MICROVARIATION AND SYNTACTIC THEORY

WHAT DIALECTS CAN TELL US ABOUT LANGUAGE

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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.

▪ Are USIDs still "Italian" from a typological point of view, or are they completely different?

▪ Why work on microvariation?

> **Romance languages are so well-studied! We don't need more data!**

> **WRONG**

0.1. OVERVIEW

1. ON GENERALIZATIONS

GENERALIZATIONS ABOUT ROMANCE LANGUAGES

❖ PARTICIPIAL AGREEMENT

"A crucial observation concerning the phenomenon of past participle agreement in Romance is that no variety allows the past participle to agree with the subject of intransitive/unergative and transitive verbs [. . .] Any treatment of the computation involved in past participle agreement must account for this fact."[Belletti 2005, III: 509].

❖ AUXILIARY SELECTION

In languages with auxiliary selection
Transitives and unergatives: HAVE
Unaccusatives and passives: BE

❖ *LAÍSMO-LEÍSMO*

Gallego (2013: 11): DAT is more complex than ACC → if a dialect has *leísmo* THEN it can have *laísmo*. No *laísmo* without *leìsmo*.

❖ ROMANCE TYPOLOGY

	WEST. ROMANCE			CENT. ROMANCE			EAST. ROMANCE
	E. Port.	*Galician*	*Spanish*	*Catalan*	*Italian*	*French*	*Romanian*
DOM	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
VOS	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
VSO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
NOM-SE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
OBLIQUE CL.	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
LEÍSMO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
LAÍSMO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO
PART. AGR.	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
AUX. SELEC.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO
CL. DOUBLING	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
CAUSEE + INF	--	--	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES
POSS. "HAVE"	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO

[Gallego 2013: 7]

TYPOLOGICAL GENERALIZATIONS

❖ PERSON SPLITS IN DOM CONSTRUCTIONS

Coon (2012:19, Coon & Preminger 2012): None of the attested DOM patterns make reference to person features

❖ VOICE THROUGH GEMINATION

Keenan (1985:251): reduplication and gemination are <u>not</u> possible morphological expressions of the passive voice.

MYSTERIES

Enclitic possessives

(1)   a. mamməmə   b. pitrəmə   [Abruzzese]
        mother-my   father-my
        'My mother'   'My father'

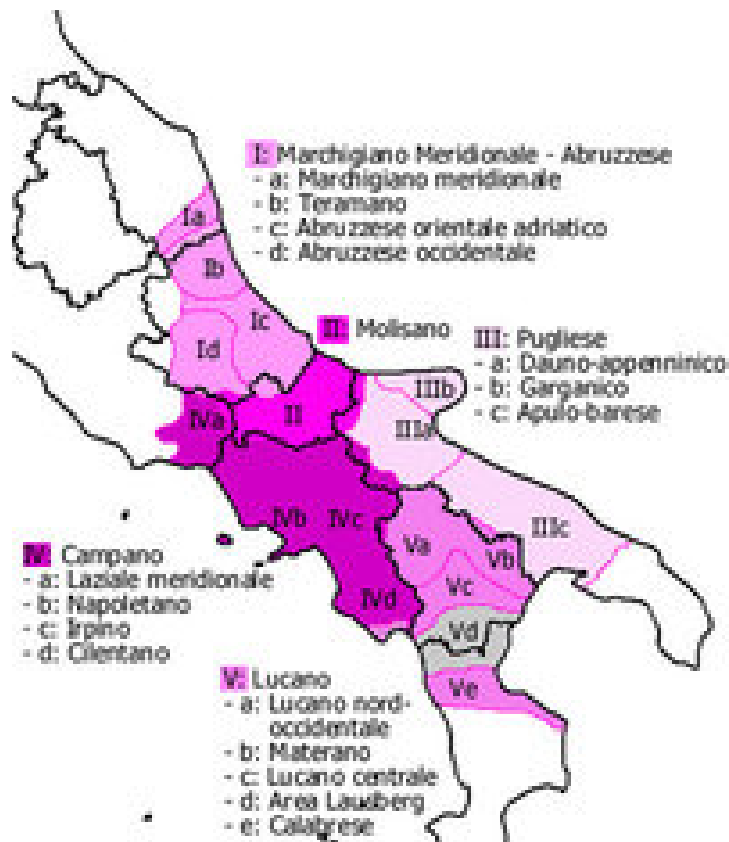Why are possessives with kinship terms enclitic?

