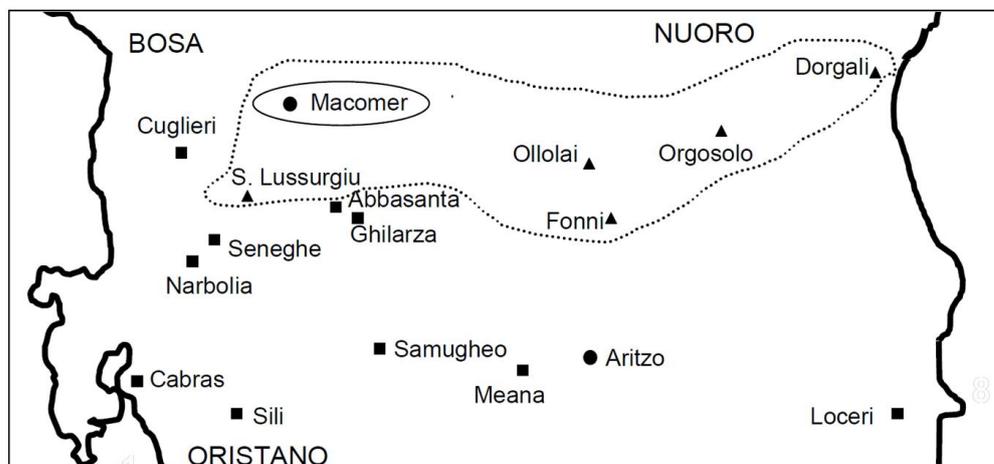


The agreement behaviour of the quantifier *pacu/pagu* ‘few’ in Sardinian

This paper presents and analyzes some results of fieldwork in central Sardinia, more precisely (from east to west) in what has been dubbed by Wagner (1907) the Urzulei, Fonni and Gennargentu dialect groups, in the Arborese dialect zone (Virdis 1988) – these areas are transition zones between Nuorese/Logudorese on the one hand and Campidanese on the other – as well as in some localities in the south-western part of the Logudorese territory (Macomer, Cuglieri) and the most northern part of Campidanese.

More particularly, we focus on the agreement behaviour of the quantifier *pacu* (Nuor.) / *pagu* (Log.) ‘few’ (< Lat. PAUCUM, DES 2:202), which, as the existing literature shows, is not uniform across the varieties: whereas in Campidanese *pagu* only agrees in number (*pagu passèntzia*, *pagus òminis/fèminas*, cf. Lepori 2001:40), the Logudorese and Nuorese varieties show full agreement (Jones 1993:35-36, Molinu 1997:129-30, hence: *paca* [*paga*] *passèntzia*, *pacos* [*pagos*] *òmines*, *pacas* [*pagas*] *fèminas*). Here, we will not be concerned with the lack of agreement with post-nominal *pacu/pagu*, which Jones (1993:36) observed in some speakers of the Nuorese variety of Lula, and neither with the partially parallel behaviour of *meta/meda* ‘much, many’. We will, instead, concentrate on pre-nominal *pacu/pagu* and on stranding of this quantifier in the case of clitic left dislocation. We will provide and discuss the basic data and present a minimalist analysis, in particular for one special phenomenon.

The picture that seems to emerge for now for the investigated area is summarized in Map 1:



Map 1: Agreement of *pacu/pagu* with the noun in central Sardinia

The map shows that the Campidanese-style defective agreement (■) penetrates the western (Arborese) zone up to the locality of Cuglieri, extending even to the fully Logudorese variety of Macomer and Aritzo, of which we know, however, that agreement is optional (●). In the same zone, S. Lussurgiu goes with the Fonni and Urzulei groups (Fonni, Ollolai, Orgosolo, and Dorgali), which show full agreement (▲), in accordance with the fact that these varieties are usually regarded as extensions of Nuorese. In addition to the Campidanese pattern with agreement only in number (see above), our data for the localities with defective agreement (■ in Map 1) show yet another type, with total lack of agreement, as exemplified in (1) for Samugheo (the same pattern is also attested in Cabras, Abbasanta, and Ghilarza):¹

