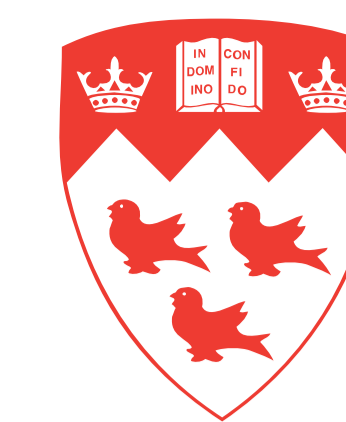


# Multiple Anti-Agreement in Fiorentino

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## Overview

I explore effects of  $\bar{A}$ -movement on subject agreement in the Northern Italian dialect **Fiorentino**

- Multiple subject agreement → multiple anti-agreement (default agreement)
- Argue against positional analysis of default agreement
- Default agreement results from Agree with  $\bar{A}$ -feature on subject

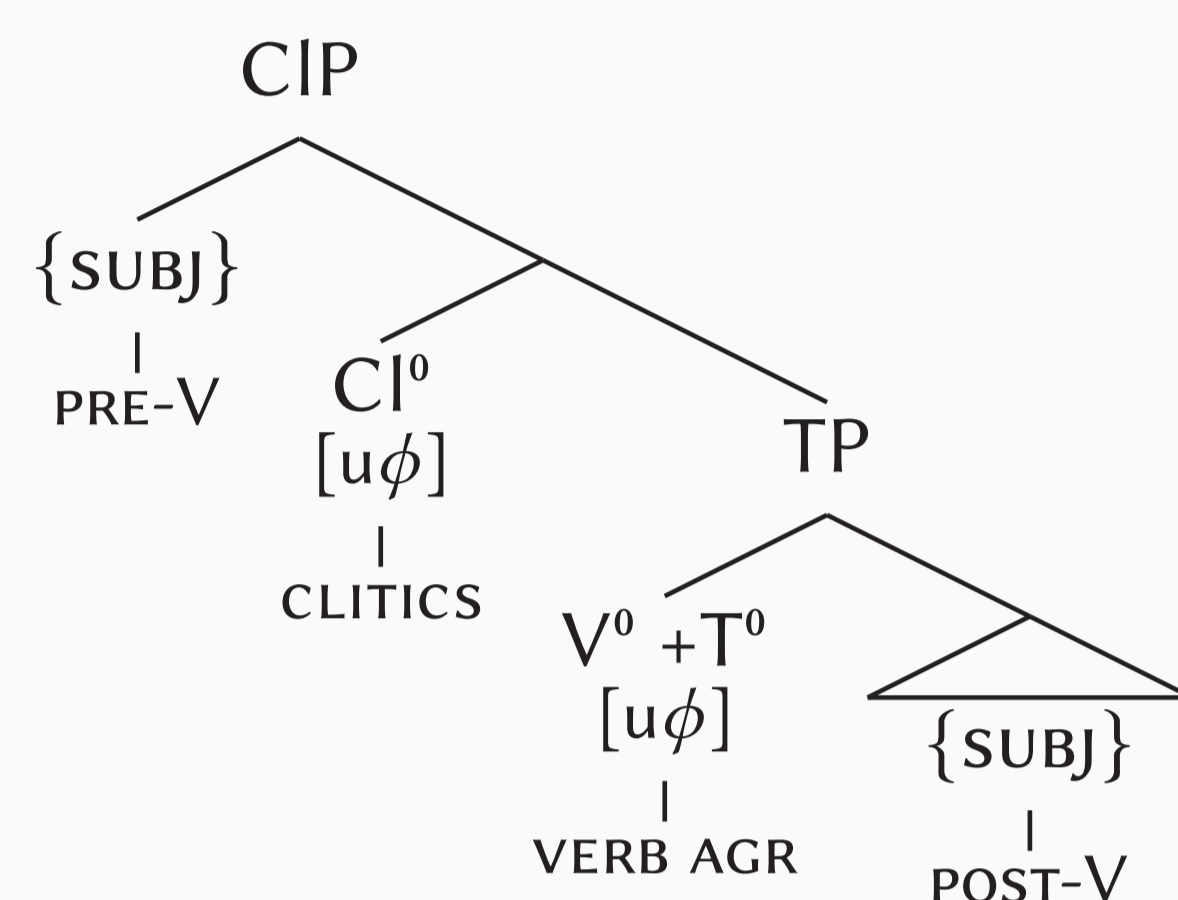
## Agreement in Fiorentino

• **Two instances of subject agreement** – subject clitics and verb agreement

(1) *Fiorentino  $\phi$ -agreement*

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
1	(e)	V-o	si	V-a
2	tu	V-i	vu	V-ate
3M	e/gl(i)	V-a	e	V-ano
3F	la	V-a	le	V-ano

