

CHAPTER 11

The third dimension of person features*

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1. Introduction

In recent literature much work has been devoted to understanding how agreement and person systems work (see among others Bianchi 2004; Sigurdsson 2004). The present article intends to re-visit this problem exploiting the mass of data accumulated by descriptive and traditional etymological research on inflectional endings and on analogy inside the verbal and pronominal paradigms in Romance. Our aim is thus to provide a model of how person features are organized in the grammar by uncovering the paths through which analogy can extend pronominal forms across paradigms.

Analogy in its traditional meaning is best conceived of as a cover term for a number of different phenomena. Here, we intend to examine a proper subset of these, namely, those cases of extensions of a form that we believe to be motivated by semantic similarities. This will enable us to provide both a sketch of how some analogical processes develop and to construct a first representation of the category “person”, which, as already proposed in much recent work, is a complex object both in the morphological and in the syntactic component. We will use mainly data from the pronominal domain, and refer to the verbal paradigm only occasionally. There is a substantive reason for this procedure: while the pronominal paradigms in several Romance languages display and dialects a number of extensions, which can be studied and ordered into an implicational scale, the verbal paradigms do not provide us with the same amount of empirical evidence, because personal endings are in general very well preserved with respect to their Latin original forms. Only the present subjunctive shows an extension in the singular persons, which means mainly a loss

of personal distinctions. Analogical extensions go – as a general pattern – from one conjugation to another, from one tense to another, and in general not from one person to another. Nevertheless, some particular cases will be mentioned occasionally.

On a more general basis, we will show how detailed data drawn from very closely related Romance dialects can provide a refined instrument of inquiry, which goes at least as deep as typological comparison among a wide range of non genetically-related languages. Although many features considered in the typological and generative literature on person deal with categories like dual, trial etc., which do not feature prominently in our inquiry, the main objective of this chapter is to motivate an analysis that explains, in a rigorous manner, the interesting connections between different persons by investigating cases where the same form is used for different persons in Romance. More specifically, the description and analysis of extension patterns of single forms highlights the crucial status of fourth and fifth person, which very often constitute the “bridge” for moving from the system of non-deictic (third persons) to the system of +deictic (first and second person) or vice-versa.¹ Moreover, a structural representation in terms of a tree which shares the same properties as syntactic trees will be shown to be untenable. We propose, instead, a three-dimensional structure where nodes can be activated or not, but no node can be marked with a negative value. This system, we believe, accounts for a number of extension patterns, first of all for the reflexive clitic form *s+V*, and for vocalic subject clitics, but also for many other cases.

Although, our proposal will no doubt have to be fine-tuned when applied to other language groups, because it only considers a single language group, and surely categories like dual, trial etc. will also have to be added to the representation we provide here. It constitutes a starting-point for bringing the traditional concept of analogy under the auspices of a more principled framework.

The chapter is organized as follows: in Section 2 we show some analogical extensions from one person to another with regard to subject and reflexive clitics, which seem to follow the same path, though in opposite directions. Section 3 offers a sketch of the manner in which person features in Romance are structured, showing that a third dimension is needed to capture the analogical extension patterns described in Section 2. Section 4 provides further empirical evidence in favour of the three-dimensional structure we propose for person features and focuses on the verbal paradigm, object clitics and pronouns.

2. The general perspective

The set of data we investigate here comes from the comparison of the very closely related systems of Northern Italian dialects. What we present as extension patterns of a single form that for instance can be used in dialect A only for first person and in dialect B for first and fourth person is not a model of coexisting systems in the mind of a single speaker, in the sense that no speaker has both dialect A and dialect B in his mind (and if so, this is only by chance). The type of variation that is considered here is only geographical and represents a range of minimally differing systems in a linguistically unitary area; it is not to be intended in the sense of variation inside the same speaker, where the same speaker masters more than one grammar (or has two alternative rules for the same phenomenon). Hence, this work does not investigate the problem of how different grammars relate inside the competence of a single speaker. It seeks for an explanation of why dialectal variation is as it is, in other words, why there are implicational scales and dialectal variation (DV) is not random. Finding an algorithm behind DV has far reaching consequences, as it shows on the one hand that dialectal variation is fundamentally different from typological variation and, on the other, it leads us to postulate that dialects of a coherent geographical space have the same underlying system (or diasystem) and that DV is the reflex of shallow differences.

DV might instead reflect the single steps of diachronic change, where a system evolves into another through a series of logically ordered procedures. Although, due to lack of relevant and sufficient text sources of Old NIDs, it is impossible to prove for the case in question that the diachronic path has been the same in all dialects; nevertheless DV might be enlightening for constructing hypotheses on language change as well. If this view turns out to be correct, language change should not be seen as a “catastrophic” and abrupt mutation, but as a dialect evolving into another, even if written records only show a change when it has become important and steady.

