# Adverbial agreement in Ripano

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In this paper we investigate an extraordinary adverbial agreement pattern displayed by Ripano, a borderline southern-central Italian variety spoken in Ripatransone, in the province of Ascoli Piceno (Parrino 1967, Mancini 1993, Ledgeway 2012, D'Alessandro 2013).

It is a well-known fact that adverbial agreement is quite rare across languages. One notable exception is Ripano, which, within the Romance domain, displays a unique variety of extraordinary agreement patterns, with the finite verb exhibiting gender inflection (Ledgeway 2012, see example 4), agreement mismatch marking (D'Alessandro 2011), and adverbial agreement (Ledgeway 2012).

In this paper, we concentrate on the syntax of adverbial agreement. On the basis of newly acquired data, we show that prepositional adverbs (1), manner (2)-(3), and time adverbials (4) seem to display agreement with the closest available DP in Ripano:

(1)     *Sottu/e*          *lu/le*          *tavuli/sedie*
        under-SG.M./F  the-SG.M./F     table- SG.M./F.
        'Under the table/under the chair'                          [Ledgeway 2012:309]
(2)     ***Issu/Esse***     *ha*             *rispostu/-e*              *malu/-e*
        he-SG.M./F.     have-3.SG.     answer-PPT.SG.M./F.       badly-SG.M.
         'S/he answered badly'
(3)     ***le/li***                *flachine/flachi*     *va*          *a spasse/-i*
        the-SG.F./PL.M.        girl-SG.F./boy-PL.M   go-3.SG.M.    around-SG.F./PL.M.
        'The girl goes around'
(4)     *Magnu/-e*      ***sembru/-e***
        eat-3.SG.M./F.  always-M./F.
        'He always eats'

Following Cinque's (1999) proposal on the cartography of adverbs, we show that all the adverbials present in our data belong to the 'lower (pre-VP or VP-final position) adverbs' group. Higher adverbs, in fact, do not display any agreement:

(5)     *Comma te     siende?*      *Quannə passu       de llà?*
        How    REFL  feel-2.SG.     when   pass-2.DG    of there
        'How do you feel?'          'When are you passing by?'

On the basis of data as these we conclude that the agreement domain within which these adverbs can find their goal coincides with the *vP*.

These data raise at least two of interesting problems: 1. What makes it possible for these adverbs to agree? 2. These adverbs show agreement with the closest DP, usually the subject (2-4); however, when this subject is an external argument, as in (2) and (4) for example, it does not fall into their c-command domain, making it implausible for Agree (Chomsky 1995 *ff*) to apply. How is it possible then for the adverb to establish an agreement relationship with the subject in these cases?

A further piece of data which complicates the picture is reported in (6), where the DP object, which is listed in isolation as a feminine noun, *sete,* displays agreement with the subject:

(6)    *c'*         *aiu/-e*        *setu/-e*
      CL.LOC      have-1.SG.M./F. THIRST-SG.M./F.
      'I am thirsty' (masculine/feminine)

Following a recent proposal by D'Alessandro (2013), we wish to argue that adverbs feature an additional φ-set; Ripano features an extra φ-probe in the extended *v*P domain, allowing for an extension of the agreement domain of *v* (see also Coon & Preminger 2013 arguing for extra φ-features within the *v*P and the parameterization thereof).

This extra probe must cliticize or incorporate onto the adverbial before spell-out, for interpretability conditions (*Condition on the merger of φ-probes,* D'Alessandro 2013, *contra* Chomsky 1995 on the impossibility of merging pure φ features to the syntactic spine), eventually resulting in overt [GENDER] [NUMBER] marking on them.

If this analysis is on the right track, we expect to see these extra probes in other contexts as well, in the absence of adverbs. This prediction is borne out for Ripano finite verbs, as already mentioned, where an extra φ-feature, [GENDER], is always found. More surprisingly, extra probes can be found on direct objects, thus DPs, which change their interpretable/lexical gender/number specification in given contexts, as in (6). The puzzling adverbial agreement patterns can be explained assuming that, in these cases, the extra probe has incorporated on the direct object, thus triggering agreement with the *pro*-subject.

Furthermore, agreement extends to the infinitive complement of some modal verbs, also featuring an extra φ:

(7)    *Sapeta/-i*      *scriva/-i?*
      can-2.PL.F/M. write-2.PL.F/M.
      'Can you write?'

As for the lack of *c*-command between the probe on the adverb and the goal (usually the subject), we wish to propose that agreement within the extended *v*P takes place via CONCORD, through a mechanism resembling adjectival agreement (Baker 2008). All the active probes within this domain will have their features valued by the subject, the only probe in the extended *v*P domain. That the subject is the only active goal is proven by the fact that also objects change their endings depending on those of the subject, as in (6).

The structure of a sentence like (6) is as follows:

extra φ

(7) *c'* [TP *pro*[M.SG] *c'ai* T[uG.uN] [DP *set*-[uG.uN]]]

CONCORD
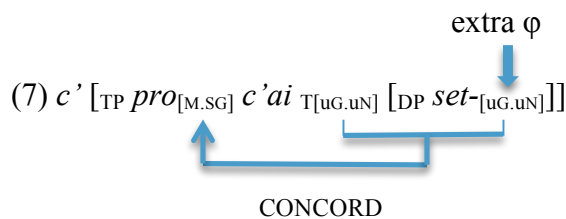
Extra φ-probes have also been documented for other upper southern varieties, like Ariellese (in D'Alessandro & Roberts 2010, and D'Alessandro & Ledgeway 2010). Cross-linguistically,

we can find instances of extra probes also in Northern Italian varieties, in the form of subject clitics, which are pure featural elements dubbing the feature values of the subjects.