

## Italian dialects in a minimalist perspective

Review article of

MANZINI Maria Rita & Leonardo Maria SAVOIA 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa*. 3 vols. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.

MANZINI Maria Rita & Leonardo Maria SAVOIA 2007. *A Unification of Morphology and Syntax. Investigations into Romance and Albanian dialects*. London / New York: Routledge.

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### 1. Introduction

The volumes under review are the product of a series of publicly funded research projects involving field research over eight years by the second author and several collaborators on 472 Romance dialect varieties from Italy, Corsica and Switzerland (including not only Italo-Romance dialects of the Svizzera italiana but also Romansh varieties) as well as on several non-standard varieties of Albanian. They present and analyze a huge amount of data, which is organized by means of the methodological tools provided by minimalist syntax (or rather, as one might also put it, are exploited to illustrate the descriptive power of the theory). The two works, which are referred to in what follows as '2005' and '2007', differ in the following respects:<sup>1</sup> 2007 contains four chapters on Albanian (dealing not only with Arbëreshë dialects of Italy but also with Tosk and Geg varieties from Albania), which is not covered in 2005; in spite of this limitation in scope, however, 2005 is much more voluminous, comprising some 2400 large-sized pages, as opposed to the 391 of 2007. The difference is basically accounted for by the much more extensive exemplification in 2005, the theoretical topics addressed being essentially the same (with a few left out in 2007).

The volumes are organized as follows: 2005, after an introduction, includes chapters on Il soggetto (ch. 2), La struttura del complementatore: frasi interrogative, relative e aspetti della subordinazione (ch. 3), L'oggetto (ch. 4), L'ausiliare (ch. 5), La negazione e l'avverbio (ch. 6), Strutture aspettuative e modali (ch. 7), Il sintagma nominale (ch. 8). The chapters in 2007 cover the following topics: The nature

of the agreement inflections of the verb (ch. 1), Subjects and subject-verb agreement in Italian dialects (ch. 2), Lexicalization patterns of the so-called third person dative (ch. 3), Co-occurrence and mutual exclusion patterns of subject and object clitics (ch. 4), Transitivity and unaccusativity: auxiliary selection (ch. 5), Parameters of auxiliary selection (ch. 6); chs. 7-10 move on to consider topics in Albanian syntax, again from the domains of pronominal clitics, verbal periphrastics and clause subordination. In this review, I will consider only the parts dealing with Romance data. Most of the chapters in 2007, as the authors explain [1-2, 13], have already appeared previously in print as separate articles, some having being reworked and adapted, others sticking quite closely to the originals.

In all, the reader is faced with an impressive work, very broad in scope and involving a gigantic effort in design and execution, which the scientific community will have to gratefully acknowledge and which surely will provide a hallmark of (generatively oriented) research in Italian dialectology. Manzini & Savoia's work probably will be quoted in the literature on syntactic theory too, as it addresses – discussing very rich and interesting data – many hot topics of the current debates in minimalism. In the present review, however, I will step back from this theory-internal perspective and focus instead on a) the contribution made to the empirical domain of Italo-Romance dialectology and Romance comparative linguistics (§2), and b) some theoretical implications for general linguistics of the theory and analyses proposed (§3). Needless to say, it will not be possible to touch upon the whole range of topics dealt with in such a huge enterprise, one which everybody in the field of Italo-Romance dialect syntax will have to take into account if only to disagree on certain aspects of it. Thus, criticism of specific points in what follows in no way detracts from this substantial achievement.

## *2. The data*

Although Italian dialectology is a well-investigated domain, Manzini & Savoia's (henceforth M&S) work is unprecedented, as it combines the analytical sharpness of generative studies (which usually span one to perhaps one dozen varieties focusing on some fragments of the grammar), the breadth of a descriptive grammar (in the coverage of empirical topics), and finally a number of points of inquiry which one could reasonably expect from a linguistic atlas rather than from a monograph. In fact 2005, though unitary in con-

ception, can also be conceived as a series of monographic in-depth discussions. One eloquent example is the extensive discussion of subject clitics in Northern Italian dialects [I 69-196], based on a corpus of comparable data collected for that purpose from 107 different dialects. This is in my opinion one of the most important contributions of M&S, who provide a detailed typology of the different paradigms occurring in their corpus (i.e. paradigms with clitics for all persons vs. paradigms with gaps). They focus especially on impersonal constructions, coming up with a classification in which four different dialect types are distinguished according to whether or not they display the same structural option across the three constructions exemplified in (1a-c) from the dialect of Montaldo (province of Cuneo, Piedmont, [I 177]):

- (1) a. NP inversion: *ur e ri'vɔ-je i ma'totf*  
 'the children have come'
- b. argument-less predicate (meteorological): *ur v pjøvy*  
 'it has rained'
- c. phrasal complement: *ur e 'mei par'ti*  
 'it's better to leave'

The pattern in (1), with the same clitic occurring across the three constructions, is only one of the patterns M&S illustrate (viz. (2i)), which coexists with the three further patterns represented schematically in (2ii-iv) (where (2a-c) stand for the clause types in (1a-c) and A vs. B stand for two contrasting options, each realized as either a clitic form or zero):

(2)

	i	ii	iii	iv
a.	A	A	A	A
b.	A	B	B	A
c.	A	A	B	B

The analysis of this large amount of data allows the authors to draw several generalizations and to revise some conclusions reached in previous reference work on the topic [I 193]. Thus, some varieties in M&S's corpus (the dialects of Zoldo Alto, Premana and Villa di Chiavenna) seem to contradict generalization 6 of Renzi & Vanelli's (1983: 136-7) seminal work on subject clitics, according to which occurrence of subject clitics in all the constructions in (1a-c) implies a full paradigm without gaps in any person. Some other dialects of Liguria and Veneto (e.g. Fontanigorda, province of Genoa; Povegliano,

province of Treviso), on the other hand, which have clitics in (1a) and (1c), but not in (1b), contradict Renzi & Vanelli's (1983: 136) conclusion that "solo se i meteorologici hanno il pronome, possono averlo anche gli impersonali e l'esistenziale". Discussion of clitic subjects in (Northern Italo-) Romance is rounded off with a cross-linguistic comparison involving dummy subjects in Germanic (based on Vikner 1995) in which it is shown that dialects of type (2i) parallel Norwegian and Swedish, those of type (2iii) behave like Danish, Dutch, English and German, and those of type (2iv) pattern with Icelandic.

Similar comments to those above for subject clitics in Northern Italian dialects could be repeated for many other topics, e.g. for the discussion of complementation, spanning nearly four hundred pages in ch. 3: the strength of this work is definitely the large-scale data collection.

The places whose dialects were surveyed are listed alphabetically in the introduction: a first list (I ix-xxxvi) acknowledges the informants consulted (most often one or two, sometimes up to six per point); a second one (I xxxvii-lxx) indicates by chapter and number all the examples from each dialect occurring in the three volumes. This is a welcome aid for cross-referencing, although it cannot compensate for the lack of a subject index in 2005, which renders access to data and discussions quite difficult. True, the chapters are divided into sections whose titles are descriptive: e.g. in §4.4.1 (*Nessi di dativo e accusativo/partitivo*) the reader expects to find a discussion of data such as *glielo/gliene do* '(I) give it to him/her'/'(I) give him some', and in fact that section starts with a page and a half of introductory text, followed by 13 pages of raw data exemplifying this kind of clitic cluster in no less than 32 different dialects. (These observations are meant to underscore, once again, the richness of the database.) Yet nowhere is it signalled that amid the 25 pages of this section the reader can find a discussion of distributivity, which provides empirical arguments for discarding 'dative' (or indirect object) as a grammatical relation (see below, §3.5). This happens time and again: thus, the interested reader will have to set up his or her own subject index, a time-consuming activity which is unavoidable if one wants to be able to (re-)access the wealth of topics discussed in 2005 without re-reading the three volumes from the beginning. Obviously, then, the lack of a subject index will prevent 2005 from being used efficiently as a reference work.

Another major obstacle is expository style. Going through the three volumes, it is hard to escape the feeling that the text could have been more reader-friendly. If 2005 was meant to be consultable for dialectologists, there was no need to systematically use hyper-techni-

cal, strictly theory-internal, labels where more understandable synonyms would have done just as well. For instance, the authors systematically refer to an “EPP-argument” (e.g. [67], [I 218]), which is going to puzzle dialectologists, all the more so since E(xtended) P(rojection) P(rinciple) is spelled out only rarely in 2005 (I found it on [I 57], [I 311]), and there is no list of abbreviations. Consider that, even in technical introductions to generative syntax for doctoral students by leading generative linguists such as Lasnik & Uriagereka (2005: 5), the authors do not feel it beneath them to explain that “In plain English, the EPP’s demands are clear: [...] A sentence S must have a subject”. Contrast formulations such as: “Infatti per ipotesi la flessione del verbo non lessicalizza N della stringa nominale ma piuttosto la posizione D di definitezza coincidente con l’argomento EPP” [I 218], where the same content could have been expressed as “Finite verb inflection displays subject, not object, agreement”. This formalistic jargon pervades even the purely descriptive parts of the thousands of pages of the work, and is bound to discourage many potential readers.

The expository style of 2005 also suffers from being heavily anglicized. Apart from systematic use of anglicisms which may disturb purists but do not affect comprehension (such as “responsabile per” [I 54] = English *responsible for* instead of Italian *responsabile di*; “Poletto [...] mantiene [...] l’idea che [...]” [I 159] with English *maintains* for Italian *sostiene*; “nelle forme rilevanti” [I 242] = English *in the relevant forms* for Italian *nelle forme in questione*; “la possibilità di questi due tipi di frase forza una categorizzazione” [II 133] = English *forces* for Italian *costringe a*; etc.), in some cases the text is unintelligible without knowledge of English. This applies, perhaps more understandably, to technical expressions: e.g. “morfologia aperta” [I 25] = English *overt* for Italian *palese* or *manifesta*; “il dativo *i* distribuisce sopra l’elemento di definitezza *l*” [II 195] = English *distributes over* for Italian *ha portata su* (same on e.g. [I 25], [II 196-7]). But it also applies to plain text, where one finds e.g. connectives such as the following: “Quel che è di più, assumiamo che è inserita in una posizione D” [I 17]; this (back-)translates, literally, into *What is more, we assume that ...*, where *quel che è di più* is a (nonce) calque occurring instead of Italian *inoltre*. The distance from the Italian terminological tradition sometimes results in inconsistencies, as is the case for the label *counterfactual*. On [I 281] (“nello standard il controfattuale prevede la serie *-i, -i, -e, -imo, -ste, -ero*” ‘in Standard Italian the counterfactual has the series of endings’ ...) the endings make it clear that the imperfective subjunctive is meant (same on e.g. [I 199, 210]). On [I 254], on the other hand, “paradigma [...] del controfattuale” in

the dialect of Romentino refers to the conditional: *i maɲdza'ria* 'CIS mangerei' ['subject clitic would-eat.1SG'] (same on e.g. [I 232, 263]). It is not legitimate to use the same label for either of two distinct mood paradigms, even if both appear in counterfactual contexts. That the text was originally conceived in English is also shown by misprints such as *independentemente* [I 24] for *indipendentemente* 'independently', *movemento* [I 25] for *movimento* 'movement', *only H e il suo angolo* (edge) for *solo H e il suo angolo* (edge) 'only H and its edge' [I 10], or by syllable divisions such as (e.g. *inter-azione* [I 159, I 183]), complying with English rather than Italian orthography.

