Floating π:
Agreement in Italian languages

Roberta D'Alessandro
Leiden University Centre for Linguistics

Syntactic Agreement
Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main
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Strong Minimalist Thesis

- *Strong Minimalist Thesis*
"Language is an optimal solution to legibility conditions"[Chomsky 2000: 96]

- The output of narrow syntactic operations must be readable/fully interpretable at the interface with PF and LF

  - How do we ensure readability?
  - How do we deal with apparent exceptions?

Minimalist method

- Minimalist "method"
  - Occam's razor: Postulate only what is conceptually necessary (if we are not sure something is really there, we are not allowed to postulate it)

  - *Inclusiveness condition*

    No new features are introduced by C_{HL} [Chomsky 2000: 113]

  - Eliminate from Narrow Syntax everything that is not readable at the interface (see Agree and valuation/deletion)

Φ heads

- Φ heads are a problem for legibility conditions

  - "[...]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]

Chomsky's solution

- These heads don't bring any semantic content: they cannot exist.

Outline

- **Φ or no Φ – theoretical issues**
- Where is π? Parametric choices
- Agreement:
  - Clitics
  - Person-oriented auxiliaries
  - Participial agreement
  - Adverbial agreement
  - Agreeing 3rd person pronouns
  - Person-driven DOM
- Conclusions

Φ or no Φ

- Postulating a head with no interpretable features in not conceptually necessary > we don't do it
- Empirical evidence for these heads > It seems that these heads exist
- An alternative solution

Clitics

- Subject clitics in Northern Italian varieties and clitic doubling:

(1) La Maria **la** magna [Venetan]
the Mary-SG.F SCL-3.SG.F eats-3.SG
"Mary eats"

(2) **la** drom-**la**? [Oviglio, Piedmont]
SCL-3.SG.F sleeps SCL-3.SG.F
"Does she sleep?" (Manzini & Savoia 2007:36)

(3) **Lo** empujaron a Juan. [Spanish]
CL-3.SG.M=pushed to John
"They pushed John" (Torrego 1994:199)

Subject clitics

- SCLs and doubling clitics do not convey semantic information
  - Most Northern Italian subject clitics are not pronominal

Rizzi (1986): NID SCLs are inflectional features.
Evidence:

- agreement markers may follow preverbal negation, but not pronouns

- agreement markers are compatible with negatively quantified subjects, but not pronouns (left dislocation of neg Q: *noone, he left)

- agreement markers must appear in both conjuncts of a coordinate structure, pronouns must not

- agreement paradigms may contain gaps; pronoun paradigms do not.

Extra ф

- Whichever way we go: we have some additional, extra ф that are not there in other varieties

- Are they on a separate head? > later

- Let us assume they are: there is an alternative way

Condition on the Merger of Φ HEADS

(4) CONDITION ON THE MERGER OF Φ HEADS

A purely φ-head **π**, i.e. a head encoding only unvalued, uninterpretable φ-features, can be merged into the syntactic spine; for FI conditions, **π** must be incorporated into/merged with a semantically non-empty head <u>before</u> the interface with the CI system is reached.

- **In other words:** Cliticization is conceptually necessary for Full Interpretability conditions

In the rest of the talk:

- There is an extra **π Probe** (uninterpretable φ only) in Italo-Romance (exceptional agreement facts)

- Each Italo-Romance language "decides" what to merge/incorporate it with

- π can be merged as an agreement ending

- **π can be also merged/incorporated in the stem of a word**

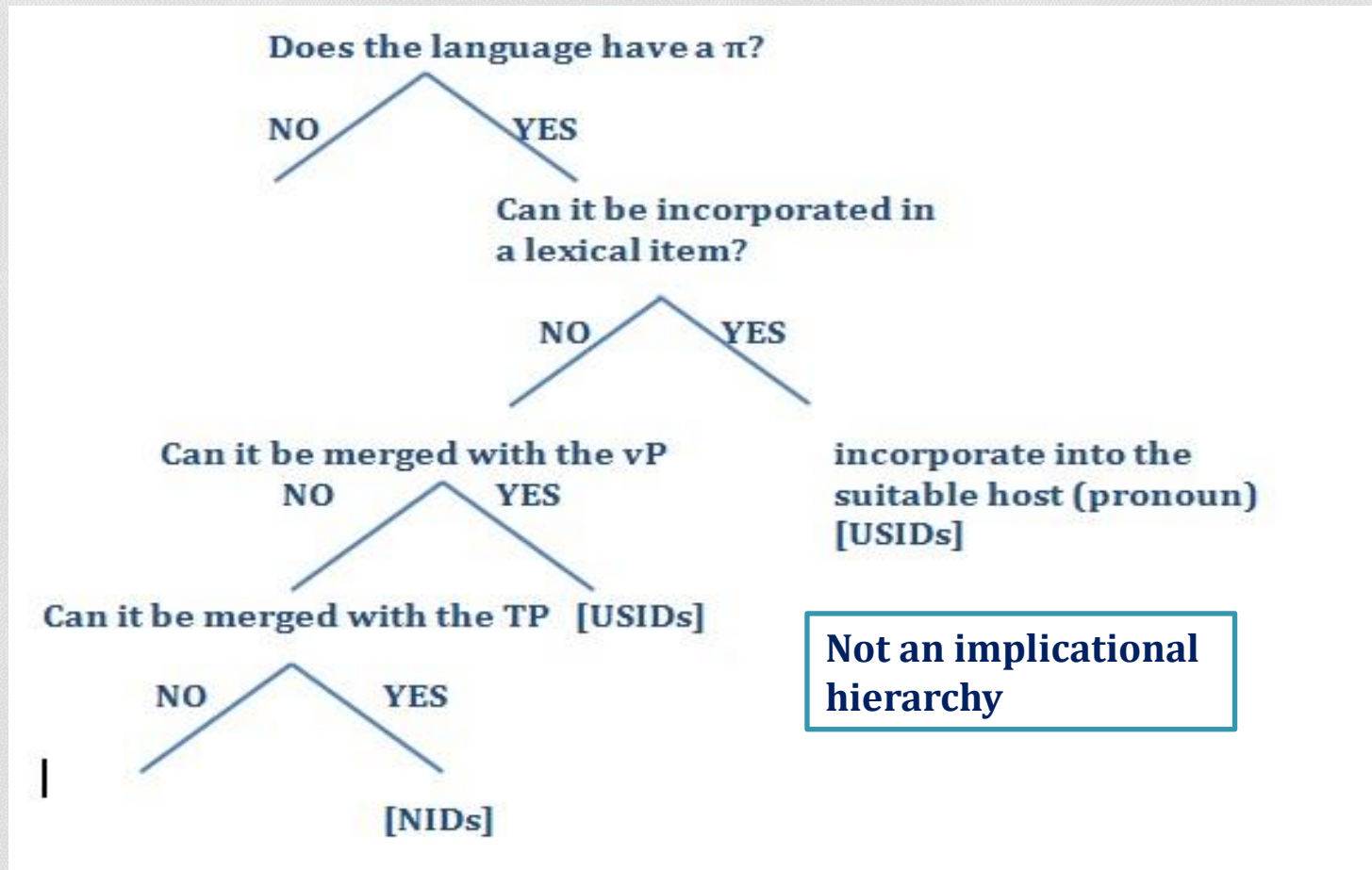- If π is merged as the word stem or as an ending, it will still **agree**

Outline

- Φ or no Φ – theoretical issues
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    - Deictic 3rd person pronouns
    - Person-driven auxiliaries
    - Person-driven *rafforzamento fonosintattico*
    - Person-driven DOM
    - Adverbial agreement
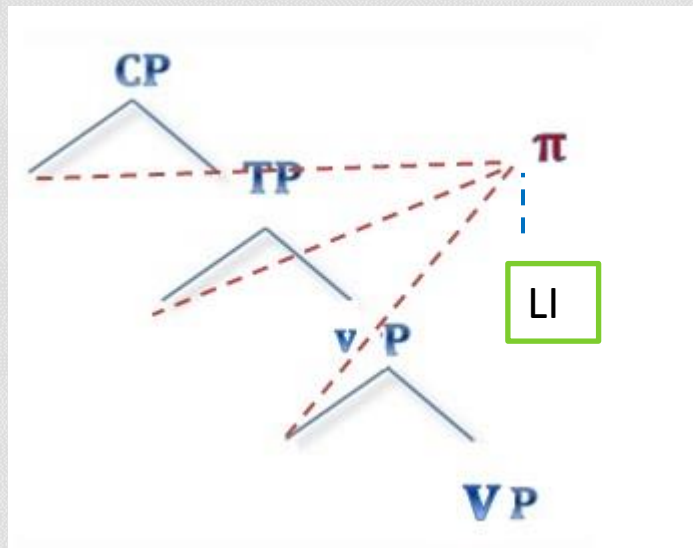- Conclusions

Where is π? Parametric choice

- Microparameter

(5)

Does the language have a π?

NO   YES

Can it be incorporated in
a lexical item?

NO   YES

Can it be merged with the vP

NO   YES

Can it be merged with the TP   [USIDs]

NO   YES

|

[NIDs]

incorporate into the
suitable host (pronoun)
[USIDs]

**Not an implicational
hierarchy**

"Autosegmental syntax"?

