

# On PL partial concord in Lunigiana varieties

Edoardo Cavarani<sup>1</sup> Laurence Madonna<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>CRISSP

<sup>2</sup>KU Leuven

REEDS

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# Lunigiana

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

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- | High degree of microvariation
  - | Phonological
  - | Morphosyntactic
- | pl marking
  - | pl marker linear order
  - | pl partial concord

## pl marker linear order

lup-?  
wolf-m

lup-a  
wolf-f

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lup-?  
wolf-m

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wolf-f

lup-i  
wolf-pl

lup-i-a  
wolf-pl-f

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- | NP structure
  - |  $\rho + n + \#$  (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)
  - |  $\rho$ -gender-# ! Sp.  $\rho$   $\overline{\text{ToB-a}_f\text{-S}_{pl}}$  'wolves'

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  - |  $\rho$ -gender-# ! Sp.  $\rho$   $\overline{\text{lob-a}_f\text{-S}_{pl}}$  'wolves'
  - |  $\rho$ -#-gender ! Col.  $\rho$   $\overline{\text{lup-i}_{pl}\text{-a}_f}$  'wolves'

## pI 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)

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

	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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- | We need more data ...
- | ... and more phonology

# Outline

## Towards an analysis

pl marker linear order

pl partial concord

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## Towards an analysis

pl marker linear order

pl partial concord

## pl marker linear order

- | Mirror principle violation
  - |  $P_{\#}$ -gender ! Col.  $P_{\text{Top}}$ - $i_{\text{pl}}$ - $a_f$  'wolves'

## pI marker linear order - phonology

- | pI is higher than f
- | Phonology linearizes pI to the left of f

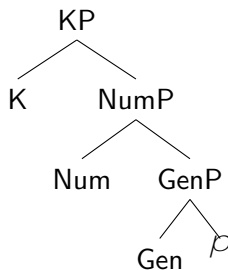


## $\rho I$ is higher than $f$

- | 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

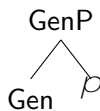
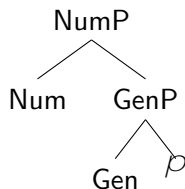
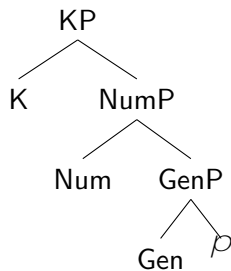
## $\rho$ l is higher than $f$

- | 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
- | case is higher than num, which is higher than gen
  - | Both if  $\text{gen} = n$  or  $\text{gen} = \text{independent head}$



## $\rho$ l 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

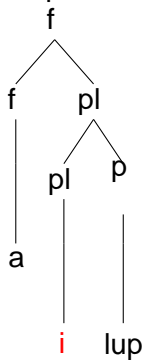
| Bagnonese

- (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 nera



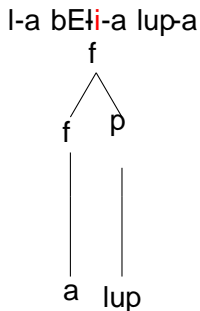
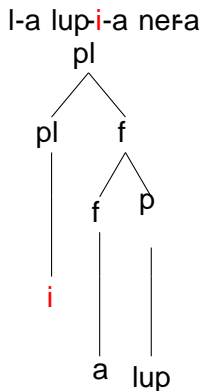
l-a bE*i*-a lup-a



- PC as removal of an intermediate head, contra Bay et al. (2017) and Caha (2022)

# pl is higher than f

- Linear ordering vs hierarchical structure



- PC as removal of the highest head

## pl is higher than f

- | Linear order ~~is~~ hierarchical structure
  - | Hierarchical structure:  $\{um [gen]\}$
  - | Linear ordering: gen-num
- | PC in line with typological tendencies

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- | Linear order ~~is~~ hierarchical structure
  - | Hierarchical structure:  $\{um [gen]\}$
  - | Linear ordering: gen-num
- | PC in line with typological tendencies
- | Why linear order ~~is~~ hierarchical structure?



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    - | Compatible with PC typology tendencies
    - | Cyclic NP movement without pied-piping

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    - | Cyclic roll-up NP movement + morphological merger
- | New proposal
  - | Phonology
    - | Compatible with PC typology tendencies
    - | Cyclic roll-up NP movement
    - | No post-syntactic operations

# pl marker linear order - phonology

Col.  $\overset{p}{\overline{\text{lup}}} - i_{pl} - a_f$

|  $[[\overset{p}{\overline{\text{lup}}} [n_f]] \#_{pl}]$

|  $CV_a, [n_f]^*$

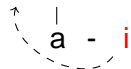
|  $i, [\#_{pl}]$

|  $*V_{jX.Yj}, *V_j$

\* 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

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

- | Uniform morphosyntactic derivation (and one  $\phi/f$  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



## 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 lers)
- | 1-to-5 speakers per variety (and m)
- | 22 varieties

pl partial concord - eldwork

## 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 formants
- | Distributional
  - | Distribution of i across DP-types

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- | Pre-VP not necessarily similar to post-VP, in post-VP...
  - | ...there is less microvariation
  - | ...Q<sub>ind</sub>, Dem, Poss and A tend to show the marker
  - | ...Q<sub>univ</sub> tend to show the pl-f marker

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- | D constituents don't behave homogeneously
- | Occurrence of 'holes'



## pl partial concord - preliminary results

- | **Red:** (optional) presence of the **pl** marker - eldwork
- | **Brown:** presence of the **pl** marker - literature
- | **Orange:** marginal presence of the **pl** marker
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Q<sub>univ</sub>-Art, **Dem**, Q<sub>ind</sub>-**Poss-A**, **bell-N-A**<sub>nuov</sub> (N, I, T, G, P)

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Q<sub>univ</sub>-Art, Dem, Q<sub>ind</sub>-Poss-A<sub>bell</sub>-N-A<sub>nuov</sub> (Br, Bd)

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

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- | Head vs modifier
- | Positioning in the spine

- | (P)Concord and agreement

- | Why 'holes'?
- | How to formalize the unrealisation of the pl marker?
- | Who controls agreement when the pl marker is not realized?



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- | Why
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    - | Head vs modifier
    - | Positioning in the spine
  - | (P)Concord and agreement
    - | Why 'holes'?
    - | How to formalize the unrealisation 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)