

# MERGING PROBES AND THE LOCUS OF SYNTACTIC VARIATION. A CASE STUDY<sup>\*♦</sup>

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## 0. INTRODUCTION

- What is the locus of syntactic variation? Where is it encoded?
- Some Upper Southern Italian Dialects (USIDs) show non-(prototypically) Romance features. These features are more commonly found in ergative languages → USIDs can tell us something about the locus of syntactic variation.
- Auxiliary selection in USIDs is person-driven: what exactly does this mean? Is this the same kind of auxiliary that we find in other Romance varieties or is it different?
- Are USIDs still “Italian” from a typological point of view, or are they completely different?
- “[...]these facts follow is the agreement representation which characterizes the verb (and thus, in the clitic case, is inherited by the including phrase) is not necessarily isomorphic to its subcategorization or argument structure. In such cases, the exact collection of features that appears in the Morphosyntactic Representations triggering morphological Agreement and/or the introduction of special clitics is motivated *only in part* by the syntactic representation. Such a situation has sometimes been asserted to be impossible by those working in heavily syntactic theories of morphology, such as DM, but in fact it is not uncommon in the languages of the world” [Anderson 2005:245]

### 0.1. MACRO- AND MICROTYPOLGY OF HEAD MERGE

What are the consequences of merging a head endowed with  $\phi$  features ( $\pi$  henceforth) to the syntactic spine?

At least 3 logical possibilities:

[A. (vacuously),  $\pi$  is not merged at all] -> nothing happens ☺

B.  $\pi$  is a bundle of valued features

C.  $\pi$  is a bundle of unvalued features

Each of these 3 options create sub-options, having to do with the merging site of  $\pi$ . Specifically:

A1.  $\pi$  is not merged at all anywhere → no consequences

B1.  $\pi$  is valued and merged in the left periphery (between C and T; C-T henceforth)

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- B2.  $\pi$  is valued and merged in the  $\nu$ -field (T- $\nu$ )
- B3.  $\pi$  is valued and merged in the V field ( $\nu$ -V)

- C1.  $\pi$  is unvalued and merged in the left periphery (C-T)
- C2.  $\pi$  is unvalued and merged in the  $\nu$ -field (T- $\nu$ )
- C3.  $\pi$  is unvalued and merged in the V field ( $\nu$ -V)

Here, we concentrate on the B group vs the C group, and in detail on groups C1-C3.

## 0.2 OUTLINE

### 1. ABRUZZESE

### 2. PERSON SPLITS AND SPLIT AUXILIARY SELECTION

- 2.1. *AUXILIARY SELECTION AS SUBJECT DOUBLING [GROUP C2:  $\pi$  IN T-V]*
- 2.2. *SUBJECT CLITICS IN NORTHERN ITALIAN DIALECTS VS AUXILIARY SELECTION IN USIDS*