- Floating π can be merged /incorporated to several items

(6)

If Lexical Insertion is post-syntactic and LIs are built at NS, we don't really have a problem
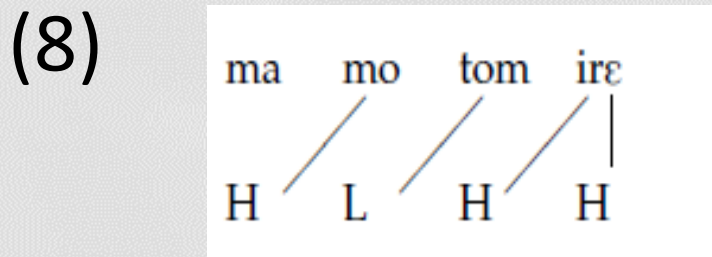
A brief aside: Autosegmental phonology

(7)

SUBJECT	(OBJECT)	ROOT	TENSE
to 'we'	mo 'him'	rɔr 'look at'	
ma 'they'	ma 'them'	tom 'send'	irɛ PAST

to	ma	mo	ma	rɔr	tom	irɛ
L	H	L	H	L	H	H

- **Association convention**: No floating tones are allowed on the surface, every tone needs to be linked to a vowel
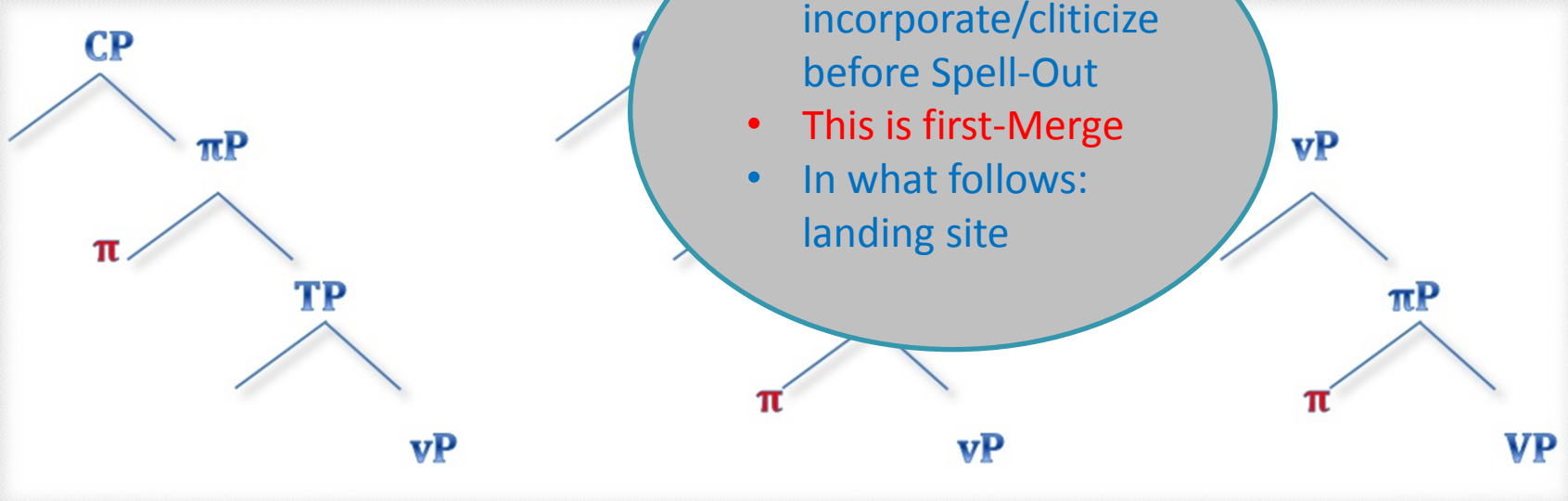
(8)

ma   mo   tom   irɛ

H   L   H   H

(Goldsmith 1976)

Possible mergers of π

- We have a "floating π"(recall, set of φ features)
- No selectional properties! (No category)

(9)

- π will have to incorporate/cliticize before Spell-Out
- This is first-Merge
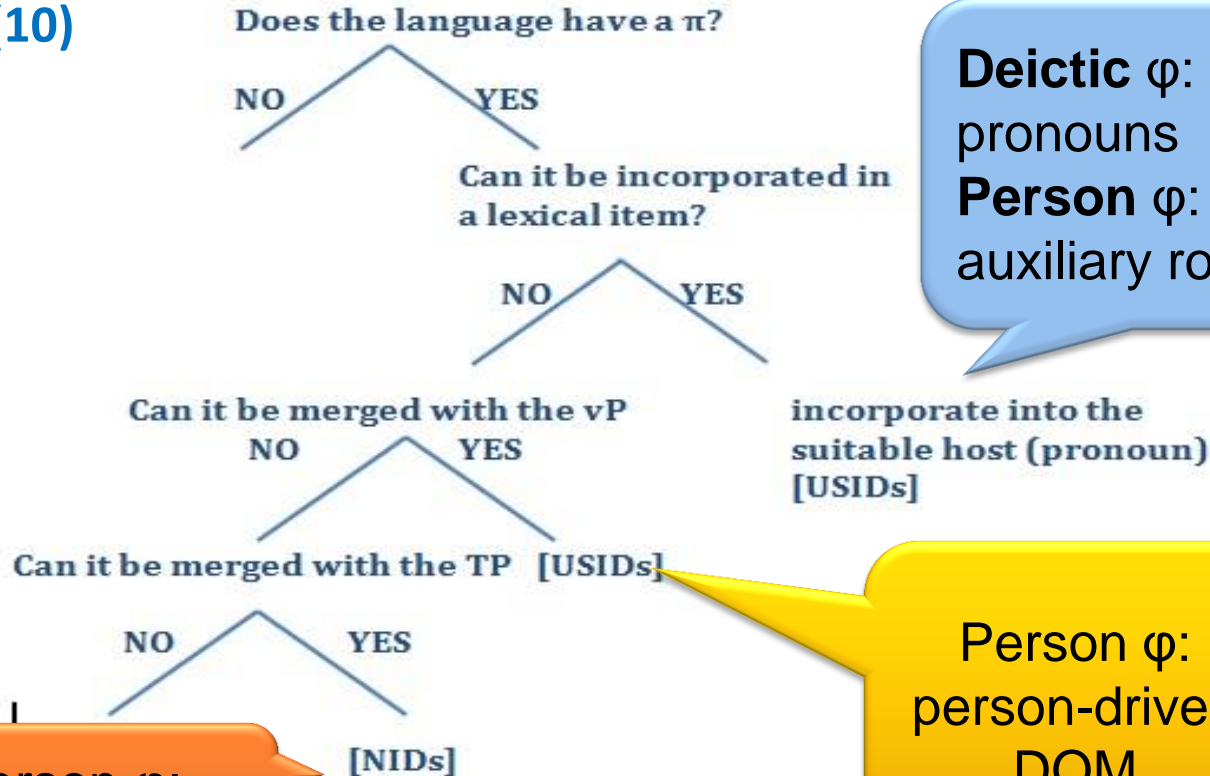- In what follows: landing site

How does π get there?

- One or more π in the numeration of these languages
- Langs need to "decide" where π is "anchored"
- π cannot be late-inserted at syntax (violation of the Extension Condition/No Tampering Condition)

"A natural requirement for efficient computation is a 'no tampering condition' NTC: Merge of X and Y leaves the two [syntactic objects] unchanged. If so, then Merge of X and Y can be taken to yield the set X, Y, the simplest possibility worth considering. (Chomsky, 2008)

Where to merge π is a parametric choice

One potential problem

Two ways to go

1. We can have more than one π in the Numeration

2. The same π can be "linked" to two merge positions

- Gemination/

  lengthening in Italian

  (Nespor 1993, Davis 2011)

(12)
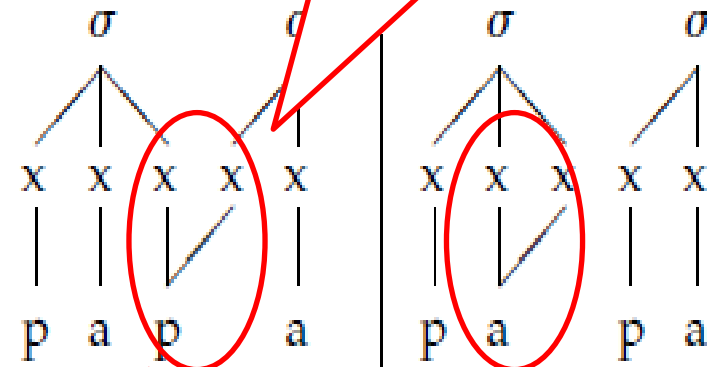
Prosodic tier: 2

Melody tier: 1

Two ways to go

2.

