AGREEMENT, ERGATIVITY, AND THE PARAMETRIZATION OF PROBES

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1.INTRODUCTION

Non-canonical agreement patterns are found in many of the world's languages and they usually involve person, number, or animacy features. *Agreement displacement*, for instance, is a phenomenon whereby the agreement controller of a transitive verb is sometimes the external argument (EA), sometimes the internal argument (IA), and sometimes even both (see Bright 1957, Harris 1981, Abondolo 1982, Hewitt 1995, Nash 1995, Rezac 2003, Bejar & Rezac 2009). *Agreement mismatch* (AM) is instead the phenomenon whereby the verb displays a dedicated 'mismatch' ending which signals that the EA and the IA have different feature values. AM usually involves person and number features and is not expected to take place for gender (see Corbett 1990, Tsoulas 2008, Nevins 2010).

Romance varieties do not exhibit unusual agreement patterns, with the exception of a subgroup of dialects spoken in the upper-Southern part of Italy, in the regions of Abruzzo and lower Marches[1], where agreement mismatch, as well as agreement displacement-like phenomena, are found. Significantly, in the same area we find person-driven auxiliary selection as well as double-auxiliation constructions. The claim here is that these phenomena are tightly interconnected, and that they are the reflex of a unique factor: the parameterization of an extra φ-Probe, giving origin to a complex *v* field, which allows both for agreement mismatches to arise and for auxiliary selection to be person driven in southern varieties and to subject clitics in northern ones.

1.1. FEATURE MISMATCHES

[1] I wish to thank Alfredo Rossi and Antonio Giannetti for their help with the Ripano data, Silvio Pascetta for the San Valentino data, and Luigi Cellini, Giovanni Carullo, Ivan Di Carlo and Adina Sterposo for the Ariellese data.

Syntactic φ-features behave very differently from each other. As observed by Nevins (2010), the agreement patterns affecting the person feature usually involve some kind of restriction on the co-occurrence of two values. Take for instance the Person-Case Constraint (PCC) in (1).

(1) *A en Josep, me li va recomenar la Mireia [Catalan]
to the Josep 1sgAcc 3rd dat goes recommend the Mireia
'She (Mireia) recommended me to him (Josep)' [Bonet (1991:178)]

In (1), the presence of a 1st person singular Accusative blocks the presence of a 3rd person dative. This restriction holds in most Romance languages, and in general prevents the co-occurrence of 1st/2nd person Accusative clitics with 3rd person dative clitics (for more discussion on this issue see Bonet 1991, Anagnostopoulou 2005, 2008, Bejar &Rezac (2009), Boeckx 2008, D'Alessandro, Fischer & Hrafnbjargarson 2008).

Other restrictions on the co-occurrence of person features are found in impersonal *se/si* constructions in some Romance languages. In these constructions, the Nominative object of the transitive verb cannot be anything else than 3rd person.

(2) a. Si vedono molte persone in televisione [Italian]
si see-3rd pl many people-Nom pl in TV
'One can see many people on tv'

b. *Si vedi tu / vediamo noi in televisione
si see-2nd sg you-2nd sg Nom see-1st pl we-2st plNom in TV
'One can see you/us on TV'

In impersonal *se/si* construction like (2), the internal argument agrees with the verb and is marked as Nominative. A restriction holds however on the co-occurrence of *se/si* and the Nominative object: the latter cannot be anything different from 3rd person (Burzio 1986, Cinque 1988, Dobrovie-Sorin 1996, 1998, D'Alessandro 2007).

Further restrictions on the person features are found for instance in Icelandic quirky dative and accusative constructions, which also impose a restriction the person value of the subject:

(3) *Henni leiddust þið/ [Icelandic]
her-dat bored-2nd (-3rd) pl you-pl Nom/

leiddumst við
bored-1st pl we-pl Nom
'She found you/ us boring' [Sigurðsson (1996:28)]

Once again, a restriction forbids the co-occurrence of a 1st/2nd person Nominative object when a 3rd person quirky subject is present in the clause.

The generalization that can be drawn regarding person agreement phenomena is that it is usually the case that the occurrence of a feature value on one argument 'restricts' the values that can be found on the other argument of a transitive verb [D'Alessandro, Fischer, Hrafnbjargarson 2008]. On the basis of this observation Nevins (2010) argues that the person feature is radically different from the number feature, which never imposes any restrictions on the occurrence of values on the other element agreeing with the same probe. The only cases in which some mutual interaction of features is found for number are cases of so-called OMNIVOROUS NUMBER [D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010, Nevins 2010], whereby the verb agrees with whichever argument is plural. No mutual exclusion patterns are found for number.

Omnivorous Agreement is thus a scenario where the marked member of a given agreement paradigm (e.g. a marker of plurality) can be triggered by the relevant feature whether it appears on the subject or on the object, or both [Nevins 2010].

An example of omnivorous agreement is in (4), from Georgian:

(4) a. g-xedav
2obj.- saw
'I saw you, he saw you'
b. g- xedav- t
2obj.- saw- Pl
'I saw y'all, we saw y'all, he saw y'all, We saw you' [Nevins (2010:3)]

The presence of the plural marker *–t* in (4) makes the sentence ambiguous between a reading with a plural subject and a reading with a plural object. The generalization to be drawn is that the verb agrees with whichever argument carries plurality, in Georgian. Similar facts are described by D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010) for a southern Italian dialect: Abruzzese as spoken in Arielli[2]. Observe the data in (5):

(5) a. Giuwanne a pittate nu mure [Ariellese]
John-sg has-3rd.sg/pl painted-pp.sg a wall
'John has painted a wall' [sg SUBJ-sg OBJ]

b. Giuwanne a pittite ddu mure
John-sg has-3rd.sg painted-pp.pl two walls-pl
'John has painted two walls' [sgSUBJ-plOBJ]

c.Giuwanne e Mmarije a pittite nu mure
John and Mary-pl have-3rd sg/pl painted-pp.pl a wall
'John and Mary have painted a wall' [pl SUBJ– sg OBJ]

d. Giuwanne e Mmarije a pittite ddu mure
John and Mary-pl have-3rd.sg/pl painted-pp.pl two walls
'John and Mary have painted two walls' [pl SUBJ-pl OBJ]

[D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010:45)]

Ariellese offers another instance of omnivorous number: just like in Georgian, the verb agrees with whichever of the two arguments is plural.

As far as gender is concerned, we don't find much discussion in the literature. Gender is a feature of secondary importance for narrow syntax, which is often believed to not drive syntactic computation, but to be only involved in lexical agreement facts (Masullo & Depiante 2003). However, there is at least one language that exhibits some gender agreement mismatch with transitive verbs: the dialect spoken in Ripatransone (Ripano henceforth), a dialect of southern Marches where the verb shows morphological marking for gender and where a difference in

[2] The variety spoken in Arielli is part of the Eastern Abruzzese dialect group, an upper-southern Italian dialect spoken on the coast of Abruzzo, a central-southern Italian region.

gender and number between the EA and the IA is morphologically marked on the verb. In what follows, we will briefly describe the agreement patterns found in Ripano and then proceed to the crucial role that they play in directing the choice between existing agreement theories.