#### 2.3. *ANALYSES OF PERSON SPLITS*

### 3. EXTENDED DOMAIN VS SPLIT DOMAINS

- 3.1. *"GREEDY" PROBE?*
- 3.2. *CYCLIC AGREE?*

### 4. THE COMPLEX PROBE

#### 4.1. *WHAT IS A COMPLEX PROBE?*

### 5. A NOTE ON TAM-BASED SPLIT ERGATIVITY

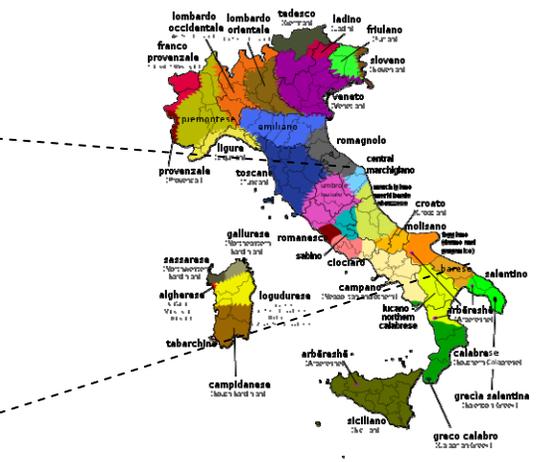
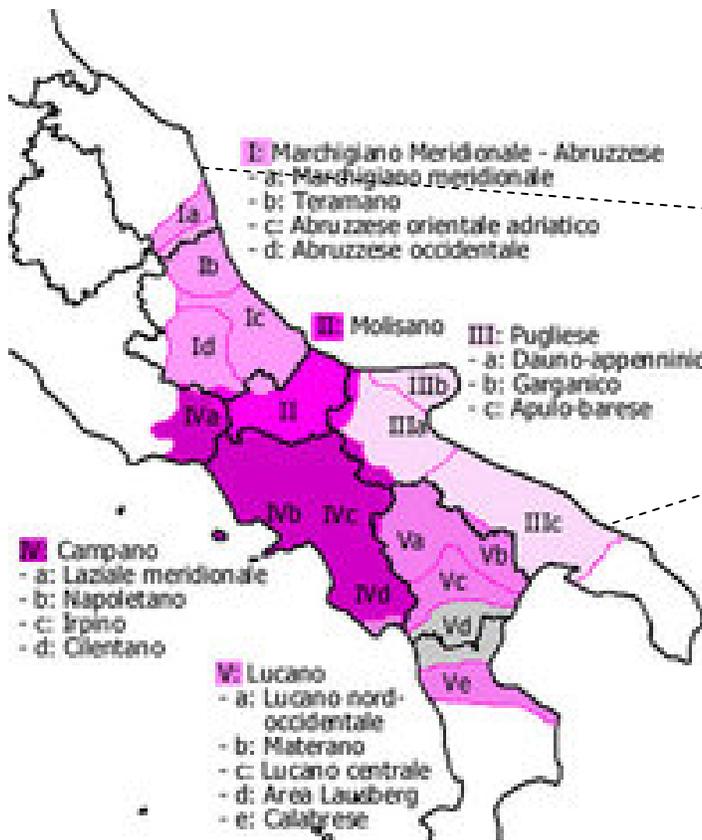
#### 5.1. *ERGATIVITY PATTERNS IN OLD VERNACULARS*

### 6. SPLIT DOM IN ABRUZZESE AND THE -KO MARKER IN HINDI

### 7. CONCLUSIONS

### 1. ABRUZZESE

Abruzzese is an Upper southern Italian dialect (USID), spoken in the Abruzzo region



**Focus: Ia,b,c,d**

Abruzzese is a Romance language, but, together with a group of USIDs, it displays very peculiar features:

A. SPLIT AUXILIARY SELECTION –selection of BE or HAVE depending on the subject person in the perfective [person split] (1)

(1)	(ji)So magnatə (I) am eaten “I have eaten” (tu) si magnatə you are eaten “You have eaten” (essə) a magnatə (s)he has eaten “(S)he has eaten”	BE  BE  HAVE	(nu) seme magnitə we are eaten “We have eaten” vu sete magnitə you.pl are eaten “You have eaten” (jissə) a magnitə they have eaten “They have eaten”	BE  BE  HAVE	[Ariellese]
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B. SPLIT DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING: prepositional accusative is only found with 1/2 person pronouns and not with 3rd person pronouns nor with full DPs [new!] in the perfective (2-4)

- (2) so viste a tte [Ariellese]  
am-1sg seen to you  
‘I have seen you’
- (3) seme viste a vu  
are-1pl to you  
‘We have seen you’
- (4) \*so viste a Marije/ a jisse  
am-1sg seen to Mary

C. “OMNIVOROUS” PARTICIPIAL AGREEMENT in NUMBER (5); AGREEMENT MISMATCH (6); TOPIC-ORIENTED AGREEMENT (7)

C1. “OMNIVOROUS” PARTICIPIAL AGREEMENT in NUMBER [extended agreement domain for the V]

- (5) a. Giuwanne a pittate nu mure [Ariellese]  
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 & Roberts (2010:45)]

C2. AGREEMENT MISMATCH

- (6) a. Babbu dicə le verità [Ripano]  
dad-m.sg says-3rd.sg.n the-f.sg truth-f.sg  
‘Dad told the truth’ [Mancini 1993: 107]
- b. So magnatə lu pani’  
am eaten-n the-m.sg breadroll-m.sg  
‘I(fem) have eaten the breadroll’

vs

- |    |                            |    |                            |
|----|----------------------------|----|----------------------------|
| c. | i'so risu (I laughed-masc) | d. | ia so rise (I laughed-fem) |
|    | tu sci risu                |    | tu si rise                 |
|    | issu e risu                |    | esse e rise                |
|    | noja semi risi             |    | noja sema risa             |
|    | voja seti risi             |    | voja seta risa             |
- [Rossi 2008:3]

C3. TOPIC-ORIENTED AGREEMENT

- (7) a. Aje cciosə li pellistrə [Sanvalentinense]  
 have-1st.sg killed-sg.masc the-pl.masc chickens-pl.masc  
 'I have killed the chickens'<sup>1</sup>
- b. Ajə ccisə li pellistrə  
 have-1st.sg killed-pl masc the-pl.masc chickens-pl.masc  
 'I have killed the chickens'

