

PERSON-ORIENTED PHENOMENA IN ABRUZZESE

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1. Introduction. The inner structure of personal pronouns
2. 3rd person pronouns in Abruzzese
3. (Person-oriented auxiliary selection in Abruzzese)
4. Enclitic possessives in Abruzzese

1. The inner structure of personal pronouns

1.1. Strong/Weak/Clitics (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999)

Richness of the structure: functional layers;

strong = clitic+ F₁P+ F₂P

1.2. Déchaine & Wiltschko (2002)

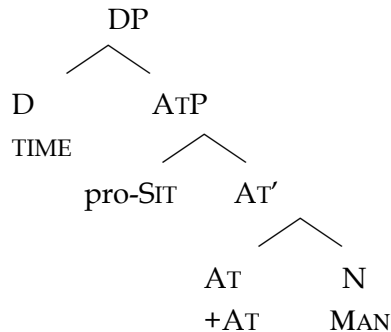
pronouns come in 3 types:

- pro-DPs (same distribution as full DPs/R- expressions; arguments)
- pro-φPs (pro-φP : any intermediate functional projection that intervenes between N and D and that encodes f-features (where f-features include number and gender, and in some cases person))
- pro-NPs (same distribution as NPs)

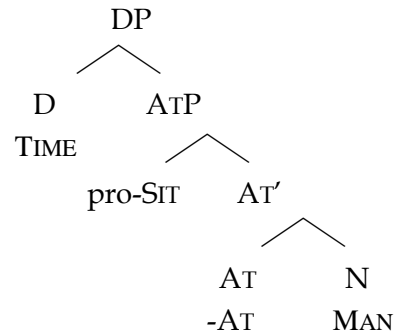
1.3. Gruber

Indexical component in pronouns

(1) a. First person pronoun



b. Second person pronoun



WHERE:

- D is the determiner head, encoding TIME
- pro-SIT is a pronominal situation variable (valued deictically, in the absence of an antecedent)
- AT is a relational head, which maps its complement to its specifier (it states whether its complement is at the location of its specifier –at the utterance location)
- MAN is more or less [+human]

HOW TO READ THIS:

- 1st person denotes a human being who is at the UTTERANCE LOCATION (i.e. at the location OF THE SPEAKER)
- 2nd person: a human being who is not at the UTTERANCE LOCATION (i.e. not at the location of the speaker).

2. ABRUZZESE 3RD PERSON PRONOUNS

What about 3rd person? Gruber: 3rd person does not contain person

Person depends on spatial and temporal parameters, hence 3rd person pronouns are not spatially (and timewise) bound

According to Gruber (2013: 47):

- (2)
 - i. Third person pronouns do not refer to a speech act participant.
 - ii. Third person pronouns need to be introduced: they either require a discourse antecedent or an ostensive act.
 - iii. Third person referents depend on the linguistic context, not on the utterance context. Thus they are anaphoric, not indexical.

- iv. Once introduced, the referent of a third person pronoun can remain constant, independently of which interlocutor is using it.
- v. Third person pronouns can refer to both sentient and non-sentient individuals.

Abruzzese¹ (and most southern Italian, in different forms)

- (3) Custù, cussù, cullù
 he he he
 ‘He (next to me), he (next to you), he (far from both)’
- (4) Chistè, chissè, chillè
 she she she
 ‘She (next to me), she (next to you), she (far from both)’
- (5) Quistə, quissə, quillə
 They-f/m they they
 ‘They (next to me), they (next to you), they (far from both)’

Neuter form, equivalent to *lui/lei* in Italian: *jessə/jissə* ((s)he, they)
 Historically:

- (6) Custù > ECCU(M) + ISTE (+HUIC)
- (7) Cussù > ECCU(M) + IPSE
- (8) Cullù > ECCU(M) + ILLE

Strict resemblance with demonstratives.

(9)

TABLE 1. FROM LATIN TO (ITALO)-ROMANCE.

Latin			Central & Southern Italo-Romance
Deictics (relation to the grammatical persons)	1st	HIC	QUISTO
	2nd	ISTE	QUISSO < IPSE
	3rd	ILLE	QUILLO
Anaphorics	IS (Cl. Latin) IPSE (Late Latin)		No specific anaphoric

(Stavinschi 2012: 77)

¹ All examples are from the dialect spoken in Arielli (CH), unless otherwise stated.

According to Stavinschi (2012:77): 'The meaning (of demonstratives, RDA) has thus shifted from more abstract to more concrete: "this word located in your discourse" > "this object located in your area"'.

