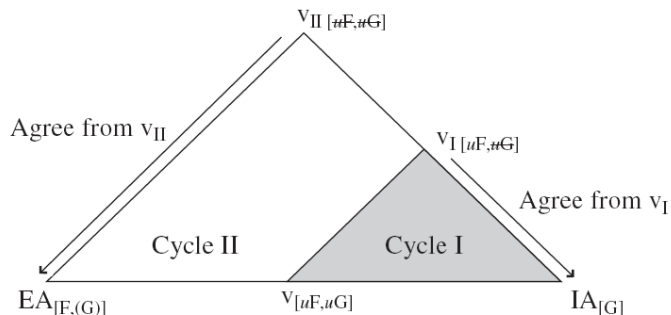
Solution: ① + ②: one complex head (extra probing features)

1.1.1. CYCLIC AGREE? (Béjar & Rezac 2009, Rezac 2007, 2008)

Assumptions [from Béjar & Rezac 2009, 7; 12]:

- $\pi$ -features (i.e.  $\varphi$ -features) are articulated into a set of hierarchically organized features, each of which can Agree independently

- any Probe on  $v$  will first seek match in the object first Merged with  $v$ , the VP, because of the Earliness Principle (probe as early as possible - Pesetsky&Torrego 2001)
  - upon subsequent Merge of the EA and further projection of  $v$  [Spec,  $v$ ] falls into the domain of any remaining probe on  $v$  because  $v$ 's is the sister of the new projection under Bare Phrase Structure
  - Cyclic expansion of the search space
- (7)



**Figure 3**

Cyclic expansion of the search space

[from Béjar & Rezac 2009: 48]

Applying B&R's cyclic Agree to RT:

$v$  Agrees with the IA. The IA is fully valued  $\Rightarrow$  no need to expand the search space.

However: B&R also must postulate the existence of a higher  $v$  Probe  $\Rightarrow$  extension of the agreement domain [see also Preminger's 2011 analysis of Quichean and in Mayan as requiring low Person and Number projections]

$\rightarrow$  EXTRA PROBE NEEDED

1.1.2. GREEDY PROBE?

There could be a 'greedy' Probe which does not stop probing even after all its unvalued features have been value.

(8)  $[T_{[up, un, ug]} \dots [EA_{[p, n, g]} v [\dots IA_{[p, n, g]}]$

⏟

TWO PROBLEMS:

- i. we might need a defective  $v$  (not the case in these varieties, with pp agreement with the IA)
- ii. if we postulate a 'delayed' Agree, we wouldn't be able to account for so-called absolute participles:

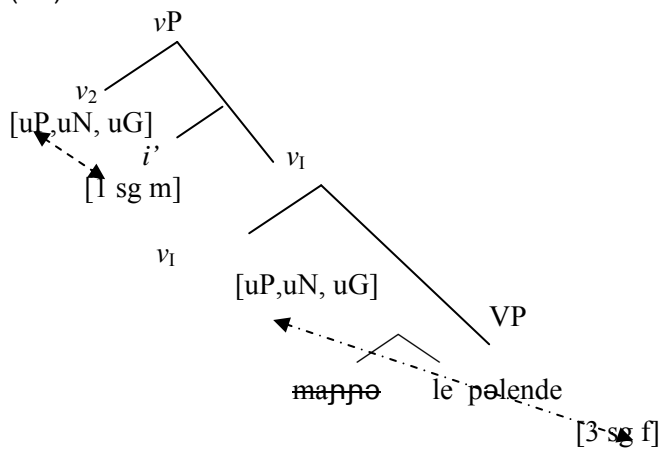
(9) liggiute li                    libbre,                    Marije se n'a                    jite                    [Abruzzese]  
 read-pl the-pl                    books-pl                    Mary self cl-has                    gone  
 'After reading the books, Mary went away'

1.1.3. MULTI-PROBE

How it works

(10) I'                    mappə            le            pələnde  
       I-m sg            eat-n            the- f sg            polenta- f sg  
       'I eat the polenta'

(11)



v<sub>1</sub> [3 sg f] } \*! → late insertion of schwa at PF  
 v<sub>2</sub> [1sg m] }

1.1.3.1. SHARE

The feature content is shared between the two heads

Cf. Ouali's (2008) SHARE, Schoorlemmer's (2009) SHARE, D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010, D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010, Miyagawa 2011 INHERITANCE of valued features

- split the heads;
- feature inheritance, Chomsky 2005 AND
- retain a copy on the phase head–SHARE (Ouali 2008):

(12) SHARE

Transfer Φ-features from C to T and keep a copy.