2. PERSON SPLITS AND SPLIT AUXILIARY SELECTION

Person splits are found in split-ergative languages (marking of 1/2 as Nom-Acc)

- (8) erg-abs || non erg  
 inanimates >>natural>> animates>> humans>> proper names>> 3>> 1/2  
 [from Silverstein 1976 in Coon & Preminger 2012]

Pattern in ergative languages with person split:

- 1/2 person [Nom-Acc pattern]  
 3rd person [erg pattern] [Silverstein (1976)]  
 Ergative pattern to the lower ranked category

- (9) [Halkomelen Salish]

Table 3. Predicate-argument agreement is sensitive to transitivity

	object agreement	transitive subject agr.	intransitive subject agr.
1 sg	<i>ox</i>		<i>tsel</i>
pl	<i>oxw</i>		<i>tset</i>
2 sg	<i>ome</i>		<i>chexw</i>
pl	<i>ole</i>		<i>chap</i>
3 sg	$\emptyset$	<i>es</i>	$\emptyset$

[Wiltshko 2008:292]

“Ergative” agreement only in the 3rd person – the S of the transitive verb agrees with the verb in the 3rd person

<sup>1</sup> Apologies for the gruesome examples, which were uttered spontaneously by a dialect speaker.

(10)

**Nez Perce** (Penutian, Plateau Penutian, Sahaptin): case marking

	1st	2nd	3rd
A	nominative	nominative	Ergative
S	nominative	nominative	unmarked
O	Accusative	Accusative	Accusative

[Van de Visser 2006: 275]

Not that split auxiliary selection in ergative languages: 'HAVE' (or the corresponding light verb) patterns with ergative agreement (Arregi 2004, Mahajan 1994, Cocchi 1995, 1997, 1999)

Person split in Abruzzese (in the perfective indicative):

(11)

(ji)So magnatə (I) am eaten "I have eaten"	BE	(nu) seme magnitə we are eaten "We have eaten"	BE	[Ariellese]
(tu) si magnatə you are eaten "You have eaten"	BE	vu sete magnitə you.pl are eaten "You have eaten"	BE	
(essə) a magnatə (s)he has eaten "(S)he has eaten"	HAVE	(jissə) a magnitə they have eaten "They have eaten"	HAVE	

THIS IS AUXILIARY SELECTION! OR IS IT?

PROPOSAL: Auxiliary selection in Abruzzese is subject doubling (i.e. it indicates subject agreement with the verb).

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

Long discussion about the nature of clitics: are they pronouns or feature bundles?

[See Anderson (2005) for a lengthy discussion on argument clitics; see also Zwicky (1977), Zwicky & Pullum (1983), Poletto (2000), Manzini & Savoia (2005), and Roberts (2010) a.o. on subject clitics]

A recent example: Arregi & Nevins (2012):

morphemes on the aux cross-referencing abs, erg & dative [in Basque]. Laka (1993), Fernández & Albizu (2000), Rezac (2003): these are inflectional morphemes. Arregi & Nevins: they are pronominal clitics. Same holds for Abruzzese BE/HAVE.

1/2 are MARKED by means of the auxiliary BE

Shall we say that there is a 1/2 Nom-Acc vs a 3 erg alignment in Abruzzese? Not really, argument alignments are not visible because Abruzzese is a Nominative-Accusative language. We are really talking about a different instantiation of person split, CAUSED by the same element (a head in the T-v field). [Why this ergativity story? → later.]

2.1. AUXILIARY SELECTION AS SUBJECT DOUBLING [GROUP C2: II IN T-V]

THE SETUP OF AUXILIARIES: ITALIAN VS ABRUZZESE

- |      |  |   |           |
|------|--|---|-----------|
| (12) | a. Mattia ha mangiato<br>M. has eaten                            | a'. Voi avete mangiato<br>you-pl have eaten | [Italian] |
|      | b. Mattia è cresciuto<br>M. is grown                             | b'. voi siete cresciuti<br>you-pl are grown |           |
|      | c. Mattia ha lavorato<br>M. has worked                           | c'. voi avete lavorato<br>you have worked   |           |
|      | 'Mattia has eaten/grown/worked' 'You-pl have eaten/grown/worked' |   |           |

- |      |  |  |             |
|------|--|--|-------------|
| (13) | a. Matte' a magnate<br>M. has eaten                              | a'. Vu sete magnite<br>you-pl have eaten   | [Ariellese] |
|      | b. Matte' a crisciute<br>M. has grown                            | b'. vu sete crisciute<br>you-pl have grown |             |
|      | c. Matte' a fatijate<br>M. has worked                            | c. vu sete fatijite<br>you have worked     |             |
|      | 'Mattia has eaten/grown/worked' 'You-pl have eaten/grown/worked' |  |             |