Leaving the speculations on the relation between DV and diachronic change aside, in some sense we could even say that this work is not concerned with variation at all but only with the comparison of different systems. Nevertheless, we believe that this type of comparison is illuminating because, coming from minimally different and genetically-related languages, it provides the range of the possible values that a pronominal form can assume, and the ordering in which it extends its value from one person to another can give us a detailed picture of which persons are more closely related. By analysing the ordering of extensions of a single form across different dialects we can hypoth-

esize which are the basic components (from now on, features) of the persons of the Romance paradigm. This is the basic ultimate goal of this work, which we set into a formal proposal, namely the one put forth in Section 4 as a three dimensional structure. Considering geographical DV we hope to create a connection between the modern and the Latin system, or at least to reconstruct some aspects of it, given that simplification might have rendered unrecoverable parts of the initial system.

One can conceive this work as similar to the work of a phonologist trying to identify what the distinctive phonological features in a given language are. What we are trying to find out here are the basic distinctive semantic features, i.e. the minimal units which associate to form the six persons of the Romance paradigm. This can only be seen as a first step towards the far more complex task of hypothesizing the universal inventory of semantic features that can make up a person; this problem has already been addressed by Harley and Ritter (2002) on the basis of various languages belonging to different families; their hypothesis is not yet directly comparable with ours, as the data we are dealing with are too detailed with respect to those that Harley and Ritter arrived at on the basis of the phenomena they considered; this is a sign that more empirical work is needed before the dialectological and the typological perspective can meet. The type of data that concerns extension pattern among closely related languages cannot be inserted into a typological perspective, but could obviously be replicated for other language groups once a sufficient number of dialects are investigated.^{2, 3}

A note on how the data lying at the basis of this research have been gathered is in order. Our primary source is the ASIS data base (<http://asis-cnr.unipd.it>), to which we refer for the inquiry protocol and the methodology (see also Cornips & Poletto 2005). We also used the AIS Dialect Atlas of Italy and a number of secondary sources (descriptive grammars and texts) as a control sample to test our hypothesis on the extension patterns. The reason why we think that the latter are also valid sources is that, in our experience, morphology appears to be a very stable component of language even in situations of bi- or multilingualism (this fact is well known among dialectologists and historical and general linguist: see among many others Weinreich 1981); the inspection of morphological features is in fact what is often used as a device for distinguishing between one language and another in situations of language contact. Granted this, it is clear why it does not represent a problem during elicitation tests, so it does not require any special techniques to be obtained. Therefore, we believe our choice of using secondary sources as a control sample for our hypotheses is justified.

2.1 Setting the problem: *Se* versus *le*

In general, the set of reflexive clitic pronouns in the Romance languages distinguishes between the third person pronoun *si/se/sa* (hereafter *s+V* (or *V+s*)), which is used for the masculine and feminine third person singular and plural as well as first and second person pronouns.^{4, 5} We will start by examining some aspects of Kayne's (2002) hypothesis on reflexive and non-reflexive clitic forms that are relevant for the present work. Kayne (2002) points out that no Romance language seems to distinguish singular and plural in the reflexive form of third person. The following paradigm of the reflexive clitic forms in the most well-known Romance languages illustrates this point (Table 1).

Kayne (2002) shows that the vowel is epenthetic in the reflexive clitic form *s+V*, because it always corresponds to the unmarked vowel used in epenthesis in each language. Moreover, he suggests that the third person *s+V* form belongs to a paradigm containing the *m* and *t*, *n* and *v* forms, which are also used for personal pronouns as well as reflexives, and also have an epenthetic vowel. On the contrary, the third person object clitic *l+V* does not feature in the paradigm that contains the first, second, fourth and fifth person forms *m*, *t*, *n* and *v*.⁶ Kayne hypothesizes that this is so because the non reflexive third person clitic *l+V* is bymorphemic: in the form *l+V*, the vowel is an agreement marker displaying gender and number features, while this is not the case for the *s+V* and *m,t,n,v+V* forms.

Before illustrating the extension pattern of the *s+V* form, it is worth noting that Kayne's hypothesis concerning the fact that *s+V* is in a single paradigm with the *m,t,n,v+V* forms, while *l+agreement* is excluded from it, is confirmed by the fact that the extensions found in Romance languages involve the *s+V* form frequently substituting for the *m,t,n,v+V* forms, but never for the *l+V* forms.

Although the pattern in Table 1 looks rather homogeneous, it does not take into consideration, in fact, a number of non standard varieties of Romance

Table 1.

	Italian	French	Spanish	Portuguese	Rumanian	Catalan
1. pers.	mi	me	me	me	mă	em
2. pers.	ti	te	te	te	te	et
3. pers.	si	se	se	se	se	es
4. pers.	ci	nous	nos	nos	ne	ens
5. pers.	vi	vous	os	vos	vă	us
6. pers.	si	se	se	se	se	es

that extend the form *s+V* to other persons; the extension seems to follow an implicational scale.