(13)

CP
TP
v P
VP
π

Problem: PF resolution of features

Lexicon: 1

(12)

σ   σ   σ   σ

x x x x x   x x x x x

p a p a   p a p a
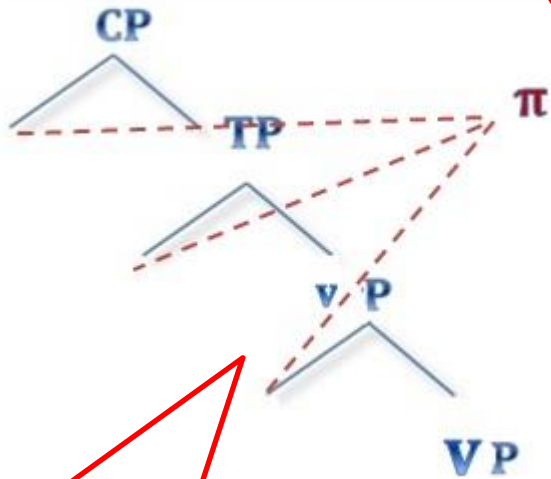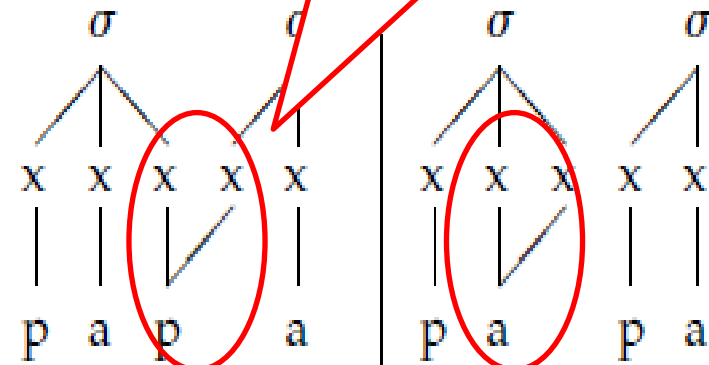
Prosodic tier: 2

Narrow Syntax: 2, 3,...

Melody tier: 1
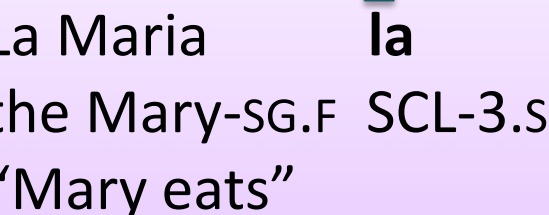
Outline

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Subject clitics

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"Does she sleep?"

(Manzini & Savoia 2007:36)

Person-oriented auxiliaries

- Upper southern auxiliary selection patterns

(12)

a. (ji)So magnatə BE (I) am eaten.sg 'I have eaten'	d.(nu) seme magnitə BE we are eaten.pl ('we have eaten'
b.(tu) si magnatə you are eaten.sg 'You have eaten'	sete magnitə BE re eaten.pl You have eaten'
c.(essə) a magnatə HAVE (s)he has eaten.sg '(he) has eaten'	f.(jissə)a magnitə HAVE they have eaten.pl 'They have eaten'

Remember!

[D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010, D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010]

In both cases

- We see **agreement** of some element with the subject. Extra π agreement.
- (Similarities btw SCLs and aux ➡)

(13)

A (1/2) dormja [Semione]   **S**o =   s (BE=1/2)   + -o (1.sg)
Ty (2.sg) dorm   **s**i =   s (BE =1/2) + - i (2.sg)
U/la (3.sg) dorm   **a** =   a (HAVE =3) + a (3)
A (1/2) dormon   **s**emə = s (BE =1/2) + -emə (1.pl)
A (1/2) durmit   **s**etə = s (BE =1/2)   + -etə (2.pl)
I (3.pl) dorm   **a** =   a (HAVE =3) + a (3)
 (Manzini & Savoia 2005:72)

Lexicalization of π

- Lexicalization of π

CP
πP
π
TP
vP
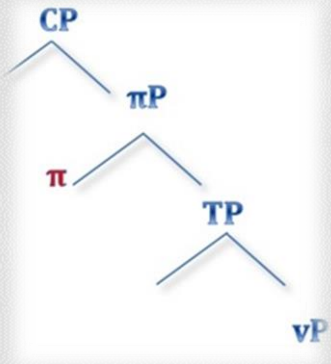
- Subject clitics

Linguistic map of Italy
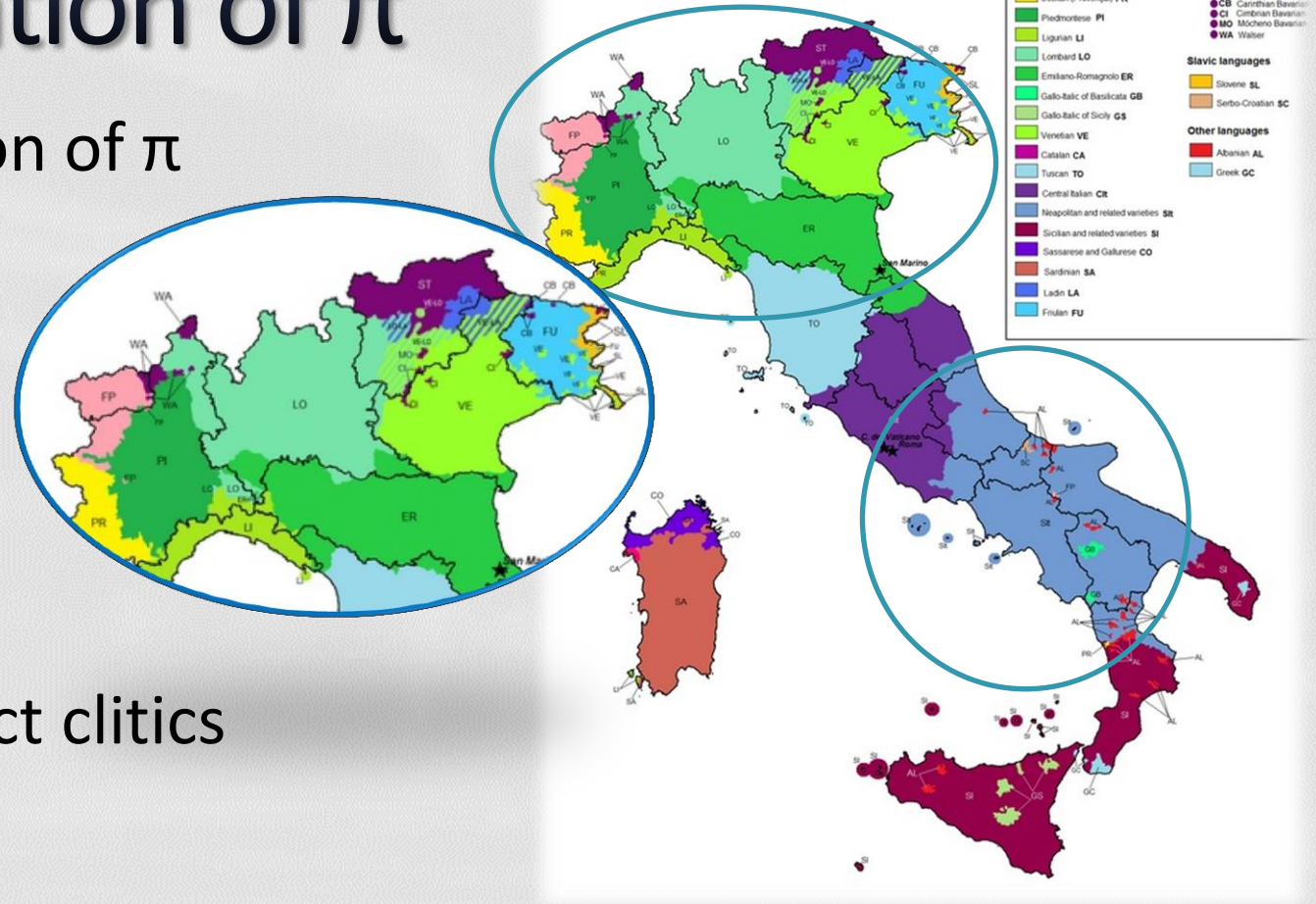
What is π?

- Lexicalization of π
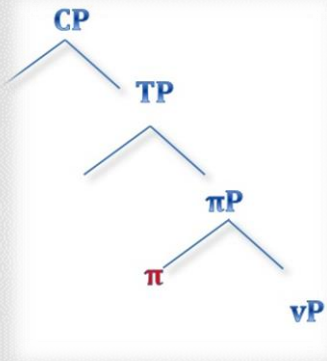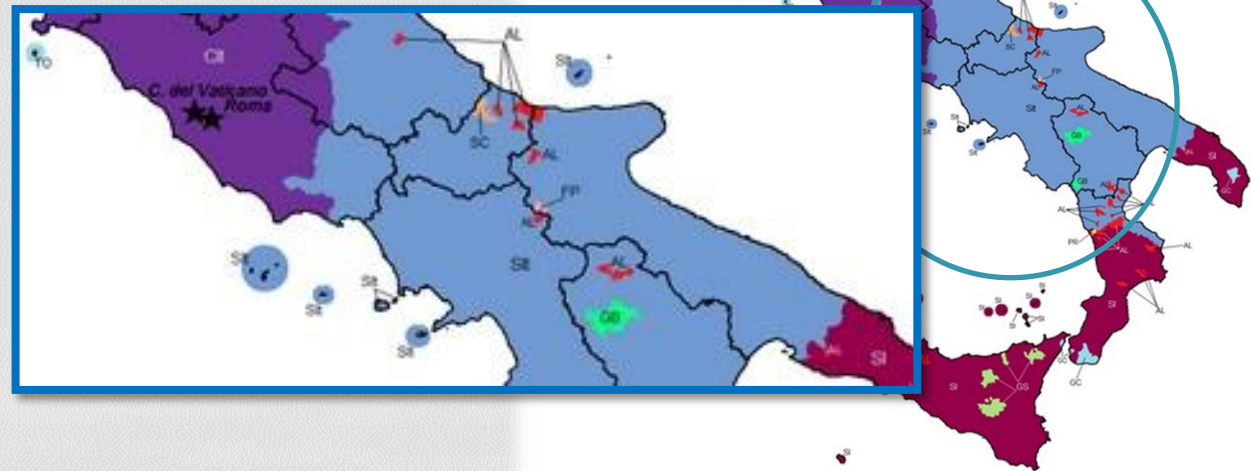
- Person-oriented Auxiliary roots

What is π?