[Check an inalienable poss feature, N checks D(ef)], …]

a-prepositional genitives

(2)   la casə li cumbignə
        the house the friends
        'The friends' house'

2. THE DATA

UPPER SOUTHERN ITALIAN DIALECTS

❖ PARTICIPIAL AGREEMENT

"A crucial observation concerning the phenomenon of past participle agreement
in Romance is that no variety allows the past participle to agree with the subject
of intransitive/unergative and transitive verbs [. . .] Any treatment of the computation
involved in past participle agreement must account for this fact."[Belletti 2005, III:
509].

A. *'Omnivorous' participial agreement in NUMBER* in Ariellese [Ic on the map]

(3)   a. Giuwannə a   pitt**a**tə   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   pitt**i**tə   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)]

B. *Agreement mismatch* in Ripano [Ia on the map]

(4)   a. So magnatə   lu   pani'
           am eaten-n   the-m.sg   breadroll-m.sg
          'I(fem) have eaten the breadroll'   [Mancini 1993: 107]

        b.   i'so risu ('I have laughed-masc)   c. ìa 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

C. *Topic-oriented agreement* in Sanvalentinese [Ic on the map]

(5)   a. Aje   cciosə   li   pellîstrə   [Sanvalentinese]
           have-1st.sg   killed-sg.masc   the-pl.masc chickens-pl.masc
           'I have being killing chickens'

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

- ▪ Belletti's generalization is WRONG.
- ▪ The verb "sees" both arguments and Agrees with both (B) or with the most prominent syntactically (A) or with the most prominent pragmatically (C).

❖ AUXILIARY SELECTION

Transitives and unergatives: HAVE
Unaccusatives and passives: BE

(6)   [Abruzzese]

a. (ji)So magnatə   BE   d. (nu) seme magnitə   BE
(I) am eaten   we   are eaten
'I have eaten'   'We have eaten'

b. (tu) si magnatə   BE   e. vu   sete magnitə   BE
you are eaten   you.pl   are eaten
'you have eaten'   'You have eaten'

c.(essə) a magnatə   HAVE   f. (jissə) a magnitə   HAVE
(s)he has eaten   they   have eaten
'(s)he has eaten'   'They have eaten'

IS THIS AN EXCEPTION?

(7)   [from Manzini & Savoia 2005, II:728] [A=HAVE; E= BE]

(79)   *Distribuzione degli ausiliari al perfetto*

		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

Catalan (Olotí, Olot)

(8)   So/   ha   bist/vingut
        I-am   he-has   seen   come
        'I have/he has seen/come'   [Ledgeway 2012:324]

❖ *LAÍSMO-LEÍSMO*

Gallego (2013: 11): DAT is more complex than ACC → if a dialect has *leísmo* THEN it can have *laísmo*. No *laísmo* without *leìsmo*.

Barese

(9)   U/   ?'ngə   hannə arrəbbatə   a Giuwanne
        him-3.sg.m.acc   him.loc/dat   have   robbed   to John
         'They robbed John'   [Andriani 2011:49]

(10)   a. (*a) Colinə,   u/   *' ngə   so tələfonatə jì
        to   Nick   him-3.sg.m.acc   him.loc/dat   am called   I
        'Nick, I called him'

        b. U/   ?'ngə   so tələfonatə jì *(a) Colinə
           him.3.sg.m.acc   loc/dat   am called   I to Nick
        'It was me calling Nick'   [Andriani 2011:52]

Neapolitan

(11)   Nun 'a   facite   mettere   appaura!
        not her.acc   make.2nd.pl put.inf   fear
        'Don't frighten her'   [Di Giacomo 1991:32 in Ledgeway 2000:46]

(12)   'a   scasso   'a faccia!
        her-acc   I-break   the face
        'I'll smash her face in!'   [Ledgeway 2000:47]

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	WEST. ROMANCE			CENT. ROMANCE			EAST. ROMANCE	
	E. Port.	Galician	Spanish	Catalan	Italian	French	SIDs	Romanian
DOM	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
VOS	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
VSO	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
NOM-SE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO
OBLIQUE CL.	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
LEÍSMO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
LAÍSMO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO
PART. AGR.	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
AUX. SELEC.	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NO
CL. DOUBLING	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
CAUSEE + INF	--	--	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES
POSS. "HAVE"	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO

❖ PERSON SPLITS IN DOM CONSTRUCTIONS

Coon (2012:19): None of the attested DOM patterns make reference to person features

(13)   So   vistə a tte   [Ariellese]
       am-1sg   seen to you
       'I saw you'

(14)   Semə vistə   a vvu
       are-1pl   seen   to you
       'We saw you'

(15)   *So   vistə a Marijə/ a jissə / a quillə
       am-1sg   seen to Mary /to them/ to them

❖ VOICE THROUGH GEMINATION

Keenan (1985:251): reduplication and gemination are NOT possible morphological expressions of the passive voice.

