

# Unagreement between Italian and Southern Italian Dialects

Georg Höhn

Giuseppina Silvestri

M. Olimpia Squillaci

gfh3@cam.ac.uk

gs486@cam.ac.uk

mos26@cam.ac.uk

## Unagreement

- definite plural subject + 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> plural agreement

(1) [DP φ: ?, PL] ... [T uφ: 1/2, PL]  
Agree??

**available in:** Modern Greek (2), Galician (3), Spanish, Catalan, Aromanian, Bulgarian, ...

**unavailable in:** Standard Italian (7a), European Portuguese, Hungarian, ...

(2) (Emeis) **oi foitites** gelasame.  
we DET.NOM.PL students laugh.1PL  
'We students laughed.' [Modern Greek]

(3) (Vos) **os estudantes** fixestes pan.  
you DET.PL students made.2PL bread  
'You students baked bread.' [Galician]

### Requirements (Höhn to appear)

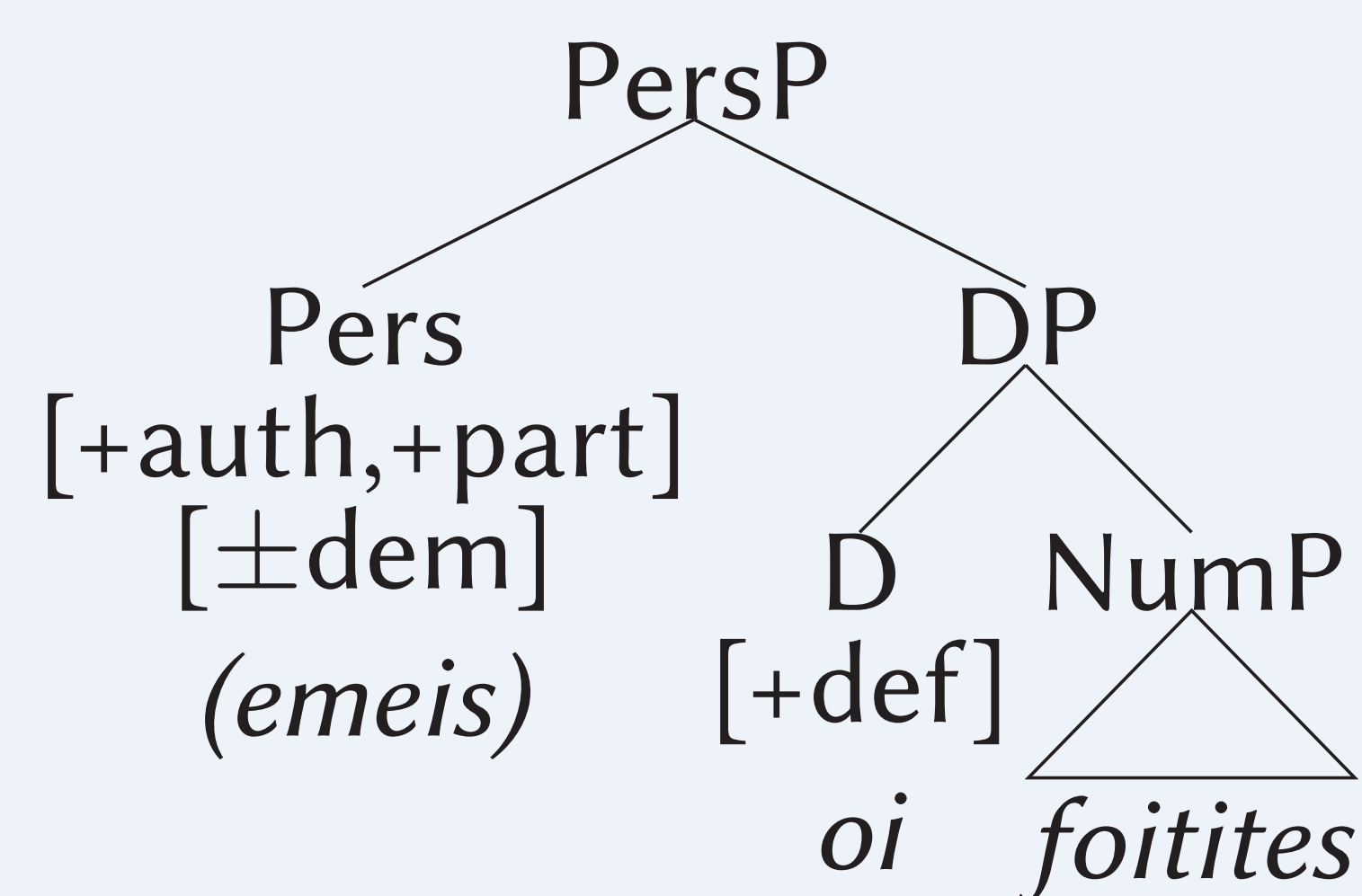
(cf. also Choi 2013)

- (4) Null subject languages with definite articles
- show unagreement if they have a definite article in APCs, and
  - do not show unagreement if they have no definite article in APCs.