As a first step towards understanding the extension pattern associated with reflexive clitics and the implicational scale it gives rise to, consider the data in (2) below, which are taken from Venetian. The pattern of particular interest in this case is as follows: if a language uses the *s+V* form for another person of the paradigm, this is the first person plural or, as we prefer to call it, the fourth person. This is a strategy that is regularly employed in several varieties of Veneto; the data used here come from the dialect spoken in Venice:⁷

- (2) a. 1. pers. Me go meso i calseti
 myself have put the socks
 “I have put my socks on”
- b. 2. pers. Ti te ga meso i calseti
 you yourself have put the socks
 “You have put your socks on”
- c. 3. pers. El se ga meso i calzeti
 he himself has put the socks
 “He has put his socks on”
- d. 4. pers. Se gavemo meso i calseti
 ourselves have put the socks
 “We have put our socks on”
- e. 5. pers. Ve gavè meso i calseti
 yourself have put the socks
 “You have put your socks on”
- f. 6. pers. I se ga meso i calseti
 they themselves have put the socks
 “They have put their socks on”

Indeed, this extension is widespread not only in the Northern Italian domain, but also in Southern Italy, where cases similar to (2) are also attested (albeit in a somewhat scattered fashion) in dialects spoken in the regions of Lazio, Umbria, Northern Abruzzo and Southern Basilicata (see AIS charts IV 660 *ci laviamo* ‘we wash ourselves’ and VIII *spicciatevi* ‘hurry up’) while the form *n+V* is widespread throughout Sicily, Northern Basilicata, Puglia, and Southern Campania.⁸

The second extension pattern relevant to this discussion involves the second person plural (fifth person), and is illustrated by the data in (3) below from the variety of Rodoretto di Prali (in Western Piedmont, a Franco-Provençal dialect):

- (3) a. 1. pers. Me seou sta
myself am sat
“I sat down”
- b. 2. pers. Tu t se sta
you yourself are sat
“You sat down”
- c. 3. pers. A s’ è sta
he himself is sat
“He sat down”
- d. 4. pers. Nou s’ soun (e)sta
we ourselves are sat
“We sat down”
- e. 5. pers. Ou s’ se sta
you yourselves are sat
“You sat down”
- f. 6. pers. I s’ soun (e)sta
they themselves are sat
“They sat down”

Given that the extension runs along an implicational scale, the extension step to the fifth person also implies that the *s+V* form has been extended to fourth person as well.

In some other dialects the two forms with *v+V* and *s+V* alternate depending on the syntactic context: the *s* form being preferred with imperatives and/or in main interrogative clauses while the *v* form is used in all other contexts:

- (4) a. Z maria pa? *Maddalena (Piedmont)*
REFL marry not?
“Aren’t they going to marry?”
- b. Vü vi sumè
you REFL stand up
“You stand up”
- (5) a. spostesse! *Sacile (Friulian)*
move-yourself!
“Move!?”
- b. ve spostè
yourselves move
“You move”

Another interesting case is provided by those dialects (described by Benincà & Vanelli 1982) in which the *s* form alternates with a null form.⁹

- (6) a. Si seso vistús? *Moimacco (Friulian)*
 yourself are-you dressed?
 “Did you put your clothes on?”
 b. e sus sintàs
 you are seated
 “You sat down”

Examples (4) and (5) above show that these extension patterns are not only sensitive to morphology (occurring as they do only within what is analysed by the speakers as a paradigm) but that they are also dependent on syntactic context.¹⁰

Other dialect systems within the Romance group show the reflexive form s+V for third, fifth and, interestingly, also for second person:¹¹

- (7) a. 3. pers. El s' è metù i calzet bianch
 he himself is put the white socks
 “He has put on white socks” *Montagnola (Lombard)*
 b. 6. pers. I s' en metù i calzet bianch
 they themselves are put the white socks
 “They have put on white socks”
 c. 5. pers. S i metù i calzet bianch
 yourselves is put the white socks
 “You have put on white socks”
 d. 2. pers. Te s' e metuda i calzet bianch
 you yourself is put the white socks
 “You have put on white socks”
- (8) a. 1. pers. ma sum setàa giò *Lugano (Lombard)*
 myself are sit down
 “I sat down”
 b. 2. pers. ta sa set setàa giò
 you yourself are sit down
 “You sat down”
 c. 3. pers. al s' è setàa giò
 he himself is sit down
 “He sat down”
 d. 4. pers. (o) sa sem setàa giò
 (we) ourselves are sit down
 “We sat down”
 e. 5. pers. (va) sa sii setàa giò
 yourself+yourself are sit down

- f. 6. pers. i s' è setàa giò
 they themselves are sit down
 "They sat down"

In yet others (such as Lugano in (9) below), the fifth person, the second and the first display split forms containing two clitics:

- (9) a. 1. pers. ma sa *Lugano (Lombard)*
 myself
 b. 2. pers. (ta) sa
 yourself
 c. 5. pers. (va) sa
 yourselves

While second and fifth person optionally alternate with non-doubling forms in which only *s+V* occur, the first person does not have an *s+V* form in any of the dialects present in our data base, i.e. their occurrence is entirely restricted to the doubled form, as in example (9a). These are probably best analysed as a splitting of the features, such that the *m/t/v* form represents the person feature while the *s* form represents the reflexive feature. If this lack of a non-split form for the first person is really confirmed by further investigation of additional dialectal materials, i.e. it is not simply a consequence of our particular data base, which might be skewed in this respect; this may well indicate that the *s+V* form, although compatible with the first person because of splitting, cannot express the features of a first person.

