

NUMBER and GENDER distribution in Lunigiana DPs

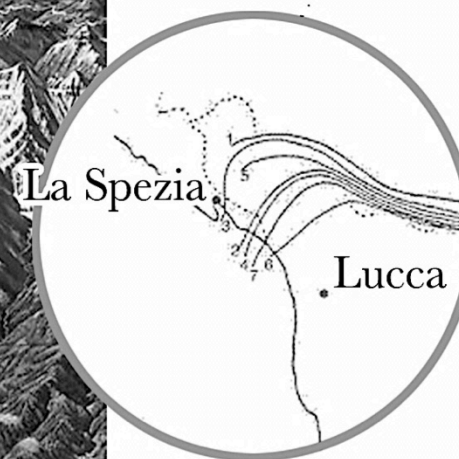
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NUMBER and GENDER distribution in DPs

- Variation in NUMBER and GENDER feature distribution/lexicalization
 - **SG/PL**
 - **M/F**
- Geographical and linguistic domain
 - **Lunigiana (MS), Italy**
 - South-westernmost set of **Northern-Italian dialects**
- Theoretical framework
Nanosyntax (Starke 2002, 2009)

Lunigiana dialects



Lunigiana dialects

‘Superficial’ variation (in a **transition area**?)

“[...] no other region of the Peninsula can present the scholar with so many **phonetic varieties** in such a small area [...]; here the phonetic laws of a village differ [...] from the ones of nearby villages. The origin of this endless variation can be found [...] in the encounter within this region of Tuscan, Ligurian and Emilian: indeed, it can be said that Lunigiana dialects represent the **joining link** between the above mentioned dialects [...]” (Giannarelli 1913: 261)

Lunigiana dialects

From a 'superficial' toward a 'deeper' variation

Phonetics

- Colonnatese

['dona] 'woman'
['donja] 'women'

- St. Italian

['don:a] 'woman'
['don:e] 'women'



Morphosyntax

- Colonnatese

[N [pl [f]]]
| |
j a

- St. Italian

[N [pl [f]]]
|_|
e

Nanosyntax

- The 'bigger' the syntactic structures (Rizzi 1997; Kayne 2005), the 'smaller' their ingredients (i.e. their terminal nodes)

from **morphemes/words**

to **morphosyntactic features**

- Since the terminals are sub-morphemic, morphemes span several terminals

from **one morpheme-one terminal**

to **one morpheme-one subtree**

Nanosyntax

- Lexical entries as subtrees paired with phonological and conceptual information

<ph. info, syntactic tree, conceptual info>

- **Late insertion:** syntax is pre-lexical, and lexical insertion is ‘just’ a way of (phonologically and conceptually) interpreting syntax (at PF and LF)
- **(Phrasal) Spellout** matches the trees built by syntax with the subtrees stored inside lexical entries (Starke 2009)

lexical entries inserted at phrasal nodes

Nanosyntax

- **SUPERSET PRINCIPLE** (Taraldsen 2009):

A vocabulary item A associated with the feature set F can replace a subtree X with the feature set F' iff F is a superset of F'

- Cyclic spellout: “a spellout attempt after every merger operation. Each successive spellout overrides previous successful spellouts. Since the merger is bottom-up, the biggest match will always override the smaller matches” (Starke 2009)

The ‘biggest’ wins

Colonnatese vs Standard Italian

Colonnatese

['dona]	'woman'	[N [f]]
['donja]	'women'	 a

Lexical entry: $a = [f]$

St. Italian

['don:a]	'woman'	[N [f]]
['don:e]	'women'	 a

Lexical entry: $a = [f]$

Colonnatese vs Standard Italian

Colonnatese

['dona]	'woman'	[N [pl [f]]]
['donja]	'women'	j a

Lexical entry: $i = [pl]$

St. Italian

['don:a]	'woman'	[N [pl [f]]]
['don:e]	'women'	e

Lexical entry: $e = [pl [f]]$

Colonnatese vs Standard Italian

- Invariance of syntactic derivation

$[N \text{ pl } [N \text{ f } [N]]]$

- Variation in the lexical entries

Colonnatese

$['dona] \quad a = [f]$

$['donja] \quad i = [\text{pl}] + a = [f]$

St. Italian

$['don:a] \quad a = [f]$

$['don:e] \quad e = [\text{pl} [f]]$

Colonnatese

Within-DP features distribution in Colonnatese

complementary distribution of NUMBER: either on N or on D (Local redundancy; Barbiers 2013), but GENDER on both

['donja]	'women'	[N [pl [f]]]
[tre 'donja]	'three women'	j a
[la 'dona]*	'the women'	[D [pl [f]] [N [pl [f]]]]
		†
[tant ja 'dona]	'many women'	j a j a

*vs [la 'dona] 'the woman' > [la] = l + i + a

Colonnatese

Within-DP features distribution in Colonnatese

NO complementary distribution of NUMBER in masculine DPs

[ˈɔm] ‘man’

[ˈɔmi] ‘men’

[tanti ˈɔmi] ‘many men’

NB: because of apocope, Colonnatese (and in general Lunigiana dialects) lost masculine endings (-o and -e)

Colonnatese

Within-DP features distribution in Colonnatese

MASCULINE is lexicalized by the subtree [N [m]]

['ɔm]

'man'

[N [m]]

|
└─┬─┘
ɔm

['ɔmi]

'men'

[tanti 'ɔmi]

'many men'

Colonnatese

Within-DP features distribution in Colonnatese

PLURAL MASCULINE is lexicalized by the subtree [pl [m]]

['ɔm]

'man'

['ɔmi]

'men'

[N [pl [m]]]

|
|

i

[tanti 'ɔmi]