(16)   a.So vistə   Si vistə   b.So [v]vistə Si [v]vistə
         am-1S seen   are-2S seen   am-1S seen   are-2S seen
         'I have seen' 'You have seen'   'I am seen'   'You(s) are seen

         [Biberauer & D'Alessandro 2006, 2010; D'Alessandro & Scheer 2012, 2013]

3. HOW TO MAKE SENSE OF ALL OF THIS

▪   What is the locus of syntactic variation? Where is it encoded?

(17)   BORER-CHOMSKY CONJECTURE   [Baker 2008]

All parameters of variation are attributable to differences in the features of particular
items (e.g., the functional heads) in the lexicon.

Is this so?

YES – SIDs feature an extra head (π) in the syntactic structure. In SIDs, this head is a
probe, it hosts unvalued φ-features.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU MERGE A HEAD π?

A: π is valued
B: π is unvalued

Sub-options:

A1. π is valued and merged in the left periphery (between C and T; henceforth C-T)
A2. π is valued and merged in the v-field (between T and $v;$ henceforth T-v)
A3. π is valued and merged in the V field (between v and V; henceforth v-V)

B1. π is unvalued (it is a probe) and merged in the left periphery (C-T)
B2. π is unvalued (it is a probe) and merged in the v-field (T-v)
B3. π is unvalued (it is a probe) and merged in the V field (v-V)

[other options: π is prepositional, π is defective (Gallego 2013)]

WHAT THIS GIVES US:

Table 1.

Φ FEATURES (Π)		1. C-T (LEFT PERIPHERY)	2. T-*v*	3. *v*-V
A.	valued	discourse clitics (A1)	split ergativity (A2)	DOM (A3)
		Northern Italian dialects	Basque, Kutchi Guajarati	Spanish/Catalan (Upper) southern Italian dialects
B.	unvalued (probe)	subject clitics (B1)	person-driven aux selection (B2) + agreement mismatch phenomena (B2)	person-driven DOM (B3)
		Northern Italian dialects	Upper southern Italian dialects	(Upper) southern Italian dialects

3.1. AUXILIARY SELECTION AS SUBJECT DOUBLING [GROUP B2: Π IN T-v]

The setup of auxiliaries: Italian vs Abruzzese

(18)   a. Mattia ha mangiato   a'. Voi avete mangiato   [Italian]
              M. has eaten   you-pl have eaten

       b. Mattia è cresciuto   b'. voi siete cresciuti
              M.   is grown   you-pl are grown

       c. Mattia ha lavorato   c'. voi avete lavorato
              M. has worked   you have worked
       'Mattia has eaten/grown/worked''You-pl have eaten/grown/worked'

(19)   a. Matte' a magnate   a'. Vu sete magnite   [Ariellese]
              M.   has eaten   you-pl have eaten

       b. Matte' a crisciute   b'. vu sete crisciute
              M.   has grown   you-pl have grown

       c. Matte' a fatijate   c. vu sete fatijite
              M. has worked   you have worked
       'Mattia has eaten/grown/worked''You-pl have eaten/grown/worked'

MORPHOLOGY OF ITALIAN AUXILIARY

a. transitivity [have]; inergativity [have]; unaccusativity [be]
b. person and number of the subject of the transitive, unergative or unaccusative verb
c. present tense

MORPHOLOGY OF ABRUZZESE AUXILIARY

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
c. perfectivity and non-*irrealis*   (indicative mood)

If morphology means something:

(20)　a.

	[pers]	[pers, nr]	b.	root	[pers, nr]
So =	s (be=1/2)	+ -o (1.sg)	faccə	= 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)

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 is a clitic in the v field   [D'Alessandro 2011a,b, 2012]

Subject clitics/ Northern Italian dialects.

(21)　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]

**Subject clitics and 'split' auxiliaries are the same thing:
extra π probes**

3.2. Subject clitics in Northern Italian dialects vs Auxiliary selection in Usids

Tendency: 2nd person clitics are most common
If a language has only a SCL, it will be the 2 (2nd person) [Renzi & Vanelli 1983]

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 (Stroppo/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"[1]. [but see Cennamo 2002,2008, Loporcaro 2007]
Where P= 1/2 only

If a language has only one occurrence of be, will it be then 2nd person?
YES [Manzini & Savoia 2005: 728]

What happens in varieties that have both SCL and split aux selection? Complementary distribution? YES (so far, but more data needed) [Tersmette 2010, Torcolacci 2011]

→ Be is a person marker in SIDs.