φ features (π)		1. C-T (left periphery)	2. T-*v*	3. *v*-V
A.	valued	discourse clitics	split ergativity	DOM
		Northern Italian dialects	Basque, Kutchi Guajarati	Spanish/Catalan (Upper) southern Italian dialects
B.	unvalued (probe)	subject clitics	person-driven aux selection + agreement mismatch phenomena	person-driven DOM
		Northern Italian dialects	Upper southern Italian dialects	(Upper) southern Italian dialects

Person-oriented auxiliaries

- Upper southern auxiliary selection patterns

a. (ji)**S**o magnatə BE (I) am eaten.sg 'I have eaten'	d.(nu) **s**eme magnitə BE we are eaten.pl 'We have eaten'
b.(tu) **s**i magnatə BE you are eaten.sg 'You have eaten'	e. vu **s**ete magnitə BE you.pl are eaten.pl 'You have eaten'
c.(essə) a magnatə HAVE (s)he has eaten.sg '(he) has eaten'	f.(jissə)a magnitə HAVE they have eaten.pl 'They have eaten'

π = s-

[D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010]

Clitics vs auxiliaries

clitics

auxiliaries

(16) Renzi & Vanelli (1983) in Ledgeway 2006   (17)

		Obligatory			Optional		
system 1	Friulian	2					
system 2	Milanese	2	3				
system 3	E. Lig, CR, PD, VE, UD, TS	2	3	6			
system 4	Franco-Provençal	2	3	6	5	4	
system 5	W.Lig, TO, Ticinese, E-R, Lad	2	3	6	5	4	1
	system 5		distinct			identical	
		distinct	identical			identical	
	system 4		distinct				
	system 3		distinct				
	system 2	distinct					
	system 2	distinct					

BE only for 2
BE for 2 and 3
BE for 3, 2 and 6

BE for 2,3,6,5,4
BE for 2,3,6,5,4,1

Clitics vs auxiliaries

(18)

1	2	3m	3f	4	5	6	
*	P	N		*	*	Q	
-	P	N		-	-	Q	
*	P	N		HOMO	*	Q	
-		N		HOMO	-	Q	
*	P	N		*	*	*	(* unico)
*	P	N		*	*	*	(* diversi)
-	P	N		-	-	-	
*	P	N	*	*	*	*	(* unico)
*	P	N	*	*	*	*	(* diversi)
*	P	N	*	*	*	Q	
*	P	*	N	*	*	*/Q	
-	P	-		-	-	-	

320 pages in M&S!

[Manzini & Savoia 2005:117]

Clitics vs auxiliaries

(19)

		1ps	2ps	3ps	1pp	2pp	3pp
(A)							
(i)	Poggio Imp. Castelpetroso	E	E	E	E	E	A/E
(ii)	Roccasicura	A/E	E	E	E	E	E
(iii)	Capracotta	A	E	E	A/E	A/E	E
(iv)	Gallo Matese	A/E	E	E	E	E	A/E
(v)	Monteroduni Miglionico	A/E	E	E	E	E	A
(vi)	Vastogirardi	A-E	E	A-E	E	E	E
(B)							
(vii)	Colledimacine Torricella Peligna Borgorose-Spedino Amandola Ortezzano Tufillo	E	E	A-E	E	E	A-E
(viii)	S.Benedetto T. Campli, Bellante Canosa Sannita Pescocostanzo Pontecorvo Sonnino	E	E	A	E	E	A
(ix)	Viticuso S.Vittore	A/E	E	A	E	E	A
(x)	Sassinoro	A/E	E	A/E	A/E	A/E	A/E
(xi)	Secinaro Guardiaregia	A/E	E	A-E	A/E	A/E	A/E
(C)							
(xii)	Agnone	A/E	E	A-E	A	A	A/E
(xiii)	Bisceglie Giovinazzo	E	E	A	A	A	A
(xiv)	Ruvo Bitetto	A/E	E	A/E	A	A	A
(xv)	Popoli Montenerodomo	E	E	A-E	A	A	A
(xvi)	Padula Castelvecchio S.	A/E	E	A-E	A	A	A
(xvii)	Molfetta	A/E	E	A	A	A	A

E = BE
A = HAVE

[Manzini & Savoia 2005:728]

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Auxiliaries

auxiliaries

(20)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Pompei1	A	E	E	A E	A E	A E
Pompei2	E	E	E	E	E	E
Pompei3	A	E	E	A	A	A
Pompei4	A	E	A	A	A	A
Pompei5	A	A	E	A	A	A
Pompei6	A	A	A	A	A	A

(21)	1	2	3	4	5	6
P4/5	A	A	A	A	A	A
P1/2	E	E	E	A	A	A
P3/6	E	E	E	E	E	E
P3/6	A	A	A	A	A	A

Nasce/murì (to be born, to die)

Rimané (to stay)

(Cennamo 2001: 434-435)

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Auxiliaries

auxiliaries

| (22)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Sorrento1	A	E	E	E	E	A
Sorrento2	A	A	E/A*	A	A	A
Sorrento3	E	E	E	E	E	E
Sorrento4	A E	E	E	E	E	E
Sorrento5	A	E	E	A	A	A
Sorrento6	A E	E	E	E	E	E A
Sorrento7	A	A	A	A	A	A
Sorrento8	A	A	E	A	A	A

Nasce, murì (to be born, to die)

Cennamo (2001: 436), see also Torcolacci (2014a,b,c)

Person-oriented auxiliaries

(23) Nu   s' avavemə   magnitə

   we **BE**-1/2 **had**-1st.pl.impf.pst eaten-pl

   'We had eaten'

Person-oriented auxiliaries

TP

T

T$_{[p,n]}$ πP

π$_{[p,n]}$ v_{Asp}P

vAsp   vP

nu$_{1.pl}$ v

v   VP

V   DP
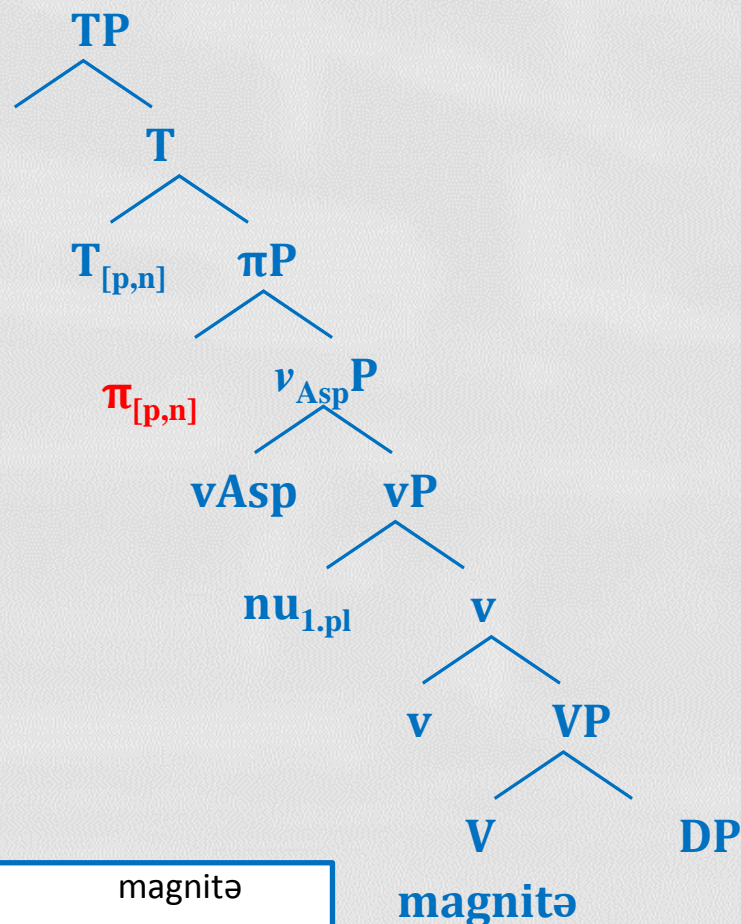
magnitə

(23) Nu   s' avavemə   magnitə
     we BE-1/2 had-1st.pl.impf.pst   eaten-pl
     'We had eaten'