1. 2. AGREEMENT IN RIPANO

The dialect of Ripatransone, Ripano, offers a striking set of data, completely unheard of for other Romance varieties because of its unique verbal inflection, featuring gender marking in addition to the usual number and person found in Romance [Egidi (1965), Parrino (1967), Mancini (1993), Harder (1998), Jones (2001), Ledgeway (2006), Rossi (2008)]. An example of the Ripano verbal paradigm in the present tense is given in (6):

(6)	a.			b.		
		I' ridu	('I laugh'-masc)		ìa ride ('I laugh'-fem)	[Ripano]
		tu ridu	('you laugh'-masc)		tu ride ('you laugh'-fem)	
		issu ridu	('he laughs'-masc)		esse ride ...	
		noja ridemi			noja ridema	
		voja rideti			voja rideta	
		issi ridi			essa ride	

c. se ridə ('it is laughed'-neuter) [Rossi 2008: 31]

Ripano has a fully fledged inflectional system for both masculine and feminine. As far as the complex tenses are concerned, the selected auxiliary is BE and the past participle displays agreement with the subject. In (7) you can see the paradigm of an unergative verb. Unaccusative verbs feature the same agreement patterns:

(7)	a.		b.	
	i'so risu ('I have laughed-masc)		ìa so rise ('I have laughed-fem)	
	tu sci risu		tu si rise	
	issu e risu		esse e rise	
	noja semi risi		noja sema risa	
	voja seti risi		voja seta risa	

issi e risi essa e risa [Rossi 2008:31]

In (7) we see that the past participle agrees with the EA. This sort of agreement is not unknown in the central and upper southern areas of Italy, but it is completely unknown in the rest of the Romance area. In fact, Belletti (2005, III:509) proposes a generalization on Romance which states that "no variety allows the past participle to agree with the subject of intransitive/unergative and transitive verbs [. . .] Any treatment of the computation involved in past participle agreement must account for this fact."

As observed by D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010), this generalization does not hold for Abruzzese. In general, several central and upper-southern Italian varieties allow past participial agreement with the external argument (see also example 5). This feature is not surprising if one considers the seemingly ergative status of these varieties, on which I will elaborate below.

In addition to this agreement pattern, Ripatransone displays so-called agreement mismatch, whereby the verb shows a dedicated agreement ending to mark the fact that EA and IA have a different gender and/or number specification, (8):

(8) a. Babbu dicə le vəritá
dad-m.sg says-3rd.sg.n [3] the-f.sg truth-f.sg
'Dad told the truth' [Mancini 1993: 107]

b. So magnatə lu pani'
am eaten-n the-m.sg breadroll-m.sg
'She has eaten the breadroll'

In (8a) the EA is masculine singular whereas the IA is feminine singular: this triggers the insertion of a reduced vowel (ə) as the verb ending. The reverse situation holds in (8b), where the EA is feminine singular and the IA is masculine singular. In this case the carrier of the -ə ending is the past participle, while the auxiliary is BE.

[3] I will gloss the mismatch marker as n (neuter) given that -ə is the same ending of some residual neauter forms, like that in (6c).

Two observations are in order here: first, agreement mismatch is insensitive to the relative order of IA and EA, i.e. there seems to be no 'superiority effect' between the two arguments. In other words, there does not seem to be one gender which, if in EA position, triggers agreement over the other. In this respect, the Ripano agreement pattern looks different from both person restriction patterns and omnivorous number. Second, in (8b) it is the past participle that carries the ə, not the auxiliary. This means that the past participle can somehow gather information regarding the EA being of a different gender than the IA. Once again, the past participle seems to have an extended agreement domain, targeting also the EA, thus contradicting Belletti's generalization.

1.3. AGREEMENT PATTERNS WITH TRANSITIVE VERBS AND LANGUAGE CHANGE

The question remains about the auxiliary: does it agree with the EA only or does it interact with both arguments? This question can be answered by looking at a sentence with a 1st or 2nd person EA, given that a 3rd person argument, be it singular or plural, would always select the invariable auxiliary *e* in Ripano (see examples 7 and 8b). The paradigm illustrated in (8b) suggests that the first agreement partner for the finite verb is the EA, like in the rest of Romance. This seems indeed to be the case the case, if we look at (9):

(9) So' magnatə məccò də cicce
am eaten a-little of meat-f.sg
'I have eaten a little bit of meat' [Rossi 2008:71]

In (9), the auxiliary agrees with the 1st person singular EA. We seem then to have contradicting evidence: while (8a) represents a clear case of agreement mismatch marking on the finite verb, (8b) as well as (9) appear to indicate that Ripatransone follows the usual Romance agreement pattern, at least for the auxiliary. Specifically, only the past participle seems to be affected by agreement mismatch in (9). We need to keep in mind, therefore , that the finite verb and the auxiliary have a different behavior. To complicate things, we have found two sentences which illustrate that the finite verb can agree only with the EA, (10), and that the past participle can agree only with the EA, (11):

(10) Tu ‘nghə mme tə piju

you-2nd.sg.masc with me-1st.sg.Acc you-refl take-2nd.sg.masc

troppe cunfidenze

too much-sg.fem confidence-sg.fem

‘I think you’re taking too much liberty’

(11) So magnatu li fəscəlitta

am-1st pl eaten-sg.masc the-pl.masc beans-pl.masc

‘I have eaten beans’ [Rossi 2008 :86]

Before going into the analysis, we need to make some order into the data. To summarize, we have found the following:

- agreement mismatch (ə) marked on the finite verb [8a]
- agreement mismatch marked only on the past participle [8b]
- agreement of the finite verb with the EA [10]
- agreement of both auxiliary and past participle with the EA [11].

These agreement facts seem to denote a transitional state of the language. According to Mancini (1993) the phenomenon of agreement mismatch is very frequent in Ripano. In Parrino (1967) this is given as the mostly attested pattern. Recent fieldwork has revealed a lower usage of agreement mismatch patterns, which leads us to the conclusion that this agreement mismatch pattern is slowly disappearing (see also Ferrari-Bridgers 2010), while a topic-oriented agreement system is emerging. (10) and (11) are in fact not instances of subject-oriented agreement, but rather of topic-driven agreement. For one thing, we can also find the reverse order, i.e. agreement of the past participle with the object, as in (12):

(12) Lu preta cunzacre ll’ostia

the-sg.masc priest-sg.masc consecrates-3rd.sg.fem the host-sg.fem

‘The priest consecrates the host’ [Rossi 2008: 87]

We also find some 'double' agreement, whereby the auxiliary agrees with the EA in person and number but at the same time it is marked with a mismatch marker:

(13) ___ semə magnatə lu prəsciutta
pro- f pl are eaten-nthe- m sg ham-m sg
'We-fem have eaten the ham'

Finally, we find diverging agreement patterns within one and the same sentence:

(14) C'eviè setu e mə so' fatta
there-had.3rd.sg.pst thirst-sg.masc and me-refl am-1st.sg done-sg.fem.pp

'ne bbəvute d'acque fresche
a-sg.fem drink-sg.fem of-water-sg.fem fresh-sg.fem
'I was thirsty and I had a good drink of cold water' [Rossi (2008: 57)]

Note that, in (14), the object *setu* also agrees with the masculine singular *pro.* This is another striking characteristic of Ripano, which we will discuss later on: we very often find agreement endings on adverbs or even on DP objects, mostly in predicative or existential constructions but also in common 'locative possessive' expressions like the one in (14), agreeing with the most prominent element within a given domain. In (14), *setu* agrees with the masculine experiencer *pro*. Were the experiencer feminine, the sentence would be like (15) :

(15) C'eviè sete
there-had.3rd.sg.pst thirst-sg.fem
'She was thirsty'

The participle *fatta*, instead, arguably agrees with the object. Observe that the – *a* in *fatta* is not reported as a possible agreement ending for past participles in Ripano. It is instead an Italian ending. These dialects have been heavily influenced by Italian in the last 50 years, hence it is not rare to see some Italian morphological endings attaching to dialectal roots.