The information that the Italian auxiliary expresses, morphologically, is the following:

- a. transitivity [HAVE]; inergativity [HAVE]; unaccusativity [BE]
- b. person and number of the subject of the transitive, unergative or unaccusative verb [-a vs -ete<sup>2</sup>]
- c. present tense [which combined with the perfective past participle results in a present perfect]

The information that the Abruzzese auxiliary conveys is instead the following:

- a. the subject is 1/2 person [BE] vs the subject is 3rd person [HAVE]
- b. person and number of the subject of the transitive, unergative or unaccusative verb [-a vs -ete]
- c. perfectivity and non-*irrealis* (indicative mood)

IF MORPHOLOGY MEANS SOMETHING:

- |      |        |             |                |        |              |               |
|------|--------|-------------|----------------|--------|--------------|---------------|
| (14) | a.     | [pers]      | [pers, nr]     | b.     | root         | [pers, nr]    |
|      | So =   | s (be=1/2)  | + -o (1.sg)    | face   | = f ('do')   | + acce (1.sg) |
|      | si =   | s (be =1/2) | + - i (2.sg)   | fi     | = f ('do')   | + -i (2.sg)   |
|      | a =    | a (have =3) | + a (3)        | fa     | = f ('do')   | + -a (3)      |
|      | semə = | s (be =1/2) | + -emə (1.pl)  | facemə | = fac ('do') | + -emə (1.pl) |
|      | setə = | s (be =1/2) | + - etə (2.pl) | facetə | = fac ('do') | + -etə (2.pl) |
|      | a =    | a (have =3) | + a (3)        | fa     | = f ('do')   | + - a (3)     |

<sup>2</sup> Observe that both BE and HAVE are irregular verbs with highly suppletive paradigms. I will take -a to indicate a generic 3rd person singular ending; while -ete indicates a generic 2nd person plural ending; in this sense, -a also characterises è.

BE = 1/2 person “clitic”

HAVE = no person (possibly no clitic)

The auxiliary forms *be* and *have* are also inflected for person through the paradigm → We have the information about person TWICE

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

→ PERSON-DRIVEN AUXILIARY SELECTION IS A CLITIC IN THE V FIELD  
[D'Alessandro 2010b, 2011, 2012].

If we talk about subject clitics, we must refer to Northern Italian dialects.

Let's take a look:

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

SCL: person features in the C-T field [Poletto 2000, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Roberts 2010]

CLAIM: SUBJECT CLITICS AND 'SPLIT' AUXILIARIES ARE THE SAME THING: THE RESULT OF AN EXTRA  $\Pi$  HEAD [GROUP C1:  $\Pi$  IN C-T]

FOR USIDS this head is in the *v* field

## 2.2. SUBJECT CLITICS IN NORTHERN ITALIAN DIALECTS VS AUXILIARY SELECTION IN USIDS

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 3<sup>rd</sup> 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”<sup>3</sup>. [but see Cennamo 2002,2008, Loporcaro 2007]

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?

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<sup>3</sup> “For what concerns the paradigm of those forms that are specialized as P, we observe that if we have only one lexicalised form, that will be 2ps”

Sometimes [Tersmette 2010, Torcolacci 2011]

- possible relation with discourse linking [Migliori 2011, Manzini & Savoia 2011].
- The clitic you see most frequently is 2nd person

Dialects that have both Aux split and Scl show a complementary distribution

→ BE is a person marker in SIDs. Be is NOT a separate aux, but it incorporates the person feature. In other words, BE is Aux+Participant.

(16)	a. (i)	sum	ɲi		[Cerano]
	SCl	am-1st sg	come		
	t	ε	ɲi		
	you-2SCl	are-2/3 sg	come		
	l	ε	ɲi		
	(s)he-3SCl	is 2/3 sg	come		
	<b>(i)</b>	suma/	<b>uma</b>	ɲi	
	SCl	are-1st pl	have-1st pl	come	
	si/	j	i	ɲi	
	are-2nd pl	you-SCl	have-2nd pl	come	
	i	in	ɲi		
	SCl	are-3rd pl	come		
	'I/you/(s)he... have come'				[Manzini & Savoia 2005, III:10]

(17)	sum/i	ɔ	drumi		
	am/ SCl	have	slept-sg		
	t	ε	drumi		
	you-SCl	are-2/3sg	slept-sg		
	l	ε	drumi		
	(s)he-3SCl	is-2/3sg	slept-sg		
	<b>(i)</b>	suma/	<b>i</b>	uma	drumy
	SCl	are-1st pl	SCl	have-1st pl	slept-pl
	si/	i	i	drumy	
	are-2nd pl	SCl	are- 2nd sg	slept-pl	
	i	in	drumy		
	SCl	are-3rd pl	slept-pl		[Manzini & Savoia 2005, III:10]

Cerano: the clitic is obligatory with HAVE and not with BE (because BE is a “clitic” itself).