Person-oriented/agreeing auxiliaries

TP
- nu$_{1.pl}$
- T
  - T$_{[p,n]}$
  - πP
    - π$_{[p,n]}$
    - v_{Asp}P
      - vAsp
      - vP
        - v
          - v
            - magnitə
          - VP
            - V
            - DP
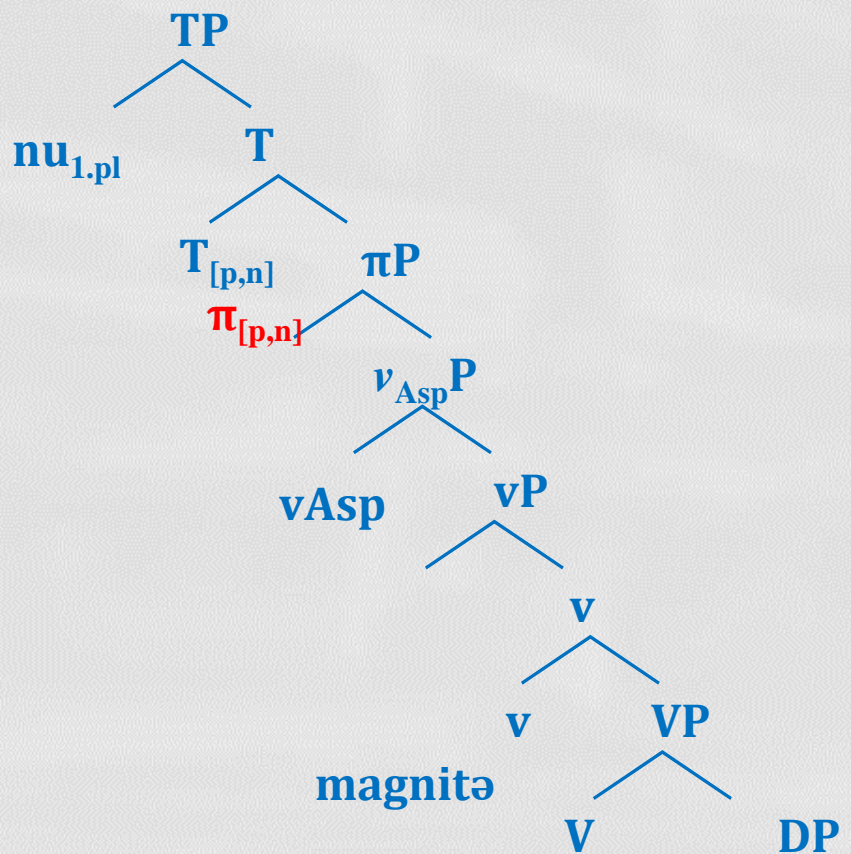
PF

-eme

S-

avav-

S-avav-eme

Auxiliaries

(24)

a.	[pers]	[pers, nr]
So =	*s* (BE=1/2)	+ -*o* (1.sg)
si =	*s* (BE =1/2)	+ - *i* (2.sg)
a =	*a* (HAVE =3)	+ *a* (3)
semə =	*s* (BE =1/2)	+ -*emə* (1.pl)
setə =	*s* (BE =1/2)	+ - *etə* (2.pl)
a =	*a* (HAVE =3)	+ *a* (3)

b.		[pers, nr]
faccə =	*f* ('do')	+ *accə* (1.sg)
fi =	*f* ('do')	+ -*i* (2.sg)
fa =	*f* ('do')	+ -*a* (3)
facemə =	*fac* ('do')	+ -*emə* (1.pl)
facetə =	*fac* ('do')	+ -*etə* (2.pl)
fa =	*f* ('do')	+ - *a* (3)

Auxiliaries

When T Agrees with a 1st singular subject, for instance, at PF it will receive the following exponent. Recall that the tense/aspect/mood features (which are shorthanded as V here) and the φ-features are expressed by means of portmanteau morphemes in Abruzzese, like in most Romance languages:

(20)   φ+V = 1.sg.+pres = -*o*
        π = 1.sg = BE = *s*-

The rest of the paradigm for the present tense is as follows:

|	π	T (V+φ)	
1.sg	*s*-	-*o*	
2.sg	*s*-	- *i*	
3.sg	0	-*a*	
1.pl	*s*-	-*emə*	
2.pl	*s*-	-*etə*	
3.pl	0	*a*	

The consequences of π

- Merging π in the argumental agreement field causes trouble!
  - Omnivorous number agreement in Abruzzese
  - Agreement mismatch marking in Ripano

Omnivorous number in Ariellese

(25)

a. *Giuwannə a   pittatə   nu murə*   [Ariellese]
   John-sg   has-3rd.sg/pl   painted-pp.sg   a wall-sg
   'John has painted a wall'   [sg SUBJ-sg OBJ]

b. *Giuwannə a   pittitə   ddu murə*
   John-sg   has-3rd.sg   painted-pp.pl   two walls-pl
   'John has painted two walls'   [sgSUBJ-plOBJ]

c. *Giuwannə e Mmarijə a   pittitə   nu   murə*
    John   and Mary-pl   have-3rd sg/pl   painted-pp.pl   a   wall-sg
   'John and Mary have painted a wall'   [pl SUBJ– sg OBJ]

d. *Giuwannə e Mmarijə   a   pittitə   ddu murə*
   John and Mary-pl   have-3rd.sg/pl painted-pp.pl   two walls-pl
   'John and Mary have painted two walls'   [pl SUBJ-pl OBJ]
                                            [D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010:45)]

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Abruzzese agreement

(26)
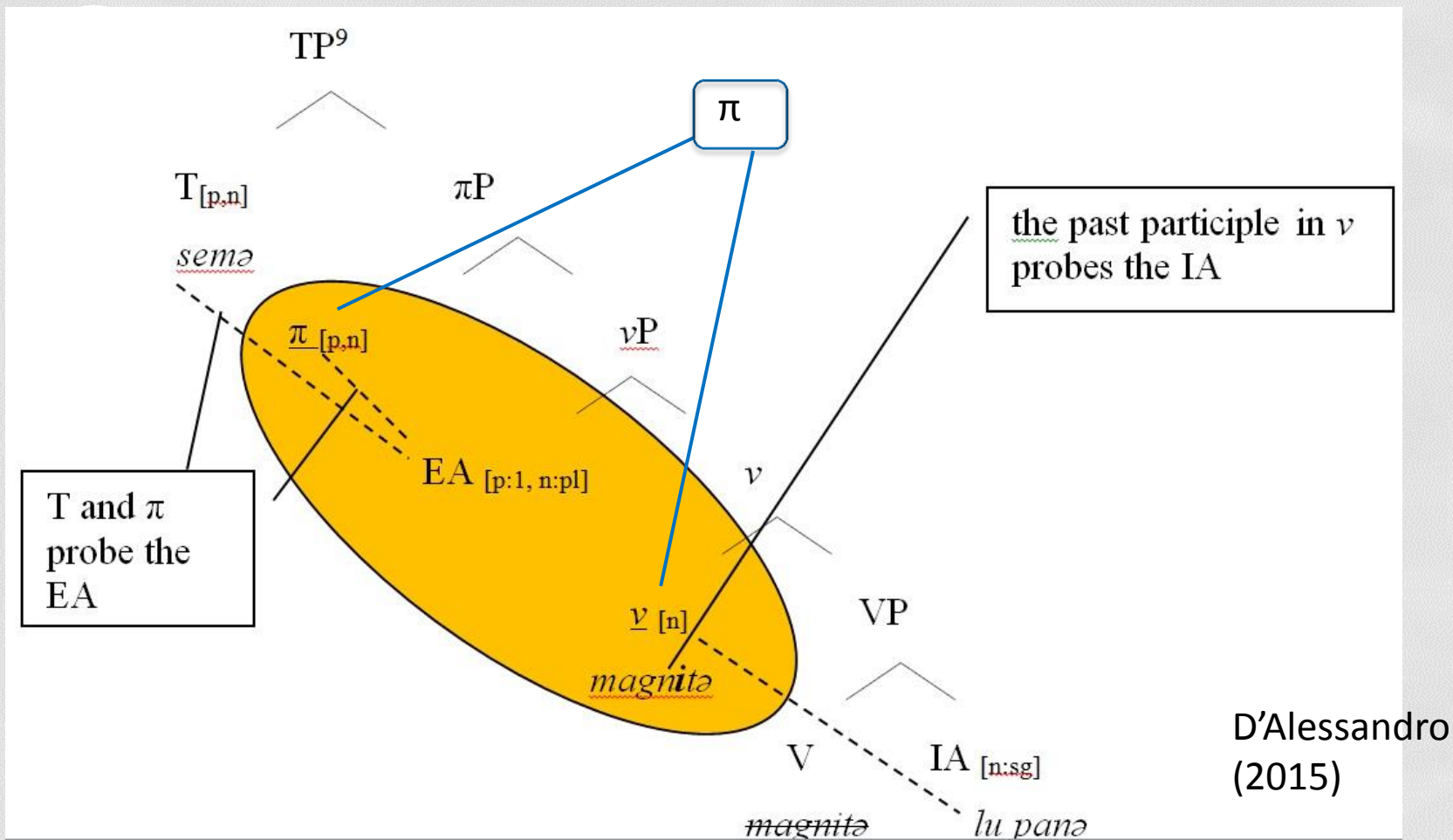
D'Alessandro (2015)

Agreement mismatch in Ripano

(27)

(6) a. *Babbu*   *dicə*   *le*   *vərità*   [Ripano]
       dad-m.sg   says-3rd.sg.n   the-f.sg   truth-f.sg
       'Dad says the truth'   [Mancini 1988: 107]