(2) *Fiorentino  $\phi$ -probes*



• Preverbal subjects control **full agreement**

(3) La Maria {la / \*e } parla  
the Maria {3SG.F / 3SG.M } speak.3SG  
'Maria speaks.'  
(B&C 1989:113)

• Free inversion (FI) – postverbal subjects require **default agreement**

(4) {gli / \*le } {ha / \*hanno } telefonato delle ragazze  
{3SG.M / \*3PL.F } {have.3SG / \*have.3PL } phone.PTCP some girls  
'Some girls have telephoned.'  
(B&C 1989:122)

• Brandi and Cordin (1989; B&C): subject doesn't raise, EPP satisfied by *pro*

(5)  $[_{CIP} pro^i Cl_{[u\phi]} [_{TP} V+T_{[u\phi]} [ \dots DP^i_{[\phi]} \dots ] ] ] ]$

▷ Default agreee via Agree w/ *pro*

## Anti-agreement

•  $\bar{A}$ -extracted subjects trigger **anti-agreement** → **default agreement**

(6) *Subject wh-question* → *default agreement*

Quante ragazze {gli / \*le } {ha / \*hanno } parlato  
how.many girls {3SG.M / \*3PL.F } {have.3SG / \*have.3PL } spoken  
con te  
with you  
'How many girls have spoken to you?'  
(B&C 1989:113)

• Anti-agreement also occurs with:

▷ restrictive relative clauses      ▷ contrastive fronting

• B&C, Ouhalla (1993):  $\bar{A}$ -subjects move from low position → no agreement

## Some postverbal subjects agree fully

▲ Postverbal subjects can agree in non-subject *wh*-questions

(7) Quando è-{ella/\*egli } arrivat-{o/\*a } la Maria  
when be.3SG-3SG.F/3SG.M arrive-PTCP.M/PTCP.F the Maria  
'When did Maria arrive?'  
(Suñer 1992:655)

(8) *Full agreement cannot be due to subject raising to Spec-ClP*  
AUXILIARY » CLITIC » subject DP » PARTICIPLE

(9) *Subject position does not predict agreement*

	Clitic	Verb
Preverbal subject	SV ✓ AGR ✓ AGR	✓ AGR ✓ AGR
$\bar{A}$ -moved subject	SV ✗ AGR ✗ AGR	✗ AGR ✗ AGR
Non-subject <i>wh</i> -question	VS ✓ AGR ✓ AGR	✓ AGR ✓ AGR
Postverbal subject	SV ✗ AGR ✗ AGR	✗ AGR ✗ AGR

## Ingredients of the proposal

① **Postverbal subjects are focused**

Postverbal subjects in FI bear [FOC]

②  **$\bar{A}$ -sensitivity of  $\phi$ -probes (?)**

$\phi$ -probes copy [ $\phi$ ] and [ $\bar{A}$ ] from their goals

③  **$\bar{A}$ -triggered impoverishment (?)**

[ $\bar{A}$ ] triggers impoverishment of [ $\phi$ ] → default agreement

## Postverbal focus

💡 Postverbal subjects don't agree because of their featural makeup

• Belletti (2001, 2004) – postverbal subjects in FI structures are *focused*

(10) {gli / \*le } {ha / \*hanno } telefonato le tu' sorelle  
{3SG.M / \*3PL.F } {have.3SG / \*have.3PL } phone.PTCP the your sisters  
'Your sisters<sub>FOC</sub> telephoned.'  
(Mereu 1999:206)

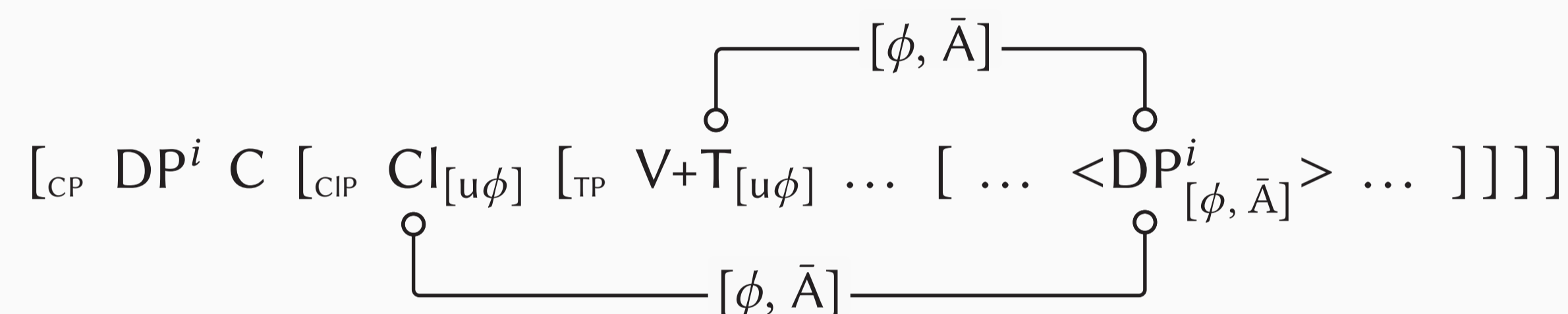
• I will assume these subjects bear the  $\bar{A}$ -feature [FOC]