To sum up, we have seen that modern Ripano displays residual forms of agreement mismatch. While the auxiliary seems to invariably agree with the EA, both the past participle and the finite verb exhibit an agreement mismatch ending -ə, whenever the IA and the EA have different gender or number specification. This pattern is however being replaced by a topic-oriented agreement pattern whereby both auxiliary and finite verb agree with the topic or the most prominent element in the clause. A telling example is taken from Jones (2006), who collected the following data:

(16) a. Issu se sta preparennə do pani e n'insalate
b. Issu se sta preparennu do panì e n'ensalate
he-m.sg refl stays-3sg preparing two breadrolls and a salad
'He is preparing for himself two breadrolls and a salad'

While speaker a. marks number agreement mismatch, speaker b. prefers participial agreement with the EA. Moreover, when asked what would happen if the subject were a woman, speaker a. would keep the same participial form, while speaker b would utter the sentence as in (17):

(17) Esse sta preparenne do panì e n'ensalate
she-f.sg stays-3sg preparing-f two breadrolls and a salad
'She is preparing two breadrolls and a salad'

Ripano is not an isolated variety, but it sits at the border of an area where these mismatches, or displaced agreements, are found rather consistently. This area constitutes a very interesting instance of language change reflected in language variation. In fact, topic-oriented agreement is not unknown in this area. In the neighbouring dialect of San Valentino in Abruzzo Citeriore we find a fully topic-oriented language. As an example consider the sentencea in (18a, b):

(18) a. Aje cciose li pellîstre [San Valentino in AC]
have-1st.sg killed-sg.masc the-pl.masc chickens-pl.masc

‘I have killed the chickens’[4]

b. Aje	ccise	li	pellîstre
have-1st.sg	killed-pl masc	the-pl.masc	chickens-pl.masc

‘I have killed the chickens’

While (18a) is more easily uttered as an answer to the question ‘what did you do?’, (18b) is more natural in a context in which we are discussing the chicken and other animals. These seem to be instances of topic-oriented agreement.

Moving further south, to Ariellese, we find omnivorous plural, i.e. agreement of the finite verb with whichever argument is plural (see examples in 5). We thus seem to be in the presence of a grammaticalization path, starting from agreement mismatch (i.e. agreement with both arguments), continuing into topic-oriented agreement (i.e. agreement with the topic, most prominent argument), ending into an omnivorous number agreement. What matters for us is to notice that the dialectal area ranging from Ripano to Ariellese exhibits many seemingly non-configuration patterns of argumental agreement, all of which involving agreement with the most prominent argument or with both arguments of a transitive verb. Moreover, for all three areas (Ripano, San Valentino and Ariellese) judgments are quite varied, but the patterns indicated (agreement mismatch, topic-oriented agreement, and omnivorous agreement respectively) seem to be the most prominent ones. It also needs to be said that instances of topic-oriented agreement are found in Ripano (see examples 10-14), and traces of omnivorous number agreement are found in San Valentino. Last, some forms of topic-oriented agreement are found in Ariellese, in the varieties spoken by the younger generation.

The diachronic pattern that one can identify is the following:

(19) Agreement mismatch > Topic-oriented agreement > Omnivorous agreement

Understanding this pattern is far from easy, and falls beyond the aims of the present article. (19) seems to open the path to an analysis in terms of semantic agreement rather than configurational syntactic agreement. However, we will show that at least for the first two steps a purely syntactic analysis can account for the facts rather straightforwardly.

[4] Apologies for the gruesome examples, which were uttered spontaneously by a dialect speaker.

We will focus for now on what these varieties have in common, namely the possibility for the verb to "see" both arguments. This is of course an intuitive description of what is going on, but for the moment let us keep in mind that this is the situation we are facing in all three varieties. As for the auxiliary, the generalization is that it always seems to agree with the EA, contrary to the finite verb. This is arguably due to the fact that the auxiliary sits in T while the finite verb is lower, in *v*, as we will see in section 2.

Let us start with accounting for what appears to be the most unusual agreement pattern: agreement mismatch marking in Ripano.

1.4. A CLOSER LOOK AT RIPANO AGREEMENT PATTERNS

We have seen that in Ripano the verb signals agreement mismatch by means of the insertion of an dedicated reduced vowel, which I will call a mismatch marker: ə.

In cases in which the subject and the object carry the same ending no mismatch arises, obviously. See for example example (18), where both subject and object are masculine singular:

(20)	___	so	ngundrat**u**	n amigu	[Ripano]
	pro-m sg	am	met-m sg	a friend – m sg	
	'I met a friend'				[Mancini 1993:106-107]

For all cases in which the EA and the IA feature different gender and/or number values, an agreement mismatch marker appears. In (21), for instance, the EA is masculine singular while the IA is feminine singular. The verb is marked with the mismatch marker -ə:

(21)	I'	magnə	le	pəlende	[Ripano]
	I-m sg	eat-n	the- f sg	polenta- f sg	
	'I eat the polenta'				[Mancini 1993:106-107]

Number is also involved in agreement mismatch, as (22) shows:

(22) __ mazzə li keppu' [Ripano]
pro-m sg kills-n the-m pl capons-m pl
'He kills the capons'

Recall furthermore that no markedness or order related effect is found, which means that whether one or the other value is found on the IA or the EA makes no difference in terms of agreement. See for instance (23), where the EA is feminine and the IA is masculine:

(23) mamme e rəlavatə lu mendi'
mum- f sg is washed- n the-m sg tablecloth-m sg
'Mum has washed the tablecloth'

The past participle shows the mismatch marker ə both in (23), where the IA is masculine and the EA is feminine, and in (24), where the reverse is true:

(24) Si rəlavatə le chemisce
are-2nd.sg washed-n the-f.sg shirt-f.sg
'You(m) have washed the shirt'

Animacy also seems to play some role in the classical dialect. Observe the data in (25):

(25) Semə magnat**a/ə** lə pera
we-are eaten-f pl/n the-f pl pears- f pl
'We ate the pears'

(25) illustrates an oscillation in judgments: an agreement mismatch marker is produced by some speakers, according to Mancini. This might be due to the difference in animacy between the EA and the IA. For the other ending, instead, it is likely to be the case that this is an incipient case of topic-oriented agreement whereby the past participle agrees with the object which is, in this case, more discourse-prominent.

Finally, the combination of different number and gender on the two arguments always originates agreement mismatch in the older generation of speakers:

(26) ___ semə magnatə lu prəsciutta
pro- f pl are eaten-nthe- m sg ham-m sg
'We-fem have eaten the ham'

The Ripano data are quite unexpected for the Romance area. However, as already mentioned above, they are not completely isolated. Giammarco (1960) reports for several areas of Abruzzo some agreement patterns that are quite close to Ripano. We have already seen the data in (5) of omnivorous agreement. What is more, many Abruzzese varieties allow agreement between the verb and the EA, contrary to the rest of the Romance family, which doesn't.

What is then that makes these patterns possible in this area? One possibility might be that these varieties are in fact ergative. Ergative languages, or languages with inverse agreement, [Bobaljik & Branigan (2006), Bejar & Rezac (2009)] are usually richer in agreement mismatch patterns than Nominative-accusative ones. We don't find any ergative case ending in USIDs, nor do we find anything else than a standard Nominative-Accusative paradigm for pronouns. However, this does not necessarily constitute a problem for the hypothesis that these dialects might be ergative. In a series of papers on Kutchi Gujarati, Patel (2007, 2008, 2010) shows how this language shows ergative alignment, i.e. agreement of the verb with the object, while keeping the Nominative-Accusative morphology. Kutchi Gujarati does not exhibit a case split, in contrast to Standard Gujarati, see Cardona (1965), which has ergative case in the perfective. Nevertheless, it has Ergative alignment with Nominative/Accusative case. You can see an example in (27):

(27) Perfective
a. Mary John-ne ad-y-o
Mary John-acc touch-perf-m.sg
"Mary touched John"
b. John Mary-ne ad-y-i
John Mary-acc touch-perf-f.sg

"John touched Mary"

Morphology cannot hence tell us everything about agreement, so that we can certainly imagine a scenario whereby a group of Romance languages is ergative in nature. This proposal has indeed been made by Cocchi (2005, 2007), as we will see in the next section. Despite there being many indications in the direction of assuming ergativity for USIDs, in the next section I will show that this hypothesis is untenable.