[Ouali 2008: 169]

v<sub>1</sub>-v<sub>2</sub> are in a SHARE relation: [ups, unr, ugn] are SHARED between the two heads; SHARE can only apply if the two heads constitute a UNIT. In this case there has to be UNIFORMITY OF VALUES between the two v's (see Anagnostopoulou 2005):

(13) CONDITION ON MULTIPLE AGREE

Multiple Agree can only take place under non-conflicting feature specifications of the agreeing elements

[Anagnostopoulou 2005:219]

Feature value mismatch on  $\nu \Rightarrow$  Postsyntactic insertion of the neuter ending  $-\text{\ae}$  to mark the mismatch

1.1.4. MORE AGREEMENT DISPLACEMENT PHENOMENA

The pp agreement pattern of Abruzzese is also a form of *omnivorous agreement*

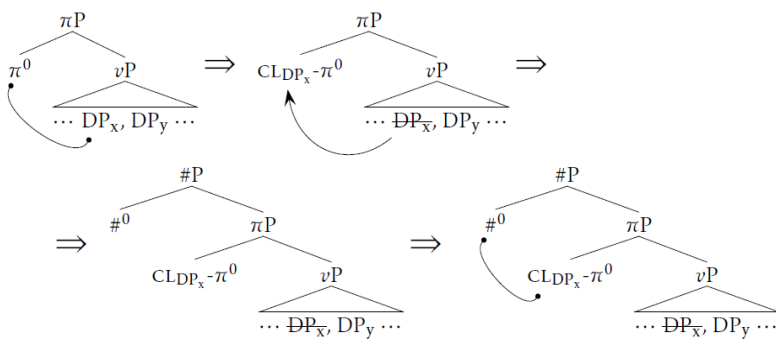
Recall:

(14)

- a. Giuwan $\text{\ae}$  a pittat $\text{\ae}$  nu mur $\text{\ae}$   
 John-sg has-3rd.sg/pl painted-pp.sg a wall  
 ‘John has painted a wall’ [sg subj-sg obj]
- b. Giuwan $\text{\ae}$  a pittit $\text{\ae}$  ddu mur $\text{\ae}$   
 John-sg has-3P<sup>rdP</sup> sg painted-pp pl two walls  
 ‘John has painted two walls’ [sg subj-pl obj]
- c. Giuwan $\text{\ae}$  e Mmarij $\text{\ae}$  a pittit $\text{\ae}$  nu mur $\text{\ae}$   
 John and Mary-pl have-3rd.sg/pl painted-pp.pl a wall  
 ‘John and Mary have painted a wall’ [pl subj – sg obj]
- d. Giuwan $\text{\ae}$  e Mmarij $\text{\ae}$  a pittit $\text{\ae}$  ddu mur $\text{\ae}$   
 John and Mary-pl have-3P<sup>rdP</sup> sg/pl painted-pp.pl two walls  
 ‘John and Mary have painted two walls’ [pl subj -pl obj]

2. WHAT IS A MULTIPROBE?

(15) Person probe [Preminger 2011:13] ( $\pi$ )



(regardless of whether  $DP_x$  is the SUBJECT or the OBJECT)

- EXTRA PROBE NEEDED
- OBSERVE THAT THE EXTRA PROBE IS REALIZED AS A CLITIC

D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010): Person on *v* licenses the subject in Abruzzese