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

(23)   sum/i   O   drumi
        am/ SCl   have   slept-sg
        t   ɛ   drumi
        you-SCl   are-2/3sg   slept-sg
        l   ɛ   drumi
        (s)he-3SCl   is-2/3sg   slept-sg
        (i)   suma/   **i**   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]

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[1] "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"

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

4. EXTENDED DOMAIN VS SPLIT DOMAINS – THE COMPLEX PROBE

In Abruzzese the extra π enlarges the agreement space:

Abruzzese agreement patterns:
(24)   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)]
(25)   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'

(26)   a. Babbu   dicə   le   vərità [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'

San Valentino [PE]

(27)   a. Aje   cciosə   li   pellîstrə
           [Sanvalentinese]
           have-1st.sg killed-sg.masc   the-pl.masc chickens-pl.masc
           'I have killed the chickens'[2]

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

    b. Ajə   ccisə   li   pellîstrə
      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?

4.1. THE COMPLEX PROBE

Pluperfect in Abruzzese   [D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010]

(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

- 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 (22)]

(29)   Nu s'   avavemə   magnitə   lə maccarunə
       we be-1/2   had-1st.pl.impf.pst eaten-pl   the pasta-pl
       'We had eaten pasta'

(30)

```
              TP
            /    \
      ji_{1.sg}    T
               /    \
    -emə→   T_{[p,n]}    πP
                       /    \
    BE →    π_{[p,n]}      v_{Asp}P
                         /    \
   HAVE →    v_{Asp}       vP
                         /    \
              ji_{1.sg}      v
                           /    \
                        v         VP
                   magnitə.pl    /   \
                               V       DP
                         magnitə.pl  le maccarune.pl
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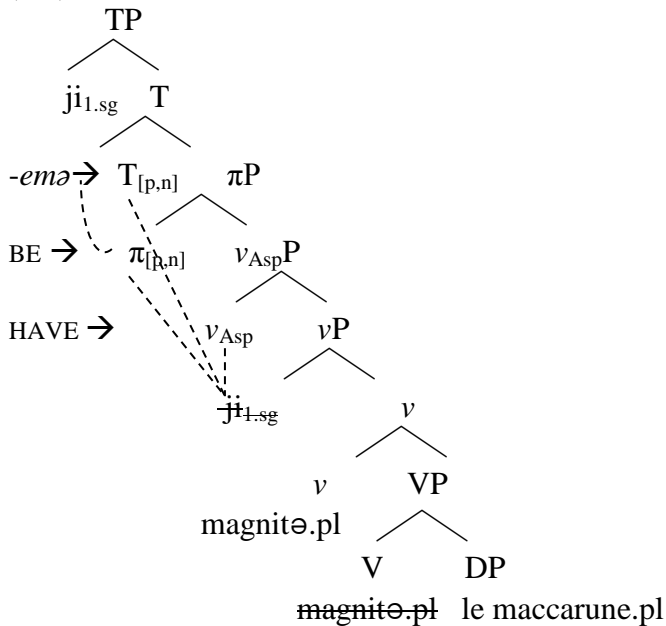