2. Ergativity in Romance?

Several studies have been performed on Basque, Georgian, Chukchi, Hindi, to ascertain the causes of agreement-mismatch or displacement patterns. As just mentioned, one obvious way to go would be to say that USIDs are also ergative and and hence more prone to present agreement mismatches. Let us examine this possibility in depth.

The proposal to treat that upper-southern Italian dialects as ergative languages has been put forward by Cocchi (1995, 1997) and Manzini & Savoia (2005). While Manzini & Savoia limit themselves to the observation that these varieties present split auxiliary selection much like some ergative languages (for instance Hindi), Cocchi proposes a detailed analysis of these phenomena in terms of parameterized ergativity. According to Cocchi, BE is the prototypical auxiliary, and correlates with participial agreement in Romance. BE is also the auxiliary of ergative structures, hence whenever we see BE and pp agreement we are dealing with an ergative construction.

Moreover, T and *v* (ASPem in Cocchi's terms) can assign two cases each: in ergative languages T assigns Ergative and *v* assigns Absolutive. In nominative languages, T assigns Nominative and *v* assigns Accusative. Case alignment is hence not an issue: the same head can assign different Case in different languages. Now, languages that have only HAVE as an auxiliary are always Nominative/Accusative (this is the case of Spanish and English). As for languages with auxiliary selection, we see an ergative agreement pattern in the present perfect with unaccusatives. Participial clauses are ergative structures in languages with auxiliary selection, while they are active transitive structures in languages with no auxiliary selection. Ergativity is hence strictly linked to participial agreement with a DP patient, and whenever we see such an agreement emerge we witness an ergative constructions. Passives and unaccusatives are ergative

in Italian, but not in Spanish (where in fact we have the auxiliary HAVE throughout). As far as person-driven auxiliary selection is concerned, according to Cocchi this is only an extra step in the direction of ergativity: the varieties that exhibit such an alternation are ergative only in the 1st and 2nd person, i.e. they are split-ergative.

Cocchi's suggestion can constitute the starting point of our reflection on the ergative status of upper southern dialects. However, it cannot be maintained as is, given that, for instance, many of these dialects have participial agreement with the EA rather than the IA, and this participial agreement pattern is crucially distinct from the selection of BE: observe in this respect the data from the dialect of Arielli in (28). In this dialect, the past participle agrees with the EA no matter which auxiliary is selected, with unaccusative as well as unergative and transitive verbs. The main basis for Cocchi's analysis of pp agreement as an ergative feature thus finds a strong counterexample:

(28)	A	tilifunite	Marije e Giuwanne	[Ariellese]
	have-3rd.sg/pl	telephoned-pl.pp	Mary and John	
	'Mary and John called'			

Participial agreement and auxiliary selection must be kept distinct, as argued by D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010) and Legendre (2010). However, the fact that past participle agreement with the EA takes place in languages with person-driven auxiliary selection is not accidental. Person-driven auxiliary selection is the morphological realization of an extra probe in the *v* field, as I will show below.

2.1. AGREEMENT MISMATCHES IN ERGATIVE LANGUAGES

Several accounts have been proposed for agreement displacement phenomena in ergative languages. Many of them in some way propose the reprojection or the extension of the probe (see Bejar & Rezac 2009, Preminger 2011, etc.). I will start from this intuition and claim that the existence of a complex Probe is a parameterized option, i.e. that languages can display a more or less complex *v*-T field. The complexity of this field brings about the possibility of agreement mismatches to arise because of the fact that the complex Probe can target both the EA and the IA,

thus extending *de facto* the probing domain within the *v*-T complex. This situation is also found in ergative languages, where the IA is usually the goal of an agreement relation with T for Case assignment. The T-*v* field is hence an extended argument agreement domain, which facilitates the emergence of agreement mismatch phenomena. Not all ergative languages display agreement mismatch, of course. The possibility of using an extra agreement ending resides in the language-specific lexicon. However, the mere existence of an extended agreement domain allows these phenomena to emerge. This means that central and upper Italian dialects are not ergative *per se*, but have an extended argument agreement domain, like ergative languages.

According to the most widely accepted theory of ergativity, ergative case is not structural but inherent (Nash 1995, Bok-Bennema 1991 cit in Bobaljik 2007). According to Marantz's (1984) ergative parameter, instead, ergative is a dependent case: it can be assigned to the EA whenever T licenses and assigns case to the internal argument. Finally, Bobaljik and Branigan propose that ergativity is simply the reflex of the fact that a transitive *v* cannot assign case, hence both arguments are licensed by T, entering a multiple Agree relation with it. I will refer to this model as the 'greedy probe' model: rephrasing Bobaljik and Braningan, T is a Probe targeting two goals: the two arguments.

While this 'greedy probe' system has some problems, such as the postulation of a tucking-in operation and the fact that Case can be multiply-assigned, it quite straightforwardly accounts for agreement in Chukchi, an ergative language of the Kamchatka discussed at length in Bobaljik &Branigan (2006).

The existence of a greedy probe licensing both arguments is however not very plausible to account for the facts in Ripano, Sanvalentinese and Ariellese. There is quite straightforward evidence that, for instance, agreement takes place locally (in a strict closest c-command configuration) in these dialects. Moreover, it has been shown that T is a defective element in such languages, in that it does not license the subject (D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010). Last, word order shows that the object does not raise above *v* in Ariellese, which is instead the case for Chukchi. Let us examine these points one by one.

2.2. NO GREEDY PROBE

One of the main features of the three varieties at issue is the fact that the verb carries inflectional information regarding the φ-features of both arguments. This does not mean that the verb carries agreement morphology for both the EA and the IA in each of the dialects: this is indeed the case only for Ripano. The mismatch ending for Ripano is a portmanteau morpheme, corresponding to a /ə/. In no case do we find head marking with two distinct agreement morphemes for the EA and the IA in Ripano. In Ariellese we only see agreement with the plural argument. In any case, the verb must 'know' which values characterize the EA and the IA, in order to agree with both (Ripano) or with the most 'salient' of the two (Ariellese, Sanvalentinese). As outlined above, the greedy probe model whereby T Agrees with both arguments while *v* is inert seems to be unfit to explain the facts at issue for several reasons. The first reason is that agreement (and hence argument licensing) takes place locally under strict c-command, and does not seem be delayed until the merging of T in these varieties. Consider first the so-called absolutive small clauses whereby the past participle Agrees with the object:

(29)	Magnitə	li	melə,	Giuwannə	zi	n'	a	jitə
	eaten-pl	the-pl	apples-f.pl	John	refl	loc	has-3rd.sg	gone
	'After eating the apples, John went away'							
(30)	Fattə	la	festə,	frəcatə	lu	sandə		
	made-sg	the-f.sg	festival-f.sg	cheated-sg	the-m.sg	saint-m.sg		
	'Done with the festival, cheated the saint'							

The corresponding complete sentences would display different agreement facts. In particular, introducing an explicit plural subject in (30) would yield the following:

(30a)		Seme	fitte	la	feste,	seme
	pro-1stpl	are-1st.pl	made-pl	the-f.sg	festival-f.sg	are-1st pl
frichite	lu	sande				
cheated-pl	the-m.sg	saint-m.sg				
'We are done with the festival, we have cheated the saint'						

In these constructions, as we can see, the past participle agrees with the object right away. Following Belletti (1990), D'A&R (2008) argue that absolutive small clauses must feature a highly defective C-T system. D'A &R conclude that, however, at least C must be there, given that the past participle moves above the object clitic:

(31) Conosciutala, Marco non ebbe più paura
met-f.sg-her-f.sg Marco not had-3rd.sg more fear
'After meeting her, Marco was no longer afraid'

Such constructions with encliticization are however not found in the varieties at issue (see the ungrammaticality of 32).