On the basis of the data illustrated in (2) through (9), we can conclude that the extension pattern observed for reflexive *s+V* forms is the one illustrated in Figure 1 (the first person singular being bracketed in the schema because only doubled forms are actually attested).¹²

2.2 Further refining the problem: Vocalic clitics

In this section, we will restrict our discussion to cases of so-called vocalic clitics.¹³

The pattern of extension in this case is as follows: etymologically, the vocalic forms seem to derive from the first person singular pronoun 'EGO'.

third person → fourth person → fifth person → second person → (first person)

Figure 1.

Although this view is not shared by all scholars, there is at least one empirical argument in favour of this idea and it concerns evidence from French dialects in which the unambiguous clitic form *je* 'I' extends to fourth person. In Gruyère, for instance, the form corresponding to standard French 'je' and 'nous' (we) are both 'j' (cf. Shlonsky & De Crousaz 2002; Kayne 2002). A similar pattern also occurs in some NIDs, such as the Ligurian dialect of Oneglia (but the pattern can also be found in a scattered fashion throughout the geographical domain under investigation), in which only first and fourth persons display a vocalic clitic:

- (10) a. A mangiu *Oneglia (Ligurian)*
 I eat
 b. A mangiammu
 we eat

The pattern then extends to the fifth person as in (11) and (12) below; in other dialects, such as Loreo in (13), a further extension to the second person can also be identified:^{14, 15}

- (11) a. E no podeva tior *(Calmo 66) Venetian of the XVI century*
 I not could take
 "I could not take"
 b. E no se inganemo *(Calmo 66)*
 we not ourselves mistake
 "We are not wrong"
 c. E no podé *(Calmo 66)*
 You not can
 "You cannot"
- (12) a. A magn *Bologna*
 I eat
 b. A magnén
 we eat
 c. A magnè
 You eat
- (13) a. 1. pers. A magno *Loreo (Veneto)*
 SCL eat
 "I eat"
 b. 2. pers. A te magni
 SCL SCL eat
 "You eat"

- c. 3. pers. El/la magna
 SCL eat
 “He/she eats”
- d. 4. pers. A magnemo
 SCL eat
 “We eat”
- e. 5. pers. A magnè
 SCL eat
 “You eat”
- f. 6. pers. I/le magna
 SCL eat
 “They eat”

Indeed, there are yet more non-standard varieties that have a vocalic clitic for all persons; in these dialects the clitic presents two forms, one being used for first, second, fourth and fifth person and another which marks third persons. We consider these cases as being similar to the ones in (13) immediately above and (14) below since the distinction demarcates third persons from all of the others.

- (14) a. I mangi *S. Michele al T. (Friulian)*
 SCL eat
 “I eat”
- b. I ti mangis
 SCL SCL eat
 “You eat”
- c. A l mangia
 SCL SCL eat
 “He eats”
- d. I mangin
 SCL eat
 “We eat”
- e. I mangè
 SCL eat
 “You eat”
- f. A mangin
 SCL eat
 “They eat”

This last extension pattern includes third person as well; the Lombard dialects, in particular, (as (15) demonstrates) are unique in having a discrete form that acts as a marker for all persons. It is noteworthy that there is no Italian dialect

where the vocalic form extends to third singular but not to third plural or vice versa. More generally, in this kind of clitics number does not seem to play any role; this lack of sensitivity to number replicates the data that we outlined above for reflexive clitics.

- (15) a. 1. pers. A vegni mi *Lugano (Lombard) Vassere (1993)*
 SCL come I
 “I come”
 b. 2. pers. A ta vegnat ti
 SCL SCL come you
 “You come”
 c. 3. pers. A vegn luu
 SCL come he
 “He comes”
 d. 4. pers. A vegnum
 SCL come
 “We come”
 e. 5. pers. A vegnuf
 SCL come
 “You come”
 f. 6. pers. A vegn lur
 SCL come they
 “They come”

2.3 Summary of extension patterns

Taking all the evidence presented in §§2.1 and 2.2 into account, the extension pattern of vocalic clitics can be summarized as in Figure 2.

Comparing this schema with that of Figure 1 (replicated above as Figure 3), the two extension patterns of the *s+V* clitic reflexive forms and of vocalic subject clitics overlap in the central domain of the paths, though they are different at the extremes.

first person → fourth person → fifth person → second person → third person

Figure 2.

third person → fourth person → fifth person → second person → (firstperson)

Figure 3.

In order to explain these rather intriguing facts, we will start from the assumption in the spirit of Poletto (2000) as well as Harley and Ritter (2002), that person consists of more basic components which it shares with other persons.