The system of glosses adopted in 2005 does not favour readability either. The authors chose to give only word-by-word glosses, rather than well-formed Italian translations, which is understandable as a space-saving measure. Yet glosses are sometimes hard to decode: e.g. [I 294] Colledimacine *ɹ a dommə ca'matə* 'lo ha HOMO chiamato' vs. *ɹ a dommə a've ca'matə* 'lo ha HOMO aveva chiamato', where perhaps what is meant is 'lo si è/era chiamato' ['one has/had called him']; [I 295] Torricella Peligna *a nom a'vessə mə'niutə* 'ha HOMO avesse venuto' (perhaps 'somebody had come' (counterfactual) or 'one had come?'). Furthermore, the system is applied inconsistently: e.g. on [I 182] Zoldo Alto *l e 'mejo l tfa'ma* is glossed literally 'CIS [= subject clitic] è meglio lo chiamare' (Italian *è meglio chiamarlo* 'it's better to call him') whereas Pescùl *l e 'mejo se n'di* is glossed 'CIS è meglio andarsene' ['it's better to go away'], instead of the literal 'è meglio se ne andare'.

The introductory chapter [I 29-34] contains a very detailed and useful sociolinguistic section on the ecology of Italian dialects, drawing from official statistics on the rate of dialectophones by region, age class, etc., as well as on linguistic habits (who speaks dialect to whom, in which functional domain, etc.). On the whole, M&S's conclusion that "una sostanziale stabilità" can be observed [I 34] seems a bit optimistic after the survey of sociolinguistic data which clearly evidence on-going language shift and increasing restriction in domains of use. Strikingly, primary sociolinguistic information is wanting (and the omission is not even commented on) for Corsica and the Romansh-speaking area, whose dialects, also covered by the study, are spoken in a completely different sociolinguistic setting. At times, the reader is struck by sociolinguistic oddities, like on [II 594] where, talking about the "varietà grigionese di Müstair", the authors observe optionality in past participle agreement and infer "la compresenza di due grammatiche, una delle quali è sostanzialmente quella dello standard". Here, Standard Italian is meant, but this cannot be referred to as

“the standard (language)” in the context of a discussion on a Romansh dialect of Engadin. The same is repeated on [II 605].

Both 2005 and 2007 duly address one of the most fundamental issues raised by (dialect) variation, that of (the representation of) optionality. M&S’s view is clear (and radical): “optionality must be treated as an instance of (micro-) bilingualism” [76], i.e. as the co-existence of several i-languages [I 29]. Paradoxically enough, one of the merits of the work under review is that it clearly testifies to the implausibility of such a tenet. In the chapters on perfective auxiliary selection, for instance, M&S discuss a number of systems with several combinations of ‘have’ and ‘be’ which are sensitive to verb class or person (or both). Take, for instance, the dialect of Minervino Murge (province of Bari) that is reported [226] to display ‘have’/‘be’ selection according to verb class in the 3sg (‘be’ in unaccusatives vs. ‘have’ in unergatives and transitives) alongside free variation in the remaining persons. Combination of the two options in five persons gives  $2^5 = 32$  different options for one single verb class, which have to be combined in turn with the 32 options for the complementary one, giving  $32^2 = 1024$  different combinations or “grammars”. (For instance, one grammar will have ‘be’ in unaccusatives in just the 3sg and, say, the 1pl, and ‘have’ throughout the paradigm in unergatives, and so on.) If this is then multiplied by all the optional features encountered in all structural domains of a given language, it turns out that every monolingual speaker of any single dialect or language should have billions of distinct i-languages in his or her head. This combinatorial explosion provides a strong argument for an alternative view which accommodates optionality within one and the same grammar.

Returning to the general outline of 2005, while it is true that its formula – with such an impressive amount of data from first-hand fieldwork – is unprecedented, many (or even most) of the dialects and structural topics covered have been extensively studied before. This is not apparent from the coverage of previous literature, which is mentioned rather sparingly (cf. fn. 9 and §3.5 below). At times, this may have consequences for the analysis. Consider again auxiliary selection. For the Apulian dialect of Bisceglie a paradigm is reported in which ‘be’ occurs in the 1sg and 2sg while ‘have’ occurs elsewhere: e.g. *sɔ ca'maitə/drəm'mitə/və'nitə* ‘(I) have called/slept/come’, *si ca'maitə/drəm'mitə/və'nitə* ‘(you) have called/slept/come’ vs. *a ca'maitə/drəm'mitə/və'nitə* ‘(s/he) has called/slept/come’ and the remaining persons with ‘have’ [II 721]. The description of Biscegliese by De Gregorio (1939:50) presents a different picture, with ‘be’ only in the 2sg for all verb classes and ‘have’ elsewhere, including the 1sg:

*'app və'niutə/pər'tɔ:tə* 'I have come/left'. Of course, it would have been interesting to know whether (the authors think that) there has been a change in Biscegliese over the last half a century or so.<sup>2</sup> As to 2007, for auxiliary selection, like for all structural features discussed, the relationship with the primary data becomes more vague. While the Biscegliese pattern E E A A A A (where E and A stand respectively for auxiliary *essere* 'to be' and *avere* 'to have') is listed in the table that recapitulates the different patterns of auxiliiation depending on verb person [225-6], no data are provided to illustrate this, neither there nor elsewhere in 2007, so that the reader has to recover primary data from 2005 him/herself.

Another case in point to illustrate the relationship of 2005 with previous literature on the relevant topics, is that of agreement by gender of finite verb forms [I 289-91]. This section (§2.8.4) starts by mentioning "Un caso noto in letteratura [...] quello della varietà di Ripatransone" [I 289], where a three-way agreement system (masculine vs. feminine vs. neuter) is found in the 3sg and a masculine vs. feminine contrast in all the remaining persons of all verbal paradigms. Exceptionally, no data are provided for Ripatransone, the reader being referred to the available literature, viz. Egidi (1965), Parrino (1967) etc. The section then moves on to report on first-hand data from one Northern Italian dialect (that of Bagolino, province of Brescia, eastern Lombardy), where gender distinction is found exclusively in the 3sg of the verb 'to be' (cf. (16) below), and the dialect of Roggio (Garfagnana, Northern Tuscany), where the contrast is found only in the 3pl of the verb 'to be' (*j 'enni 'omi* 'they are men' vs. *l 'ennə 'femə* 'they are women'). Since this kind of marking is highly exceptional, such a section could have been expected to aim at exhaustive coverage of the relevant facts (as opposed to, say, chapters on complementizers or the like). This is, however, not the case. Thus, the fact that the dialect of Bagolino is actually the western edge of a rather extensive area displaying the contrast at issue, which embraces a substantial part of Trentino (cf. Zörner 1989:257, 261 and the map in Loporcaro & Vigolo 2002-03:28), is not mentioned. Furthermore, nothing is said about the two other major areas of Northern Italy for which gender agreement on finite verb forms has been reported, viz. central Friulan (cf. Frau 1984: 85, 109, Marchetti 1985<sup>4</sup>:266, Vanelli 1998:14) and the Emilian dialects of the Apennines, between the provinces of Modena and Bologna (Loporcaro 1996).<sup>3</sup>

The section also includes the description of a similar gender contrast for a central Sardinian dialect, that of Paulilätino (province of Oristano):

- (3) a. *si 'zuntisi / 'funtizi zamu'naɔɔ / zamu'naðaza*  
 REFL are / are washed.M / washed.F  
 'they have washed themselves'
- b. *'suntɔɔ / 'funtɔɔ aβar'raɔɔ ɔɔz 'ommineɛɛ*  
 are.M / are.M stayed the men  
 'the men have stayed'
- c. *'suntaza / 'funtaza aβar'raðaz za's feminaza*  
 are.F / are.F stayed the women  
 'the women have stayed'

The village belongs to a transition area between Logudorese, where the 3pl of 'to be' is pronounced *'sunu*, and Campidanese, where it is pronounced *'funti*. Thus, alternation of the two bases is in principle no surprise, while gender marking on this 3pl form has never been reported before for this (nor for any other) dialect of Sardinia. However, my informants for Paulilätino, where I checked these data in May 2006, categorically reject (3b-c) and show no trace whatsoever of the gender agreement reported by M&S:<sup>4</sup>

- (4) a. *sɔs pas'tɔ:re 'ffuntiz / \*'ffuntɔz / \*'ssuntɔz arrib'ba ɔɔz*  
 the shepherds are / are.M / are.M arrived  
 'the shepherds have arrived'
- b. *sa 'ffemina 'ffuntiz / \*'ffuntaz / \*'ssuntaz arrib'ba ðaza*  
 the women are / are.F / are.F arrived  
 'the women have arrived'

This difference can hardly be explained by sociolinguistic variation within the (very small) community: the data seem to be in need of further verification.

The phonetics of M&S's examples is also somewhat problematic: *aβar'raðaz za's feminaza* (1c), which occurs twice on [I 289], shows a lack of assimilation in *sa 'ffeminaza* which may reflect the intention not to obscure agreement morphemes through the transcription of unnecessary phonetic information (viz. sandhi phenomena, see fn. 4). However, this cannot apply to the string *aβar'raðaz za's*, which is simply an inaccurate transcription, as geminate [z(#)z] never occurs in any Sardinian dialect, either word-internally or at the word boundary: combination of final /s/ and word-initial /s/ results in (voiceless) [ss].

More cases of inaccurate data can be spotted throughout the volumes. On [II 269-270], no. (111), the following pronominal clitics are reported for the dialect of Lecce: *nɛ* 3sg IO clitic = 1pl IO/DO clitic, and *nne/ndɛ* partitive: e.g. *nɛ lu ðaɛ* '(s/he) gives him/her/us', *nɛ*

*nne/ndε* 'ðae d'dzi '(s/he) gives us two of them'. However, in Leccese the (homophonous) 3sg/3pl IO and 1pl DO/IO clitics actually are pronounced *ni*, not \**nε*, and the partitive clitic categorically is pronounced *ndε*, never \**nne*. The forms ascribed erroneously to Leccese do occur in other dialects of the area (cf. the study of the clitic systems of these dialects in Loporcaro 1995, included in the reference list [III 771]). The genesis of the error is explained by the further data on [II 293-4], no. (129), partially overlapping with those in (111): here, the data are preceded by the heading "*Lecce-Novoli*". The latter village, some miles northwest of Lecce, indeed lies beyond the -ND- > -nn- isogloss (one of the most intensively studied in Italian dialectology: cf. isogloss no. 28 in Pellegrini's 1977:43 reference map), so that the clitic system actually displays the forms *nε* and *nne* (vs. Leccese *ni* and *ndε* respectively). Here as well, it is incorrect to claim that the data exemplify clitics in the dialects of "*Lecce-Novoli*", which crucially differ in the clitic forms focused on there.

