

On PL partial concord in Lunigiana varieties

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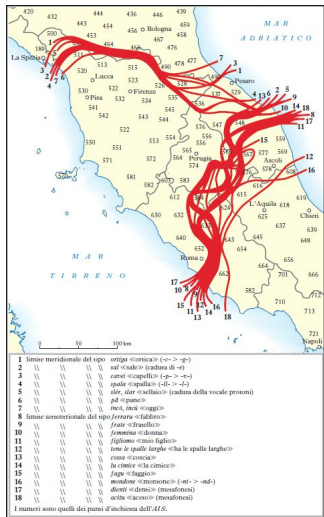
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REEDS

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Lunigiana



- ▶ Western endpoint of La Spezia - Rimini bundle of isoglosses
- ▶ High degree of microvariation
 - ▶ Phonological
 - ▶ Morphosyntactic

PL marker linear order

lup-∅
wolf-M

lup-a
wolf-F

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lup-i
wolf-PL

lup-i-a
wolf-PL-F

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- ▶ NP structure
 - ▶ $\sqrt{\quad} + n + \#$ (Marantz 2007)
 - ▶ $n = \text{GENDER}$ (Lowenstamm 2008, Picallo 2008, Kramer 2015)
- ▶ Mirror principle
 - ▶ The linear order of morphological markers should mirror the syntactic structure (Baker 1995)
 - ▶ $\sqrt{\quad}\text{-GENDER-}\# \rightarrow \text{Sp. } \sqrt{\text{LOB}}\text{-a}_F\text{-S}_{\text{PL}}$ 'wolves'

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 - ▶ $\sqrt{\text{-GENDER-}\#} \rightarrow \text{Sp. } \sqrt{\text{LOB-a}_F\text{-s}_{\text{PL}}}$ ‘wolves’
 - ▶ $*\sqrt{\text{-}\#\text{-GENDER}} \rightarrow \text{Col. } \sqrt{\text{LUP-i}_{\text{PL}}\text{-a}_F}$ ‘wolves’

PL partial concord

- ▶ The **more complex** the **DP** structure (and the more the varieties) considered, the **higher** the **microvariation degree**

	NP	Art-NP
Colonnata old	<i>lup-i-a</i>	<i>l-i-a lup-i-a</i>
Colonnata	<i>lup-i-a</i>	<i>l-i-a lup -a</i>
Bagnone	<i>lup-i-a</i>	<i>l -a lup-i-a</i>
Filattiera	<i>lup -a</i>	<i>i-a lup -a</i>

PL partial concord - Lunigiana varieties (IT)

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Art-AP-NP

Colonnata old	<i>l-i-a bel-i-a lup-i-a</i>
Caprio	<i>l-i-a bel-i-a lup -a</i>
Colonnata	<i>l-i-a bel -a lup -a</i>
Treschietto	<i>l -a bel-i-a lup-i-a</i>
Bagnone	<i>l -a bel-i-a lup -a</i>

Previous accounts

- ▶ PL marker linear order
 - ▶ Underestimation of the role of phonology
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- ▶ PL partial concord
 - ▶ Limited set of DP structures and varieties
 - ▶ Incomplete set of comparable subsystems
- ▶ We need more data ...
- ▶ ... and more phonology

Outline

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PL partial concord

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Towards an analysis

PL marker linear order

PL partial concord

PL marker linear order

- ▶ Mirror principle violation

- ▶ * $\sqrt{-\#}$ -GENDER \rightarrow Col. $\sqrt{\text{LUP}}$ - i_{PL} - a_{F} 'wolves'

PL marker linear order - phonology

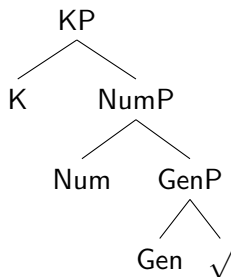
- ▶ PL is higher than F
- ▶ Phonology linearizes PL to the left of F

PL is higher than F

- ▶ Concord unveils NP's functional hierarchy (Bayırlı 2017)
 - ▶ If concord in CASE, then concord in NUM and GEN
 - ▶ If concord in NUM, then concord in GEN
 - ▶ See Norris (2019) and Caha (2022) for 'apparent' exceptions