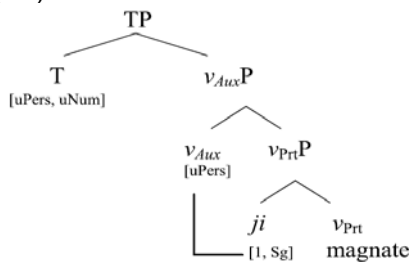
Split Aux Selection: *vAux* in EA has an unvalued Person feature

(16)

Abruzzese unergative			
1st sg	ji I	so' am-1st sg	fatijate worked-pp sg
2nd sg	tu you	si are-2nd sg	fatijate worked-pp sg
3rd sg	esse she	a has-3rd sg	fatijate worked-pp sg
1st pl	nu we	seme are-1st pl	fatijite worked-pp pl
2nd pl	vu you-pl	sete are-2nd pl	fatijite worked-pp pl
3rd pl	jisse they	a have-3rd pl	fatijite worked-pp pl

[D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010]

(17)



[D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010:54]

What do USIDs and ergative languages have in common? At least an extra *P* feature in the *v* field

Extra person: where do we see it?

BE = 1/2 person

HAVE = 3 person

BE and HAVE are also inflected for person  
We have the information about person TWICE

So' = sono

BE = (1/2) + inflection (1)

2 times person: in *v* (or in the *v* field) and in T

What about NIDs?

(18) La Maria la magna  
the Mary SCL eats  
'Mary eats'

Do we have an extra P feature in *v*? No

But we have it in the C-T field: that's the subject clitic [Poletto 2000, Manzini & Savoia 2005]

CLAIM: SUBJECT CLITICS AND 'SPLIT' AUXILIARIES ARE THE SAME THING: THE RESULT OF AN EXTRA P HEAD

### 2.1. 2ND SG

Tendency: 2<sup>nd</sup> person clitics are most common

If a language has only a SCL, it will be the 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> person) [Renzi & Vanelli 1983]

However: Manzini & Savoia (2005, I:118-119) show that this generalization is too strong. In particular there are dialects exhibiting a dedicated clitic for 3rd person (Stroppio/Macra/Pradleves, S. Pietro Val Grana, Acceglio, Vermiglio-Val di Sole, Livo -Val di Non, Tuenno -Val di Non, S. Maria M., Coimo)

Refined generalization: Manzini & Savoia (2005: 119): "[...]per quanto riguarda il paradigma delle forme a denotazione specializzata P, notiamo che se una sola di tali forme è lessicalizzata, questa corrisponde alla 2ps".

Where P= 1/2 only

For our purposes: If a language has only one occurrence of BE, will it be then 2<sup>nd</sup> person?

Manzini & Savoia (2005: 728 -(79)): this prediction is borne out.

What happens in those varieties that have both SCL and split aux selection?  
Complementary distribution?  
Sometimes [Tersmette 2010]

- possible relation with discourse linking (Migliori 2011, Manzini & Savoia 2011).

PERSON-DRIVEN AUXILIARY SELECTION IS A CLITIC IN THE *V* FIELD.

### 2.1. WHAT ABOUT NUMBER?

SCL also have a number 'site' [Poletto 2000, Manzini & Savoia 2005]

USIDs: number and gender also create mismatches, so there are also number and person projections in the *v* field

## 2.2. WHAT ABOUT OBJECT CLITICS?

Object clitics are claimed to be ‘base-generated’ in the *v* field. OK

USIDs/ergative varieties have extra probes in the *v* field that target the EA – and license it.

## 2.3. EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FOR A SPLIT VP: COMPLEX AUXILIARIES

Auxiliaries and double auxiliaries (D’Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010):

- (19) So’      ’vé                      parlatə                      [Arielli, CH]  
 BE-1sg. HAVE-past.impf. spoken  
 ‘I had spoken’
- (20) S’                      avaveme                      parlatə  
 BE-1st/2nd HAVE-past.imp. 1st.pl                      spoken  
 ‘We had spoken’

- Two auxiliaries on two *v*’s
- The high aux is the extra Probe (P)

## 3. HOW DO WE GET THERE?

### 3.1. FEATURE HIERARCHY

Müller (2010)