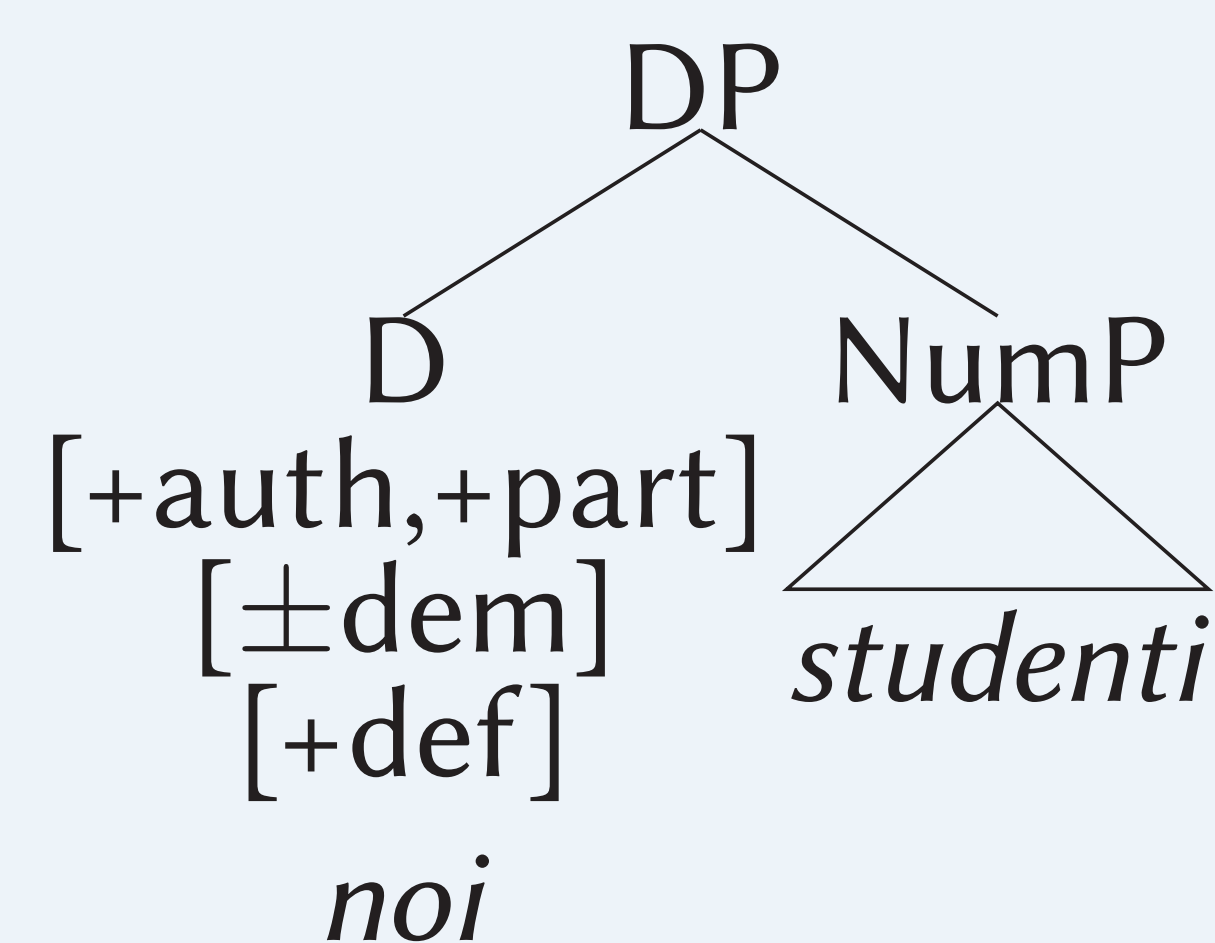
## Höhn (to appear)

- separate head encoding person (5)
- overt pronouns correlate with demonstratives [+dem] → adnominal pronoun construction [-dem] → unagreement
- constraints on overtness of [+def] prevent unagreement in (6)

(5) Unagreement-licensing



(6) Pronominal determiner



## Conclusions

- Definite articles in APCs are not an absolute requirement for unagreement.
- Standard Italian and the southern varieties exhibit the same structure but differ in the feature specification of the relevant vocabulary items.