## $\bar{A}$ -sensitive $\phi$ -agreement

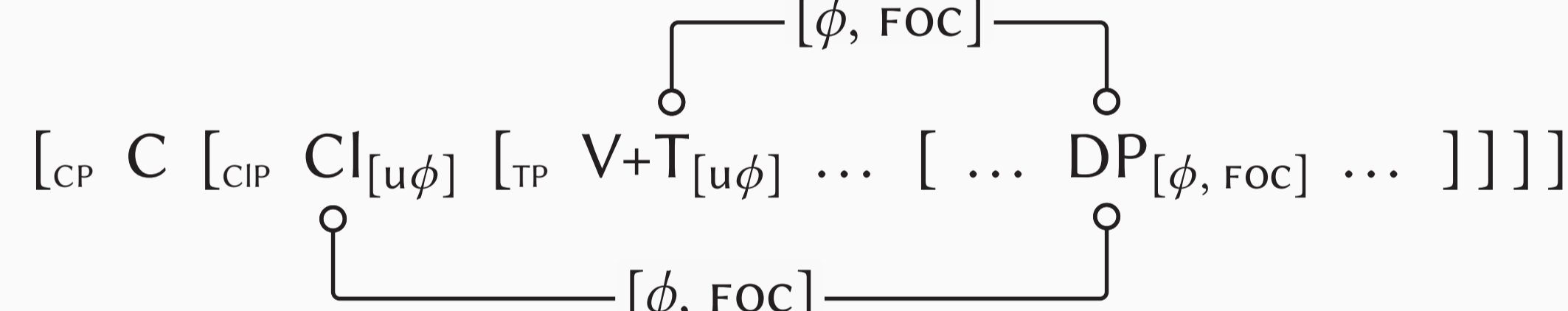
💡 Probes copy back both [ $\phi$ ] and [ $\bar{A}$ ] from their goals

🔗 Unifies postverbal and extracted subjects in terms of *feature content* as opposed to *position*

(11) *Wh-question, relative clause, and contrastive topic*



(12) *FI – postverbal focus*



## $\bar{A}$ -feature induced impoverishment

💡  $\bar{A}$ -features trigger impoverishment of  $\phi$ -features on the same probe

• After agree with an  $\bar{A}$ -marked subject in (11)–(12),  $T^0/Cl^0$  have both [ $\phi$ ] and [ $\bar{A}$ ]

(13) *Features on  $T^0/Cl^0$  in morphology*

	SUBJ w/o [ $\bar{A}$ ]	SUBJ w/ [ $\bar{A}$ ]
$Cl^0$	[Cl, $\phi$ , Agr]	[Cl, $\phi$ , $\bar{A}$ , Agr] ← <b>DEFAULT AGREEMENT</b>
$T^0$	[T, $\phi$ , Agr]	[T, $\phi$ , $\bar{A}$ , Agr] ← <b>DEFAULT AGREEMENT</b>

(14) *Fiorentino  $\phi$ -feature impoverishment (to be revised)*

[ $\phi$ ] →  $\emptyset$  / [–,  $\bar{A}$ , Agr]

## Postverbal 1st/2nd person subjects

▲ 1st/2nd person postverbal subjects control agreement (B&C 1989:138)

(15) a. e parl-o io c. si parl-a noi  
1SG speak.1SG 1SG 1PL speak.1PL 1PL  
'I speak.' 'we speak.'

b. tu parl-i te d. vu parl-i voi  
2SG speak.2SG 2SG 2PL speak.2PL 2PL  
'we speak.'

💡 Impoverishment can be sensitive to  $\phi$ -features in *addition* to  $\bar{A}$ -features

(16) *Fiorentino  $\phi$ -feature impoverishment (final)*

[ $\phi$ ] →  $\emptyset$  / [–, **-PART**,  $\bar{A}$ , Agr]

• [-PART] aconditioning rule supports morphological story (cf. Preminger 2017)