The pronouns in (3)-(4) are not demonstratives. The demonstratives are:

- (10) Questə/quessə/quellə
 this that that
 'This (next to me), that (next to you), that (far from both)'

The same alternation is also found in manner adverbs:

- (11) Accuscì, (assoscì), alluscì
 this way, that way, that way
 'The way I am doing it, the way you're doing it, the way they do it'

If we go back to the list:

- i. Third person pronouns do not refer to a speech act participant. (→ they do)
- ii. Third person pronouns need to be introduced: they either require a discourse antecedent or an ostensive act.

BUT:

- (12) Cussù sta a fa' troppə casinə
 'The guy next to you is making too much noise'

- iii. Third person referents depend on the linguistic context, not on the utterance context. Thus they are anaphoric, not indexical.

→ see Stavinschi.

- iv. Once introduced, the referent of a third person pronoun can remain constant, independently of which interlocutor is using it.

BUT:

- (13) A: Chissè ni sta a parla'. C'a fattə?
 She (next to you) is not talking. What's wrong with her?

B: Chistè? Chistè jè nu diavələ! No com’a chissè!

She (next to me)? She (next to me) is a devil (=she’s cool!). Not like her (next to you)’

v. Third person pronouns can refer to both sentient and non-sentient individuals (→ no. They only refer to humans).

(14) Custù jè nu fregnə
 ‘This guy is cool’

(15) Quessə mo tə moccəchə
 ‘The dog next to you is going to bite you’

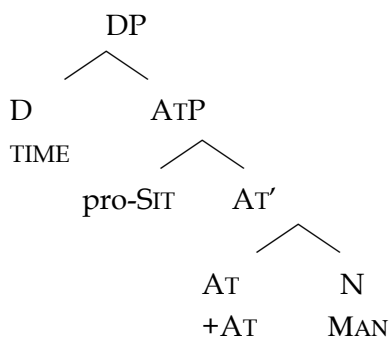
So now, two possibilities:

1. Bettina is wrong
2. Bettina is ALWAYS right ☺, but we need to extend the model to capture 3rd person pronouns.

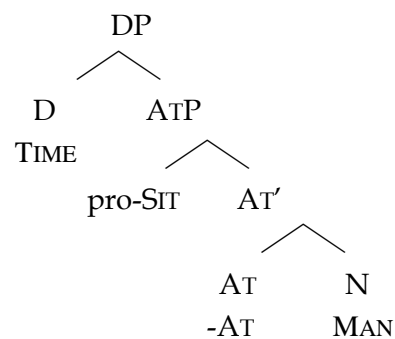
2.1. EXTENDING THE MODEL

Recall:

(16) a. First person pronoun



b. Second person pronoun



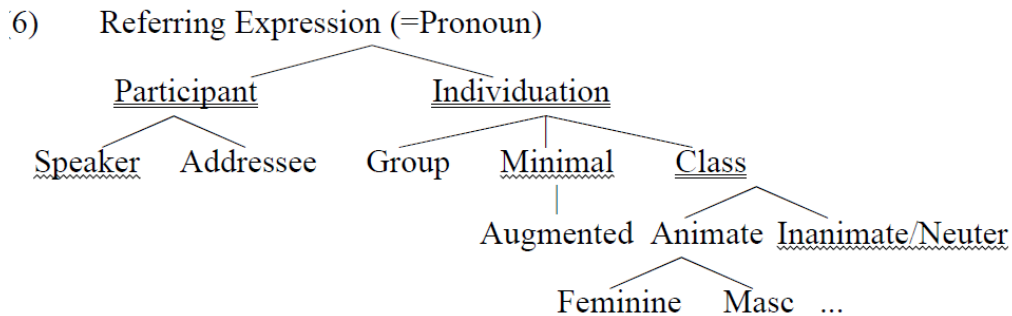
What is the difference between *custù* (the man next to me) and *ji* (I)?

Benveniste (1971:217) (and Bettina):

“Person” belongs only to I/you, and is lacking in he.’

Solution 1².

(17)



3rd person is usually only specified for Individuation (= number). In Abruzzese it is also specified for Participant.

Taking the moves from there: 3rd person is the only person which needs to be specified for number. I'll rephrase this as 3rd person having a [\pm pl] specification.

Feature setup of pronouns:

(18) ji (1st sg)	= [+S; -H]	nu (1st pl)	= [+S; +pl]
tu (2nd sg)	= [-S; + H]	vu (2nd pl)	= [-S; + pl]
jessə (3rd sg)	= [-pl]	jissə (3rd pl)	= [+pl]
custù (3rd sg m)	= [+S; -H; -pl]	quistə (3rd pl)	= [+S; -H; +pl]
cussù (3rd sg m)	= [-S; +H; -pl]	quissə (3rd pl)	= [-S; +H; +pl]
cullù (3rd sg m)	= [-S; -H; -pl]	quillə (3rd pl)	= [-S; -H; +pl]

Abruzzese 'he' has person, in the sense of local anchoring. What 3rd person has, that 1st and 2nd don't, is the specification for the hearer.