It is, of course, impossible for a review article to systematically sift the dialect evidence provided. Examples such as these, however, suggest that M&S's data should be handled with care, all the more so since the transcribed dialect examples contain many misprints. This applies indeed to the work in its entirety: the list of misprints provided in the Appendix (§5) is meant as a service for both the reader and the authors, in the hope that such a rich body of first-hand Italo-Romance dialect data can soon be republished in a more accurate format.

In a revision, thorough reconsideration of (dialect) geography is recommended. In some lines of research, the traditional association of dialectology with geography is pushed so far as to regard the mapping of dialect features – and the measurement of structural distance between related dialects based on such cartography – as *the* object of the discipline (cf. Goebel's recent 2003 survey of the 'dialectometric' approach). Clearly, M&S's work takes a completely different perspective: in the generative tradition, dialects are considered as mere carriers of (morphosyntactic) structure, so that their spatial distribution is not essential. Consequently, no maps are provided, either to illustrate dialect subdivisions in general or the geographical distribution of the specific features discussed, which is hardly ever in focus.

However, this does not justify the authors' neglect of dialect geography (or geography itself, for that matter), as illustrated in the following examples:

[I 45]: "varietà lombardo-alpine e piemontesi settentrionali (novarese)". By all classificatory standards, Novarese (although

administratively in Piedmont), counts as a Lombard dialect (cf. e.g. Merlo 1936:271, Berruto 1974:13, Telmon 1988:476).

[I 45]: “Nei dialetti alpini dell’Engadina e dei Grigioni”. Engadina is in the Canton Grigioni.

[I 170]: “la varietà toscana settentrionale di Filattiera”: Filattiera is only administratively Tuscan, as the dialects of Lunigiana linguistically are Gallo-Italic (cf. Pellegrini 1977, Giannelli 1976:14, Maffei Bellucci 1977:20-21).<sup>5</sup>

[I 82]: “Un sistema diffuso soprattutto in area veneta (*Moena, Pescùl* [...])”: Moena is not in Veneto but in Trentino-Alto Adige, and its dialect is not Veneto, but Ladin, as is the dialect of Pescùl, although the village lies in Veneto.

[I 114]: “nelle varietà della Val di Non, *Tuenno, Livo e Vermiglio* troviamo, etc.”: while the first two villages do lie in Val di Non, Vermiglio is in another nearby valley of Trentino, viz. Val di Sole.

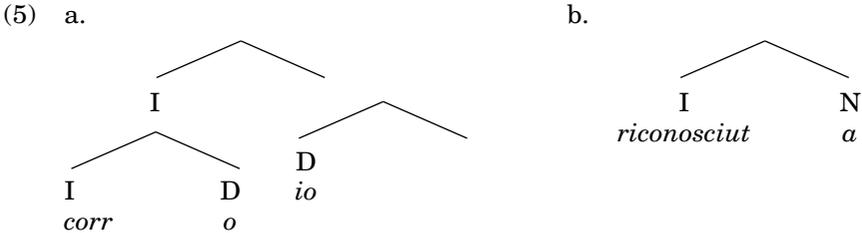
[I 319]: “come esemplificato in (166) per alcune varietà mediane”. The examples in (166) are drawn from two dialects of the Area Mediana (Filottrano and Amandola) and two from a different subdivision, viz. Alto Meridione (Campi, province of Teramo, and Tuffillo, province of Chieti). The error is repeated on [I 334]: “i dialetti mediani del tipo in (166)”.

[I lvii] Olivone-Val Blenio is said to lie in “Svizzera-Grigioni-Val Blenio”. It actually lies in Canton Ticino, not in Canton Grigioni.

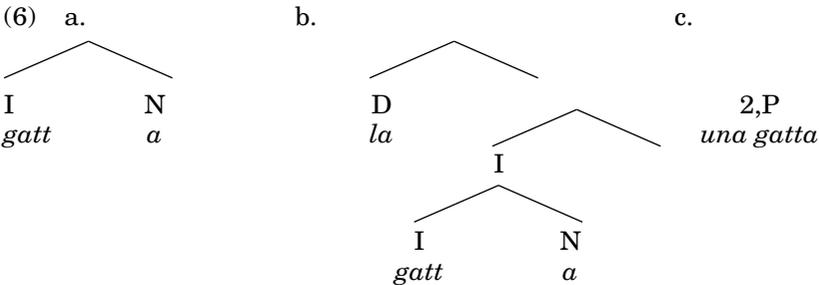
### 3. *The theory*

The basic tenet is declared in the title of 2007: morphology and syntax are one. This is in itself no novelty in generative grammar, since non-distinction of the two components (with e.g. past tense formation dealt with within clause structure) is encountered as early as Chomsky (1957, 1965). Yet, something has happened in research in morphological theory since then. In particular, a growing body of literature has focused on the autonomy of morphology from both phonology and syntax (cf. e.g. Aronoff 1994, 1998 and, with special focus on (Italo-)Romance verb morphology, Maiden 2003, 2005, etc.). M&S’s theoretical stance is diametrically opposite to this line of research, as they subscribe instead to the tradition represented by Pollock (1989), Belletti (1991), according to which inflection is done in the syntax. Given that the point is made explicitly in the title of 2007 and the introduction to both 2005 and 2007, one could expect some explicit discussion of the issue, including perhaps a refutation of alternative views.<sup>6</sup>

This is not the case. M&S hardly quote any literature on morphological theory (names like Aronoff, Booij, Maiden, Matthews, Stump etc. do not show up in their reference list), the only exception being work in Distributed Morphology, with which they share several insights.<sup>7</sup> The whole discussion concentrates on expounding the authors' own model, which entails "upholding the same categories in morphology as in syntax" [5]. Much in the spirit of minimalism, all properties of syntax ultimately "reduce to elementary properties of lexical items at the interfaces" [10]. This extends to (the morphological manifestation of) grammatical relations (on which see below, §3.5): subject and object agreement on verbs [17-19] (= [I 15-22]) are indeed encoded as arguments which lexicalize the same heads (D and N, respectively) as (lexical) subjects and object nominals. This is shown in (5a-b):<sup>8</sup>



In the same vein, the basic structure involving a predicative element (I) and an argument (N or D) is imported into the structure of the nominal, as shown in (6a-b) (from [20], [I 22]):



The idea that common nouns both refer and predicate at the same time, familiar from the philosophical tradition, was first formalized in syntactic theory in unpublished work by Rosen (1987), quoted and elaborated on in La Fauci & Loporcaro (1997:6-9) from

which the structural representation in (6c) is drawn (2 = direct object, P = predicate).<sup>9</sup> The specific representational solution in (6a-b) is dictated by the idea that every syntactic function must correspond bi-uniquely to a morph (a strictly item-and-arrangement view): so, the ending (or “the so called agreement” [19]) *is* the object, while the lexical morpheme *is* the predicate.

Pursuing this line of argument, M&S assume a string of nominal positions [20] (or nominal categories [80]), which are claimed to hold for both sentence and NP structure:

(7) [D [R[Q [P [Loc[N [C ... [I ... [V

At clause level, as shown in (7), this string occurs recursively within the C(omp), I(nfl) and V(erb) domains. The categories in (7) are “characterized in broadly denotational terms” [80] in the following fashion [81]:

- (8) a. N is associated with nominal class  
b. Q is associated with quantifiers (indefinite quantification)  
c. R is associated with referentiality (specific quantification)  
d. D is associated with definiteness  
e. P is associated with person, i.e. reference to speaker and hearer (possessives)  
f. Loc is associated with locative, i.e. reference to spatial coordinates (demonstratives)

This string of nominal positions is put to use, *inter alia*, to account for the mutual ordering of pronominal clitics, which is focused on in a substantial part of both works where several different combination options are surveyed, providing many interesting pieces of data (e.g. on co-occurrence restrictions on clitics with different syntactic functions) which had gone partly unnoticed previously. The categories in (7) are also used to pin down the function of (verb) inflections (as already apparent from the diagrams in (5)-(6a-b)).

### *3.1. Structural constraints on the linearization of clitics*

The string (7) makes strong claims concerning the linearization of clitics. Adopting implicitly a convention current in autosegmental phonology (“association lines cannot cross”), M&S claim that any cluster of clitics must comply with this sequencing, which is in turn claimed to follow from the lexical specification of the clitics involved:

“In base al nostro modello, ci aspettiamo che le entrate lessicali [...] determinino le posizioni di inserzione dei clitici e quindi la loro distribuzione e interpretazione” [II 170] [Based on our model, we expect that lexical entries [...] determine the insertion positions of the clitics and hence their distribution and interpretation].

The authors further make it clear that string (7)

“dev’essere interpretata come una restrizione sulle stringhe prodotte dall’operazione di unione, non come uno scheletro comunque presente nella frase” [II 5] [must be interpreted as a restriction on strings produced by the merge operation, not as a framework present anyway in the clause].

In other words, empty categories are banned, and what is not lexicalized does not exist. With this descriptive machinery, different ordering options found in different dialects (like the two exemplified in (9a-b), from [91], no. (20)) are accounted for by assuming different positions of insertion for the corresponding clitics, as shown in (10) (from [92], no. (21)):

- (9) a. Olivetta S. Michele (Liguria)  
*i hə n 'di 'katr*  
 to-him one of-them says four  
 ‘one says a few things to him’
- b. Vagli di Sopra (Tuscany)  
*i si ʃi ðan i s'soldi*  
 it one to-him give the coins  
 ‘one gives him money’

- (10) a. Olivetta S. Michele
- |   |          |           |   |     |          |           |
|---|----------|-----------|---|-----|----------|-----------|
| D | R        | Q         | P | Loc | N        | I         |
|   |          |           |   |     |          |           |
|   | <i>i</i> | <i>hə</i> |   |     | <i>n</i> | <i>di</i> |
- b. Vagli di Sopra
- |          |           |           |   |     |   |            |
|----------|-----------|-----------|---|-----|---|------------|
| D        | R         | Q         | P | Loc | N | I          |
|          |           |           |   |     |   |            |
| <i>i</i> | <i>si</i> | <i>ʃi</i> |   |     |   | <i>ðan</i> |

These different positions, in turn, are claimed to follow from different specifications in the lexical entries for the corresponding clitics, of the kind exemplified in (11) with regard to direct object clitics (from [II 170]), whose position of insertion would be different than those shown in (10):

(11) Vagli di Sopra

- a. [<sub>I</sub> l [<sub>N</sub> a]] = *la* (DO clitic, fsg)  
b. [<sub>D</sub> i [<sub>I</sub> j]] = *ij* (DO clitic, mpl)

Since the “morpheme [a]” lexicalizes N, the clitic in (11a) must be inserted under N in the syntax. The clitic in (11b), on the other hand, is inserted under D because D is specified in its lexical representation.