- All syntactic operations are feature driven
- Also External Merge is triggered by features [subcategorization features]
- two types of features:
  - [**F•**] = structure-building features [edge features and subcategorization features]
  - [**\*F\***] = probe features [ $\phi$ -features, triggering Agree]
- Features on lexical items are ordered

Example: Transitive *v* has two subcategorization features: [**V•**] and [**D•**]

These features are hierarchically organized: [**V•**] > [**D•**]

*v* discharges first the [**V•**] feature by Merge (*v*, VP), then the [**D•**] feature by Merge (*v*}, DP)

Last resort

- (21) Every syntactic operation must discharge either [**F•**] or [**\*F\***]  
 Only features at the top of a feature list are accessible

Proposal (D’Alessandro 2011b)  
 RT and other SIDs have a richer feature set on *v* than the rest of Romance  
 Features in RT are ordered differently than in the rest of Romance

More specifically:

- subcategorization features are higher in the hierarchy in RT than probe features
- RT has a complex *v* [i.e. *v* has an additional [**V•**] feature

RT: [**•F•**] >>[\*F\*]

First build the spine, then Agree --> cf. Müller (2004) on ergative languages

(22)  $\nu_1$  in RT: [**•V•**] > [**•D•**] > [**•V•**] > [\*uP, uN, uG]

$\nu_1$	[ <b>•V•</b> ] = Merge with VP ①	{•build the spine! •}
	[ <b>•D•</b> ] = Merge with EA ②	{•build the spine! •}
	[ <b>•V•</b> ] = Merge with an extra $\nu B_{2B}$ [or split into two $\nu S$ ] ③	{•build the spine!• }
	[*uP, uN, uG*] = Agree ④	{*Agree!* }

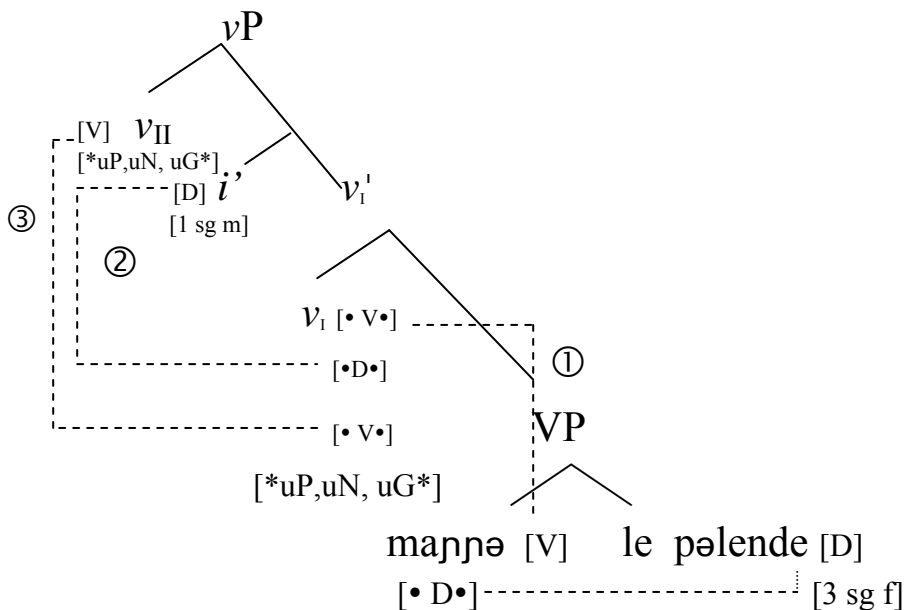
(23)  $\nu_2$  in RT: [**•V•**] > [\*uP, uN, uG]

$\nu_2$	[ <b>•V•</b> ] = Merge with T	{•build the spine! •}
	[*uP, uN, uG*] = Agree	{*Agree!* }

HOW IT WORKS [D'Alessandro 2011b]

(24) I'                    manɲə            le                    pələnde                    [Ripatransone]  
 I-m sg            eat-n            the- f sg            polenta- f sg  
 'I eat the polenta'

(25) {•BUILD THE SPINE! •}





when they agree with the matrix verb – technically, with its inflection.”