(32) *Cunusciutələ, Marchə n' a tinutə cchiù ppaurə
met-her/him Marco not has held more fear

The only possible occurrence of small clauses is that with fully fledged DP objects, illustrated in (29)-(30). This might be due to a different status of the ASC in these dialects than in Italian, precisely because these dialects would simply feature a rich and complex *v* field but no C-T, or a very reduced C-field in these structures. The past participle could hence not raise above *v*. If this is the case, then the past participial agreement with the IA that we see in (29) and (30) is the reflex of a probing operation taking place as soon as the past participle is merged, in *v.* The past participle Agrees with the direct object and gets its features valued accordingly. This in turn means that we do not need to wait until T is merged for Agree to take place, in these varieties. Hence, Bobaljik & Branigan's hypothesis does not seem to account for the facts at issue.

Second: in these varieties T is defective, in the sense that it cannot host a DP in its specifier and assign it Nominative case. Upper Southern dialects have a rich complementizer set, including at least 3 different complementizers (Rohlfs 1969, Giammarco 1973, Rizzi 1997). The lowest one for Ariellese is *occhе,* a jussive complementizer which is found at the very bottom of the left periphery (D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010b). In the sentence in (33), for instance, no subject can occur between the low complementizer *occhе* and the finite verb:

(33) Ji so' dittə Marije occhə (*Marije) vajə allochə
him/her-dat am-1st.sg said Mary that Mary go-1st.sg.subj there
'I told him that Mary should go there'

This is taken to show that T is φ-defective (D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010b), while *v* is more complex in the same variety. *v* is in fact the head assigning Nominative case to the subject and agreeing with it, as we will see below.

Third, Ariellese shows the so called double auxiliary constructions, whereby both BE and HAVE occur in combination to yield the plusperfect:

(34) Ji so' ' ve fattə
I-1st.sg am-1st.sg had-imperf done
'I had done'

(35) Nu s' avavemə fittə
we-1st.pl 1/2 had-1st.pl.imperf. done
'We had done'

In (35) *s'* is a marker of 'participant', while *avavemə* is a fully inflected 1st plural finite verb. This suggests that both auxiliaries Agree with the EA, and get valued according to its person features. Given that the lower auxiliary is marked for aspect while the higher isn't, we can conclude that the Aspectual head in Arielli is endowed with φ-features.

Suppose now that we have an extra person and number probe above *v* (see for a similar proposal also Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2006 and Preminger 2011): this extra probe could in fact be the aspectual head (Asp), or, more precisely, a head encoding both aspect and mood. Following the model proposed by Bejar & Rezac, we can argue that this extra probe constitutes a unit with *v*: they are in a share relation for what concerns φ features. This means that the feature values found on *v* must be the same as those on this extra probe, which we identified with the Asp head. Asp is the head hosting the lower auxiliary and the finite verb. The higher auxiliary is instead in T. the different distribution also accounts for the different behaviour with respect to agreement mismatch which we saw in the previous section: while the auxiliary always agrees

with the EA only, both the finite verb and the past participle exhibit agreement with either or both the EA and the IA. The finite verb and the past participle, I wish to propose, belong to the same extended *v* domain. T is instead a defective Probe which participates only marginally to agreement and does not license the EA directly: it only Agrees with it and gets its φ-features valued by it (Chomsky 2001).

The presence of this extra Probe (Asp) accounts quite straighforwardly for the agreement patterns found in these varieties. Let us turn to the derivation of the agreement patterns.

2.3. ARIELLESE AGREEMENT EXPLAINED

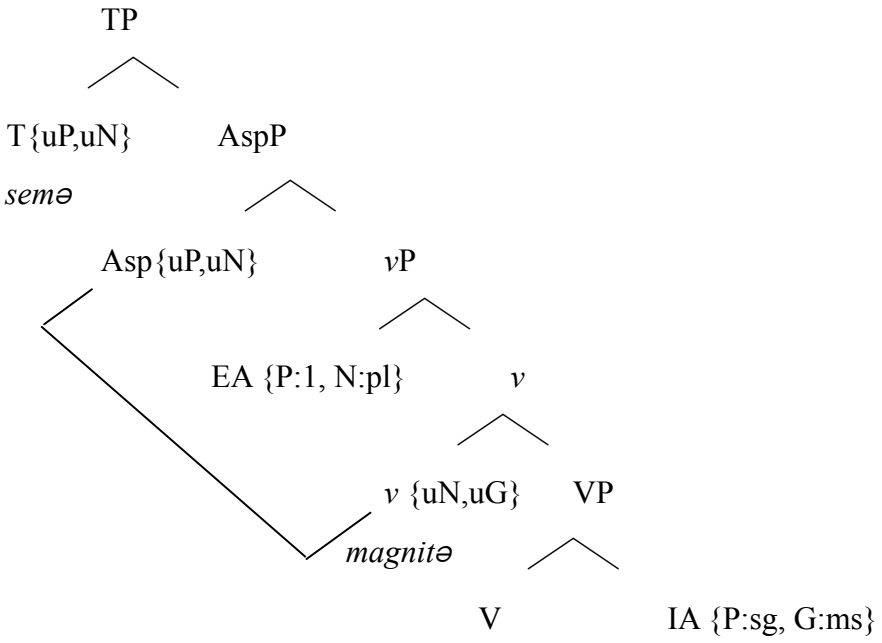
We have now described some characteristic facts of the syntax of USIDs: a T-Asp-*v* complex with feature sharing between the Asp and *v*. This richer *v*-field is held responsible for the unexpected agreement patterns that we find in these varieties.

Let us now examine in detail how the derivation for the Arielli data should work. Recall that AR displays omnivorous number agreement as well as person driven auxiliary selection and double auxiliary construction. These phenomena are the result of a unique fact: the presence of a person/number Probe above *v*. In D'Alessandro & Roberts (2010) the proposal has been made that these data can be accounted for by assuming that *v* is endowed with a person feature, thus it is possible for it to license the EA. However, this cannot be the whole story. Let us consider a sentence like (36):

(36)	Semə	magnitə	lu	panə
	are-1st.pl	eaten-pl	the-m.sg	bread-m.sg
	'We have eaten bread'			

In (36), both the auxiliary and the past participle show agreement with the EA. The derivation of this sentence is in (37).

(37)



Both T and Asp probe the EA (as clear from the data in 36), getting valued as plural. *v* probes for the IA, getting its features valued as singular masculine. As proposed by D'A&R, however, and independently proposed by Nevins (2010), number is a privative feature, hence the number feature on the pp in *v* remains unvalued. The plural value on Asp is transmitted to the *v* by virtue of the fact that Asp and *v* form a complex Probe.