π and *v* form a COMPLEX HEAD:

(31) Given two heads F_1 and F_2, where F_1 immediately dominates F_2, F_1 and F_2 constitute a COMPLEX HEAD if they share their φ-features.

If the heads encode unvalued φ-features, we have a COMPLEX PROBE:

(32) **COMPLEX PROBE**: Given two heads F_1 and F_2, where F_1 immediately dominates F_2, F_1 and F_2 constitute a complex probe if they share their φ-features and these φ-features are unvalued.

(33) SHARE [adapted from Ouali 2008:169]

Transfer φ-features from X to Y and keep a copy

4.1.1. HOW IT WORKS

(34)   Semə magnitə lu panə   [Ariellese]
        are   eaten   the bread
        'We have eaten bread'

(35)   TP

        T[p,n]   πP

        semə

                π[p,n]   *v*P

                           *v*P

                EA [p:1, n:pl]   *v*

    | the past participle in *v* probes the IA, but Agrees with both the EA and the IA (*magnitə* is plural, like the EA) |

    | the aux only probes the EA |

                    v [n]   VP

                    magnitə

                            V   IA [n:sg]

                        magnitə   *lu panə*
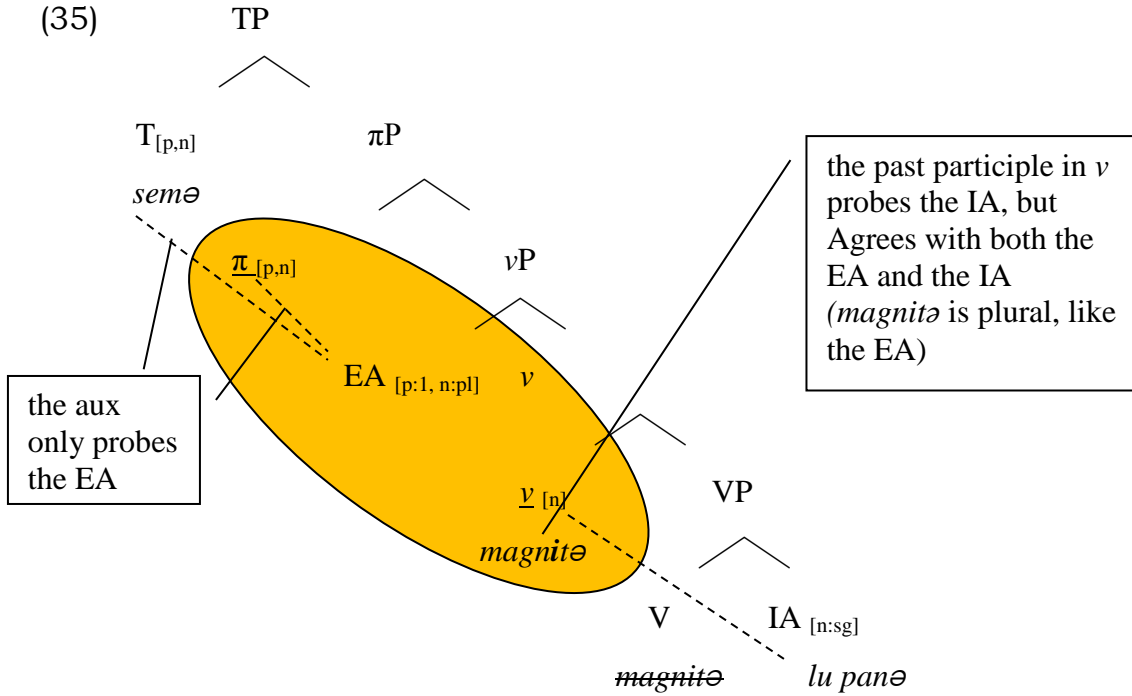
- π probes the EA; so does T: they both get valued as [P:1, N:pl]

- *v* probes the IA: it gets valued as [N:sg]

- π 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

(36) ___ semə magnatə lu prəsciutta [Ripano]
pro- f .pl are eaten-n the- m.sg ham-m.sg
'We-fem have eaten the ham'

(37)

the past participle in *v* probes the IA, but Agrees with both the EA and the IA (*magnitə* is plural, like the EA)

the aux probes the EA
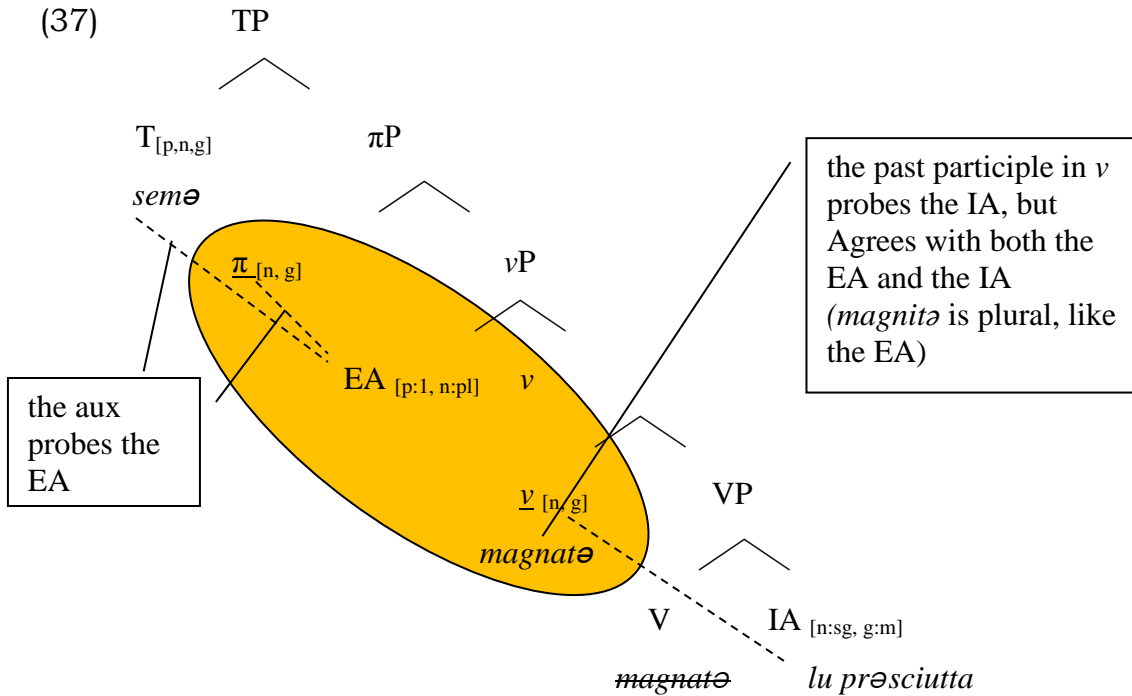
- π probes the EA; so does T: they both get valued as [P:1, N:sg, G:m]

- *v* probes the IA: it gets valued as [N:sg, G:fem]

- π and *v* form a complex Probe: they are Spelled Out with the following conflicting values:[P:1 (AND P:3); N:sg; G: masc AND G:fem]

- Lexical insertion: at PF there is feature mismatch; the neutral ending ə will consequently be inserted

4.2. WHAT IS A COMPLEX PROBE?

What are the conditions under which the complex probe can be formed?