Solution 2.

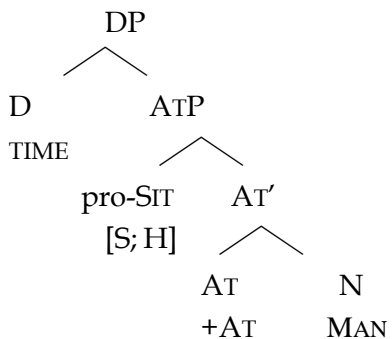
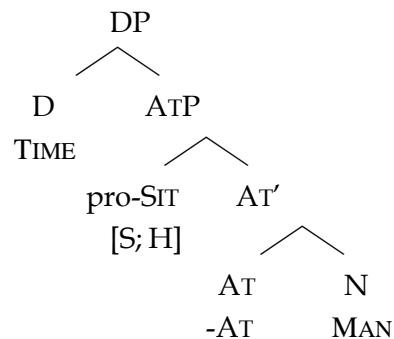
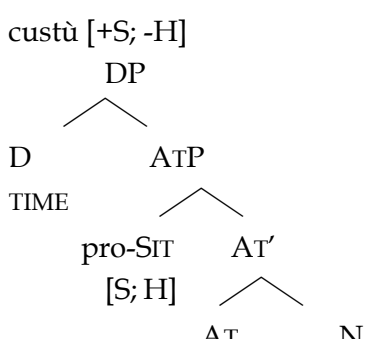
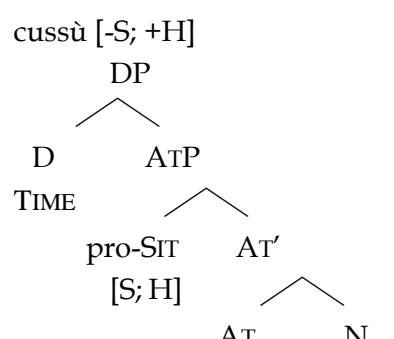
Marking the unmarked (Torcolacci 2013): Hearer is usually unmarked (if it's not Speaker, then it's Hearer). In Abruzzese, you must specify both if you have a 3rd person.

² Thanks to Giuseppe Torcolacci for brainstorming with me on these solutions.

- (19) ji (1st sg) = [+S]
 tu (2nd sg) = [-S]
 jessə (3rd sg) = [-S; -H]
 custù (3rd sg m) = [+S; -H]
cussù (3rd sg m) = [-S; +H]
 cullù (3rd sg m) = [-S; -H]

pro-SIT needs to be made more explicit

pro-SIT (v.2): [S; H at a given UTTERANCE TIME]

- (20) **custù [+S; +H]**
- 
- cullù [-S; -H]**
- 
- custù [+S; -H]**
- 
- cussù [-S; +H]**
- 

The location needs to be specified in relation to both speaker and hearer.

3. PERSON-DRIVEN AUXILIARY SELECTION IN ABRUZZESE

Hearer has a special role in Southern Italian dialects. It is very often marked, together with the speaker, on the auxiliary paradigm.

Abruzzese system:

1st/2nd person: BE

3rd person: HAVE

independently of verb class

(21) (ji)So magnatə BE
(I) am eaten
'I have eaten'

(tu) si magnatə BE
you are eaten
'you have eaten'

(jessə) a magnatə HAVE
(s)he has eaten
'(s)he has eaten'

(nu) seme magnitə BE
we are eaten
'We have eaten'

vu sete magnitə BE
you.pl are eaten
'You have eaten'

(jissə) a magnitə HAVE
they have eaten
'They have eaten'

D'Alessandro (2012, 2013): auxiliaries are like subject clitics: they double the info on the person of the subject.

NB: this split is TAM driven. Subjunctive and imperfective do not have the split:

(22) (ji) avessə fatijatə HAVE
(I) had-impf.subj worked.sg
'I would have worked'

(tu) avissə fatijatə HAVE
 you had-impf.subj.2.sg worked
 'You would have worked'

(essə) avessə fatijatə HAVE
 (s)he had-impf.subj worked
 '(S)he would have worked'

(nu) avəssəmə fatijitə HAVE
 we had-impf.subj.1.pl worked
 'We would have worked'

vu avəssətə fatijitə HAVE
 you.pl had-impf.subj.2.pl worked
 'You would have worked'

(jissə) avessə fatijitə HAVE
 they had-impf.subj worked
 'They would have worked'

→ There is a strict correlation between person and time/tense.