Based on these representations and the principles just summarized in (7)-(11), M&S present a huge amount of first-hand data and propose detailed analyses for a host of empirical phenomena. Both the theory and the analyses proposed have far-reaching consequences, to be discussed in what follows.

3.2. *Denotation, reference, predication*

To begin with, it must be observed that the basic argument concerning lexical insertion and its relationship to syntax, exemplified in (11), is circular. Since lexical items are specified with syntactic labels (‘T and the like), the lexical entry, which is claimed to *determine* the syntax (the position of insertion, hence the syntactic distribution and the interpretation of a given element), is in turn *determined* by the syntax. Note further that the notion “denotation”, a keyword in M&S’s theory, seems to be problematic. In several passages, *denotation* occurs in its proper use as a synonym of *reference*, e.g.:

“Dal punto di vista della denotazione, le forme P di 1/2ps hanno referenti individuali corrispondenti al parlante e all’ascoltatore; al contrario, il referente di 1/2pp corrisponde ad un insieme che include il parlante o l’ascoltatore ma anche individui non ancorati all’universo del discorso” [II 131] (cf. also [I 119, I 221-2, etc.]) [From the point of view of the denotation, the P forms of 1/2sg have individual referents, corresponding to speaker and hearer; on the other hand, the referent of 1/2pl corresponds to a set that includes the speaker or the hearer but also individuals not anchored to the universe of discourse].

Here, 1sg and 2sg pronominals are said to lexicalize P positions (or “to have P denotation”) *because* they *refer* to speaker and hearer, whereas the referent of 1pl and 2pl pronominals is correctly claimed to be *referentially* more complex than just a pluralization of the corresponding singular forms. The literal reading (denotation = reference) seems to be appropriate in several other contexts, e.g. in the analysis proposed for dialects which use an (etymologically) partitive or locative form for the IO clitic:

“Intuitivamente, nei dialetti in esame [viz. dialects in which the string IO + DO has the form *ne lo*], “lo do a lui” viene reso come “lo do (ed è) di lui”. Analogamente, le lingue che utilizzano il locativo trattano quest’ulteriore argomento in termini di referenza spaziale, cioè “lo do a lui” viene reso come “lo dò lì” [II 270] (cf. also [I 16]) [Intuitively, in the dialects at issue, “I give it to him” is rendered as “I give it (and it’s) of him”. Likewise, languages that use the locative treat this further argument in terms of spatial reference, i.e. [...] “I give it there” (for “I give it to him”)].

However, the straightforward reading (denotation = reference) is contradicted by M&S’s use in other contexts. This applies not only to *denotation*, as I will show directly, but also to *predication*. We have seen in (6a-b) that nouns merge a “predicative basis” I with an argument N: [<sub>I</sub> gatt [<sub>N</sub>a]]. But M&S talk about pronominal clitics – analyzed as shown in (11) – in just the same terms, claiming that e.g. [<sub>I</sub> l [<sub>N</sub> a]] includes a “base predicativa” *l-* [e.g. I 71, II 11]. While it is clear that common nouns can both refer and predicate at the same time, it is not obvious that an anaphoric (or deictic) pronominal can possibly do the same, if *predicative* is taken literally.<sup>10</sup>

The answer to these terminological queries is that these labels are used “broadly” [80] – too broadly, one might venture. In fact, to account for contrasting orderings of the kind illustrated in (9)-(10) above, solutions such as the following are adopted very often: “il clitico a denotazione P si inserisce in Q” [II 67]; “il clitico a denotazione P [...] si colloca in R” [II 69]; “il clitico a denotazione P specializzato inserito in R” [II 134]. For instance, the P-in-R analysis is proposed for the pattern found in several Lombard dialects (exemplified in (12), from [II 134]), where reflexives present a double clitic in 1sg and 2sg:

- (12) Strozza Valle Imagna
- |           |           |   |   |     |            |   |                |
|-----------|-----------|---|---|-----|------------|---|----------------|
| D         | R         | Q | P | Loc | N          | I |                |
|           |           |   |   |     |            |   |                |
| <i>me</i> | <i>se</i> |   |   |     | <i>lae</i> |   | ‘I wash myself |

Since reflexive clitics lexicalize Q, the mutual ordering of *me se* is incompatible with insertion of 1sg *me* under P (the canonical position for 1st and 2nd person pronominals): hence it is inserted under R, the only position available for an object clitic to the left of Q.

However, if syntactic distribution is exhaustively determined by lexical specification, and if the latter corresponds to a “denotation” (i.e. to a primitive of the theory [II 353]), then it is unclear how a pronominal with P-denotation can possibly be inserted under R in the

syntax. If it is, it will have “denotation R”, not P. From such examples it becomes apparent, however, that “pronominal with denotation P” is simply used as an (unnecessarily complicated) synonym for “1st/2nd person pronominal”, rather than as “lexical item inserted under P”, which would be the only legitimate use given the basic assumptions of the model.

This kind of analysis also shows that the notational facilities of the representation are handled in a rather liberal way. Take for instance the clitics *si* (reflexive or impersonal) and *ci* (locative). They are normally inserted under Q and Loc respectively, which predicts the correct mutual ordering in cases such as (13a) [II 146]:

- (13) a. Volturara Appula (province of Foggia, Apulia)
- |   |   |            |            |     |   |              |                                    |
|---|---|------------|------------|-----|---|--------------|------------------------------------|
| D | R | Q          | P          | Loc | N | I            |                                    |
|   |   |            |            |     |   |              |                                    |
|   |   | <i>tsə</i> | <i>tfə</i> |     |   | <i>mettə</i> | ‘one puts (something) in it/there’ |
- b. Guardiaregia (province of Campobasso, Molise)
- |   |            |            |   |     |   |              |  |
|---|------------|------------|---|-----|---|--------------|--|
| D | R          | Q          | P | Loc | N | I            |  |
|   |            |            |   |     |   |              |  |
|   | <i>tfə</i> | <i>tsə</i> |   |     |   | <i>mettə</i> |  |

Other neighbouring dialects, however, such as the one in (13b), display the reverse order (like Standard Italian): in this case, the locative clitic *ci* lexicalizes R, not Loc. Even so, there remains some room for falsifiability. For example, the model can accommodate both Standard Italian *lo si compra* ‘one buys it’ (14a) and *se lo compra* ‘(s/he) buys it’ (14b) (discussed on [II 70]), if at the cost of allowing for two different lexical representations for the DO clitic:

- (14) Standard Italian
- |      |           |           |   |     |   |               |  |
|------|-----------|-----------|---|-----|---|---------------|--|
| a. D | R         | Q         | P | Loc | N | I             |  |
|      |           |           |   |     |   |               |  |
|      | <i>lo</i> | <i>si</i> |   |     |   | <i>compra</i> |  |
- |      |           |   |   |     |           |               |  |
|------|-----------|---|---|-----|-----------|---------------|--|
| b. D | R         | Q | P | Loc | N         | I             |  |
|      |           |   |   |     |           |               |  |
|      | <i>se</i> |   |   |     | <i>lo</i> | <i>compra</i> |  |

Addition of locative *ci* to the impersonal construction (14b), however, poses some problems:

- (15) Standard Italian
- |           |           |           |   |     |   |               |  |
|-----------|-----------|-----------|---|-----|---|---------------|--|
| a. D      | R         | Q         | P | Loc | N | I             |  |
| ?         |           |           |   |     |   |               |  |
| <i>ce</i> | <i>lo</i> | <i>si</i> |   |     |   | <i>compra</i> |  |

b. D	R	Q	P	Loc	N	I
	<i>ci</i>	<i>se</i>			<i>lo</i>	<i>compra</i>

Of the two possible variants, *ci se lo compra* (cf. Nocentini 2003:276) can be formalized (though, again, at the cost of adopting for impersonals the same structural representation proposed for pseudoreflexives in (14b)), but it is hard to see how the variant *ce lo si compra* can be represented: should the object clitic lexicalize N, there would be no room for *si* to be associated; conversely, if – as shown in (15a) – *lo* lexicalizes R, there is no room for *ce*. Or perhaps one could insert it under D, a position in which subject clitics normally occur. This would imply that one and the same clitic in the same syntactic function – describable in neutral terms as ‘impersonal’: recall that *ci/ce* is here an alternant of *si* ‘one’ – can appear in no less than three different positions: Loc (the position corresponding to its “denotation”), R and D.

To some readers, this procedure might appear a sign of exceeding descriptive power of the theory. This freedom, however, seems to be needed in order to compensate for the abandonment of some widely-held tenets of linguistic theory. In their courageous attempt at unification of morphology and syntax, M&S plead for the dismissal of categories such as gender and (syntactic) Case, which are claimed to be epiphenomena of the primitives of the theory, viz. the categories in the string of nominal positions in (7).

### 3.3. Double articulation

In their analysis of person agreement in verb inflection, including subject clitics in Northern Italian dialects, M&S systematically equate verb endings and/or subject clitics with nominal inflections which happen to be homophonous in the given system:

“Per quanto riguarda  $\epsilon$  di 1ps, 1/2pp nel dialetto di *Pàllare* [e.g.  $\epsilon$  *dræ:m* ‘sleep.1SG’,  $\epsilon$  *dræ'muma* 1PL,  $\epsilon$  *dræmi* 2PL, M.L.] essa rappresenta di nuovo un morfema di classe nominale, associato al cosiddetto femminile plurale, come in *aundzε* ‘unghie’, singolare *aundza* ‘unghia’” [I 104] [As for 1ps, 1/2pp  $\epsilon$  in the dialect of *Pàllare*, it represents again a nominal class morpheme, associated to the so called feminine plural, like in *aundzε* ‘nails’, singular *aundza* ‘nail’].

Similarly, in their discussion of gender marking on finite verb forms (see above, §2), they mention among others the dialect of Bagolino, where only the verb ‘to be’ displays gender agreement in the

3sg of the present indicative: e.g. *l 'e 'gra:nt* '(he/it) is.M big.M' vs. *l 'ei 'grandæ* '(she) is.F big.F' [I 290]. The analysis of this contrast goes as follows:

“possiamo assumere che il formativo nominale *-i* che segue la base lessicale *e-* sia comunque inserito in D. In questo caso *-i* è ancora un elemento a denotazione quantificazionale, come si può stabilire dal fatto che *i* compare indipendentemente come il clitico soggetto plurale del sistema” [I 291] [we can assume that the nominal morpheme *-i* that follows the lexical base *e-* is still inserted in D. In this case *-i* still is an element with quantificational denotation, as can be established from the fact that *i* appears independently as the plural clitic subject of the system].