1.That's a parameter—if you have an extra head, that head extends the agreement domain of the verb—
2. [D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010]: feature sharing. Your features are scattered on more than one head.

In principle, any two heads can form a complex probe. We see several instantiations of 'collapsing' heads.
Giorgi & Pianesi (1997): heads can be 'scattered' when the morphological inventory of the language is rich enough, or they can be collapsed into one.

PLUPERFECT IN ABRUZZESE:

(38)   a. (essə) ave'   magnatə/cagnatə/fatijatə
       (s)he   had-impf.pst   eaten/changed/worked.sg
       '(S)he had eaten/changed/worked'   HAVE

       b. (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

- In (44a): *s'* and *'avavemə* are two distinct heads, both probing the external
  argument
- In (44b) 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.

4.3. A NOTE ON TAM-BASED SPLIT ERGATIVITY

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

usually perfective ≡ ergative
imperfective ≡ non ergative

- Scheme B

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

- Scheme A+Scheme B
              erg – abs || non erg
              perfective >>   imperfective >>   progressive
inanimates >>natural>> animates>> humans>> proper names>> 3>> 1/2

Coon (2010), Coon & Preminger (2012): the imperfective is more complex than the
perfective

Person 1/2 vs 3 IN THE IMPERFECTIVE/progressive (this splits should belong to the
non-ergative area)

What we see in Abruzzese: 1/2 vs 3 IN THE PERFECTIVE

Abruzzese: perfective is more complex than imperfective.

See also Grozs & Patel (2013) and Patel & Grosz (2013) for an analysis in terms of
complex probes in Kutchi Gujarati and Marwari [perfective is structurally more
complex than imperfective].

5. SPLIT DOM

<u>*a*</u> marking only appears on 1/2 objects

(39)   so   viste a tte
         [Ariellese]
         am-1sg   seen to you
         "I have seen you"

(40)   seme viste   a vu
         are-1pl   to you
         'We have seen you'

(41)   *so   viste a Marije
         am-1sg   seen to Mary

Person split on both Subject and object of transitives in both perfective and imperfective → we are in group C3: π is in the v- π domain