What we take: a probe  $\pi$  in T- $\nu$

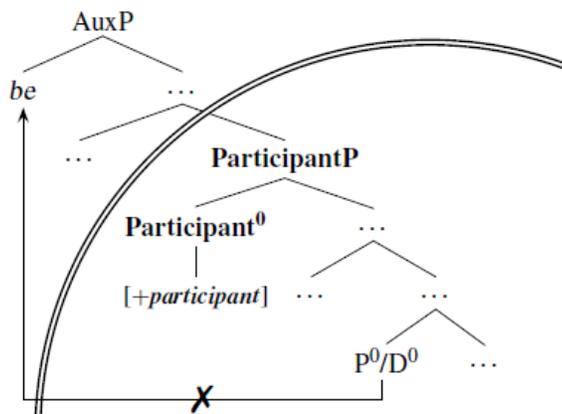
Is this head DIFFERENT from the aux head? NO (in Abruzzese).  $\pi$  is on the auxiliary.

2.3. ANALYSES OF PERSON SPLITS

Recent analysis: Coon & Preminger (2012)/Torrego (2012) (based on Laka's 2006 biclausal analysis for Basque *ari* sentences): in TAM-driven split ergativity there is an extra head (aspectual) which splits the *v* domain; there is only one argument per cycle; that argument gets the only case in the cycle.

They extend this to person splits: an extra head (person licenser) splitting the domain:

(18)



[Coon and Preminger 2012]

Coon & Preminger: 1/2 are marked with BE because the P/D head cannot incorporate into the aux head (forming have—Freeze 1992, Kayne 1993)

NB: for Coon & Preminger, the extra head is a participant head, licensing 1/2 pronouns in the clause (following Bejar & Rezac 2009).

[See also Cocchi 1995, 1997, 1999]: “the verb in Lummi appears in the passive form, which syntactically behaves as an unaccusative. Therefore the patient (1/2 pronoun) being THE SOLE REAL ARGUMENT of the sentence, moves to Spec(TP) and checks NOM Case, while the DP-agent, whose presence is no longer obligatory, eventually shows oblique case marking).[Cocchi 1999:114]

This cannot hold for Abruzzese though, because of the distribution of BE and HAVE:

- (19) a.   so            ‘ve            fattə            / so ‘ve magnitə lə maccarunə  
          am-1stsg    had-impf    done-sg            am had eaten-pl the spaghetti  
          ‘I had done’                                    ‘I had eaten spaghetti’
- b.   si            ‘ve            fattə / si    ‘ve magnitə le maccarunə  
          are-2ndsg    had-impf    done    are had eaten-pl the spaghetti
- c.   a            ‘ve    fatte /a    ve    magnitə    le maccarunə  
          has    had    done    has    had    eaten-pl    the spaghetti

Note that BE is higher than HAVE (contra Kayne) [→ we will return to the analysis of this later]

But Coon & Preminger are not totally wrong!

We are facing a parametric variation: the difference is in the “valuation status” of features [group B vs group C]

In fact: D'Alessandro (2010, 2011a,b) –almost exactly the same words:

“At least an extra  $\pi$  feature in the  $\nu$  field for Abruzzese”

We all got to the same conclusion starting from different data: the conclusion must be right  
☺

The difference is that  $\pi$  is a PROBE in Italian dialects, and it's a valued  $\varphi$ -bundle (or an aspectual head) in split-ergative languages.

group B: you see a real split  
group C: you are simply doubling the subject, but there's no disruption in Case alignment

Some extra facts:

A. 1/2 vs 3 is not always respected. We sometimes find a 2 vs all the rest, or even a 1 vs all the rest.

B. Parallelism in the distribution of BE and subject clitics in Northern Italian dialects (D'Alessandro 2011a).

C. While the external argument ONLY agrees with T, the verb (past participle) agrees with both arguments (we will come back to this)

### 3. EXTENDED DOMAIN VS SPLIT DOMAINS

#### Agreement

We have seen that the extra head actually does not BLOCK incorporation of P/D into Aux in Abruzzese.

So what does it do?