Here is the line of reasoning underlying such analyses: in Pallare a morpheme  $\varepsilon$  is needed anyway for nominal inflection, hence the homophonous form occurring as a subject clitic (in the 1sg, 1pl and 2pl) must be a “nominal class marker” (in itself a controversial notion, cf. §3.4), even in contexts in which it actually marks person. Likewise in Bagolino, *i* serves as a mpl subject clitic, hence the *-i* distinguishing the 3fsg form meaning '(she) is' from its msg counterpart must have “quantificational, i.e. plural denotation”. Two moves are combined here: first, *'ei* '(she) is' is analyzed into two morphemes  $\varepsilon+i$ ; second,  $+i$  is assigned the “denotation” Q (plural).

From a functional point of view, both analyses appear questionable: a 1sg subject clitic pronounced  $\varepsilon$  has nothing to do with the functional category 'feminine plural', and a verb form meaning '(she) is' actually has nothing to do with 'masculine plural'. The only motivation for such analyses is the basic tenet that morphosyntactic function must “reduce to elementary properties of lexical items” [10], combined with the application of a strictly item-and-arrangement morphological analysis.

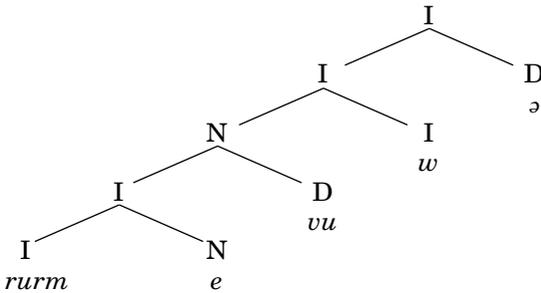
A plausible alternative readily comes to mind. Under a word-and-paradigm model of morphology (cf. e.g. Matthews 1991<sup>2</sup>, Stump 2001), the contrast found in Bagolino can be analyzed in terms of cumulative exponence of the lexical and grammatical meanings involved.<sup>11</sup> These are linked to two distinct paradigm cells, occupied by the exponents  $\varepsilon$  vs.  $\varepsilon i$ , via realizational rules (formulated here following Aronoff 1994:68, Thornton 2005:130-2):

- (16) a.  $V_{[BE]}$  [person: 3sg] [gender: m] [tense: present] [mood: indicative] [voice: active]:  $X \rightarrow [\varepsilon]$   
b.  $V_{[BE]}$  [person: 3sg] [gender: f] [tense: present] [mood: indicative] [voice: active]:  $X \rightarrow [\varepsilon i]$

M&S's model, however, does not provide for anything like cumulative exponence.<sup>12</sup> Even more radically, their starting assumptions about lexical entries determining syntax (and morphology), if taken seriously, boil down to abandoning Martinet's (1949) double articulation (and perhaps even Saussure's 1922<sup>2</sup> *arbitraire du signe*): in a system in which the (phonological) element /i/ is the exponent of a morpheme signalling 'mpl', every /i/ must be 'mpl', even that in Bagolino's 3sg feminine verb form.

Failure to recognize cumulative exponence in synchronic analysis sometimes derives from confusion of synchrony and diachrony. This is illustrated by the analysis of the paradigm of past tenses in several dialects of Southern Italy for which M&S posit a "raddoppiamento della flessione del verbo" [I 251], as illustrated in the structural representation in (17), proposed for the imperfect form *rur'me-v(u)-wə* 'you. PL slept.IMPF' from the dialect of S. Maria a Vico (province of Caserta) [I 276]:

(17)



According to this analysis, person is marked twice (on the 'morphemes' [D vu] and [D ə]) while [I w] marks aspect. This is questionable, both as a synchronic and as a diachronic analysis. Synchronically, there is cumulative exponence here, the ending *-vuwə* marking TAM and PN at the same time (contrast 1pl *rur'mem(u)wə*). Diachronically, this ending came into being via an accumulation of inflectional material, whose rightmost piece *-wə* did not contain an aspect marker to begin with but corresponds instead to pronominal VOS 'you.2PL' that was agglutinated and became part of 2pl personal endings in past tense and/or irrealis in most dialects of Central-Southern Italo-Romance (Rohlf's 1966-69: §§552, 570, 596): cf. in the same dialect *rur'messəwə* 'you slept.2PL.SUBJ' [I 276]. What is peculiar about the dialect at issue is the analogical extension of this ending to the 1pl, probably due to paradigmatic leveling on the 2pl.

Similarly, in the dialect of Molfetta (data on [I 251]) the 2pl form  $və'dəistəmə$  'you.PL saw' took on a  $-mə$  by analogy with the 1pl  $və'demmə$  'we saw'. Synchronically, these forms just consist of the verb base  $vəd-$  plus an ending with cumulative exponence of PN and TAM features. Yet M&S's analysis in this case as well – like for all the very interesting data from paradigmatic levelling they survey – postulates a “raddoppiamento della flessione del verbo” [I 251], claiming that this doubling results synchronically in distinct morphemes. This is, again, an unwelcome consequence of their starting assumptions.

This kind of analysis extends to nominal inflection as well. In the case of the mpl definite article in Standard Italian, with the alternants  $i/gli$  (*i cani* 'the dogs' vs. *gli spari* 'the shots'), traditional analyses of all theoretical approaches admitting double articulation recognize morpho-syntactic identity despite the phonological difference (perhaps tied to syllable structure, with  $i$  being selected before word-initial onsets, in many analyses). Once double articulation is abandoned, this distinction is no longer viable, and the two phonologically distinct allomorphs become *ipso facto* two differently defined syntactic objects, viz.  $[_I i]$  vs.  $[_I \wedge [_N i]]$  [II 12-13]. The (truly) syntactic differences that should follow from this (alleged) “syntactic” contrast remain obscure.

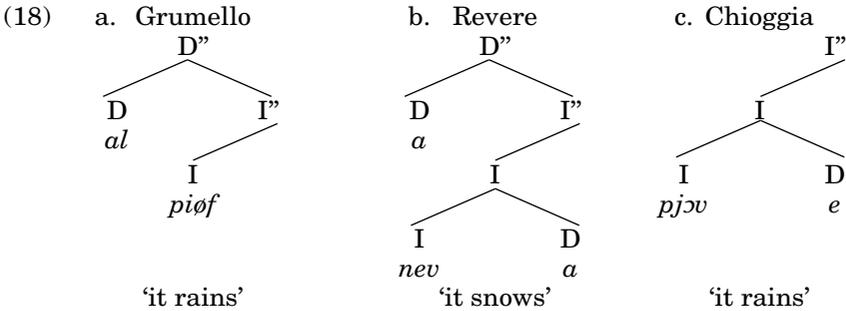
That phonological shape is taken to be directly (and self-evidently) relevant for syntactic function is further confirmed by very many of M&S's analyses:

“Le varietà di *Fontane* e di *Guardia Piemontese* sono caratterizzate dalla coincidenza sulla forma  $i$  della 3psf e della 3pp, il che conferma l'ipotesi che nelle varietà provenzaleggianti l'elemento  $i$  di 3psf ha denotazione quantificazionale” [I 107] [The varieties of *Fontane* and *Guardia Piemontese* are characterized by the coincidence on the form  $i$  for 3fsg and 3pl, which confirms the hypothesis that in the circumprovençal varieties the  $i$  3fsg element has quantificational denotation].

Further undesirable consequences of this approach to morphological analysis are legion: to quote just one example, an irregular plural like Bormino *omeŋ* 'men' [I 318] (corresponding to Italian *uomini*) has to be analyzed as  $[_I om [_N eŋ]]$ , thus isolating a plural morph  $-eŋ$ , because a) the phonological shape of the singular is *om*, and b) otherwise no lexical material would be there to lexicalize the category 'plural'. However, both Standard Italian *uomini* and Bormino *omeŋ* are better analyzed as instances of base allomorphy: in Italian, the analysis *uom-o* (sg)/*uomin-i* (pl) recognizes an isolated radical allo-

morphy, which avoids positing a plural inflection *\*-ini* that does not occur elsewhere. Likewise, Northern Italian dialects generally lack an *\*-en* plural morph, so that the paradigm *om/omeŋ*, occurring in many of those dialects, is better explained in terms of cumulative exponence of the lexical ('man') and the grammatical meaning (number), just like English *man/men*. In contrast to Standard Italian, no distinct plural morph *\*-i* occurs here, since final non-low vowels were deleted through regular sound change.

The same kind of problem becomes apparent in the treatment of verb inflection and subject clitics, which are both assumed to lexicalize the same category D. This idea, combined with the non-availability of empty categories, results in the following representational options [I 349, no. (206)]:



Elsewhere, the authors stress that the absence of verb inflection implies non-realization (i.e. absence) of the syntactic category/categories that the relevant inflection should signal:

“Naturalmente, non parleremo di accordo del verbo in assenza di flessione nominale; al contrario, la mancata lessicalizzazione della categoria D interna al verbo configura una situazione analoga a quella del soggetto nullo nella stringa clitica alla sinistra del verbo in F” [I 324] [Of course, we will not speak of verb agreement in the absence of nominal inflection; on the contrary, the lack of lexicalization of the verb-internal D category represents a situation analogous to that of the null subject in the clitic string to the left of the verb in I].

Given these premises, however, the theory does not seem to be able to represent the fourth structural option found in Northern Italian dialects, alongside those in (18). In dialects such as that of Tavullia (province of Pesaro-Urbino, Marche), *pjɔ:v* ‘it rains’ [I 165] lacks both a subject clitic and an ending, since (late) Latin final *-E* was

deleted. Under a theory admitting cumulative exponence, this will be dealt with by a realizational rule of the kind illustrated in (16). Based on M&S's assumptions, on the other hand, the Tavullia case is not representable, and indeed the relevant structural representation is not provided (as opposed to those in (18a-c)).

### 3.4. *Gender vs. inflectional class*

One of the cornerstones of modern morphological theory is the distinction between gender and inflectional class: "Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words" (Hockett 1958:231, quoted in Corbett 1991:1), whereas "An inflectional class is a set of lexemes whose members each select the same set of inflectional realizations" (Aronoff 1994:182). In M&S's terminology, the latter does not occur, as they speak instead of "nominal" class. This is used at times to mean "inflectional class":

"e rappresenta un morfema di classe nominale associato come nello standard, [*sic*] con nomi del tipo *nuize* 'noce' a *Pigna*, e col cosiddetto femminile plurale come in *undze* 'unghie' *Castellinaldo*" [I 71] [*e* represents a nominal class morpheme, associated, like in the standard language, to nouns like *nuize* 'walnut' in *Pigna*, and with the so called feminine plural like in *undze* '(finger)nails' [in *Castellinaldo*].

Here the choice of the example *nuize* (dialect of Pigna)/*noce* (Standard Italian) guarantees that gender is not involved, since the inflectional class sg. *-e*/pl. *-i* does not correlate with gender in Italian (cf. Dressler & Thornton 1996:5), unlike the classes sg. *-a*/pl. *-e* and sg. *-o*/pl. *-i*, which do correlate with feminine and masculine respectively (cf. e.g. Thornton 2003:476, D'Achille & Thornton 2003:212). However, one page earlier one finds:

"Tale flessione è ristretta a morfologia di classe nominale, cioè di genere, come *-o/-a/-e* nello standard" [I 70] [Such inflection is restricted to nominal class, i.e. gender, morphology, like *-o/-a/-e* in the standard language].