### Open questions:

- more support for difference in demonstratives
- differences in quantifier unagreement
- alternative analysis based on (5)?

## Standard Italian

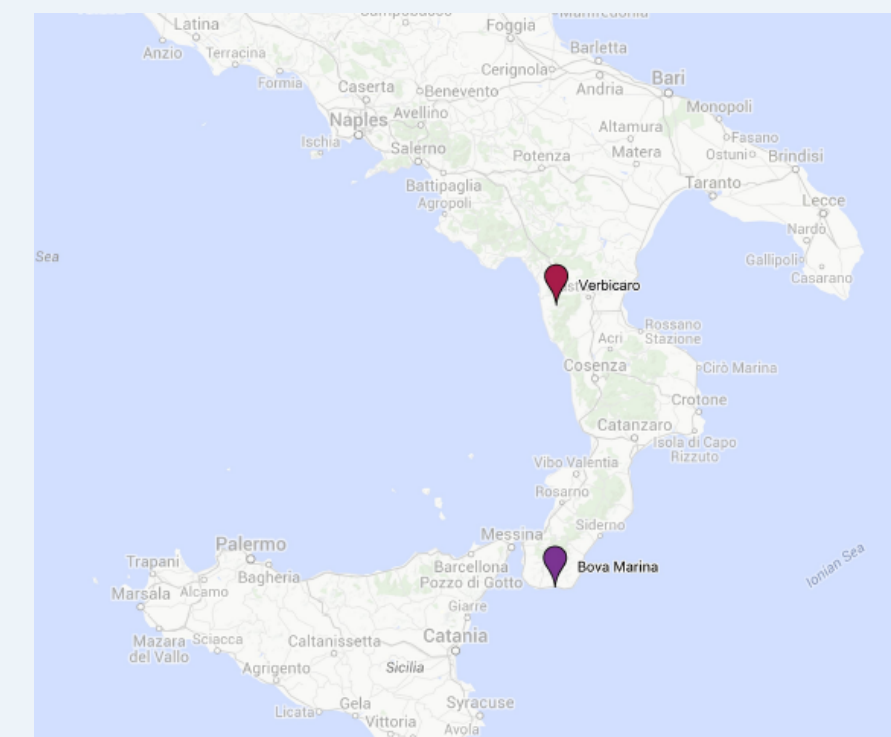
vs.

## Southern Dialects

### Standard Italian

- only 3rd person agreement with definite DPs (a)
- no definite article with adnominal pronouns (b)

(7) a. I bambini \*giochiamo/ \*giocate/ giocano.  
the kids play.1PL play.2PL play.3PL  
'\*We/\*you/the kids are playing.'  
b. Noi (\*i) bambini giochiamo.  
we the kids play.1PL  
'We kids are playing.'



### Calabrese varieties

- all three person forms allowed → **unagreement** (a)
- no definite article with adnominal pronouns (b)

(8) a. I quattrarə iucwamə/ iucwazə/ iocənə.  
the kids play.1PL play.2PL play.3PL  
'We/you/the kids are playing.'  
b. Nua (\*i) quattrarə iucwamə.  
we the kids play.1PL  
'We kids are playing.' [Northern Calabrese]

(9) a. I figghioli iocamu/ iocati/ iocanu.  
the kids play.1PL play.2PL play.3PL  
'We/you/the kids are playing.'  
b. Nui (\*i) figghioli iocamu.  
we the kids play.1PL  
'We kids are playing.' [Southern Calabrese]

**The Calabrese varieties show unagreement contra (4b)!**

## Proposal

- Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993)
- adnominal pronouns have to be reported by demonstratives in certain contexts (Sommerstein 1972)

(10) a. YOU troops will embark but the other troops will remain.  
b. He said that (those/\*the) troops would embark but the other troops would remain.