3. Restrictions on extension

We can formulate the hypothesis that a given form (either pronominal or verbal) can extend from one person to another when the two persons have at least one component in common. The following descriptive generalization, therefore, captures the schemes predicted in Figures 1 and 2, viz.: 'Extension is possible if and only if the two persons involved share at least one value for one feature in their composition.' This statement accounts for the fact that extension patterns are not always identical, because they can move from one person to all the persons that have at least one basic component in common. Given that the feature composition of each person is complex, we expect to find more than one 'extension path', depending on the feature taken into account by the extension paradigm. As for now, we have found only the extension paradigms illustrated in Figures 2 and 3. As noted, they are identical in their central part, though not at the extremes. The theoretical proposal we put forth in Section 4 represents a formal codification of these two paradigms; if, after more empirical work, it should turn out that there are more, our analysis would obviously have to be modified.

Going back to the two extension patterns illustrated in Figures 2 and 3 above, we can, therefore, infer that fourth person has something in common with both first and third persons, and that second person also has a feature in common with first and third. On the other hand, as we will demonstrate below, when two persons have more features in common, the extension seems to happen more frequently, thus creating privileged paths of extensions, like the one we see in the central domain of the patterns illustrated in the schema above. For instance, fourth and fifth person are singled out as a class by a number of verbal and pronominal extensions which suggest that their feature composition must look very similar.¹⁶ Although a principle like the generalization we proposed above seems to adequately account for the facts, a more principled account of the extension pattern in question will be provided in the next section. In addition, we will turn our attention to formalizing a proposal that more adequately explains the feature composition of the persons in Romance dialects such as those we have already introduced.

Before moving on to this discussion, it is also worth pointing out that there are a number of additional restrictions active on extension patterns. As we have already mentioned, even if on the basis of few cases, a given syntactic context can favour extensions. As we saw with reflexives, the syntactic position of the verb is a crucial factor determining the form of the pronoun used. Thus, the reflexive *s+V* form can surface only when the verb raises to certain positions in the clause. The morphological composition of the forms to which extension applies is an additional factor which can influence the process. This is particularly clear in the case of reflexives examined above. Kayne's (2002) hypothesis that the *s+V* form belongs to the same paradigm as the *m/t/n/v +V* forms while the third person object clitics, on account of their having an agreement morpheme, does not, is confirmed by our data, provided the following natural assumption is made: extension patterns are possible inside the same paradigm, which is established by speakers on the basis of their precise morphological analysis of the form in question.

4. Person features in threedimensional space

Our proposal for the feature composition of persons rests on an observation which goes back at least to Benveniste (1966), who noted that a distinction has to be drawn between the deictic persons and the non-deictic persons, namely third persons versus first, second, fourth and fifth person. It is this same distinction that we referred to earlier in the case of Friulian vocalic clitics (see example (14)), which have a form distinguishing third persons from first, second fourth and fifth, namely non-deictic from deictic persons.

We think that the +/- deictic distinction has at its base the same feature that the system of demonstrative pronouns encodes, namely, a contrast between what is present in a conventionally defined space in the domain of the discourse and what is absent from that space. An empirical argument in favour of this view is provided by the etymology of third person pronouns, which are generally derived from the 'non-proximate' demonstrative pronoun, indicating an object located far from the speaker, hence absent from the physical space that includes the speaker. This is true across the entire Romance language family, in which the clitic forms for third person pronouns all originally derive from the Latin pronoun *ille* 'that', this is true for French *le*, Italian *lo*, Spanish *lo*, etc.¹⁷ We propose that the first distinction between third persons and the others is something akin to the semantic notion [here]. A cautionary note is, however, in order in this case, as the definition of what is present or not does

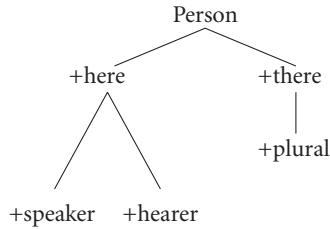


Figure 4.

not always overlap with the actual occurrence of a person in some physical space. For instance, it is possible to refer to a person who is in the same room as the speaker as *he/she*. In other words, under such circumstances they are absent from the fictive space defined in the universe of discourse. Similarly, it is possible for a speaker to employ the pronoun *you* to address another person present in the discourse, although he/she is not, necessarily, in attendance in the same physical space (as would be the case, if the interlocutors were talking to one another by telephone). Hence, what is defined as deictic or not does not always coincide with the real physical position of speakers in discourse. Rather, it should be conceived of as an abstract notion of common space which belongs to the principles setting the universe of discourse.

In addition, among first and second person we also need to draw a distinction in terms of [speaker] and [hearer], with first person being [+speaker] and second person being [+hearer].

From these preliminary distinctions, therefore, a tree like that given in Figure 4 can be conjectured.

The topmost node, i.e. 'person' gathers the feature specifications that are activated for each person. They are [+here] for the deictic persons, and [+there] for the non-deictic ones. Among the latter group, it is also possible to activate the [plural] node, thus deriving a third person plural. Note that if we hypothesize that the Person node is complex, i.e. it inherits only the specifications that are activated inside its tree, there can be no negative specifications, so second person cannot simply be [-speaker], but has to be [+hearer]. In other words, given that only the activation of a node is inherited by the dominating node, there can be no '-' in the system.