When the reverse situation obtains, i.e. when the IA is plural and the EA is singular, *v* gets its plural value from the IA. The EA Agrees once again with both T and Asp, valuing them as singular. As we said above, singular is equivalent to no value, hence the derivation should crash. I wish to propose that this is not the case when we are in a multiple Match configuration: if two Probes enter a multiple Match relation, a default ending will be attributed to this 'chain' at PF (see Lopez's 2007 dependency relation). This might be only possible for languages that have portmanteau morphemes for person and number, as is the case for this dialect: portmanteau morphemes force unvalued Matching pairs to be attributed a value in order for the whole morpheme to be assigned as an agreement ending. At PF, the combination of number and person values will be assigned the following morphemes:

(38) 1 + pl = *seme*; [Ariellese]

1+ uN = 1+ sg = *so*;

2+ pl = *sete*;

2 + uN = 2 +sg = *si*;

As we saw in (34)-(35), T and Asp can have independent morphology, in the plusperfect. In the case of Ariellese, the T-Asp heads may be realized by one morpheme, as is the case for the present perfect, for instance. In this case, however, the φ-features on Asp do not disappear: Whenever Asp is valued as 1/2 person, for instance, the auxiliary selected is BE. In other words, BE is the morphological realization of the φ-features on Asp. This, I wish to suggest, is what undelies person-driven auxiliary selection: the existence of φ-features on the Asp head.

2.4. THE NATURE OF THE COMPLEX PROBE

The data on omnivorous number agreement in Ariellese have just been explained with the postulation of an extra φ-probe in the *v* field. Technically, the relationship between Asp and *v* can be considered as sharing features [cf. Ouali's (2008) SHARE, Schoorlemmer's (2009) SHARE, D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010, D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010a, Miyagawa 2011 INHERITANCE of valued features]. In other words, the possibility is prospected of an inheritance of valued features. The mechanism whereby these features are shared between two heads is as follows: a phase head, like *v*, is merged with the VP. This head encodes information about transitivity, but also about aspect and mood. Moreover, it hosts φ-features. This head is a complex head: it is split into two subheads, of which one, the higher one, encoding information about aspect, and the other, the lower one, is the transitive *v*. This division is reflected in the morphology, as we just saw. The Mood head is instead higher than T (Cinque 1999) and might have an impact on auxiliary selection, as we will see. Contrary to other Romance languages, which do not feature dedicated aspectual morphemes, this dialect does (see again the examples in 34 and 35).

The complex nature of the Asp-*v* head is created by the fact that each of the sub-heads (*v* and Asp) is endowed with a set of φ-features. These feature sets establish a Match relation with each other. This resembles very much the dependency relation proposed by Lopez (2007): two sets of unvalued features are in a Match relation with each other, hence whichever value is attributed to one set is transmitted to the other. This dependency relation creates the 'complex' head: while the

semantic, V-related information is clearly distinct, this Match of φ-sets creates a link between the two distinct heads yielding a φ-complex head, which can multiple-Probe for the EA and for the IA, as we saw.

Like for other Multiple Agree configurations (Ura 2000, Hiraiwa 2001), a restriction on the feature value holds. Such a restriction was formulated clearly by Anagnostopolou (2005) as follows:

(39) CONDITION ON MULTIPLE AGREE

Multiple Agree can only take place under non-conflicting feature specifications of the agreeing elements [Anagnostopoulou (2005:219)]

Aside from the technicalities, the obvious question at this point is is what the evidence is for these languages to exhibit an Asp-*v* complex allowing *v* to receive inflectional information on the EA. We have seen that Ariellese displays complex auxiliaries (30)-(31), where two different morphemes encode T and Asp respectively. The data in (31)-(31) also show that the head encoding aspect also holds φ-features.

Moreover, person-driven auxiliary split is only found in the perfective. No person-driven aux selection is found in the imperfective or in the subjunctive. This means that the locus where perfectivity is encoded (arguably the Asp head) is also the locus of person-driven auxiliary selection. As stated above, also in the perfective the φ-features are visible: they are reflected in the morphology of the auxiliary, or, more precisely, in the selection of the auxiliary: HAVE or BE. One implies the other.

Observe furthermore that, in the case of Ariellese, person-driven auxiliary selection is only visible in perfective contexts but disappears in the subjunctive/irrealis mood, where the selected auxiliary is always HAVE. I don't have an explanation for this. All I can say is that mood is yet another factor, overriding the others.While most speakers use the subjunctive auxiliary *avessə*, some tend to regularize using BE, at least for the 1st and 2nd person singular:

(40)	Speaker A	Speaker B
	avessə fattə [H]	*fussə fattə* [B]
	avissə fattə [H]	*fussə fatte* [B]

avessə fatte [H]	*avessə fattə* [H]
avassemə fittə [H]	*avassemə fittə* [H]
avassetə fittə [H]	*avassetə fittə* [H]
avessə fittə[H]	*avessə fittə* [H]

To summarize, here is how the features are expressed on the various heads in Ariellese:

(41) a. plusperfect

$T_{[\varphi]}$ $Asp_{[\varphi]}$ $v_{[\varphi]}$

s-1st/2nd pres *avaveme*-1st pl imperfective *fitte*-pl past participle

b. present perfect

T $Asp_{[\varphi]}$ $v_{[\varphi]}$

2nd pl +BE =*semə* *fitte*- pl past participle

We will return to (41b) in detail in the next section. For now, let us concentrate on the effects that the existence of this extra Probe creates in the agreement field. The presence of a probe in a field which is devoted to case marking and argument licensing disrupts the regular Nominative-Accusative agreement assignment, whereby *v* takes care of the IA while T takes care of the EA, and creates the conditions for mis-agreement effects. In the case of Ariellese and Ripano, the effect that we see is the emergence of an agreement pattern which resembles very closely that of ergative languages, without there being real ergativity. If we wished to reason with Bobaljik & Branigan, we could say that while in ergative languages T targets both arguments of a transitive verb by virtue of the fact that *v* cannot assign Case, in upper southern dialects we have an extra Probe which extends the agreement domain of *v* and is reflected in the person-driven auxiliary selection. Once again, whichever analysis of ergativity we wish to take as our point of departure, the basic fact is that T targets the IA in ergative languages, thus creating an extended agreement domain. USIDs are not ergative in nature, and the IA is still licensed by *v*. However, the presence of an extra probe on the Asp head extends the agreement domain creating the same effects that we can find in some ergative languages.

This said, it does not seem surprising that a similar analysis has been proposed by Preminger (2011) to account for some facts in Kaqchikel and K'ichee', two ergative Mayan languages of the Quichean branch. Preminger postulates the existence of two extra probes, one person and one number probe, to account for agreement mismatch facts in Agent-Focus constructions. Consider the examples in (42) and (43) from Kaqchikel:

(42)	ja	rat	x-at/*Ø-axa-n	ri	achin	[Kaqchikel]
	foc	you(sg.)	prfv-2sg/*3sg.abs-hear-af	the	man	
	'It was you(sg.) that heard the man.'					
(43)	ja	ri achin	x-at/*Ø-axa-n	rat		
	foc	the man	prfv-2sg/*3sg.abs-hear-af	you(sg.)		
	'It was the man that heard you(sg.).'					[Preminger (2011:28)]

In the Agent-Focus constructions, Quichean languages exhibit *omnivorous person agreement.* In (42) and (43), for instance, whether the *2nd-person* argument is the subject or the object, the verb carries the "-at-" ('2abs') agreement morpheme. Kaqchikel and K'ichee are head-marking languages, hence the agreement endings are more easily detectable. Moreover, they are ergative, i.e. as we saw the agreement domain of T is extended (Bobaljik & Branigan 2006). preminger accounts for the facts in (42)-(43) by proposing the existence of two extra probes (a number and a person probe), i.e. extending the agreement domain on *v*. Observe finally that agreement displacement facts in Basque have been accounted for by Bejar & Rezac (2009) by proposing a reprojection and extension of the search space for *v*: *v* targets the IA and subsequently the EA. The bottom line is the same: we need extra probing features to make it possible for the IA and EA to enter in an agreement relation with a complex *v* head. The difference between this model and those proposed by B&R and Preminger lies in the fact that the different heads must probe separately, so that it is not necessary to think of an element which keeps probing even after it has been valued, and that there is a complex T-*v* field, independently motivated by the observation of the data.

