Agreement *vs* concord in two Alpine Lombard dialects

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In Mesolcinese and Bregagliotto (Canton of Grisons) the suffix *-n* marks feminine plural agreement in the noun phrase (see Salvioni 1902 a.o.). The distribution of *-n* is asymmetric: in Mesolcinese *-n* never occurs on the definite article (cf. (1a)), whereas in Bregagliotto *-n* always follows the leftmost element of the NP:

(1) N domain	Mesolcinese	Bregagliotto
a. Art + N	la gaˈnasa**n** 'the jaws'	lɐ**n** gɐˈnaʃɐ 'the jaws'
b. Dem + N	kela**n** mat-a**n** 'these girls'	'kwela**n** du ga'li:na 'these two hens'
c. Q + N	Tante**n** váke**n** 'many cows'	'tantɐ**m** 'vɔ:ltɐ 'many times'
d. Adj + N	-	povra**n** gnocca 'poor girls'
e. Art + N + Adj	la ˈʃpalɛ**n** ˈlargɛ**n** 'the big shoulders'	lɐ**n** ˈʃpal·ɐ ˈla·rgɐ 'the big shoulders'
f. N (+ Adj)	-	Erba**n** verda! 'green herbs'

The nominal suffix *-n* that occurs in the nominal domain probably originated from the sixth person verbal ending. As for the verbal domain, in Mesolcinese *-n* is suffixed to the verb whenever a feminine plural subject or object clitic occurs, cf. (2a) and (2c). Conversely, in Bregagliotto, *-n* is the ending of all 6p verbal forms, regardless of the gender of the subject, cf. (2a); when enclitic, the subject enclitic *la* precedes the formative *-n*, yielding a pattern of mesoclisis, cf. (2b); the f.pl object clitic is *lan*, in (2c).

(2) V domain	Mesolcinese	Bregagliotto
a. SCl V	(F) la ˈdizɛ**n** (M) i dis 'they say'	(F) la 'fyman (M) i 'fyman 'they smoke'
b. V SCl	*	(F) ˈdrom-**la-ŋ**? (M) ˈdromɐŋ-**i**? 'do they.f sleep?'
c. OCl V	**la** ˈtʃami-ə**ŋ** 'I call them.f'	**lan** portan 'They bring them'

The two datasets introduced above raise two tightly related questions:
  i)   how to account for the asymmetric distribution of *-n* in the N and V domain?
  ii)   how to account for the parallelism *across* domains?
  iii)   how to account for the differences between Bregagliotto and Mesolcinese?

To provide a uniform explanation of (i) and (ii), Manzini & Savoia 2019 argue that the externalisation of inflectional features is sensitive to *phases*. Externalisation is parametrised: inflection occurs on the phase head, on its complement, or on both. Determiners, subject clitics, and object clitics are, according to M&S, the phase heads of DP, CP, and vP, respectively.

In languages such as Mesolcinese, see (3), *-n* occurs in the complement of the phase head. The Mesolcinese pattern supports the view that there is no principled difference between nominal concord and verbal agreement (*pace* Rasom 2008 a.o.; more on this below):

(3) Mesolcinese	Phase Head	Complement
a. DP	*-a*	*-n*
b. CP	*-a*	*-n*

c. vP	*-a*	*-n*

The above analysis of Mesolcinese is not without problems: for instance, it cannot explain why demonstratives and quantifiers, which arguably occur at the edge of DP, exhibit *-n* morphology, cf. (1b) and (1c); moreover, the analysis cannot account for the *omnivorous* agreement of the finite verb, which exhibits *-n* morphology when the object clitic (namely, the head of the lower phase) is plural, cf. (2c). Above all, the same analysis cannot be extended to Bregagliotto (in (4)), although the two systems exhibit a clear family resemblance.

(4) Bregagliotto	Phase Head	Complement
DP	-n	-a
CP	-a (M i)	-n (M -n)
vP	-n	-a

To refine Manzini & Savoia's analysis of Mesolcinese and extend the same account to Bregagliotto, I elaborate on Baker's 2008 hypothesis that (person) agreement differs from (gender/number) concord. According to Baker, the former is licensed under a specific structural condition (Baker's *Structural Condition on Person Agreement,* SCOPA), whereas concord is less restrictive and targets elements that do not fulfil SCOPA such as predicative adjectives and past participles. As a corollary of his theory, Baker (2008: 22) predicts that

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[…] the verbal head can still agree with a nearby NP in number and gender, but
should lose the ability to agree in person. Such instances of verbal agreement
would be adjective-like in this respect, and would support the notion that the
same category-neutral theory of agreement applies to both.
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I argue that in Mesolcinese gender inflection in the CP phase results from the lost (or impoverishment) of Person agreement. As a result, Mesolcinese verbal agreement has become "adjective-like" (*à la* Baker). This in turn explains why verb agreement is omnivorous (i.e. the verb agrees in gender with either subject or objects, cf. (2c)) and accounts for the parallelism between phases illustrated in (3). Bregagliotto, conversely, has maintained (person) agreement in the CP phase. The *-n* formative, which has not been turned into a gender exponent, has been extended to the DP phase as a person/number marker in the context of feminine DPs.

(5)   *-n* ↔ [Gen: F; Num: PL]   (Mesolcinese)
         -n ↔ [Pers: 3; Num: PL]   (Bregagliotto)

I argue that the feature endowment of the formatives in (5) may lead us to a better understanding of the distribution of *-n* in the DP phase (cf. (1)). I build on the hypothesis that D is the Person head (Longobardi 2008), whereas gender and number are encoded in lower positions within the extended structure of N.

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