

Concord, Compensatory Concord, and optional feature realization in Italian and Central Italo-Romance varieties

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The presentation discusses different cases of Concord in the DP, according to whether the features are realised on the head and/or on the specifier. “Compensatory Concord” is the configuration in which overt features on the head compensate for no features on the vocabulary item in the specifier. In Italian, this pattern occurs with the demonstrative *que-* ‘that’, the indefinite plural/mass determiner *de-* ‘some’, and the prenominal adjective *be-* ‘nice’, which inflect like the definite article. In the Central Italo-Romance dialect spoken in Ancona, masculine plural *-i* is optional on all these elements. The omission of *-i* in Compensatory Concord configurations occurs in a “bottom-up” fashion, due to the interaction of Projection and a general principle of Consistency in Economy. This also appears to happen in other syntactic configurations. In other Italo-Romance dialects like the one spoken in Florence, the *-i* omission phenomenon is not syntactic, but phonological.