In Abruzzese the extra  $\pi$  enlarges the agreement space:

Abruzzese agreement patterns:

- (20) a. Giuwanne a pittate nu mure [Ariellese]  
 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 & Roberts (2010:45)]

(21) a. A tilifunite Marije e Giuwanne  
have-3rd.sg/pl telephoned-pl.pp Mary and John  
'Mary and John have called'

b. Sete tilifunite vu  
are-2rd.pl telephoned-pl.pp you-pl.  
'You(pl) have called'

(22) a. Babbu dicə le verità [Ripano]  
dad-m.sg says-3rd.sg.n the-f.sg truth-f.sg  
'Dad told the truth' [Mancini 1993: 107]

b. So magnate lu pani'  
am eaten-n the-m.sg breadroll-m.sg  
'I(fem) have eaten the breadroll'

San Valentino [PE]

(23) a. Aje cciosə li pellistrə [Sanvalentinese]  
have-1st.sg killed-sg.masc the-pl.masc chickens-pl.masc  
'I have killed the chickens'<sup>4</sup>

b. Ajə ccisə li pellistrə  
have-1st.sg killed-pl masc the-pl.masc chickens-pl.masc  
'I have killed the chickens'

In all these cases the participle “must see” both the subject and the object in order to agree with both/the most prominent

How does this agreement work?

### 3.1. “GREEDY” PROBE?

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

(24) [T<sub>[up, un, ug]</sub> ... [EA<sub>[p,n, g]</sub> v [...IA<sub>[p,n, g]</sub>]



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:

4 Apologies for the gruesome examples, which were uttered spontaneously by a dialect speaker.

(25) 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'

→ Greedy probe won't work

3.2. CYCLIC AGREE?

Bejar & Rezac (2009):

(26) Step 0: VP constructed as {V, {V, IA}}; v becomes locus

Step 1: Merge (v, VP) --> {v<sub>I</sub>, {v, {V, IA}}}

Step 2: Agree (v<sub>I</sub>, IA)

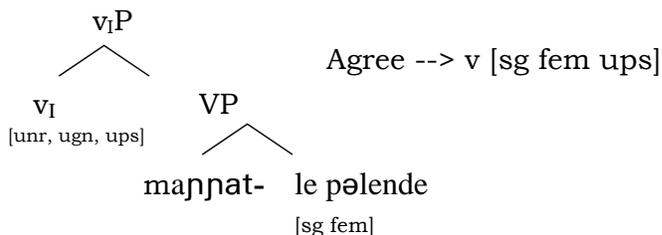
Step 3: Merge (vP, EA) --> {v<sub>II</sub>, {EA, {v<sub>I</sub>, {v{V, {V, IA}}}}}}

Step 4: Agree (v<sub>II</sub>, EA), if there is still a probe on v<sub>II</sub>

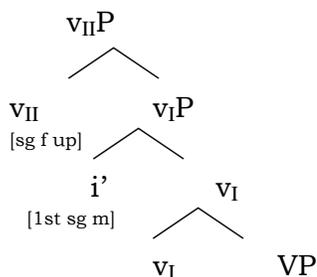
Let's try this against Ripano data:

(27) I' so maɲnatə le pələnde  
 I-m sg am eaten-n the- f sg polenta- f sg  
 'I eat the polenta'

- Merge (le pələnde; V)
- Merge (VP; v)
- Merge (v, la pələnde)



- Merge (v, i')
- Merge (v<sub>II</sub>, v<sub>I</sub>P)<sup>5</sup>
- Merge (v<sub>II</sub>, i')



At this point, even if we wanted to assume that a 3rd person feature is no person, our main problem is gender: we'd need to assume that gender reprobes, or that there is an extrinsic hierarchy deciding whether gender is different or the same. ☹

<sup>5</sup> I indicate with v<sub>II</sub> the reprojection of v after merging the external argument.

#### 4. THE COMPLEX PROBE

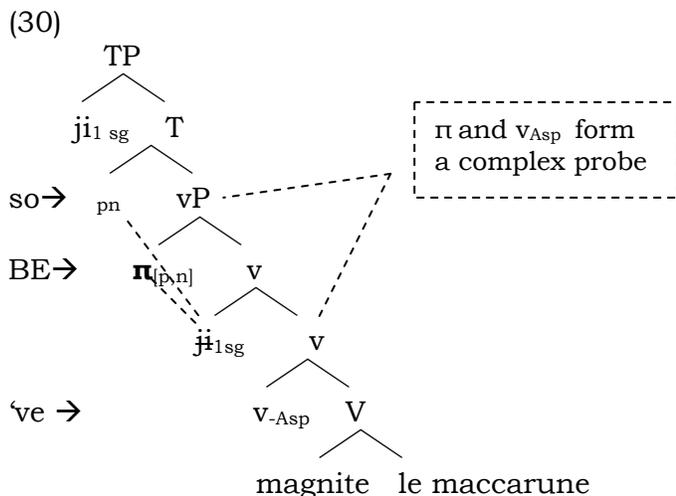
Let's start with the most straightforward case: the pluperfect