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

vs

(7) a. *I' ridu*   ('I laugh'-masc)   b. *ia ride* ('I laugh'-fem) [Ripano]
      tu ridu   ('you laugh'-masc)   *tu ride*   ('you laugh'-fem)
      issu ridu   ('he laughs'-masc)   *esse ride* ('she laughs'- fem)
      noja ridemi ('we laugh'-masc)   *noja ridema* …
      voja rideti   *voja rideta*
      issi ridi   *essa ride*

   c. *i'so risu* ('I have laughed-masc)   d. *ia so rise* ('I have 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]

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D'Alessandro (2013)

Agreement mismatch in Ripano

Abruzzese

(28)___*Semə*   *magnitə lu*   *panə*

pro-1.pl are-1.pl   eaten-pl the-sg.m bread-sg.m

'We have eaten the bread'
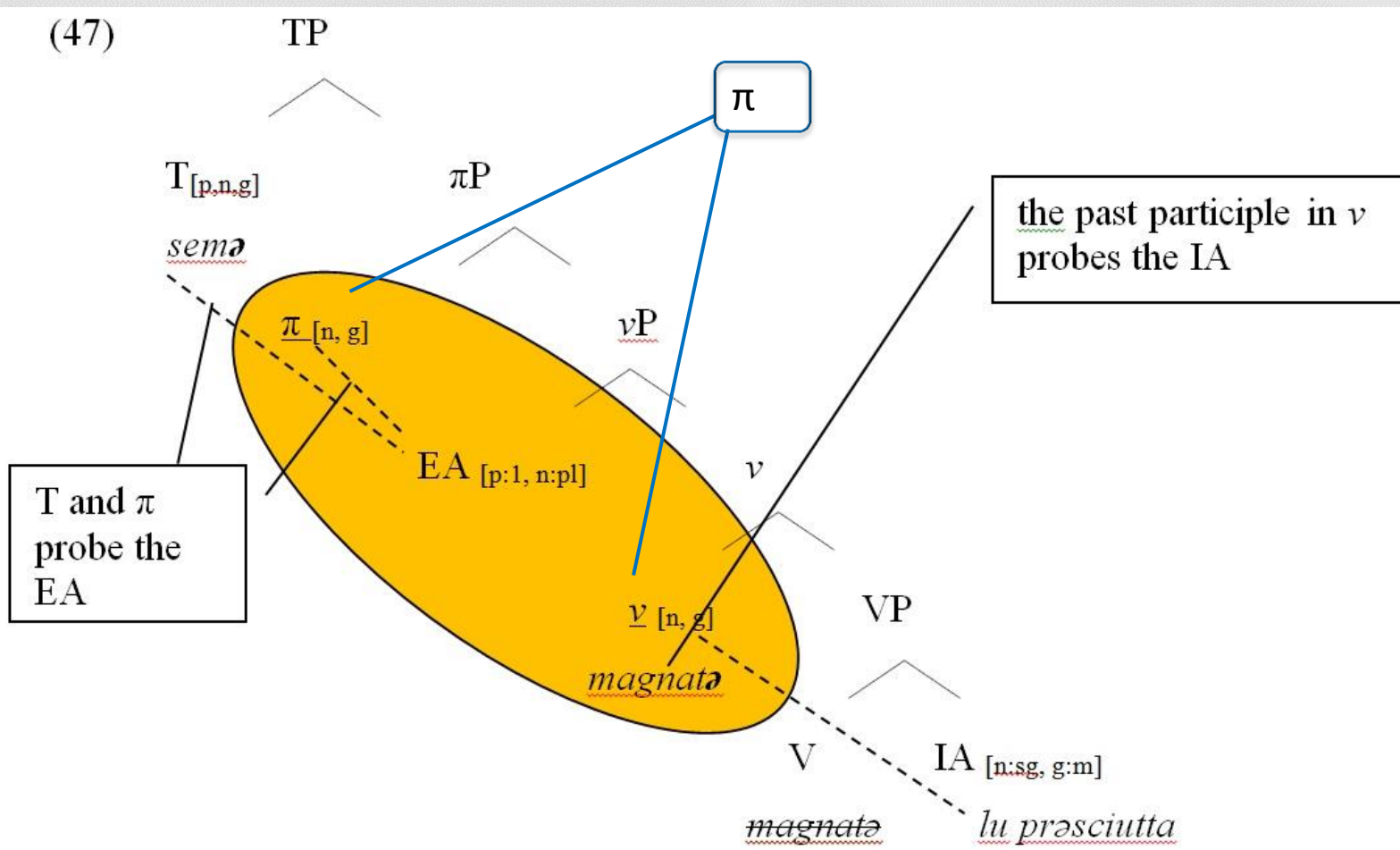

Ripano

(29) ___ *semə*   *magnatə*   *lu*   *prəsciutta*

     pro- f .pl   are eaten-n the- m.sg   ham-m.sg

   'We-fem have eaten the ham'

Ripano agreement

(30)

(47) TP

T[p,n,g]

πP

π

semə

π [n, g]

*v*P

EA [p:1, n:pl]

v

the past participle in *v* probes the IA

T and π probe the EA

v [n, g]

magnatə

VP

V

IA [n:sg, g:m]

magnatə

lu prəsciutta

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  - Person-driven DOM
- Conclusions

Adverbial agreement

- Ripano (agreement mismatch markers, gender marking on the finite verb…)

(31)

a.	I' ridu	('I laugh'-masc)	b.	ia ride ('I laugh'-fem)	[Ripano]
	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	

c.	se ridə	('it is laughed'-neuter)		[Rossi 2008: 31]

Adverbial agreement

(32) *Iss**u/isse*** *ha* *rispost**u/e*** ***malu/e***

　　he-SG.M/F　have-3.SG. answer-PPT.SG.M/F badly-SG.M/F

　　'(S)he answered badly'

(33) *l**e/li*** *flachin**e/**flachì va(/nnu)* *a spass**e/i***

　　the-SG.F/MPL girl-SG.F/MPL　go-3　around-SGF/MPL

　　'The girl goes around' 'The boys go around'

Adverbial agreement

(34)   a. *Magnu*   **sembru**

   eat-1.SG.M always-M.

   'I always eat'

   b. *Magne*   **sembre**

   eat-1.F.M   always-F.

   'I always eat'

- Where does this extra gender feature come from?
- Floating **π**

Deictic adverbs

- **Adverbs**

(26)   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'

Recall

Accuscì, (assoscì), alluscì   π in the root
this way, that way, that way   Probes for the participant

Magnu   ***sembru***   π in the ending
eat-1.ꜱɢ.ᴍ   always-ᴍ.   Probes for the participant
'I always eat'

- Abruzzese and Ripano both feature a deictic π
- This π is merged in the vP **(D'Alessandro *et al* 2016)**

Outline

- Φ or no Φ – theoretical issues
- Where is π? Parametric choices
- Agreement:
    - Clitics
    - Person-oriented auxiliaries
    - Participial agreement
    - Adverbial agreement
    - **Agreeing 3rd person pronouns**
    - Person-driven DOM
- Conclusions

Agreeing 3rd person pronouns

● Personal pronouns in USIDs

(27) Custù, cussù, cullù   (Eastern Abruzzese)
    he   he   he
  `He next to me, he next to you, he far from both´

(28) Chistè, chissè, chillè
    she   she   she
  'She next to me, she next to you, she far from both´

Spanish demonstratives

- Same as Spanish?

(18) éste, ése, aquéll   Pronouns
     ésta, ésa, áquélla ...

(19) este, ese, aquell   Adjectives
     esta, esa, aquella....

3rd person = no person?

- Demonstratives

(20) Questə, quessə, quellə
    this,   that   that
´This close to me, that close to you, that far from both´

(16) Custù, cussù, cullù

These pronouns are NOT demonstratives: they are personal pronouns with deixis

Deictic/locative information

- **Adverbs**

(21) Accuscì, (assoscì) all~scì

  this way, th~~~~~way

 'The way I am ~~~~~~~~~way you're doing it, the way they ~~~~~'

Remember!

3rd person pronouns

- no person but a deictic/ locative feature
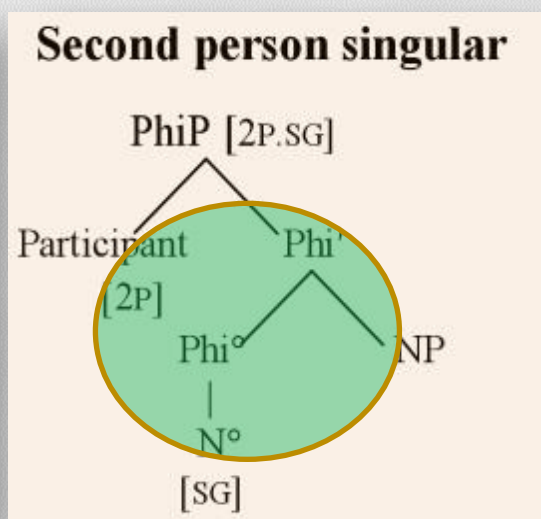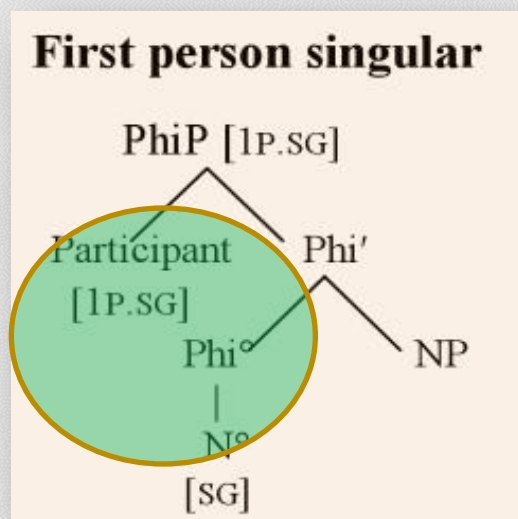
DEIXIS and PERSON are two different features

What is the structure of these pronouns?