Observe furthermore that Preminger shows how the extra probe appears in the form of a clitic in the languages he considers. There are no subject clitics in central and southern Italian varieties, and specifically in the varieties that we are examining here. However, right in these varieties with

extra probes, person-driven auxiliary selection is found. BE, I wish to argue, is the morphological realization of 1,2 person values on the extra Probe. In other words, BE is the 'subject clitic'of southern Italian dialects.

Let us now to consider in detail the relationship between person-driven auxiliary selection, subject doubling and the presence of the extra probe.

3. THE EXTRA PROBE IN NIDS

In the previous section if was proposed that agreement patterns in Ripano and AR can be accounted for by postulating the presence of an extra φ-Probe in the *v* field. This extra Probe allows for the extension of the agreement domain of *v*. It was also proposed that BE is the morphological instantiation of the φ-features on Asp.

Let us take AR as the first case: in AR omnivorous agreement is active, as shown by the data in (5), here partially repeated as (44):

(44)

b. Giuwanne a pittite ddu mure
John-sg has-3rd.sg painted-pp.pl two walls-pl
'John has painted two walls' [sgSUBJ-plOBJ]

c. Giuwanne e Mmarije a pittite nu mure
John and Mary-pl have-3rd sg/pl painted-pp.pl a wall
'John and Mary have painted a wall' [pl SUBJ– sg OBJ]

So far, we postulated the presence of this extra Probe allowing *v* to target both arguments. Were this extra Probe present, we should expect to see some morphological reflection of it. In fact, we do: the extra φ-features are reflected in so-called person-driven auxiliary selection. AR displays so-called person-driven auxiliary selection: when the subject is 1st or 2nd person the auxiliary selected is BE, and in the 3rd person it is HAVE, independently of verb class (Giammarco 1960, D'A & R 2010). I wish to claim that these features are reflected in the selection of the auxiliary. if

we examine the inflectional paradigm of the auxiliary, we see in fact that the information regarding the person and the number of the auxiliary is repeated twice. Consider (45):

(45) So (BE-1st sg)
si (BE-2nd sg)
a (HAVE-3rd sg/pl)
seme (BE- 1st pl)
sete (BE -2nd pl)
a (HAVE- 3rd sg/pl)

The inflectional ending of the auxiliary, as is usually the case for the finite verbs, carries the morphological information about person and number. What is then the use of the opposition of BE and HAVE? BE and HAVE, I claim, are an instantiation of subject doubling. They are the morphological encoding of the extra person Probe which is valued according to the subject features. These features are found, as we proposed, on the aspectual head Asp. In fact, the BE-HAVE person-driven alternation is only found in perfective tenses or when a perfective component is present (the same pattern is found in Hindi, for instance). Imperfective and subjunctive do not present this alternation, which is instead found, aside than the present perfect that we just saw, in the plusperfect, which is also characterized by perfectivity:

(46) So' 've fatte ('I had done')
S'avaveme fitte ('We had done')

It needs to be added that, as we said, the subjunctive is an exception to the BE/HAVE split in Ariellese. This is not, however, an isolated case: many languages present splits in the indicative but not in the subjunctive. This might have to do with discourse linking and the fact that 1st and 2nd are referential and the subjunctive is the mood of *irrealis* (see Manzini & Savoia 2010 for an analysis along these lines). Moreover, the BE/HAVE alternation that we find in Ariellese is the most common, but, as stated above, there are other varieties in which BE marks only one of the persons, while all the rest of the paradigm takes HAVE. This might be due to the fact that only one of the discourse participant is salient in the language, while the other remains unmarked, or

to the fact that the language does not double speaker and addressee but just participant, which is only realized in the 2nd person. What matters here is that the existence of the extra φ-Probe extends the agreement possibilities of *v* thus allowing the emergence of agreement mismatch phenomena. For a detailed survey of the microvariational patterns the reader is referred to Manzini & Savoia (2005, 2011) and Torcolacci (2011).

If we take another look at the data from Kaqchikel (Preminger 2011) we see how the extra probe in this language is realized in the form of a clitic. In AR (and SIDs that have auxiliary selection), we find it at least partially realized in the form of the auxiliary. In other words, auxiliary alternation in USIDs is the same as a clitic. This claim has a very interesting consequence, namely that of being able to account for one of the main differences between northen Italian dialects and southern Italian ones: while NIDs have subject clitics, SIDs lack them altogether. While SIDs have person-driven auxiliary selection, NIDs do not have it. This does not come as a surprise now if we think that auxiliaries and clitics are the same thing: instantiations of φ-features. Let us consider a sentence in Venetan (Poletto 2000:xxx):

(47) La Maria la magna
the Mary SCL eats
'Mary eats'

NIDs have an extra φ-set in the C-T field, be it in one single cluster or scattered on different projections (see the cartographic debate on clitics: Poletto 2000, Manzini & Savoia 2005, Cardinaletti & Repetti 2008).

We begin to see a very clear pattern: while SIDs have an extra Probe (i.e. an extra φ-set) in the *v* field, NIDs have it in the C-T field. In other words, there is a microparametric difference between Northern and Southern Italian 'subject'clitics, whereby φ-features in NIDs are realized as clitics, while in SIDs they are realized as auxiliaries (see Roberts 2010 for an analysis of subject clitics as realization of agreement). This means that Italian dialects are not that different typologically, but that what varies parametrically is just the locus of the extra probe.

Being this extra Probe in a domain where argument agreement obtains, we see its reflex not only in the morphology of the auxiliary but in the agreement patterns.

3.1. 2ND SINGULAR

Subject clitics in northern dialects and auxiliaries in southern dialects have just been claimed to be morphological instances of the same element: an extra φ-Probe, located in the C field and in the *v* field respectively. That these elements are the instantiation of the same item is proven by one interesting correspondence.

In a seminal paper, Renzi & Vanelli (1983) observed that there exists a strong tendency for languages to prefer 2nd singular subject clitics. More specifically, if a language has only one subject clitic, it will be the 2nd person singular one. However, Manzini & Savoia (2005, I:118-119) show that this generalization is too strong: there are dialects exhibiting a dedicated clitic for 3rd person only (Stroppo/Macra/Pradleves, S. Pietro Val Grana, Acceglio, Vermiglio-Val di Sole, Livo –Val di Non, Tuenno –Val di Non, S. Maria M., Coimo). Manzini & Savoia (2005: 119) propose a refined generalization: "[…] for what concerns the paradigm of the specialized forms P, we observe that if only one of the forms is specialized, it will correspond to 2nd ps[5]". The generalization must be read as follows: if a language has only one person clitic, it will be the 2nd person singular one. Manzini & Savoia distinguish in fact between several kinds of clitics. 1st and 2nd person are P-clitics (person clitics).