Observe that split DOM *exists* (contra Coon 2012, Coon & Preminger 2012).

6. VOICE THROUGH GEMINATION

Keenan (1985:251): reduplication and gemination are <u>not</u> possible morphological expressions of the passive voice.

(42)   a.So vistə   Si vistə   b.So [v]vistə Si [v]vistə
         am-1S seen   are-2S seen   am-1S seen   are-2S seen
         'I have seen' 'You have seen'   'I am seen'   'You(s) are seen

         [Biberauer & D'Alessandro 2006, 2010; D'Alessandro & Scheer 2012, 2013]

Gemination takes place when the syntactic material is sent all together to PF, so that the chunks sent to PF can see each other (Biberauer & D'Alessandro 2006)(43)

(43)

Active
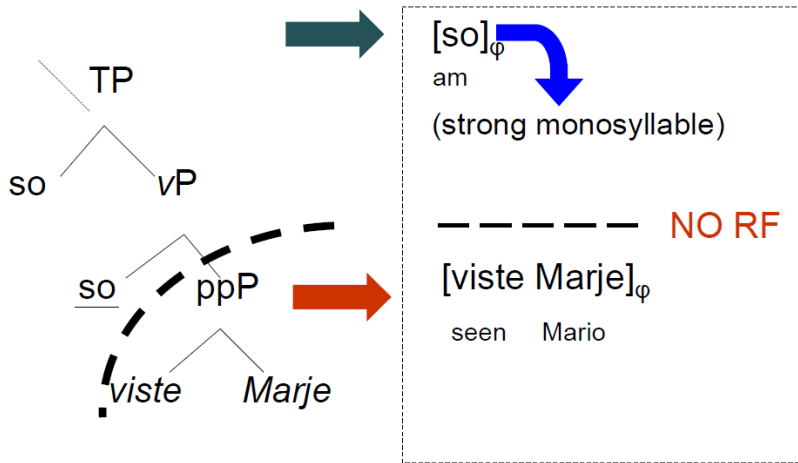
(44)

Passive
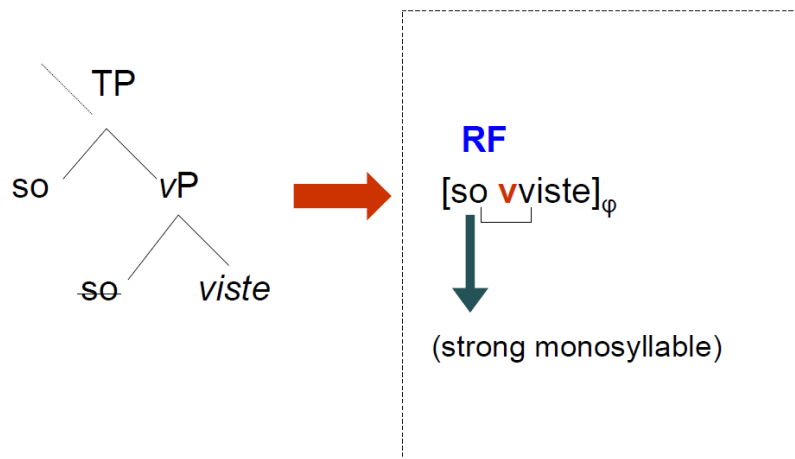
Gemination marks the PIC – the PIC is not necessarily linked to Spell Out → MODULAR PIC [D'Alessandro & Scheer 2012, 2013]
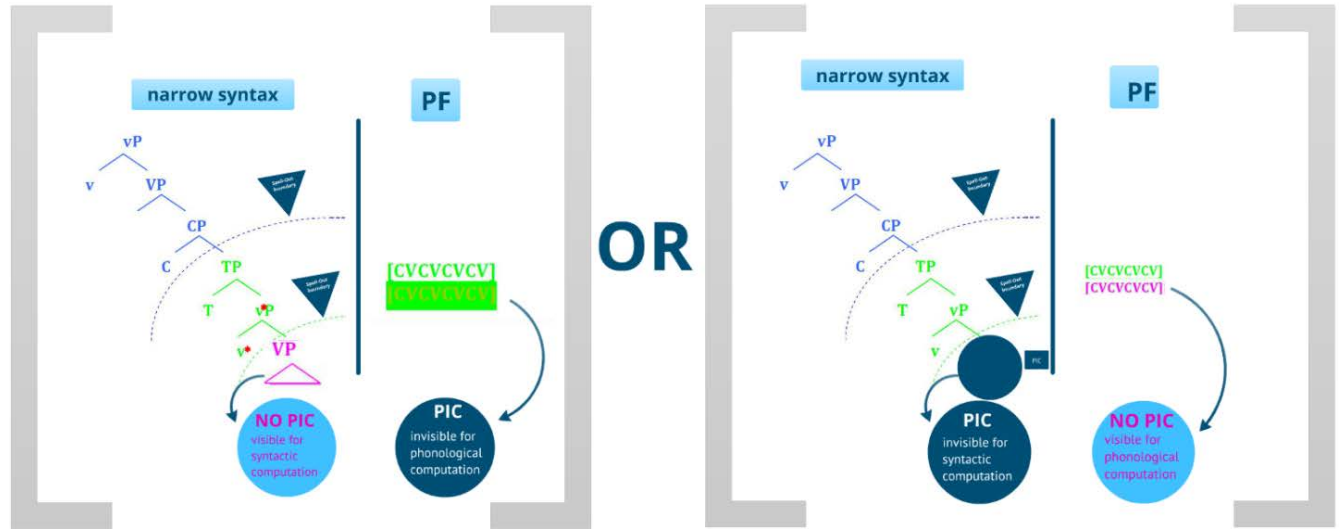
7. MYSTERIES

Enclitic possessives
(45)   mamməmə
         mother-my
         'My mother'

Why are possessives with kinship terms enclitic?

[Check an inalienable poss feature, N checks D(ef)], …]

aprepositional genitives

(46)   la casə li cumbignə
         the house the friends
         'The friends' house'

(47)   la casə jè   lu me
         the house is the my
         'the house is mine'

Old Italian: both constructions are very frequent

SIDs: BOTH constructions occur in the same varieties

➡   They are the same construction! [A SC, D'Alessandro 2013, D'Alessandro & Migliori 2013]

8. Conclusions

▪ What is the locus of syntactic variation? Where is it encoded?
It is encoded on functional heads, as stated in the Borer-Chomsky conjecture.

▪ USIDs can tell us a lot about the locus of syntactic variation and about Romance typology

▪ Why work on microvariation? ☺

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APPENDIX

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 <u>an extra head</u> (aspectual) which splits the v domain; there is only one argument per cycle; that argument gets the only case in the cycle.

Person splits: an extra head (person licenser) splitting the domain