Furthermore, there is also an empirical argument for not choosing the possibility of negative settings of a feature, where, for instance, the hearer is derived through a negative setting of the [+/-speaker] feature. If we assume that fourth person is a complex derived by combining several more basic features, it is im-

possible to have the same node [speaker] marked by + and – simultaneously. But this is just what is needed if fourth person is (or at least can) consist of a combination of first and second person. Therefore, we are forced to allow no negative settings of the nodes on the tree.

In this regard, let us briefly review the feature specifications of each person in turn.

That for first person is thus [+here, +speaker]; second person, by contrast, is [+here, +hearer]; third person singular is distinguished by the feature [+there], whereas third person plural is designated [+there, +plural].

The fact that the Number node [plural] is located only under the [+there] specification encodes the fact that fourth person is not the plural of first person and that fifth person is not always the plural of second person. Fourth person is not, in fact, a plurality of speakers, but includes the speaker and either the hearer and/or somebody else. Fifth person, on the other hand, is sometimes a plurality of hearers, but it can also include somebody who is not present.¹⁸ This is essentially the reason why the terms fourth and fifth person are invoked in this analysis.

Hence, not surprisingly, the feature specification of fourth and fifth persons are more complex and include the activation of several nodes simultaneously. To give a concrete example, fourth person can have different nodes activated, which correspond to the following readings outlined in (16a–f) below:¹⁹

- (16) a. the speaker and only one hearer
- b. the speaker and more than one hearer
- c. the speaker, one hearer and somebody else who is not present
- d. the speaker, one hearer and several persons who are not present
- e. the speaker, more than one hearer and somebody else who is not present
- f. the speaker, more than one hearer and several persons who are not present

This means that in the case of (16a), the feature specification must activate both nodes under [+here], while in all the other cases it must activate the [speaker] node and at least one node which is included under the [+there] specification. Hence, the type of tree illustrated in Figure 4 does not have the formal properties that syntactic trees are standardly assumed to display. It is generally assumed that a syntactic tree has a head whose features are projected up to the maximal projection, while the features of the complement are not. Recently, there have been attempts to derive this fact from more basic properties of syn-

tactic structure, but it has never been called into question since the period when X'-theory was originally formulated and, indeed, it can be traced back at least to Chomsky's (1970) 'Remarks on nominalization' paper. If we intend to follow the idea that Person is a complex entity and that it can be decomposed into more basic features, we have to account for fourth person as a composition consisting of the simultaneous activation of several nodes. Under interpretation (16a) of fourth person these nodes are [+speaker] and [+hearer], hence, the features of both nodes percolate up the tree to the maximal node Person. Other possible feature compositions that one might associate with fourth person are even more complex, because they include feature specifications that belong to two different branches, the [+here] and [+there] components. Once again this relies on the simultaneous activation of two distinct nodes and of nodes dominated by them. The same problem arises with fifth person, which combines the features of second person, namely [+hearer] and those of third person, namely [+there] and [+plural]. The node Person seems thus not to obey the standard restrictions on syntactic structure.

Given that a representation of these persons in a bi-dimensional tree does not seem to satisfy the formal properties that we usually associate with a syntactic tree, we will tentatively propose a different representation, assuming, instead, that the feature activation for these can be captured more faithfully by a structure located in a three-dimensional space, in a similar manner to the hypothesis that basic features of phonemes are located on different planes in autosegmental phonology. According to this theory, phonemes are not simply bundles of unordered features, but correspond to the unification of these on the temporal axis containing only time units (the skeleton), while the features are located on different planes (one plane for nasality, one for the labiality or voice etc.). Several features coming from different planes are connected to the temporal axis forming the phoneme. In this way it is also possible to dissociate the temporal axis from the single features: geminates thus correspond to one feature bundle connected to two time units on the skeleton which have the same feature composition, while affricates correspond to a single time unit to which the feature bundles of both an occlusive and a fricative consonant are linked.²⁰ We conceive of the composition of the node Person in a similar way as the simultaneous spell-out of several different features which are located on different planes (see Figure 4). As far as the composition of simpler persons, such as first, second and third, is concerned, it makes no substantive difference whether one assumes a bi-dimensional or a three-dimensional structure. The reason why we think that a three-dimensional structure is preferable, relates

directly to the feature composition of fifth person and to some interpretations of fourth person (essentially all those in (16) except (16a)).

In order to demonstrate our hypothesis more clearly, it will be helpful to review the readings (given in 17a–e below) that can be associated with fifth person:

- (17) a. more than one hearer
- b. one hearer and somebody else who is not present
- c. one hearer and several persons who are not present
- d. more than one hearer and somebody else who is not present
- e. more than one hearer and several persons who are not present

With the exception of (17a), all the readings listed above are equivalent to those previously associated with fourth person in (16), the only difference being that the [+speaker] feature is not activated.