Pronouns

- The inner structure of pronouns

- Pronouns have structure (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999, Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002, Harley & Ritter 2002, Van Koppen 2012…)
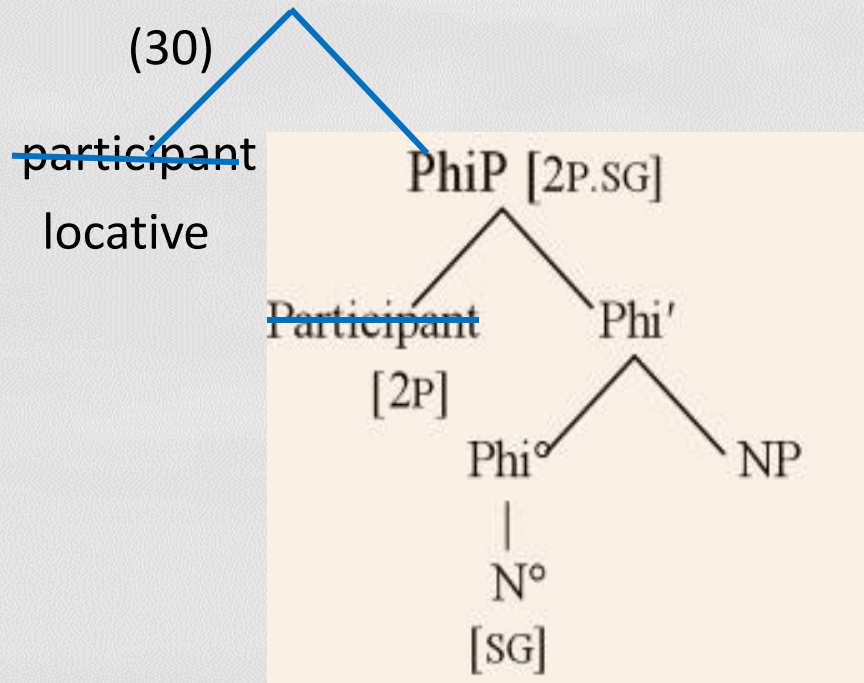
(29)

(Van Koppen 2012: 148)

3rd person pronouns

- Is the 3rd person deictic equivalent to «no person» next to the addressee?

(30)

~~participant~~

locative

PhiP [2P.SG]

~~Participant~~
[2P]

Phi'

Phi°
|
N°
[SG]

NP

Possessives

- What is this locative/deictic?
- How is this different from possessives?

(31) La casə jè di lu me   / mammə**mə**
    the house is of the mine / mother-me
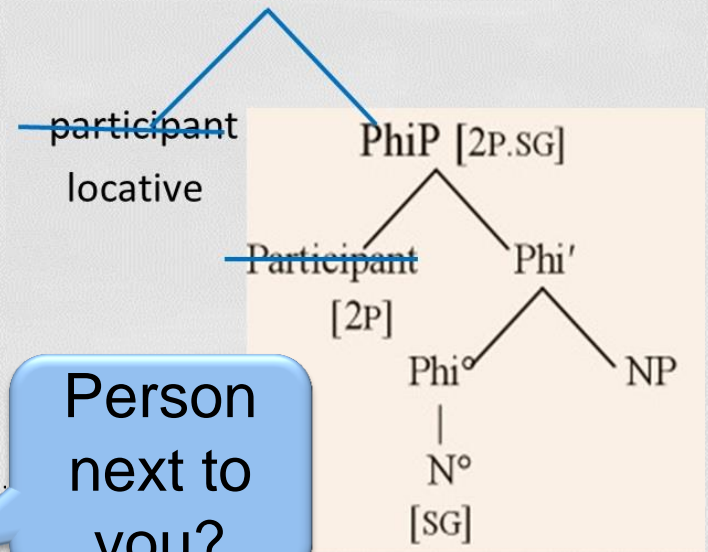   'The house is mine'

> Object next to you

(32) (di) lu mè/ (di)lu tè / (di) lu sé
    of the mine the yours the his
[3 rd person + deictic]?
[D'Alessandro & Di Sciullo 2008, D'Alessandro & Migliori 2015]

> Person next to you?

cussù

participant
locative

PhiP [2P.SG]

Participant
[2P]

Phi'

Phi°
|
N°
[SG]

NP

Deictics vs Possessives

(33) lu tè

    the yours

> Object next to you

There is no possessive

reading in *cussù*

(27) cussù

    he-next to you

> Person next to you
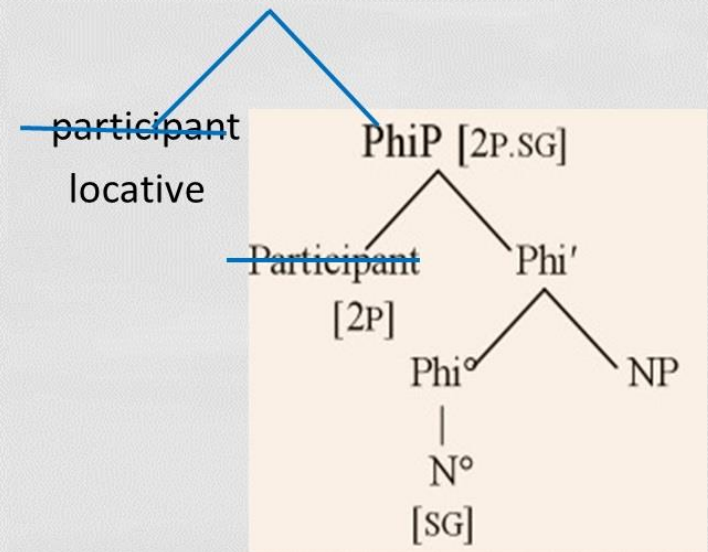
Deixis & person

- USIDs express DEIXIS more frequently than the rest of Romance.

- They also express PERSON more frequently than the rest of Romance.

- Another case of floating πs!

Outline

- Φ or no Φ – theoretical issues
- Where is π? Parametric choices
- Agreement:
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  - Participial agreement
  - Adverbial agreement
  - Agreeing 3rd person pronouns
  - **Person-driven DOM**
- Conclusions

Person-driven DOM

- DOM (in Romance): animacy

(34) Hoy vi **a** tu primo/unos libros

Today saw-1.SG AT your cousin/some books

'I saw your cousin today/I saw some books today'

Prepositional accusative/DOM: animacy-driven

Richards (2008): The syntactic basis of these phenomena has been argued to be a single syntactic feature: **Person**. This feature is specified only on animate and/or definite arguments (since inanimates and indefinites are always inherently third-person), as part of the D head.

Person-driven DOM

- Specificity/animacy/telicity/affectedness
- Abruzzese: 1 and 2 person:

(35) So vistə **a** te /a vu

am seen to you to you.PL

'I saw you/you.PL'

(36) Si vistə a me/ **a** nu

are seen to me to us

'You saw me, us'

(37) Semə viste **(*a)** Marijə /essə/ jissə

are seen to Mary him/her them

'We saw Mary, her/him, them'

Split object clitic doubling

(20) a. El   (*me)   ciama sempre mi   [Trentino]

      he-SCL me-cl   calls always me-ocl

      'He always calls me'

      b. El   (*te)   ciama sempre ti   [Trentino]

      he-SCL you-scl   calls always you-ocl

      'He always calls you'
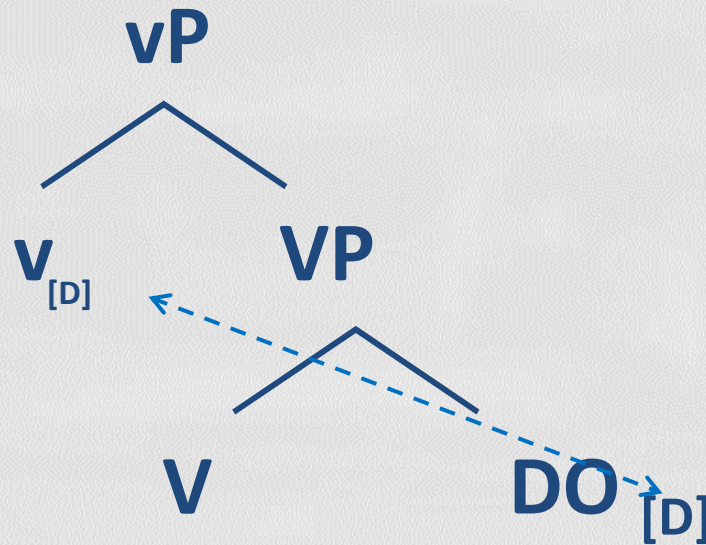
      c. El   ciama sempre   ela

       he-SCL   calls always   her-ocl

      'He always calls her'   (Cordin 2016:3)