Similar statements occur on e.g. [I 218-9] "quello che è tradizionalmente chiamato genere o classe nominale", [I 194] "categorie di persona, numero o genere (classe nominale)", [II 548]. Apparently, the same label is used promiscuously for two notions that are kept distinct in current work in morphological theory, including some which are quoted in M&S's references (e.g. Harris 1991:28).

### 3.5. Grammatical relations

M&S extensively argue in favour of a syntactic theory in which grammatical relations are dispensed with. As is well known, in generative syntax these are not primitive notions, but still they are encoded, if only derivatively, in the form of (syntactic) Case. For M&S, however, Case has no theoretical status, being an epiphenomenon of the denotational categories in the string (7) [5]:

“la nostra analisi non ammette la nozione di caso tra i primitivi della grammatica, rendendo conto di quello che è tradizionalmente descritto come caso, nei termini delle categorie denotazionali che rappresentano i primitivi della teoria. In altre parole, [...] il caso di un dato elemento è un riflesso del fatto che esso è associato con una certa categoria della stringa nominale” [II 353; cf. also II 170] [our analysis does not admit the notion Case among the primitives of grammar, accounting for what is traditionally described as Case in terms of the denotational categories that represent the primitives of the theory. In other words, the Case of a given element is a reflex of the fact that this is associated with a certain category of the nominal string].

Thus, for instance, there is no structural category unifying the different kinds of syntactic entities traditionally called DOs in (19a-d):

- (19) a. Gianni vede Maria  
      ‘John sees Mary’  
      b. Gianni la vede  
      ‘John sees her’  
      c. Gianni mi/ti vede  
      ‘John sees me/you’  
      d. Gianni si vede (allo specchio)  
      ‘John sees himself (in the mirror)’

While (19a-b) share an N argument (as 3rd person clitics lexicalize an N position), 1st/2nd person clitics in (19c) lexicalize P (cf. (8e)) – although they may be occasionally placed somewhere else, as seen in §3.2 above – and are hence categorically distinct from 3rd person clitics. The same goes for reflexive clitics (19d), which lexicalize a Q position (although they may also be inserted under N). More traditional views of syntax would treat (19a-d) as syntactically different too. Yet the DO relation would assure the syntactic identity of the initial argument required by the valency of the transitive predicate *vedere*.

The dismissal of grammatical relations results in different representational solutions depending on person. While for 3rd person a structural distinction remains available (nominative, accusative and dative Cases being re-encoded, respectively, as D, N and Q/Loc/R denotations, see (24) below), the move is more radical for 1st and 2nd persons, where any structural distinction between DO and IO is denied in principle: all 1st and 2nd person object clitics are inserted under P. An empirical argument is provided for this reduction: “there is no morphological differentiation between P forms used as accusatives and datives” [81].<sup>13</sup> The same applies to reflexive *si*.

While such a morphological non-distinctness is found in all Italo-Romance and most Romance varieties (cf. e.g. *mi/ti/si dà un libro* ‘(he) gives me.IO/you.SG.IO/himself.IO a book’, with the same clitic forms as in (19c-d)), M&S’s model does not seem to be able to account for Romanian, where the DO/IO syncretism is found in pronominal clitics for 1pl and 2pl only, whereas in the rest of the paradigm the DO vs. IO relations are kept distinct for both reflexive and non-reflexive clitics:

(20)		non-reflexive		reflexive	
a. DO	1sg	<i>așteaptă-mă</i>	‘wait for me’	<i>mă s pāl</i>	‘I wash myself’
	2sg	<i>te aștept</i>	‘I wait for you’	<i>spală-te</i>	‘wash yourself’
b. IO	1sg	<i>telefonează-mi</i>	‘call me up’	<i>îmi amintesc</i>	‘I remember’
	2sg	<i>îți telefonez</i>	‘I call you up’	<i>amintește-ți</i>	‘remember’

M&S’s insertion of the 1st and 2nd person clitics under P does not leave room for the appropriate specification of the syntactic functions contrasted systematically through the different forms of the clitics in (20a-b). The same goes for 3rd person reflexive clitics of the SE type, which are inserted under Q. Here again, Romanian, unlike most other (Italo-)Romance varieties, contrasts DO vs. IO: e.g. *a se spālă* ‘to wash oneself’, *a se întrista* ‘to get sad’ (*el se spală/intristează* ‘he washes himself/gets sad’) vs. *a-și aminti* ‘to remember’, *a-și imagina* ‘to imagine’ (*el își amintește/imaginează* ‘he remembers/imagines’). The inability to cope with these facts is a serious empirical problem for a theory which is presented as a general unification of morphology and syntax.<sup>14</sup>

For the third person, as already said, the DO vs. subject distinction translates to that between the denotations N vs. D. IOs, in contrast, encoded as NPs with (structural) dative Case in previous generative models, lack a dedicated denotation. This is regarded by M&S as an important issue, as testified by the fact that one of the chapters

of 2007 is devoted to the *Lexicalization patterns of the so-called third person dative*. The chapter contains discussion of an empirical argument about distributivity [88-89] (cf. also [II 166-167]), which allegedly demonstrates the non-existence of the syntactic function ‘dative’ (or IO, in our terms), and then moves on to analyze several sets of data from a number of dialects in order to show that the theoretical assumptions yield better descriptive results.

The empirical argument for disposing of dative runs as follows. It is possible to construct with the quantifier *ciascuno* ‘each’ both subjects (21a) and IO clitics (21c), whereas the construction is claimed to be ungrammatical with DO clitics (21b), (21d):

- |         |                                      |         |
|---------|--------------------------------------|---------|
| (21) a. | Loro hanno visto un uomo ciascuno    | Subject |
|         | ‘They have seen a man each’          |         |
| b.      | *Un uomo li ha visti ciascuno        | DO      |
|         | A man has seen them each             |         |
| c.      | Assegnai loro un compito ciascuno    | IO      |
|         | ‘I gave them an assignment each’     |         |
| d.      | *Li assegnai a uno studente ciascuno | DO      |
|         | Them I assigned to a student each    |         |

This is taken as empirical evidence for a natural class that includes what are traditionally called subjects and IOs (or NPs marked with nominative and dative Case), as opposed to DOs (i.e. accusatively marked NPs):

“the set of possible distributors corresponds to the set of arguments (i.e. datives or subjects), which have been motivated independently to occupy a position with quantificational properties, be it Q or D” [89].

“l’insieme dei distributori possibili corrisponde all’insieme di argomenti, cioè dativo e soggetto, che occupano una posizione con proprietà quantificazionali, cioè D e Q.” [II 167]

The argument does not stand closer inspection, though. While (21b) and (21d) are ungrammatical, this has nothing to do with the occurrence of a DO clitic, as shown by the contrast in acceptability between (22a) and (22b), both containing a DO clitic:

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| (22) a. | Il professore li ha interrogati un’ora ciascuno |
|         | ‘The teacher asked them one hour each’          |
| b.      | *Il professore li ha interrogati ciascuno       |
|         | The teacher asked them each                     |

The genuine generalization is straightforward. For a distributive expression like *ciascuno* ‘each’ to be licensed, the clause must contain both a (wide-scope) distributor and “a narrow-scope indefinite as the DISTRIBUTEE or DISTRIBUTED SHARE” (cf. Beghelli & Stowell 1997:87), which is provided by *un’ora* in (22a) but is missing in (22b), or in M&S’s (21b). These are ungrammatical because Romance pronominal clitics, no matter whether DO or IO, cannot fulfil the distributee function (recall that they are definite), as shown by the ungrammaticality of (23) (with an IO clitic), as opposed to (21c):

- (23) \*Telefonai loro ciascuno  
I phoned them each

This explains the ungrammaticality of (21b) and (21d) which, unlike M&S’s claim, are barred not because they contain a DO clitic – which is perfectly fine as distributor, as evidenced by (22a) – but rather because they fail to contain a distributed share. Thus, the alleged argument for the unification of IO and subject (as opposed to DO) under the heading “quantificational denotation” (D or Q) evaporates.

Further empirical arguments against M&S’s dismissal of the notion IO are provided by the fact that the analyses they put forward are less economical than the alternative ones which rely on the notion IO (or structural dative Case). Such alternative analyses have long been available, but M&S fail to refute them while proposing their own.

Having discarded dative, M&S analyze IO clitics in Italo-Romance dialects (“The types ‘ci’, ‘ne’, ‘si’ for third person dative” [92]) as inserted in one of the three structural positions listed in (24a-c) (from the string in (7) above), depending crucially on their lexical (i.e. ultimately phonological) form.<sup>15</sup>

- (24) Lexicalization of third person dative  
a. IO clitics of form ‘gli’ and ‘si’ are inserted under Q  
b. IO clitics of form ‘ci’ and ‘vi’ are inserted under Loc  
c. IO clitics of form ‘ne’ are inserted under R

An example of IO of the ‘gli’ type, inserted in Q, was provided above in (9b)/(10b) (Vagli di Sopra).<sup>16</sup> Further relevant examples, illustrating the three categories in (24a-c), are listed in (25)-(27):

- (25) a. Arena (province of Catanzaro, Calabria) [II 272]

'*ijju si lu 'ðuna*  
 he to-him it gives  
 'he gives it to him'

b. D	R	Q	P	Loc	N	I
		<i>si</i>			<i>lu</i>	<i>'ðuna</i>

- (26) a. Zoldo Alto (province of Belluno, Veneto) [II 223, 248]

*al ge lo 'da*  
 he to-him it gives  
 'he gives it to him'

b. D	R	Q	P	Loc	N	I
<i>al</i>				<i>ge</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>da</i>

- (27) a. Nocara (province of Cosenza, Calabria) [95-96]

*n u 'ðaðə*  
 to-him it gives  
 'he gives it to him'

b. D	R	Q	P	Loc	N	I
	<i>n</i>				<i>u</i>	<i>ðaðə</i>

The quotation from [II 270] in §3.2 above has already shown that M&S take the phonological shape of the IO clitics to be decisive for their lexical insertion, hence for their syntactic properties. Note that these differences in phonological shape have an etymological motivation: IO clitics of the 'gli' type derive from the Latin dative ILLĪ(S), whereas IO 'si', 'ci', 'vi' and 'ne' respectively derive from SĒ/SI(BI), HINCE, IBI and INDE. Traditionally, this has been described as the extension of the relevant *forms* to IO *function*,<sup>17</sup> a view which is no longer available under M&S's theory, where form (e.g. *ci*) and function (e.g. Loc) become one. This has analytical drawbacks, which will be exemplified in what follows by considering a syntactic process widely attested in dialects of southern Italy and Sardinia, viz. the IO -> DO advancement exemplified for Neapolitan in (28) (from Ledgeway 2000:17; cf. also Sornicola 1997:336 on Neapolitan and La Fauci & Loporcaro 1989:168-172, Loporcaro 1998:174-6 on other Southern Italian dialects):

