LAD Conferences

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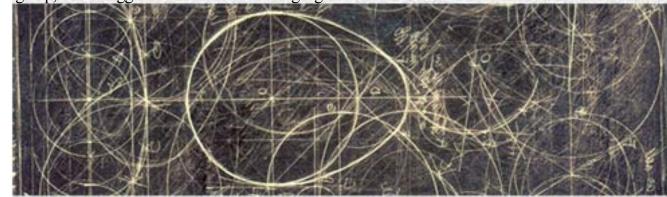
Laboratoire de recherche sur les asymétries d'interfaces

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Eccentric agreement in Italo-Romance and parameterized *v*

Eccentric agreement, or agreement displacement/mismatch (AM), is a phenomenon found in languages like Basque, Georgian, Karok, and Ezra Mordvinian, whereby the agreement controller is sometimes the external argument (EA) and sometimes the internal argument (IA) (Bright 1957, Harris 1981, Abondolo 1982, Hewitt 1995, Nash 1995, Hale 2001, Rezac 2003, Bejar & Rezac 2009).

In this paper, I wish to bring to light a new set of data on agreement in an Italo-Romance variety where something very similar to eccentric agreement happens for gender and number. In this variety, Ripatransone (RT), a central Italian dialect, if EA and IA have different gender or number, the verb is marked with a "mismatch marker" [1]. I propose that this agreement mismatch (AM) arises because of the structure of v in these languages, which are in fact ergative-like. Following Mueller (2004), I assume that in ergative languages the EA is licensed by v. After showing that this is also the case for the RT dialect group, I put forward the following generalizations: 1. Languages that present AM phenomena have the EA licensed by v and mainly have a richer v field; 2. Given that a rich v is an indication for the null-subjecthood of a language (D'Alessandro & Roberts to appear -D&R), languages which present AM phenomena tend to be null-subject. Finally, the dialect group of RT is neither ergative-like not accusative-like, but simply exhibits features of one and the other language group, which suggests the existence of a language continuum.



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Representative recent publications:

- Syntactic variation. The dialects of Italy (written and edited with Adam Ledgeway and Ian Roberts). 2010. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Past participle agreement in Abruzzese: Split auxiliary selection and the null-subject parameter (with Ian Roberts). 2010. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 28: 41-72.
- At the C-T boundary: Investigating Abruzzese complementation (with Adam Ledgeway). 2010. *Lingua* 120/8: 2040-2060.
- 'Soggetti non canonici in abruzzese: i pronomi impersonali nome ed anne'. 2010. *Archivio Glottologico Italiano* XCV, 2:227-262.
- Movement and agreement in Italian past participles and defective phases (with Ian Roberts). 2008. Linguistic Inquiry 39/3: 477-491.
- Agreement restrictions (edited with Susann Fischer and Gunnar Hrafn Hrafnbjargarson). 2008. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Impersonal si constructions. Agreement and Interpretation. 2007. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

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