Already, the reading in (17a) is problematic if we restrict our analysis to the adoption of a bi-dimensional tree. Thus, the features activated by this reading are [hearer] and [plural]. Note however, that [plural] is located under the node [+there]. Hence, the activation of the node [plural] in a bi-dimensional plane automatically also gives us the activation of the [+there] feature, as it is located in the path from the node 'plural' to the node Person. This problem arises under the standard assumption that when a node is activated, its feature percolates up the tree to the nodes that dominate it. Hence, when [Plural] is activated, [+there], the node defining third person, also is. This means, that fifth person should always include a third person, which is clearly not the case. Indeed, it is well known that languages distinguish between inclusive and exclusive person and some account of this important distinction must also be taken in any robust analysis of this issue, even if this distinction is not present in the Romance dialects we know. What we need here, therefore, is a more flexible system of feature composition, than the one the bi-dimensional tree afford, since it forces a unique path which is not always the correct one.²¹

Under the assumption of the three-dimensional tree composed of different planes, which we postulated earlier in this discussion, it would not now be necessary for fifth person to have to percolate up to the [there] node, and the node 'Person' would be confined to the composition of [+hearer] and [+plural].²² Intuitively, such a formulation captures its feature specifications better than the analysis provided by a bi-dimensional tree. In other words, what is required is a new plane, where only the two relevant features that are activated can be connected to the Person node and the [+there] node remains untriggered as in Figure 4.²³

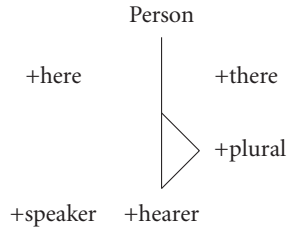


Figure 4.

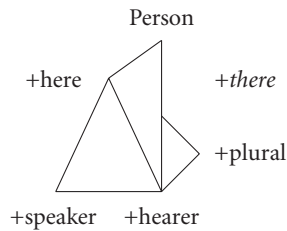


Figure 4''.

This third dimension schematized here can also derive more complex cases like those listed in (17b–e), as well as the different interpretations of fourth person listed in (16), and this is obtained by using exactly the same procedure, hence combining the necessary features on a different plane. An additional bonus of this new formulation concerns the fact that the complex feature composition can be obtained, much as in autosegmental phonology, by the combination of different planes. Let us review, for instance, interpretation (16b) of fourth person which, in this model, will have the structure illustrated in Figure 4''.²⁴

Although first, second and third person do not strictly require a three-dimensional structure, fourth and fifth person do, given that we have to account for the fact that their various interpretations can be morphologically encoded by natural languages and must correspond to the activation of different nodes in the structures given in Figures 4' and 4''.

Following this tentative analysis, and in a similar vein to proposals within autosegmental phonology, we should be able to determine how many planes there are and which features they contain. For the moment and with respect to the analysis of persons in Romance dialects, it is possible to hypothesize three planes: one contains the specification of plural, which we have seen to be able to be activated independently from the person it is associated with; the other two

should contain, respectively: (a) the deictic features [+speaker] and [+hearer], and (b) the non-deictic specification from which third person can be derived, namely, the [+there] feature alone.

Such a structure cannot be much more than an approximation, at this stage, and needs to be tested on the basis of other language groups. However, our main goal here is not to provide an ultimate characterization of the structure of person features, but to locate the direction in which such a characterization may eventually be sought.

5. Further evidence for the feature composition

5.1 The peculiarity of fourth and fifth persons

The decisive role of those persons that have a more complex feature composition is twofold. As shown in Section 3 above, fourth and fifth person play a crucial role in the extension patterns of at least two types of elements, namely, reflexive *s+V* forms and vocalic subject clitics in the Northern Italian dialects. Fourth and fifth persons are also significant from a theoretical perspective, since they show that the feature composition that results in the node 'Person' must occur in a three-dimensional space, where different features can be composed without percolating up paths that are obligatory, as in a bi-dimensional tree.

Also of interest from a language universals perspective, is the fact that there is further empirical evidence that fourth and fifth person are 'special', in some sense. Thus, it is noteworthy that their feature composition includes both features belonging to the [+here] domain and features connected to the [+there] domain.

As we feel that these issues are worth exploring further, outlined below is the presentation of some cases which illustrate the particular status of fourth and fifth person both in the verbal and in the pronominal systems, which also has a bearing on our analysis of the feature specification of person.

5.1.1 *Fourth and fifth person in the verb: The present indicative*

Let us point out the formation of the present indicative of irregular verbs that present suppletive forms. It is generally the case that first, second and third persons are derived from one root which is distinct from that of fourth and fifth: the following is the paradigm of the verb *andare* 'go'. First, second and third derive from a root *vad*, fourth and fifth from a base *and*.