- (28) a. *rispunnnetteno a Maria*  
 answered.3PL to Maria  
 ‘they answered to Maria’  
 b. *nce/’a rispunnnetteno*  
 to-her/her answered.3PL  
 ‘they answered her’

Ledgeway (2000:17-20) mentions this phenomenon (illustrated in (28b) by the optional possibility for the DO clitic *’a* to substitute for the IO clitic *nce*), among others, in order to argue convincingly in favour of positing a structural dative Case in Neapolitan. This is precisely what M&S deny, without, however, providing a refutation of Ledgeway’s argument, indeed without mentioning Ledgeway (2000) at all.<sup>18</sup> Into the bargain, an analysis *à la* M&S would be incapable of accounting for the fact that the same phenomenon occurs across dialects in which the IO clitic has a different (lexical/phonological) shape, as exemplified in (29)-(30):

- (29) Trebisacce (province of Cosenza, Calabria; Pace 1993-94:40-42, 123-128)  
 a. *’ndɔ:njɔ tɔ’lɛ:fənəd/’skrivɔ nna ’bittɔr a mma’rɪ:jɔ*  
 Anthony phones / writes a letter to Mary  
 ‘Anthony calls Mary up/writes Mary a letter’  
 b. *’ndɔ:njɔ a/\*nɔ tɔ’lɛ:fənəd*  
 Anthony her/to-her phones  
 ‘Anthony calls her up’  
 c. *’ndɔ:njɔ nɔ/\*a ’skrivɔ nna ’bittɔrɔ*  
 Anthony to-her/her writes a letter  
 ‘Anthony writes her a letter’
- (30) Bonorva (province of Sassari, Sardinia; Loporcaro 1998:174-176)  
 a. *’to:nja nɔ ffa’ɛqɔa ’ppju:z a ’ffra:ðɛ ’zo’u*  
 Antonia not speaks anymore to brother her  
 ‘Antonia doesn’t speak to her brother anymore’  
 b. *’to:nja nɔ lli/llu ffa’ɛqɔa ’ppju:zu*  
 Antonia not to-him/him speaks anymore  
 ‘Antonia doesn’t speak anymore to him’

In spite of some differences in distribution (the advancement is compulsory in Trebisaccese, as shown in (29b), whereas it is only optional in Bonorvese, cf. (30b), where it is restricted to just a handful of unergative predicates), the process involved is the same, viz. IO-to-DO advancement. Under a theory *à la* M&S, however, which does

not provide for the notion IO at all, this elementary generalization is missed since the IO clitics in (28)-(30) have nothing in common. They are inserted in different structural positions, and have different denotations [II 270], due to their being homophonous with either locative (Loc) or partitive (R) clitics.

#### 4. Conclusion

As was made clear in the foregoing discussion, 2005 and 2007 have complementary pros and cons. Since 2005 gathers and discusses an unprecedentedly large body of empirical data on the syntax of Italian dialects, it will deservedly become a reference work, despite typographic errors, the problems with some specific sets of data, and its questionable theoretical assumptions.

Just the reverse holds for 2007, which barely affords access to the primary empirical data (the reader will still have to consult 2005 for this purpose). Its pluses are better typographical accuracy and, what is more, the fact that it is written in English. Since, however, the theoretical background of the data collection in 2005 is foregrounded in 2007 and presented from the title on as the main thrust of the book, the latter has to be judged primarily for its theoretical proposals, summarized in §§3-3.1.

These are not entirely convincing, because of internal inconsistency (see e.g. §§3.2-3.3 on ‘denotation’), because of the neglect of major achievements in morphological theory (see the discussions on cumulative exponence and the gender vs. inflectional class distinction in §§3.3-3.4) and, last but not least, because of the premature abandonment of analytical categories (such as grammatical relations, §3.5), whose non-availability, it turns out, impairs the analyses proposed.

#### 5. Appendix

In 2007, which is typographically quite accurate, only a few misprints occur: e.g. [8] “What we therefore support is theory where case derives instead from the EPP(s)”; [81] “intepretation” (= interpretation). In the data in (26c) [210], the optionality slash is wrongly repeated between the last finite verb form of the compound perfect paradigm and the complementizer (“*a'vetliən l(r)a ca'ma*” ‘you have/they have to call’); on [377] the title of Benveniste’s (1966) *Problèmes de linguistique générale* is misspelled (no accents at all), and so is the

publisher (Gallimand for Gallimard). The index is incomplete: it omits e.g. mention of Cocchi [198], Croft [199], Giammarco [198], Marantz [204], Roberts [130], Rohlfis [198].

In contrast, 2005 has not been accurately proofread. The following lists signal some of the misprints that I noticed (basically, from the first two chapters), in the hope that this will help the authors to prepare a revised edition.<sup>19</sup>

### 5.1. Text

- [I 10] only H e il suo angolo -> solo H e il suo angolo
- [I 70] le conclusioni [...] è direttamente rilevante -> le conclusioni [...] sono direttamente rilevanti
- [I 93] sulle sue funzionali (a noun is missing)
- [I 114] in assenza di indicazione al contrario -> in assenza di indicazione in contrario
- [I 120] il parlante e l'ascoltare -> il parlante e l'ascoltatore
- [I 120] la maggior delle varietà -> la maggior parte delle varietà
- [I 121] le relazioni [...] possono essere trattati -> le relazioni [...] possono essere trattate
- [I 123] A loro volta, *al* in (52d) può essere trattato -> A sua volta, etc.
- [I 124] inserica -> inserisca
- [I 125] tra al preconsonantico -> tra *al* preconsonantico
- [I 127] può comparire su diverse del paradigma (a noun is missing)
- [I 143] è la forma sillabica *la* di 3psf a poter essere precedute da *a* -> è la forma sillabica *la* di 3psf a poter essere preceduta da *a*
- [I 147] Un criterio di questo è sicuramente fornito (something is missing)
- [I 172] alternati -> alternanti
- [I 172] sarranno -> saranno
- [I 183] gli espletivo -> gli espletivi
- [I 183] in tutti contesti -> in tutti i contesti
- [I 194] coincidere con gli espletivi nelle varietà in (iv), oppure con gli espletivi frasali nelle varietà in (iii) -> coincidere con gli espletivi nominali nelle varietà in (iv) etc.
- [I 194] il soggetto espletivo e meteorologico prendono comunque la forma *es* -> il soggetto espletivo e meteorologico prende etc.
- [I 199] postposto -> posposto
- [I 218] il clitici -> i clitici
- [I 269] si applicherà anche un verbo -> si applicherà anche a un verbo

- [I 270] impossibile -> impossibile
- [I 281] siamo in gradi di -> siamo in grado di
- [I 291] lessicalizzandosi -> lessicalizzandosi
- [I 292] *ommə* si possono combinare -> *ommə* si può combinare
- [I 292] possiamo troviamo -> possiamo trovare
- [I 292] sembrano poter precede -> sembrano poter precedere
- [I 310] come avremo di discutere -> come avremo modo di discutere
- [I 314] l'applicazione dei meccanismo -> l'applicazione dei meccanismi
- [I 318] un formativo *i* -> un formativo *eη*
- [I 319], [I 327] donotazioni -> denotazioni
- [I 321] in altre la topicalizzazione -> in altre parole la topicalizzazione
- [I 326] le denotazioni compatibile -> le denotazioni compatibili
- [I 330] il generale -> in generale
- [I 578] passati rassegna -> passati in rassegna

## 5.2. Glosses

- [I 44] *dɔpo* 'domani', actually 'later';
- [I 51] Miglionico *tʃi vuə ka da və'ni* 'chi vuoi che deve venire' ['who do you want to come?'], but the (literal) gloss should be 'chi vuoi che ha da venire' (same for Acerenza on the same page);
- [I 160] La Pli de Mareo *lor(m)/loro(f)* -> *loro(m)/loro(f)*
- [I 167] *ma'ya* glossed once 'ragazzi' ['boys'], once 'bambini' ['children'] – like *fi'ət* – for the dialect of Mezzenile (same on [I 171]);
- [I 184] Margarita *kui fi'oi* 'i miei ragazzli' ['my boys'] for 'quei ragazzi' ['those boys'];
- [I 187] Pradleves *dormei* -> *dorme i*
- [I 203] Putignano *dedono* -> *vedono*
- [I 277] Borghetto Vara *ventui*-> *venuti*
- [I 288] Quarna Sotto *ia vɔgga* gloss omitted for the whole paradigm;
- [I 296] Torricella Peligna *camati* -> *chiamati* (twice)
- [I 329] Premana same gloss 'bambino/-a' ['child'] for both *i fi'oi* 'i bambini' and *ul to:z* 'il bambino/la toze' 'le bambine', the latter better glossed 'il ragazzo' ['the boy']/'le ragazze' ['the girls'];
- [I 454] Luras *nal'dzeηdε* 'facendo' ['doing'] for 'dicendo' ['saying'];
- [II 64] Zernez/Sent *'kudəf* 'quaderno' ['exercise book'] for 'libro' ['book'];
- [II 193] Bastia *βur'tsudda* 'potuta' ['can.PtP.FSG'] for 'voluta' ['want.PtP.FSG'];

[II 266] Valsinni  $\theta\varepsilon:\gamma\theta$  glossed once 'do' ['(I) give'] once 'dico' ['(I) say'];

[II 431] Borghetto di Vara: *chimato* for *chiamato* 'called' (three times), *l'aha dato* for *l'ha dato* 'he's given it';

[II 475] Sarre  $l\theta z a'ja\delta$  glossed once 'li avevamo' ['(we) had them'], once 'li avevano' [(they) had them', II 476] (the latter is correct);

[II 518] Colle S. Lucia 'ate' for 'a te' ['to you'];

[II 519] Pinzano 'olo' for 'lo' ['it'].

### 5.3. Dialect data

[I 43] Soglio  $i 'ntf \rightarrow i 'f\epsilon ntf$

[I 43] Olivone  $i 'ant \rightarrow i 'fant$

[I 46] Mustèr  $omens \rightarrow 'omens$

[I 48] Làconi once *is pi'pius*, once *is pip'pius* (the latter is correct)

[I 51] Ruvo di P.  $cam\omega \rightarrow ca'm\omega$

[I 51] Miglionico  $tfi 'vu\omega ka da \rightarrow tfi 'vu\omega k a da$

[I 52] Làconi  $ben'ninti \rightarrow 'benninti$

[I 66] Tavullia  $kwal'dun \rightarrow kwal'dun$

[I 69] Modena  $jinta \rightarrow 'jinta$

[I 73] Castellinaldo  $dir'mi \rightarrow dur'mi$

[I 149] Stienta  $a 'maj e 'be:f \rightarrow a 'maj e a 'be:f$

[I 167] S. Pietro V. Grana  $tfa'mese \rightarrow tfa'mese$

[I 209] Pàllare  $e ma'dz\epsilon \rightarrow e maj'dz\epsilon$

[I 212] Tuenno  $d\omega rmi \rightarrow 'd\omega rmi$

[I 246] „i paradigmi delle varietà romance di Trun, Mustèr, Scuol [...] in cui la 1pp e la 3pp coincidono sul formativo  $-(\omega)n$ “ [the paradigms of the Romansh varieties of Trun, Mustèr, Scuol [...] where the 1pl and the 3pl coincide in the ending  $-(\omega)n$ ]. The data in [I 247] are at odds with this description: Trun/Mustèr  $ma'lain$  'eat.1PL'  $\neq$   $ma\lambda\omega n$  'eat.3PL', Scuol  $maj'dzain$  'eat.1PL'  $\neq$   $majdz\omega n$  'eat.3PL'.