- (28) a. (ji) so 've' magnatə/cagnatə/fatijatə  
(I) am-1.sg had-impf.pst eaten/changed/worked.sg  
'I had eaten/changed/worked' BE+ HAVE
- b. (tu) si 've magnatə/cagnatə/fatijatə  
you are-2.sg-had-impf.pst eaten/changed/worked.sg  
'You had eaten/changed/worked' BE + HAVE
- c. (essə) ave' magnatə/cagnatə/fatijatə  
(s)he had-impf.pst eaten/changed/worked.sg  
'(S)he had eaten/changed/worked' HAVE
- d. (nu) s'avavemə/ s'avemə magnitə/cagnitə/fatijitə  
we BE-1/2.had-impf.pst.1.pl/ BE-1/2.have-pres.1.pl eaten/changed/worked.pl  
'We had worked' BE + HAVE
- e. vu s'avavetə/s'avetə magnitə/cagnitə/fatijitə  
you.pl BE-1/2.had-impf.pst.2.pl/ BE-1/2.have-pres.2.pl eaten/changed/worked.pl  
'You had worked' BE + HAVE
- f. (jissə) ave' magnitə/cagnitə/fatijitə  
they had-impf.subj eaten/changed/worked.pl  
'They had worked' HAVE

Note that:

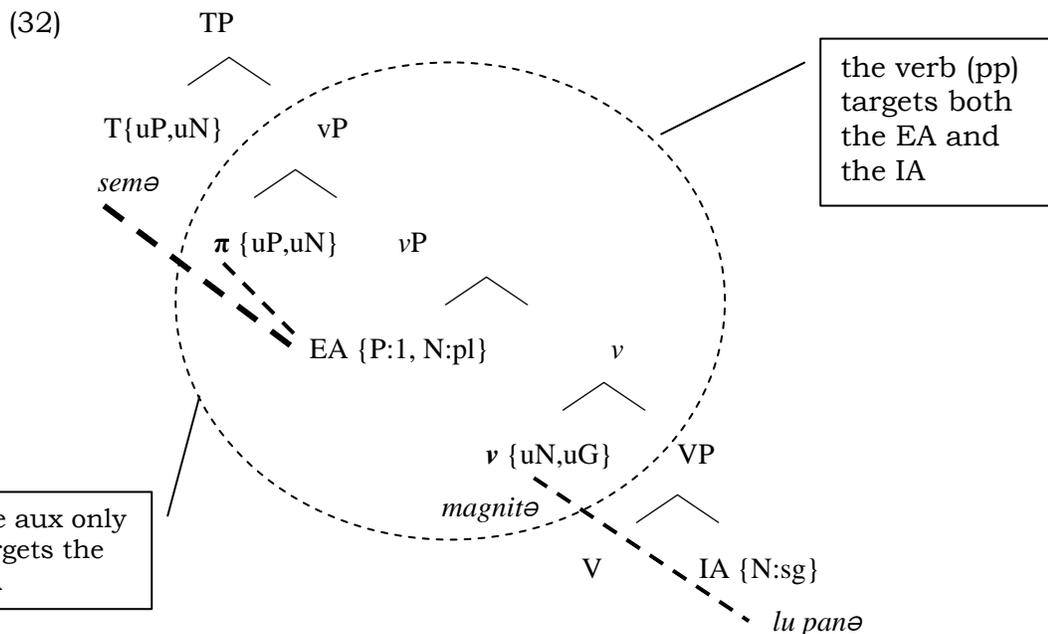
- both auxiliaries show agreement with the EA
- the pp shows omnivorous number agreement (D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010), i.e. it agrees with whichever argument is plural [see also (20)]

- (29) So 've magnitə le maccarunə  
am had eaten-pl the spaghetti-pl  
'I had eaten spaghetti'



$\pi$  and  $v$  form a complex head:

(31) *Semə magnitə lu panə*  
are eaten the bread  
'We have eaten bread'



- $\pi$  probes the EA; so does T: they both get valued as [P:1, N:pl]
- $v$  probes the IA: it gets valued as [N:sg]
- $\pi$  and  $v$  form a complex Probe: they are Spelled Out with the following conflicting values: [P:1 (AND P:3); N:sg AND N:pl]
- Lexical insertion: Number is privative (following Nevins (2010)): the morphology of plural will be inserted