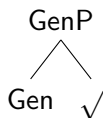
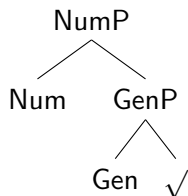
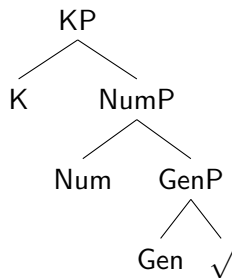
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 - ▶ If concord in NUM, then concord in GEN
 - ▶ See Norris (2019) and Caha (2022) for 'apparent' exceptions
- ▶ CASE is higher than NUM, which is higher than GEN
 - ▶ Both if GEN = n or GEN = independent head



PL is higher than F

- ▶ Partial concord targets the highest head
 - ▶ “categories can be missing from the top of that hierarchy, but not in the middle” (Caha 2022)
 - ▶ “different types of concord as [...] different structures that are trimmed top down”



PL is higher than F

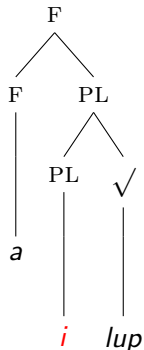
► Bagnonese

- (1) *l-a lup-i-a ner-a*
the-F wolf-PL-F black-F
- (2) *l-a bel-i-a lup-a*
the-F beautiful-PL-F wolf-F

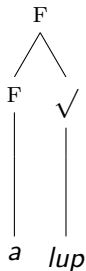
PL is higher than F

- ▶ Linear ordering = hierarchical structure

l-a lup-i-a ner-a



l-a bəl-i-a lup-a



- ▶ PC as removal of an intermediate head, *contra* Bayırlı (2017) and Caha (2022)

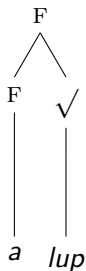
PL is higher than F

- ▶ Linear ordering \neq hierarchical structure

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- ▶ PC as removal of the highest head

PL is higher than F

- ▶ Linear order \neq hierarchical structure
 - ▶ Hierarchical structure: [NUM [GEN]]
 - ▶ Linear ordering: GEN-NUM
- ▶ PC in line with typological tendencies

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 - ▶ Hierarchical structure: [NUM [GEN]]
 - ▶ Linear ordering: GEN-NUM
- ▶ PC in line with typological tendencies
- ▶ Why linear order \neq hierarchical structure?

PL marker linear order

- ▶ Existing analyses

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 - ▶ Cyclic NP movement without pied-piping

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- ▶ New proposal
 - ▶ Phonology
 - ▶ Compatible with PC typology tendencies
 - ▶ Cyclic roll-up NP movement
 - ▶ No post-syntactic operations

PL marker linear order - phonology

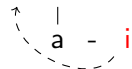
Col. $\sqrt{\text{LUP}}-i_{\text{PL}}-a_{\text{F}}$

- ▶ $[[\sqrt{\text{LUP}} [n_{\text{F}}]] \#_{\text{PL}}]$
- ▶ $\text{CV}_a \Leftrightarrow [n_{\text{F}}]^*$
- ▶ $i \Leftrightarrow [\#_{\text{PL}}]$
- ▶ $*V_{|X.Y|}, *V_j$

* Lowenstamm (2008)

a. C V C V - C V
| | | |
l u p a - i

b. C V C V - C V
| | | |
l u p a - i



c. C V C V C V
| | | |
l u p i a

PL marker linear order - phonology

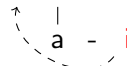
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- ▶ Uniform morphosyntactic derivation (and one PL/F head)
- ▶ No postsyntactic morphological operation

PL partial concord

- ▶ Problems with previous accounts
 - ▶ Limited set of DP structures and varieties
 - ▶ Incomplete set of comparable subsystems
- ▶ We need more data