[I 302] Petrosino  $jad'q\omega n\epsilon \rightarrow jad'q\omega n\epsilon$

[I 318] Filottrano  $fijjoli \rightarrow f'ij'joli$

[I 318] Amandola  $friki \rightarrow 'friki, friku \rightarrow 'friku$

[I 326] Revere  $majareb \rightarrow majares$  (twice)

[I 329] Trepalle  $ma'ʔfiŋ \rightarrow ma'ʔfiŋ$  (twice)

[II 420] Soglio „il clitico negativo esclude la lessicalizzazione del clitico soggetto, eccetto la forma a denotazione P differenziata *ty*.“ [the negative clitic excludes the lexicalization of the subject clitic, except for the form *ty* with denotation P differentiated]. Actually, the paradigm on [II 421] show that not only in the 2sg (*ty nu 'drom mia* 'you

don't sleep') but also in the 1pl (*nu m 'drom 'mia* 'we don't sleep') a subject clitic (*a/u)m* (compare *am/lum 'drom* 'we sleep') co-occurs with preverbal negation, although following rather than preceding it.

[II 421] Soglio *'mei* -> *'mia* (eight times)

[II 431] Borghetto di Vara *veidu* -> *'veidu*.

#### 5.4. Cross-referencing

[I 21] "Modena in (50)" -> (31); [I 88] (29)-(30) -> (32)-(33); [I 159] (58d) -> (68d); [I 258] (113c) -> (114c); [I 322] (164) -> (166); [I 322] (1653) -> (165); [I 322] (167) -> (166); [I 322] (1497) -> (149); [I 323] (170) -> (171); [I 338] (191a) -> (193a); [I 343] (198c) -> (199c).

#### 5.5. References

Beghelli & Stowell (1997): *tha* -> *the*; Calabrese (1993): & Sellier -> & Sellier; La Fauci & Loporcaro (1997): *romance*-> *Romance*; Loporcaro (1995): *it. Ant. Ne 'ci'* -> *it. ant. ne 'ci'*; Loporcaro (1999): *moderni* -> *mediani*; Manzini (1992): *Conserquences* -> *Consequences*; Manzini & Savoia (2002a): *theEPP* -> *the EPP*; Martinet (1960): *generale* -> *générale*; May (1989): *Logica form*-> *Logical form*; Nash (1995): *l'exemple* -> *l'exemple*; Pesetsky (1987): *reprentation* -> *representation*; Pollock (1996): *generative* -> *générative*; Pollock et al. (1999): *festshrift* -> *festschrift*; Ravier (1991): *Okzitanish* -> *Okzitanisch*; Roberts (1994): *Valdotain* -> *Valdôtain*; Rohlf's (1970): *Le gascon* -> *Le Gascon. Etudes de philologie pyrénéenne*; Salvioni (1894): *Formlehre* -> *Formenlehre*; Salvioni (1902): *Il plurale del femminili di 1o declinazione* -> *Del plurale femminile di 1a declinazione*; Shlonsky (1997): *Oreder* -> *Order*; Sornicola (1997): *acura* -> *a cura*; Suñer (1986): *Corvalàn* -> *Corvalán*; Vikner (1995): *in the Germanic* -> *in the Germanic languages*; Zamboni (1992) -> (1993): *A Coruna* -> *A Coruña; del a Maza* -> *de la Maza*.

In general, there is no consistent adherence to a style sheet: page numbers of papers in miscellaneous volumes, for instance, are sometimes missing (e.g. Brody 1997), sometimes added without any punctuation (e.g. Berretta 1991), sometimes preceded by a comma (e.g. den Besten 1984), sometimes by ":" (e.g. Benincà 1984, Bossong 1997), sometimes by ", pp." (e.g. Benincà 1983b, Brandi & Cordin 1989). The publisher is sometimes omitted (e.g. for Bartoli 1925: "Ginevra", Benincà 1983a: "Leuven") and, when present, it sometimes follows the place of publication (under the form "Bologna: Il Mulino", e.g. Cardinaletti 1994, or "Dordrecht, Kluwer", e.g. Burzio 1986), and sometimes precedes it ("Reidel, Dordrecht", e.g. Brandi & Cordin 1989).

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*Notes*

\* Thanks to Pier Marco Bertinetto, Maria Grossmann, M. Rita Manzini, Leonardo Savoia, Anna Thornton and Jean Hannah, as well as to two anonymous referees for comments on a previous draft. I am solely responsible, of course, for any inaccuracies that might have persisted past their friendly observations. The following abbreviations will be used throughout this paper: **DO** = direct object, **f** = feminine, **IO** = indirect object, **m** = masculine, **pl** = plural, **PN** = person/number, **sg** = singular, **subj** = subjunctive, **TAM** = tense/aspect/ mood.

<sup>1</sup> When quoting specific passages, reference to 2007 will be made by simply mentioning page numbers in square brackets, while for 2005 the page number will be preceded by a Roman number identifying the volume: e.g. [I 237] expands to Manzini & Savoia (2005, vol. 1: 237).

<sup>2</sup> In passing, the phonetics also is quite different: -ATUM 1st class participles consistently end in -ɔtə in De Gregorio's (1939:35) transcriptions (except after nasals, where the stressed vowel is fronted: *vənə'motə* 'harvested [of grapes]'), whereas in M&S one finds, side by side, *la'vɔ:tə* 'washed', *ʃə'lv:tə* 'frozen', *ca'maitə* 'called' [II 721-2]. Likewise, De Gregorio (1939:50) *və'niutə* 'come' contrasts with M&S's *və'ni:tə* etc.

<sup>3</sup> In both cases the feature concerns an isolated cell of the paradigm, viz. the 3sg of the verb 'to be' in central Friulan and that of the verb 'to have' in Emilian Apenninic dialects.

<sup>4</sup> Final /s/ gets assimilated to a following consonant.

<sup>5</sup> Note that this is surely due to a problem with wording, as the second author is an expert on the dialects of the area (cf. e.g. Savoia 1980).

<sup>6</sup> In the opposite camp, for instance, Stump (2001:18-28) provides empirical arguments against the idea that inflectional affixes head phrasal projections in the syntax.

<sup>7</sup> In Stump's (2001:2-3) terms, M&S's view of morphology, like Distributed Morphology, is a theory of the lexical-realizational type.

<sup>8</sup> I anglicize the labels in structural representations quoted from 2005, using I(nfl) instead of F(less).

<sup>9</sup> Although the latter paper appears in M&S's reference list, it is not mentioned in this connection. Overall, M&S seldom quote literature from theoretical frameworks different than their own, and when they do, they never credit such "out-group" literature for the analyses adopted. A case in point is their crediting Cocchi (1995) for the proposal that Romance reflexive indirect objects advance to direct objects in an intermediary step ([II 607]), an analysis indeed first proposed by La Fauci (1988: 82-88, 1989: 224).

<sup>10</sup> The same observation applies to the description of verbal elements. Analyzing compound perfects, M&S speak of the "evento denotato dall'ausiliare e di quello denotato dal participio" [II 544]. On standard terminological assumptions, perfective auxiliaries are TAM morphemes and do not themselves *refer* to events. The same applies to M&S's systematically referring to "arguments" of (perfective)

auxiliaries (e.g. “l’ausiliare *essere* viene inserito quando il participio è inaccusativo, cioè il suo argomento interno N si identifica con l’argomento D dell’ausiliare e della frase” [I 291]): the typological literature on auxiliaries (cf. e.g. Ramat 1987:13) lists among the defining properties of auxiliaries the lack of an argument grid (or predicate frame) of their own.

<sup>11</sup> Note that, in this dialect, *-i* never occurs, apart from the form *‘èi* ‘is.F’, as a 3sg verb ending.

<sup>12</sup> As said above (fn. 7), it is a lexical-realizational model rather than an inferential-realizational one (Stump 2001:2-3).

<sup>13</sup> This criterion is consistent with the theory, but is not applied consistently, as is apparent in the analysis of *mi ti raccomandano* ‘they recommend you to me/me to you’ [II 486]. Here it is concluded that “ciascuno di essi possa essere associato con il ruolo di oggetto diretto o indiretto” [each of them – viz. *mi* and *ti* – may be associated with the direct or indirect object role]. Since (syntactic) accusative and dative cases have been rejected, it is unclear where these ‘roles’ belong (presumably in the semantics, but nothing is said about this, and none of the current theories of semantic roles provides for roles such as ‘DO’ vs. ‘IO’, as opposed to, say, patient or benefactive).

<sup>14</sup> Within the geographical domain covered by M&S’s study, the same contrast as in Romanian, with dedicated forms for DO (*me, te*) vs. IO (*mi, ti*) in 1st and 2nd person singular clitics, occurs in Old Logudorese (cf. Wagner 1938:119).

<sup>15</sup> The forms of the corresponding clitics in Standard Italian are used in (24) to refer generically to any instance of the same morpho-lexical type, abstracting away from phonetic cross-dialectal differences.

<sup>16</sup> Note that, in the same context, the dialect of Olivetta San Michele was also discussed (9a)/(10a), in which a clitic of the ‘gli’ type is inserted under R instead. The same applies to the other structural types in (24), as explicitly argued in e.g. [II 248]: “l’esistenza di una forma Loc con interpretazione dativa non comporta necessariamente la sua lessicalizzazione in Loc. In effetti, diverse varietà tra quelle riportate in (92)-(95) presentano il locativo prima del *si*” [the existence of a Loc form with dative interpretation does not necessarily imply its lexicalization in Loc. Indeed, several varieties among those reported in (92)-(95) present the locative before the *si*]. This argument from linear order forces a representation here with the “Loc (clitic) form” (i.e. the clitic serving elsewhere in the language as a locative, and occurring here in IO function) inserted under R, rather than Loc, as shown in diagram (97) [II 248].

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. Maiden’s (2000) analysis of the frequently encountered dissimilation in clitic clusters, whereby a *\*li+lu* (IO + DO) string is dissimilated via one of the strategies in (25)-(27).

<sup>18</sup> This omission detracts from the value of M&S’s argument, especially if one considers that Ledgeway (2000) is not “out-group” literature (unlike that mentioned in fn. 9) but an important monograph on Southern Italian dialects within the minimalist framework.

<sup>19</sup> This appendix was added to the review upon suggestion from the RdL/IJL. A longer list of misprints was sent directly to the authors.

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