Take one again the pluperfect in Abruzzese:

- (35) a. (ji) so 've' magnatə/cagnatə/fatijatə  
(I) am-1.sg had-impf.pst eaten/changed/worked.sg  
'I had eaten/changed/worked' BE+ HAVE
- b. (tu) si 've magnatə/cagnatə/fatijatə  
you are-2.sg-had-impf.pst eaten/changed/worked.sg  
'You had eaten/changed/worked' BE + HAVE
- c. (essə) ave' magnatə/cagnatə/fatijatə  
(s)he had-impf.pst eaten/changed/worked.sg  
'(S)he had eaten/changed/worked' HAVE
- d. (nu) s'avavemə/ s'avemə magnitə/cagnitə/fatijitə  
we BE-1/2.had-impf.pst.1.pl/ BE-1/2.have-pres.1.pl eaten/changed/worked.pl  
'We had worked' BE + HAVE
- e. vu s'avavetə/s'avetə magnitə/cagnitə/fatijitə  
you.pl BE-1/2.had-impf.pst.2.pl/ BE-1/2.have-pres.2.pl eaten/changed/worked.pl  
'You had worked' BE + HAVE
- f. (jissə) ave' magnitə/cagnitə/fatijitə  
they had-impf.subj eaten/changed/worked.pl  
'They had worked' HAVE

- In (35d): *s'* and *'avavemə* are two distinct heads, both probing the external argument
- In (35c) there is only one head probing the external argument *'ave'*. This head, however, still encodes the same information of the other heads for what concerns tense, aspect and person. Hence, we have a complex probe which is collapsed into one head, in the 3rd person.

Cartography is built on more or less the same intuitions.

#### 5. A NOTE ON TAM-BASED SPLIT ERGATIVITY

Tense-Aspect-Mood driven splits: perfective usually features an ergative/absolute pattern; imperfective features a nominative/accusative pattern

usually perfective = ergative  
imperfective = non ergative

- Scheme B

erg – abs                    ||                    non erg  
perfective >> imperfective >> progressive



*PARTICIPIAL AGREEMENT IN OLD ABRUZZESE*

We have seen where Abruzzese is now (maybe). Could this be the result of a de-ergativization?

If this were the case, we expect to see ergative patterns somewhere in the history of Abruzzese. Is this the case?

[Of course ☺]

Earlier stages of the language testify:

- an ergative pattern in the perfective
- a person split in the perfective

Old Abruzzese displayed ergative alignment in the perfective [see Ledgeway 2009, 2012, La Fauci 1988, Zamboni 1998].

(36) [...]tanti famosi autori antichi, & moderni, hanno scritti libri

[...] ch'io nō ho scritta, né fatta stampar quest'opera  
 [Muzio de' Muzii, Il padre di Fameglia, 1591]<sup>6</sup>

The verb (past participle) agreed with the object of the transitive verb and with the subject of the intransitive verb → ergative alignment

Old Abruzzese was well behaved: some ergative alignment emerged in the perfective

→ See also Kutchi Gujarati, which displays ergative alignment in the perfective but Nominative/Accusative marking (Patel 2007, 2010).

(37)

				<i>Imperfective</i>
a.	Valji	chokra-ne	jo-to	tho
	<i>Valji.NOM</i>	<i>boys-ACC</i>	<i>saw-IPFV.M.SG.SUBJ</i>	<i>AUX.PAST.M.SG.SUBJ</i>
	‘Valji was watching the boys’			
b.	Valji	chokra-ne	jo-ya	<i>Perfective</i>
	<i>Valji.NOM</i>	<i>boys-ACC</i>	<i>saw-PFV.M/N.PL.OBJ</i>	
	‘Valji saw the boys’			

[Patel 2007:36]

WHAT ABOUT THE GROUP C3?

6. SPLIT DOM IN ABRUZZESE AND THE -KO MARKER IN HINDI

Hindi: objects may appear with the particle -ko in the perfective (erg vs ko)

(38) Illaa-ne        ek        bacce-ko        uṭṭhaayaa        [Hindi]  
 Ila-erg        one        child-acc        lift/carry-prf  
 ‘Ila lifted a child’

[Torrego 2012:217]

<sup>6</sup> This work is written and published in Abruzzo, but the language used is in conformity with the Florentine model. Some local traits are however visible [D'Alessandro & Di Felice 2010].



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TEXTS:

Muzio de'Muzii, *Il padre di Famiglia*, Teramo, 1591.