On the agreement of quantifiers in Sardinian and Sicilian

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Although not an extensively discussed topic, Italo-Romance dialects offer a wide variety of possible patterns of agreement of quantifiers. The Zurich Database of Agreement testifies to the variation and offers a first insight into the conditions operating at different levels.

In the Sicilian dialect of Pantelleria, the agreement of quantifiers is subject to lexical specification. As in other varieties of southern Italy (see Idone, in preparation [b]), the inflectional paradigm of the quantifiers POCU ‘few’ and TROPPU ‘too much’ shrinks to just one default form, coinciding with the one of M. SG. Unlike in Italian (1), for example, these quantifiers do not agree in gender and number with the noun they modify both in attributive (2) and predicative (3) context.

(1) Agreement of quantifiers in Italian
Le màcchine sono troppe (exemplum fictum)
DEF.F.PL car(F).PL be.PRS.3PL too_much.F.PL
There are too many cars.

(2) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: RoEr | Answer: 17.a | Source: PNT24
Pocu studenti superànnu l’ esame
few.M.SG student(M).PL pass.PRF.3PL DEF exam(M).SG
Few students passed the exam.

(3) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 24.2 | Source: PNT29
I màchine su ttroppu
DEF.PL car(F).PL be.PRS.3PL too_much.M.SG
There are too many cars.

The same lack of agreement applies to quantu ‘how much’ (4), interrogative adjective undoubtedly related to quantification.

(4) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: AnCa | Answer: 20 | Source: PNT29
Quantu chiacchiere!
how_much.M.SG chatter(F).PL
So much chit-chat!

On the contrary, the quantifiers TUTTU ‘all’ (5) and TANTU ‘much’ (6) show regular agreement. As expected for a Sicilian dialect, gender is constrained by number, as gender distinctions are found only in the singular number they display.

(5) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: ARDA | Answer: 71.1 | Source: PNT27
Ø vene tutti i jorna a truvàr =me
3M.SG come.PRS.3SG all.PL DEF.PL day(M).PL to find.INF =DO1.SG
He is coming every day to visit me.

(6) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: RoEr | Answer: 28 | Source: PNT29
Ø i= ’nçontrà tanti / “tantu voti.
1S.G DO3.PL= meet.PRF.1SG much.PL/much.M.SG time(F).PL
I met them many times.

Gender and number agreement on quantifiers has been subject to scientific discussion also for another insular italo-romance variety: Logudorese Sardinian. As argued by Jones (1993: 37f), the floating quantifier tòttu is invariable in many Sardinian varieties. Data from Luras (DAI-datatype
in the province of Olbia-Tempio), however, show that this is not true for all Logudorese dialects. In fact, gender and number agreement on this quantifier is subject to syntactic conditioning: agreement on tòttu is agrammatical if the quantifier is adjacent to the NP it quantifies (7), in other positions agreement may or may not be observed (8) (cf. already Romagnoli ***: 11f):

(7) Datapoint: Luras | Speaker: DoSc | Answer: Answer 28 | Source: LUR21
Sòn istadas abbèltas tòttu sal buscias
be.PRS.3PL be.PTP.PL open.PTP.PL all.M.SG DEF.PL envelope(F).PL
All the envelopes have been opened

(8) Datapoint: Luras | Speaker: LuDS | Answer: Answer 7 | Source: LUR21
ø si= l'= ana mandhigada tòttu	{/tòttta}
3MPL REFL.3= DO3F.SG= have.PRS.3PL eat.PTP.F.SG all.M.SG all.F.SG
They have eaten it all

The only exception to the situation in (7) is found when the quantifier precedes a numeral as in (9).

(9) Datapoint: Luras | Speaker: ElLS | Answer: Answer 55 | Source: LUR21
ø appo idu tòttas tres amigoso
1SG have.PRS.1SG see.PTP.M.SG all.PL three friend(M).PL
I have seen all three of my friends

In other Northern Logudorese varieties, such as the dialects of Bulzi, Nulvi, Perfugas and Sènnori (in the province of Sassari), similar but yet slightly different restraints on agreement with tòttu can be found, in that – at least for some speakers – in the non NP-adjacent position only singular agreement seems to be possible whilst agreement with controllers carrying plural number specification fails:

(10) Datapoint: Sènnori | Speaker: GiS
sa zuppa ø me= l'= appo mandhigada tòttu
DEF.F.SG soup(F).SG 1SG REFL.3= DO3F.SG= have.PRS.1SG eat.PTP.F.SG all.M.SG
I have eaten all the soup

(11) Datapoint: Sènnori | Speaker: GiS
sos mèlos ø me= los= appo mandhigados tòttu
DEF.PL apple(F).PL 1SG REFL.3= DO3.PL= have.PRS.1SG eat.PTP.PL all.M.SG
I have eaten all the apples

These data, from independent fieldwork (Wild, 2017), help to widen our understanding of microdiatopic variation in this specific area of Sardinia and to diversify our knowledge of quantifiers in Logudorese.

More in general, our data support the statement that close observation of non-standard varieties may provide new challenges, both in theoretical and typological perspective (see Loporcaro, 2015; Paciaroni & Loporcaro, 2018).