DOM
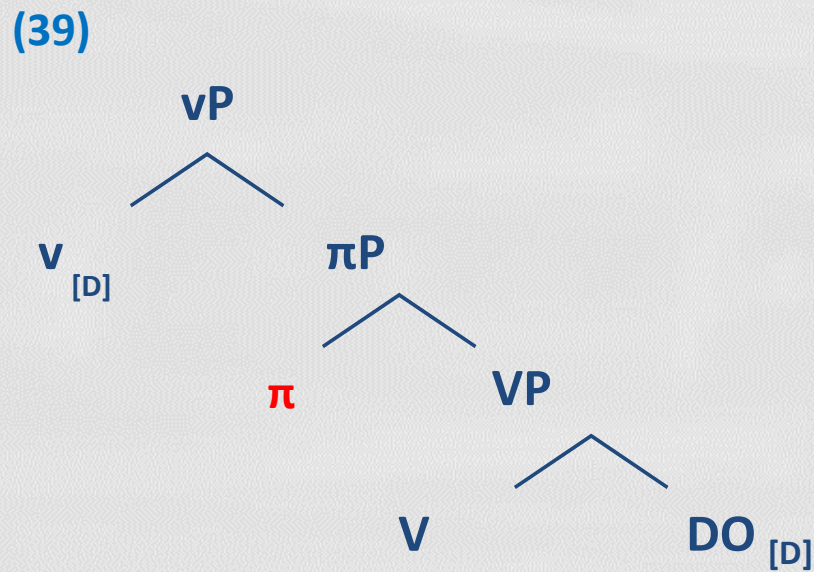
- a is the exponent of a definiteness feature

(38)

vP
├─ V[D]
└─ VP
   ├─ V
   └─ DO[D]

PF

a

DOM

- a is the exponent of a D (categorial) feature + π

(39)

```
                    vP
                   /  \
              V          πP
              [D]       /  \
                      π       VP
                             /  \
                          V       DO [D]
```

DOM

- a is the exponent of a D (categorial) feature + π

(40)

vP
├── V
│   [D]
│   π
└── πP
    ├── VP
    │   ├── V
    │   └── DO [D]
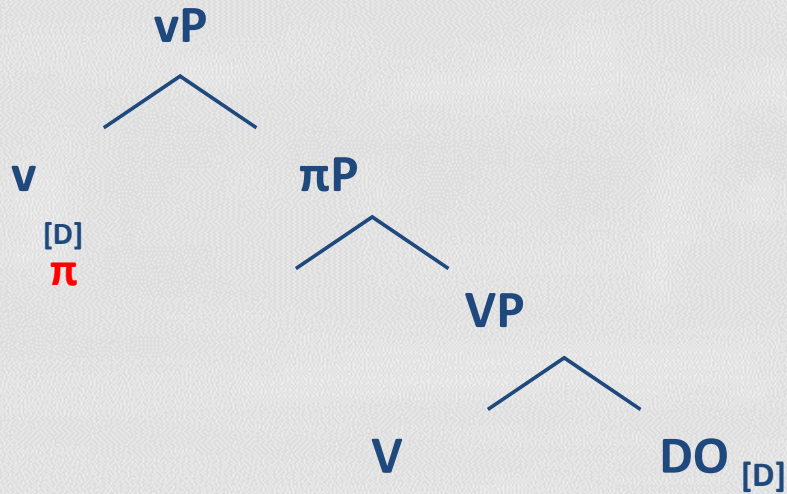
PF

DOM

- a is the exponent of a D (categorial) feature + π

(41)

```
        vP
       /  \
      v    πP
          /  \
         VP
        /  \
       V    DO [D]
```

PF
a
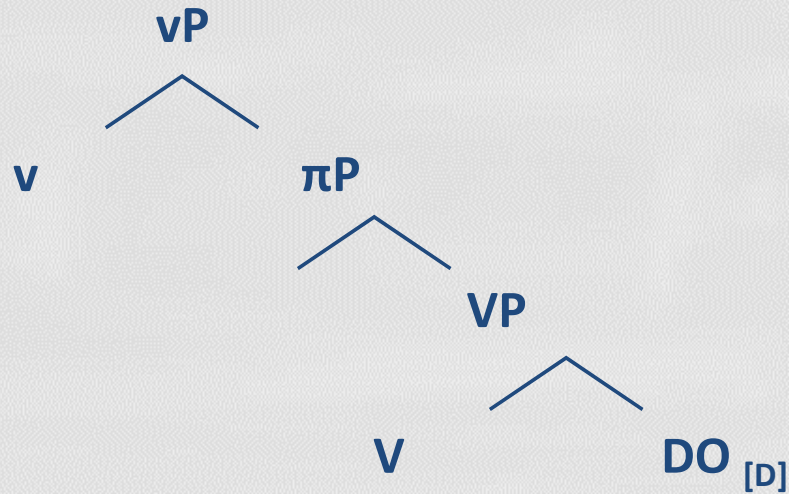
Outline

- Φ or no Φ – theoretical issues
- Where is π? Parametric choices
- Empirical issues:
  - Clitics
  - Deictic 3rd person pronouns
  - Person-driven auxiliaries
  - Person-driven *rafforzamento fonosintattico*
  - Person-driven DOM
  - Adverbial agreement
- **Conclusions**

Conclusions

- There is an extra **π** in Italo-Romance

- Each language decides what to merge/incorporate it with

- This π can be merged/incorporated in the stem of a word

- If π is merged as the word stem or as an ending, it will still be able to agree

Grazjə a ssəgnərì!

r.dalessandro@hum.leidenuniv.nl

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Auxiliaries /*raddoppiamento*

(23)

Albidona (Northern Calabrian)

a.	dʒə	ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə	H.pr.1sg washed/come
	ɛ	ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə	H.pr.2sg washed/come
	ɛ	**gg**a'βa:tə/**bb**ə'nu:tə	H.pr.3sg washed/come
b.	mə	ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə	H.pr.1pl washed/come
	a'βəsə	ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə	H.pr.2pl washed/come
	nə	ɣa'βa:tə/βə'nu:tə	H.pr.3pl washed/come

[Manzini & Savoia (2005), II: 784]

π = μ

Person-driven *raddoppiamento*

(24)

Airola (Central Campanian)		
a.	addʒə	'vistə/ve'nu:tə	H.pr.1sg seen/come
	a	'vistə/ve'nu:tə	H.pr.2sg seen/come
	a	**v'v**istə/**vv**e'nu:tə	H.pr.3sg seen/come
b.	ammu	'vistə/ve'nu:tə	H.pr.1pl seen/come
	atə	'fatt/ve'nu:tə	H.pr.2pl seen/come
	annə	'fatt/ve'nu:tə	H.pr.3pl seen/come

Torcolacci (2015:104)

- Where π is expressed depends on the language!
- Airola e Arielli have the same π

Subject clitics

- Trigger for cliticization? Agree [Roberts 2010]

What is the trigger for cliticization? […] This is nothing other than Agree. Agree plus spell-out of features on the probe under specific conditions: cliticization

(4) *a. Trigger for Agree*
    v* [Pers: ____, Num: ____]   D [Pers: a, Num:b], [Case: ___]

    b. *Outcome of Agree*   D [Pers: a, Num:b], [Case: ___]
    v* [**Pers: a, Num: b**]

                                         Roberts (2010:59)

- Roberts's proposal is ok for argumental and SCLs. Problems with doubling/tripling.

Subject clitics

- ## What is cliticization? Agree [Roberts 2010]

SCLs in some NI varieties are nothing other than the Spellout of Agree.

Goals can be defective (subset of features of the Probe): Agree with defective Goal and Spellout of the higher copy of φ.

Agree plus spell-out of features on the Probe: clitic effect.

(4) *a. Trigger for Agree*

v* [Pers: ____, Num: ____]   D [Pers: *a*, Num:*b*], [Case: ___]

b. *Outcome of Agree*   D [Pers: *a*, Num:*b*], [Case: ___]

v* [**Pers: *a*, Num: *b***]

Roberts (2010:59)

Deictic 3rd person pronouns

- **Personal deixis** (i.e. reference to the participantsto a speech act) and person are usually considered to overlap in pronouns.

Benveniste (1966): le traitement du pronom personnel «je»: il y a deux «je», «deux instances conjuguées »: l'une est une instance formelle, «linguistique», l'autre est une instance «personnelle», une présence. Ce dernier «je» relève d'un prédicat de réalité. Il «signifie la personne qui énonce la présente instance de discours contenant je». (*PLG* I, p. 252)

Grammatical person and **deixis**: are they the same thing?

- Is 1st person the same as **speaker**?
- Is 2nd person the same as **addressee**?

1st/ 2nd vs 3rd

- 1st person : [+ speaker]

- 2nd person: [+ addressee]

- 3rd person: [- speaker; - addressee]

3rd person is actually the ABSENCE of person

3rd person = no person

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.

<div align="right">Gruber (2013: 47)</div>

3rd person = no person?

- Personal pronouns in USIDs

(27) Custù, cussù, cullù   (Eastern Abruzzese)
    he   he   he
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