

## 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 macchine 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 macchina 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 ttruvàr =me  
3M.SG come.PRS.3SG all.PL DEF.PL day(M).PL to find.INF =D01.SG  
He is coming every day to visit me.

(6) Datapoint: Pantelleria | Speaker: RoEr | Answer: 28 | Source: PNT29

Ø i= 'ncunrà tanti /\*tantu voti.  
1.SG D03.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 *tóttu* is invariable in many Sardinian varieties. Data from Luras (DAI-datapoint

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 *tóttu* 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	tóttu	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

∅	si=	l'=	ana	mandhigada	tóttu	{/tòtta}
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: EILS | Answer: Answer 55 | Source: LUR21

∅	appo	idu	tòttas	très	amìgoso
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 *tóttu* 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	∅	me=	l'=	appo	mandhigada	tòtta
DEF.F.SG	soup(F).SG	1SG	REFL.3=	DO3F.SG=	have.PRS.1SG	eat.PTP.F.SG	all.F.SG

I have eaten all the soup

(11) Datapoint: Sènnori | Speaker: GiS

sos	mèlos	∅	me=	los=	appo	mandhigados	tóttu
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 micro-diatopic 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).

**References:** Idone, Alice. In preparation. Sulla neutralizzazione del paradigma delle espressioni di quantità nei dialetti italiani meridionali estremi. • Jones, Michael Allan. 1993. Sardinian syntax. London: Routledge. • Loporcaro, Michele. 2015. The impact of morphology on change in agreement systems. In Jürg Fleischer, Elisabeth Rieken and Paul Widmer (eds). Agreement from a diachronic perspective. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 104–126. • Paciaroni, Tania and Michele Loporcaro. 2018. Overt gender marking depending on syntactic context in Ripano. In Sebastian Fedden, Jenny Audring and Greville G. Corbett (eds). Non-canonical gender systems. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 147–175. • Romagnoli, Serena. 2018. Lurese. [www.dai.uzh.ch/luras\\_overview.pdf](http://www.dai.uzh.ch/luras_overview.pdf). • Wild, Mario. 2017. Note di morfologia e morfosintassi su quattro dialetti logudoresi settentrionali. I casi di Sennori (SS), Perfugas (SS), Bulzi (SS) e Nulvi (SS). Master's Thesis. Universität Zürich.