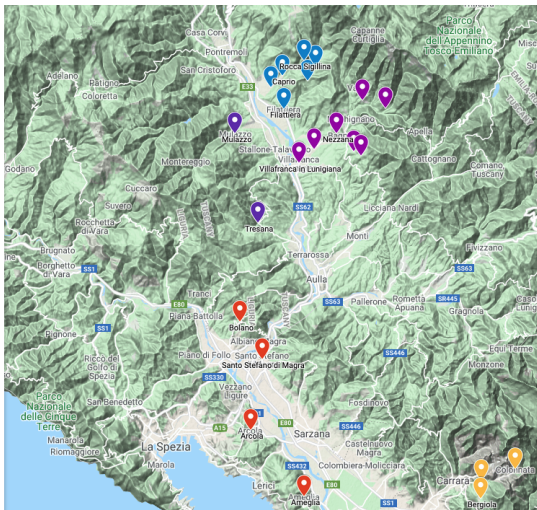
PL partial concord - fieldwork

Questionnaire

- ▶ Exhaustive set of possible DP structures (cartography)
 - ▶ $Q_{univ}-D-Poss-Q_{card}-A_{bell}-N-A_{nuov}$
 - ▶ $D = Dem, Art, Part, Q_{ind}$
 - ▶ Pre- and post-VP
- ▶ 42 total sentences (plus 21 fillers)
- ▶ 1-to-5 speakers per variety (F and M)
- ▶ 22 varieties

PL partial concord - fieldwork

- Bedizzano
- Bergiola
- Colonnata
- Ameglia
- Arcola
- Santo Stefano di Magra
- Bolano
- Villafranca in Lunigiana
- Treschietto
- Iera
- Gropo
- Nezzana
- Pieve
- Filetto
- Filattiera
- Caprio
- Gigliana
- Lusignana
- Rocca Sigillina
- Via Ponticello
- Tresana
- Mulazzo



PL partial concord - analysis

- ▶ Analysed varieties: Arcola, Bedizzano, Bergiola, Bolano, Colonnata, Filattiera, Groppo, Iera, Nezzana, Pieve, Treschietto (11/22) + literature review
- ▶ Acoustic (PRAAT)
 - ▶ Presence of *i* formants
- ▶ Distributional
 - ▶ Distribution of *i* across DP-types

PL partial concord - preliminary results

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- ▶ Pre-VP not necessarily similar to post-VP, in post-VP...
 - ▶ ...there is less microvariation
 - ▶ ...Q_{ind}, Dem, Poss and A tend to show the PL marker
 - ▶ ...Q_{univ} tend to show the PL-F marker

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 - ▶ ...Q_{univ} tend to show the PL-F marker
- ▶ D constituents don't behave homogeneously
- ▶ Occurrence of 'holes'

PL partial concord - preliminary results

- ▶ **Red**: (optional) presence of the PL marker - fieldwork
- ▶ **Brown**: presence of the PL marker - literature
- ▶ **Orange**: marginal presence of the PL marker
- ▶ **Violet**: absence of data

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$Q_{\text{univ}}\text{-Art}$, **Dem**, $Q_{\text{ind}}\text{-Poss-A}_{\text{bell}}\text{-N-A}_{\text{nuov}}$ (N, I, T, G, P)

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Q_{univ} -Art, Dem, Q_{ind} -Poss- A_{bell} -N- A_{nuov} (N, I, T, G, P)

Q_{univ} -Art, Dem, Q_{ind} -Poss- A_{bell} -N- A_{nuov} (C)

Q_{univ} -Art, Dem, Q_{ind} -Poss- A_{bell} -N- A_{nuov} (Br, Bd)

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Q_{univ}-Art, Dem, Q_{ind}-Poss-A_{bell}-N-A_{nuov} (Br, Bd)

Q_{univ}-Art, Dem, Q_{ind}-Poss-A_{bell}-N-A_{nuov} (F)

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Q_{univ}-Art, Dem, Q_{ind}-Poss-A_{bell}-N-A_{nuov} (BI)

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 - ▶ Finish analysing the row data
 - ▶ Investigate variety-specific patterns

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 - ▶ Why 'holes'?
 - ▶ How to formalize the unrealisation of the PL marker?
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 - ▶ How to formalize the unrealized of the PL marker?
 - ▶ Who controls agreement when the PL marker is not realized?
 - ▶ Interaction between PL and F
 - ▶ Why there's no PL PC with M?

- ▶ Anybody interested in collaborating?
- ▶ Good deal of complicated and underdescribed data
- ▶ Pleasant fieldwork (good food, wine, mountains and beaches)