¹ We cannot yet determine the exact extension of this type, as for the Italian trigger sentence at issue (*Ci sono poche pere in questo cestino*) the speakers of most localities chose to use the ‘collective singular’ (Jones 1993:33: “singular count

- (1) C' at **pagu** **piras** in custu cestinu. (Samugheo)
 there= has few-M.SG pears-F.PL in this basket
 'There are few pears in this basket'

Most strikingly, in two of the localities that show defective agreement with *pagu*, full agreement shows up in left-dislocation structures with *de* and the partitive clitic (PARTV) *nde* (for this kind of structure, see Jones 1993:17; Mensching and Remberger 2016:290–291) in which the quantifier remains stranded (similar to Ital. *Di ragazze, ne ho viste poche*). See the examples in (2), which contrast with other localities in which the quantifier preserves the defective agreement in the same structure, as shown in (3a) for the total lack of agreement and (3b) for agreement only in number:

- (2) De **piccioccas**, nd' apo 'iu **pagas** in s' iscuadra. (Aritzo, Cuglieri)
 of girls PARTV= have-1SG seen few-F.SG in the team
 'Girls, I have seen few in the team'
- (3) a. De **pitzinna**s, nd' apo bistu **pagu** in cust' iscuadra. (Seneghe)
 of girls PARTV= have-1SG seen few-M.SG in this team
 b. De **piccioccas**, nd' apo 'ittu **pagos** in sa squadra. (Loceri, Meana)
 of girls PARTV= have-1SG seen few-M.PL in the team

We will interpret these facts within the Minimalist Program. Leaving aside the dislocation facts for a moment, let us assume that *pagu* is a Q head, the feature content of which is not uniform across the Sardinian dialects. For those varieties that show no agreement at all (let us call it type 1), we can suppose that [Q *pagu*] is always merged without ϕ -features, whereas in the dialects that show agreement only in number (type 2), it has impoverished ϕ -features, i.e. for number only. Finally, for the varieties with full agreement (type 3), a full ϕ -feature set (with number and gender) must be assumed. The ϕ -features – if present – are unvalued, and, in a canonical Q+NP structure, are valued by agreement with N. For type 1, which does not undergo Agree, the simplest solution is that *pagu* is a fixed form, whereas, for type 2, the masculine ending will be chosen at spell-out because it is the default. Type 3 will show full agreement under these assumptions, in accordance with the data.

The dialects of Aritzo and Cuglieri (let us call them type 4) seem to behave like type 1 in canonical Q+NP structures, but like type 3 when the special kind of dislocation shown in (2) occurs. This means that the grammar of type 4 varieties allows [Q *pagu*] to have either no ϕ -features or the full set. We assume that the full set does usually not enter the derivation, maybe due to derivational economy, and is only used as a last resort. We will then argue that the construction in (2) is a case where the full ϕ -feature set is actually needed to guarantee the convergence of the derivation. But why should agreement between *pagu* and the noun be a predisposition for clitic dislocation of N with quantifier stranding? Following Mensching (in press), a Romance clitic dislocation structure like that in (2) is analyzed on the basis of (4):

- (4) ... [_{VP} [_v u ϕ EPP] [_{VP} [_{QP} *pagu* [_{NP} N *piccioccas* (v ϕ)]]]]]

The unvalued ϕ -features in *v* probe the NP, which by virtue of the EPP-feature is extracted to the outer specifier of *vP* to overcome the phase boundary prior to further movement to CP. The indefinite NP is assigned partitive case (spelled out with *de*), and the now valued probe in *v* is spelled out as a partitive clitic (see Mensching in press for details and arguments). Now, to return to our problem, let us assume that QP is also a phase in the varieties of Cuglieri and Aritzo. If this is a case, the NP must first move to [spec, QP] in order to be seen by the higher probe in *v*. It is precisely to this end that the Q head must contain a ϕ -probe (plus an EPP-feature), so that, in the end, a fully agreeing structure like in (2) is produced. Our ideas are in accordance with the assumptions made in Gallego (2010) and D'Alessandro & Scheer (2015), according to which phases are language-specific.

nouns denoting fruit, vegetables, insects and small animals with plural or collective reference”), i.e. *pagu pira*, where we can only confirm the lack of gender agreement. We are currently collecting more data to clarify this issue.

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