'many men'

Colonnatese

Within-DP features distribution in Colonnatese

PLURAL is delinked in the NP, as in **FEMININE NPs**

[*tanti* 'ɔmi] [D [**pl** [**m**]] [N [~~pl~~ [**m**]]]

NB: *i* is still **partially**

 | | | |

linked to the NP

i *i*

[*tantja* 'dona] [D [**pl** [**f**]] [N [~~pl~~ [**f**]]]

NB: *i* is **no more**

 | | | |

linked to the NP

j *a* *j* *a*

Colonnatese MASCULINE vs FEMININE

- **Invariance of syntactic derivation**

“double expression of feature bundles” (Barbiers 2013)
in DPs

- **Invariance at PF**

“PF deletes one of them partially under local recoverability” (Barbiers 2013)

- **Variation in the lexical entries**

[**pl** [f]] > [~~pl~~ [f]]

| |
j a

† |
j a

[**pl** [m]] > [~~pl~~ [m]]

|_|
i

|_|
i

Enlarging the dataset I

Colonnatese

['dona]	'woman'	[N[f]]
['donja]	'women'	 a

Lexical entry: $a = [f]$

Carrarese

['dona]	'woman'	[N[f]]
['done]	'women'	 a

Lexical entry: $a = [f]$

Enlarging the dataset I

Colonnatese

['dona]	'woman'	[N [pl [f]]]
['donja]	'women'	j a

Lexical entry: $i = [pl [m]]$

Carrarese

['dona]	'woman'	[N [pl [f]]]
['done]	'women'	e

Lexical entry: $e = [pl [f]]$

Colonnatese vs Carrarese

- Invariance of syntactic derivation

$[N\ pl\ [N\ f\ [N]]]$

- Variation in the lexical entries

Colonnatese

['dona] $a = [f]$

['donja] $i = [pl]$

Carrarese

['dona] $a = [f]$

['done] $e = [pl\ [f]]$

Enlarging the dataset I

Within-DP features distribution in Carrarese

NO complementary distribution of NUMBER: **both on N and on D**
(NO Local redundancy)

['done] 'women' [N [pl [f]]]

|_ |

[tre 'done] 'three women' e

[le 'done] 'the women' [D [pl [f]] [N [pl [f]]]]

|_ |

|_ |

[tante 'done] 'many women' e e

Colonnatese vs Carrarese

- **Invariance of syntactic derivation**
“double expression of feature bundles” (Barbiers 2013)
in DPs
- **Variation at PF** (or maybe not: no difference)
“PF [(maybe) **DOES NOT**] delete one of them partially
under local recoverability” (Barbiers 2013)
- **Variation in the lexical entries**

Colonnatese

$i = [pl [m]] + a = [f]$

Carrarese

$e = [pl [f]]$

Enlarging the dataset II

Colonnatese

['dona]	'woman'	[N[f]]
['donja]	'women'	 a

Lexical entry: $a = [f]$

Ortonovese

['dona]	'woman'	[N[f]]
['dona]	'women'	 a

Lexical entry: $a = [f] (?)$

Enlarging the dataset II

Colonnatese

['dona]	'woman'	[N [pl [f]]]
['donja]	'women'	 j a

Lexical entry: $i = [pl]$

Ortonovese

['dona]	'woman'	[N [pl [f]]]
['dona]	'women'	 a

Lexical entry: $a = [pl [f]]$

Colonnatese vs Ortonovese

- Invariance of syntactic derivation

$[N\ pl\ [N\ f\ [N]]]$

- Variation in the lexical entries

Colonnatese

['dona] $a = [f]$

['donja] $i = [pl]$

Ortonovese

['dona] ~~$a = [f]^*$~~

['dona] $a = [pl\ [f]]$

*given the SUPERSET PRINCIPLE, the *sg.f* can be spellout by the lexical entry $a = [pl\ [f]]$

Enlarging the dataset II

Within-DP features distribution in Ortonovese

NO complementary distribution: **both on N and on D**
(NO Local redundancy ?)

['dona] 'women' [N [pl [f]]]

|_|
a

[tre 'dona] 'three women'

[**la** 'dona] 'the women' [D [pl [f]] [N [pl [f]]]]

|_| |_|
a **a**

[**tanta** 'dona] 'many women'

Enlarging the dataset II

Within-DP features distribution in Ortonovese

NO complementary distribution: **both on N and on D**
(NO Local redundancy ?)

[la 'dona al 'kanta] 'the woman sings'

[D [f][N [f]]... [V [sg]]]

| | |
a a a

[la 'dona al 'kantŋ] 'the women sing'

[D [pl [f]][N [pl [f]]]... [V [pl]]]

| | |
a a ŋ

Colonnatese vs Ortonovese

- **Invariance of syntactic derivation**

“double [/multiple?] expression of feature bundles” (Barbiers 2013) in DPs

- **Invariance at PF**

PF [**DOES** or **DOES NOT**] delete one of them [or even more?] under local recoverability” (Barbiers 2013)

- **Variation in the lexical entries**

Colonnatese

['dona] $a = [f]$
['donja] $i = [pl]$

Ortonovese

['dona] ~~$a = [f]$~~
['dona] $a = [pl [f]]$

Conclusions

		St. It.	Carr.	Col.	Ort.
Syntactic derivation	[N pl [N f [N]]]	✓	✓	✓	✓
	“Double expression of feature bundles”	✓	✓	✓	✓
PF	“Local redundancy”	X	X	✓	?
Lexical entries	a = [f]	✓	✓	✓	X a = [pl [f]]
	e = [pl [f]]	✓	✓	X i = [pl] a = [f]	X a = [pl [f]]

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