In general, even if some exceptions are found to this generalization (see also Torcolacci 2011), we can certainly acknowledge a strong tendency among dialects with subject clitics to prefer the 2nd singular clitic in case only one clitic is present in the language. The prediction is that, given what we have said so far, in languages with person-driven auxiliary selection if only one form in the auxiliary paradigm is marked, that will be the 2nd singular. This prediction is borne out, at least according to the auxiliary selection table in Manzini & Savoia (2005: 728 – (79). If we take a look at the table, when a dialect has only one BE form, it will be the 2nd person singular. The tendency is hence the same. In a recent paper, Manzini & Savoia link person driven auxiliary selection to discourse. This preference for the 2nd person singular of both subject clitics ('you' is the addressee) and auxiliaries (the 2nd person is the addressee) is not unexpected, in these terms.

[5] "per quanto riguarda il paradigma delle forme a denotazione specializzata P, notiamo che se una sola di tali forme è lessicalizzata, questa corrisponde alla 2ps"[Manzini & Savoia 2005:119, my translation].

Finally, there is a very small set of dialects that present both person-driven auxiliary selection and subject clitics. In this case, under the assumptions that languages tend to avoid tripling, i.e. repeating the information about the subject both through auxiliary selection and through subject clitics, we would expect a complementary distribution of subject clitics and auxiliaries. An interesting piece of evidence in this direction is offered by the dialect of Cerano, in Piedmont, which displays person-driven auxiliary alternation for the 1st person, according to the following paradigm for the present perfect:

(48) a. (i) sum ɲi [Cerano]
SCl am-1st sg come
t ɛ ɲi
you-2SCl are-2/3 sg come
l ɛ ɲi
(s)he-3SCl is 2/3 sg come
(i) suma/ uma ɲi
SCl are-1st pl have-1st pl come
si/ j i ɲi
are-2nd pl you-SCl have-2nd pl come
i in ɲi
SCl are-3rd pl come
'I/you/(s)he… have come' [Manzini & Savoia 2005, III:10]

Observe that the 1st and 2nd person plural present what looks like a free alternation between BE and HAVE. As we can see, the subject clitic is either optional or absent with the auxiliary BE, while it is obligatorily expressed in the 2nd plural form of HAVE. The 1st plural HAVE does not present the clitic, though. Let us observe the paradigm for the unergative verb *to sleep*:

(49) sum/i ɔ drumi
am/ SCl have slept-sg
t ɛ drumi
you-SCl are-2/3sg slept-sg

l	ɛ	drumi		
(s)he-3SCl	is-2/3sg	slept-sg		
(i)	suma/	i	uma	drumy
SCl	are-1st pl	SCl	have-1st pl	slept-pl
si/	i	i	drumy	
are-2nd pl	SCl	are- 2nd sg	slept-pl	
i	in	drumy		
SCl	are-3rd pl	slept-pl		

(49) shows more straighrforwardly that whenever a BE-HAVE alternation is possible the clitic is obligatory with HAVE and not with BE. This suggests that we are on the right track, and that this subject clitic simply encodes the φ-features of the extra probe. Observe furthermore that the dialect of Cerano also exhibits agreement of the past participle with the external argument, which would not be expected if the *v* field weren't complex enough. Last, also the dialect of Cerano exhibits the forms *seva/eva* for the plusperfect, *eva* being HAVE, and *seva* arguably being the usual *s*(BE)+HAVE, exactly like in Ariellese.

Let us now turn to examine the case of Ripano, which, despite presenting agreement mismatch, does not have person-driven auxiliary selection.

4. A PARAMETRIZATION OF PROBES

In the previous sections, we have attributed the emergence of agreement mismatch/displacement patterns to the presence of an extra probe in the *v* field. In (37), a derivation of an AR sentence has been modelled, which captures the fact that agreement in that variety applies under local c-command and that we see some kind of 'plural spread' from the EA to the past participle. Let us examine now the case of the other form of mis-agreement, i.e. that of agreement mismatch marking in Ripano. I have argued that this mismatch is caused by the an extra φ-Probe allowing *v* to Agree with the EA in Ariellese. These extra φ-features are located on the Asp head. The Ripano facts are slightly different: recall that we appreciate no omnivorous plural in this dialect, but we see agreement mismatch. Consider once again the sentence in (21), here repeated as (50):

(50) I' maɲɲə le pəlende
I-m sg eat-n the- f sg polenta- f sg
'I eat the polenta'

In this sentence, the finite verb shows agreement with both the IA and the EA. I wish to claim that this is also due to the presence of an extra Probe in the T-*v* field. This Probe is not however a person-number probe like in the case of AR, but a number-gender probe[6]. However, Ripano does not have split auxiliary selection. What is the evidence for this extra probe? The evidence is to be found in the 'extraordinary' agreement (Ledgeway 2006) which we find on adverbs and nouns in predicative constructions already mentioned: whenever T and Asp are realized by the same morpheme we see agreement endings emerge on adverbs and modifiers of all sorts:

(51) Magnu sembru/ Magne sembre
Eats-3rd.sg.m always-m eats-3rd.sg.f always-f.
'He always eats'/ 'She always eats'

While the presence of inflected adverbs is restricted to only some elements, it is still found quite massively in the language. Together with inflected manner, degree and place adverbs, we find inflected wh-elements (52), inflected quantifiers/numerals (53), and gerunds (54) [alla data are from Mancini (1993)]:

(52) Ndovu va?
where-m goes-3rd.sg
'Where is he going?'

(53) Ci stiè centi frəkì
there were hundred-pl.m children-pl.m
'There were a hundred children'

(54) Chə vva fəcennu?
What goes-3rd.sg doing-m

[6] Alternatively, we could think that AR also has a gender feature on Asp, which is never realized because of lexical restrictions.

'What is he up to?'

These examples, taken from Mancini (1993), are still quite common in modern Ripano, as emerged from the fieldwork. All the extraordinarily inflected elements are within the T-*v* domain. In (51), always is a low adverb (Cinque 1999); in (53) the numeral is within an IA; in (54) the gerund is arguably in V. The example in (52) is somewhat problematic, as the wh- is not within the *v*. This might be a case of topic-oriented agreement, however, for which we don't have an explanation.

The ending attached to these adverbs and modifiers is hence the realization of the φ-set on the extra Probe. Given this, we don't expect person-driven auxiliary selection, as the φ-features simply surface on any element within the *v*P. More precisely, the Probe is still, arguably on Asp and it still targets both arguments. However, the morphological realization of this extra probe is on any element within the *v* agreement domain.

CONCLUSIONS

Some upper southern Italian dialects display agreement patterns that are unknown among Romance. These patterns are also found in languages with inverse agreement, like ergative languages, but not in other Nominative-Accusative aligning languages. After showing that southern Italian dialects are not ergative, we have proposed that these agreement patterns are the result of an extension of the argument agreement domain within *v.* This extension obtains because of the presence of an extra φ-Probe within the *v* domain. These extra φ-features are located on the Aspectual head, which constitutes a complex head with *v*: Asp and *v* they share the features and their values. These extra φ-features also create the conditions for agreement mismatches to emerge in southern Italian dialects.

The presence of the extra Probe is parameterized: some varieties show it, some don't, some show it in another domain. Interestingly, a previously unnoticed parallelism has emerged by this analysis, between southern Italian dialects and northern Italian ones: while northern Italian dialects have subject clitics, southern Italian ones have (may have) person-driven auxiliary selection. This division is due, it is maintained, to the different merging locus of the extra Probe: within *v* (for south) and within C-T (for north). Northern Italian dialects hence instantiate this φ-bundle in the form of subject clitics, which double the information about the subject. Southern Italian dialects instantiate this extra Probe in the form of auxiliary selection, also doubling

information about the subject. However, given that this extra Probe is merged in an argumental field in southern dialects, it intervenes in argument licensing and agreement facts, thus being the cause, in some cases, of agreement mismatches and/or displacements.

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