[Chomsky 1981: 52]

The sentence is a projection of INFL. But what exactly IS in INFL?

In particular, what is AGR made up of?

Recall: AGR (nominal) and INFL (verbal) are both in INFL (Chomsky 1981).

Two problems: a conceptual and an empirical one

[from Belletti 2001]

Conceptual problem (See also nanosyntax-Starke 2010): a single head should not be allowed to contain more than one feature. Every head should correspond to one morpheme; if it contains more, this should be the result of head movement incorporation.

Baker (1985)’s Mirror Principle:

(29) The Mirror Principle

Morphological derivations must directly reflect syntactic derivations (and vice versa)

[Baker 1985: 376]

Empirical problem: Emonds (1978), the position of V with respect to negation in English and French can be given a straightforward account in terms of Verb movement

Pollock (1989): The Split-Infl hypothesis

Position of the verb with respect to negation. GENERALIZATION: the verb moves in French but not in English:

(30) Jean n’aime pas Marie

(31) \*John likes not Mary

(32) John does not like Mary

(33) \*Jean ne pas aime Marie

[Pollock 1989 in Belletti 2001:484]

However:

(34) Jean essaye de rencontrer souvent Marie

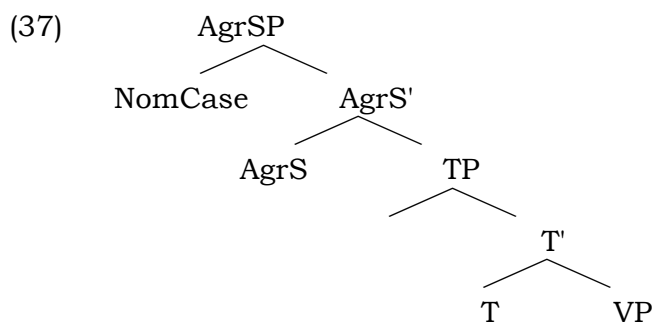
(35) Jean essaye de ne pas rencontrer souvent Marie

(36) \*Jean essaye de ne rencontrer pas Marie

So does the verb move in French or not?

Solution: there is more than one head inflectional position where the verb moves or does not move.

Proposed structure/ TENSE and AGREEMENT projections



The subject must move to Spec, AgrSP to receive Nominative Case.

→ We seem to have compelling evidence for a layered *v* (perhaps Agr wasn't so bad after all) [see also evidence from language acquisition in Guasti & Rizzi 2002 and Bošković 2004 for evidence based on floating quantifiers]

#### 4. T

T is defective in SIDs [no Spec, TP] [D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010]

(38) Je so ditte ca si nin funzione la machine  
her= I-am said caB1Bif not works thecar she-

ca Marije ocche le porte a lu meccaniche  
ca Maria ocche it= takes to the mechanic  
'I told her that, if her car won't work, that she should take it to the mechanic'

What about Nominative Case?

If *v*<sub>2</sub> is fully valued by the EA, does the EA still Agree with T for Nom?  
NO

- Nominative is assigned to the EA by *v* in SIDs [D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010] (like ergative in Ergative languages)
- Why don't we see Ergative case then?

Kutchi Gujarati (Patel 2010)

Kutchi Gujarati does not exhibit a case split (in contrast to Standard Gujarati, see Cardona (1965), which has ergative case in the perfective)

In other words: Kutchi Gujarati has Ergative alignment with Nominative/Accusative case!

- (39) Perfective
- a. Mary John-ne ad-y-o  
Mary John-acc touch-pfv-m.sg  
"Mary touched John"
  - b. John Mary-ne ad-y-i  
John Mary-acc touch-pfv-f.sg  
"John touched Mary"

#### 5. CONCLUSIONS

Agreement mismatch phenomena and auxiliary selection in USIDs are the reflex of an richer *v* field.

Maybe we should return to AGR after all.

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