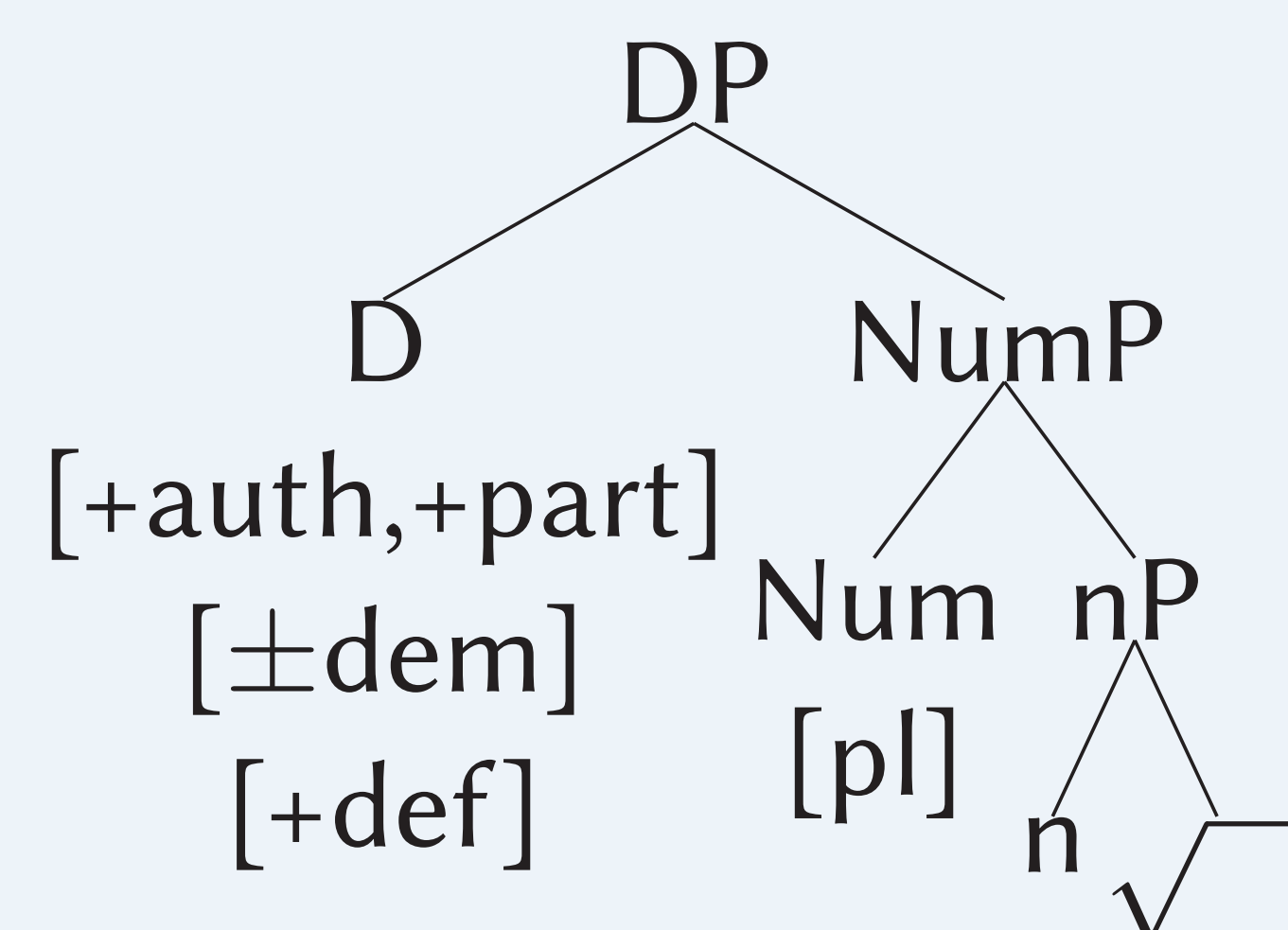
### Standard Italian

(11) a. NOI bambini giochiamo.  
we kids play.1PL  
'We kids are playing.'  
b. Ha detto che quei bambini giocano.  
has said that those kids play.3PL  
'She said that those kids are playing.'  
(12) a. Noi bambini giochiamo.  
we kids play.1PL  
'We kids are playing.'  
b. Ha detto che i bambini giocano.  
has said that the kids play.3PL  
'She said that the kids are playing.'

### Southern Calabrese

(13) a. NUI figghioli iocamu.  
we kids play.1PL  
'WE kids are playing.'  
b. Dissi chi **ddi** figghioli iocanu.  
said.3SG that those kids play.3PL  
'He said that those kids are playing.'  
(14) a. I figghioli iocamu.  
the kids play.1PL  
'We kids are playing.'  
b. Dissi chi **i** figghioli iocanu.  
said.3SG that the kids play.3PL  
'He said that the kids are playing.'

(15)



- VIs for pronouns underspecified for [±dem]
- definite article VI specified for 3rd person [-auth, -part]

- VIs for pronouns specified as [+dem]
- VI for definite article specified as [-dem] and underspecified for person

(16) Standard Italian

D[+auth, +part, +def, pl] ↔ noi  
D[-auth, -part, +def, pl, masc] ↔ i/gli

(17) Northern/Southern Calabrese

D[+auth, +part, +**dem**, +def, pl] ↔ nua/nui  
D[-**dem**, +def, pl, masc] ↔ i

## Acknowledgements & References

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