(48)
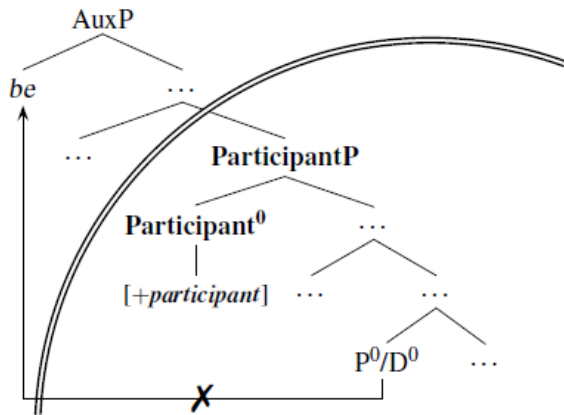
[Coon and Preminger 2012]

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 <u>THE SOLE REAL ARGUMENT</u> 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 does not work for Abruzzese.

1. Distribution of BE and HAVE

(49)   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: <u>the difference is in the "valuation status" of features [group A vs group B]</u>

The difference is that π is a probe in Italian dialects, and it's a valued φ-bundle (or an aspectual head) in split-ergative languages.

"Greedy" Probe?

There could be a 'greedy' Probe which does not stop probing even after all its unvalued features have been valued [Bobaljik & Branigan 2006].

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

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:

(51)   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

Cyclic Agree?

Bejar & Rezac (2009):

(52)   Step 0: VP constructed as {V, {V, IA}}; v becomes locus
Step 1: Merge (v, VP) --> {v$_I$ {v, {V, IA}}}
Step 2: Agree (v$_I$, IA)
Step 3: Merge (vP, EA) --> {v$_{II}$, {EA, {v$_I$, {v{V,{V, IA}}}}}}
Step 4: Agree (v$_{II}$, EA), if there is still a probe on v$_{II}$
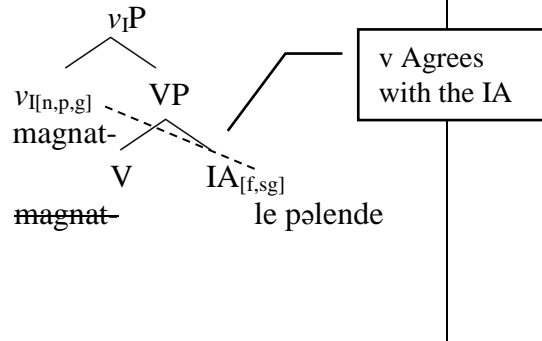
Let's try this against Ripano data:

(53)   I'   so magnatə   le   pəlende
        I-m sg am eaten-n   the- f sg   polenta- f sg
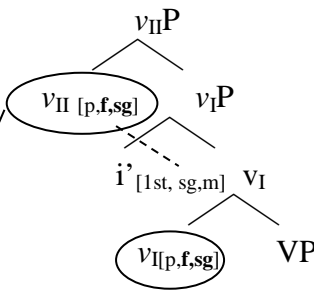   'I eat the polenta'

(54)

a. Merge (la pəlende; V)
b. Merge (VP; *v*)
c. Agree (*v*, la pↄlende)

v_IP

$v_{I[n,p,g]}$ VP
magnat-

V   IA$_{[f,sg]}$
~~magnat~~   le pəlende

v Agrees with the IA

(55)

a. Merge (v_I, *i'*)
b. Merge (v_{II}, v_IP)[3]
c. Agree (v_{II}, *i'*)

v_{II} is a reprojection of v_I: it already has some features valued

v_{II}P

$v_{II\ [p,\mathbf{f,sg}]}$ v_IP

i'$_{[1st,\ sg,m]}$ v_I

$v_{I[p,\mathbf{f,sg}]}$ VP

Main proble: _gender:_ we'd need to assume that gender reprobes, or that there is an extrinsic hierarchy deciding whether gender is different or the same. ☹

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[3] I indicate with v_{II} the reprojection of *v* after merging the external argument.