4. ENCLITIC POSSESSIVES IN ABRUZZESE (in collaboration with Laura Migliori)

Blackfoot: proclitic possessives

(23)

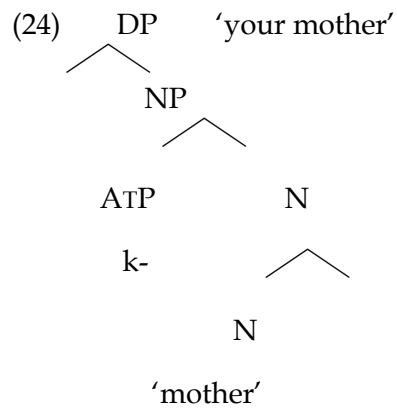
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|------|--|--|---|
| (36) | a. nitááattsistaama
nit -aaattsistaama
<i>1-rabbit</i>
'my rabbit' | b. kitááattsistaama
kit -aaattsistaama
<i>2-rabbit</i>
'your rabbit' | c. * kááattsistaama
k -aaattsistaama
<i>2-rabbit</i> |
| (37) | a. niksíssta
n -iksíssta
<i>1-mother</i>
'my mother' | b. kiksíssta
k -iksíssta
<i>2-mother</i>
'your mother' | c. * nitsiksíssta
nit -iksíssta
<i>1-mother</i> |

[Bliss and Gruber 2011b]

[in Gruber 2013:85]

- inalienable possession

→ They lack a D that could restrict the interpretation to a specific temporal stage.



Abruzzese and southern Italian possession with kinship terms

Most Southern Italian dialects display enclitic possessives: possessive adjectives appear in an enclitic position on kinship nouns:

(25) a. *mammə**mə*** b. *mammətə³* [Arielli, CH]

mother-my mother-your
 'my mother' 'your mother'

(26) a. *ziama* b. *frauta* c. *frausa* [Gallipoli, LE]

aunt-my brother-your brother-his
 'my aunt' 'your brother' 'his/her brother'

(Sotiri 2007)

(27) a. '*kasəma* b. '*kasəta* [Castro dei Volsci,FR]

house-my house-your
 'my house' 'your house'

c. '*kastə*
 house-your [Bari]

'your house' (Sotiri 2007)

Previous analyses: they all have a D (definiteness):

³ All data are from D'Alessandro & Migliori (2013a, b).

- Penello (2002): the possessee is always definite for kinship terms. For this reason a N-to-D movement takes place, driven by a [kin] feature on D.
- Other analyses (Giusti 2002, Longobardi 1994, Bernardini & Egerland 2006, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Ledgeway 2009 a.o): kinship nouns are definite, and hence move to D.
- Enclitic possessives: possesseees are categorically equivalent to definites and can be internally merged in the D head of the DP.

D'Alessandro & Migliori (2013): these are Small Clauses – D is not relevant.

Why? The varieties that display enclitic possessives often also exhibit preposition-less genitive and copular possessive constructions.

(28) a. u 'latti u piku'raru [Morano, CS]

the milk the shepherd

'The sheperd's milk'

b. a 'krutʃi i 'spaddi [Catenanuona, EN]

the cross the shoulders

'the shoulders'

Casa/Riva/kinship N + Genitive

(29) a. a 'kasa u 'swinnəkə [Verbicaro, CS]

the house the mayor

'the mayor's house'

b. la 'kasa lu ʃkar'paru [Amaseno, FR]

the house the shoemaker

'the shoemaker's house' (Rohlf's 1968)

- This constructions thus mainly target inalienable possession contexts.

Copular possessive constructions

- Many varieties exhibit the dative of possession construction, whereby the possessor is expressed through dative marking:

- (30) a. 'sɔŋgə 'fiʎʎa a t'te [Castro dei Volsci, FR]
 BE-1sg daughter to you
 'I am your daughter'
- b. 'Mariə 't ε 'fiʎʎə
 Mario to you is son
 'Mario is your son'
- (31) a. jε 'figgjə a Pi'truzzə [Verbicaro, CS]
 BE-3sg son to Pietruzzo
 'He is Pietruzzo's son' (Silvestri 2013)

The structure we propose:

- (32) [sc possessee possessor]

Merge the possessor directly with the root: OK
 But: problem with word order.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Bettina is always right
2. Some languages encode information about the speaker as well as the addressee. In this case, a reference to the utterance situation is not enough to denote pronouns, but further specification is required
3. There is a strict correlation between person specification and time/tense.
4. Time/definiteness is not the key factor for enclitic possessive constructions.

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