- (18) a. vado
 “I go”
 b. vai
 “You go”
 c. va
 “He goes”
 d. andiamo
 “We go”
 e. andate
 “You go”
 f. vanno
 “They go”

Other verbs of the same type are all the verbs with the infix *-isc-* like *finire* ‘end’, *uscire* ‘get out’ and *udire* ‘hear’ (cf. Salvi & Vanelli 2004: 102).²⁵

5.1.2 Fourth and fifth person strong pronouns: Morphological complexity

Another phenomenon involves strong pronouns: in many dialects of Northern and Southern Italy the adjective *altri* ‘others’ is added to fourth and fifth person tonic personal pronouns, and not in the third pl.:

- (19) a. Ni+altri
 b. Vi+altri
- Venetian

While this type of pronoun is extremely common throughout Italy, it is also interesting to note that the forms for possessive pronouns for all persons except fourth and fifth can be shown to be clitics in many of these dialects (as (20) and (21) below from the varieties known as Veneto and Lunigiana demonstrate: see Poletto & Tomaselli 1995 and Penello 2003 for a detailed discussion on this).

Veneto

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| (20) | <i>clitic</i> | | <i>free</i> |
| | me | ‘my’ | mio/a/i/e |
| | to | ‘your’ | tuo/a/i/e |
| | so | ‘his/her’ | suo/a/i/e |
| | so | ‘their’ | suo/a/i/e |
| | 0 | ‘our’ | nostro |
| | 0 | ‘your+pl’ | vostro |

Some varieties also have reduced forms for the fourth and fifth person *viz.* [nosa] ‘our’ (Dolomiti) and [vos] ‘your+plur’ (Bergamasco), but this is un-

common. The Lunigiana dialects show three different series, i.e. (a) clitic adjective, (b) free adjective and (c) pronoun in predicative position:

- (21) *clitic free predicative*
- | | | | |
|----|----|-------------|-------------|
| mi | me | mei/i/a/me | 'my' |
| to | tu | tug/i/a/tug | 'your' |
| so | su | sug/i/a/sug | 'his/their' |

Of particular significance is the fact that this three-way partition is once again not found with the fourth and fifth person.

5.1.3 *Fourth and fifth person possessives*

Likewise, other dialects display the same 'resistance' to the creation of fourth and fifth person clitic forms. Hence, in the Southern Italian domain there are several dialects that have developed enclitic forms for possessive pronouns with relational nouns.

Enclitic possessives can be considered a third series, different both from free elements and from the proclitic forms found in the Northern varieties: 'pardu 'your father' (Servigliano Marche) 'patr. m. 'my father' (Abruzzese) 'moyema 'my wife' (Subiaco, Roma).²⁶

There is an implicational scale in the enclitic forms that can be found in a given dialect: first and second person enclitics are the most frequent. The enclitic forms are less common with plural nouns, though they are attested as in, ne'putimi 'my nephews' (Tagliacozzo, L'Aquila). Third person enclitics are less frequent than first and second person singular so that in Lucanian, for instance, only first and second person singular enclitics are attested. The fourth and fifth person enclitic possessives are the least common of all and can be found only in a very limited number of dialects: ne'puteno 'our nephew' (Sonnino, Southern Lazio). Noteworthy in this regard is the fact that this is the same type of distribution as that found for pronominal possessives in the Northern area. Some forms even show two enclitics: 'surtata 'your sister' (Saracena, Calabrian) but, to the best of our knowledge, this phenomenon is never found with fourth and fifth person.

We are not alone in these observations, as Penello (2003), for instance, has also recently noted that very few Romance dialects have enclitic forms for fourth and fifth person.²⁷

We can conclude from this evidence, therefore, that there is a general tendency in Romance (standard and non-standard) to keep fourth and fifth person distinct from all other persons. Our explanation in this context is that this is due to their complex feature composition, which requires the activation

of ‘mixed’ features of the two domains ([+here] and [+there]), thus necessitating the creation of a distinct plane through which the feature composition gives rise to the complex node Person. The complex fourth and fifth person can have reduced clitic forms, but only when simpler persons do and only in a limited subset of dialects. We believe that their resistance to becoming clitics is related to their complex feature composition. If a clitic form has fewer feature specifications, we expect that those persons which are semantically more complex undergo the process of simplification more slowly; in other words, there is more material to erode.

5.2 Fourth person and impersonal: French *on* and Florentine *si*

One more interesting case that we would like to analyse in this respect, which can arguably reveal something about the mechanisms of extension patterns, is the evidence provided by the extension of the impersonal form to the fourth person in both spoken French and Florentine, exemplified in (22a/b) below:²⁸

- (22) a. *On va* spoken French
 One goes/We go
 b. *Si va* Florentine
 One goes/We go

This connection between the form that the impersonal and the fourth person takes in these varieties can only be achieved in a system like the one we have proposed here. In other words, the impersonal form is the one that can contain all the possible feature specifications for all persons; therefore, it is, in a sense, the pronominal that can include all persons since all the feature specifications associated with these are feasible. We will see later on how an extension pattern from the impersonal, as the default case, to the fourth person, as the most complex one, can be captured within our framework.²⁹

6. On deriving extension patterns

In this section we examine the central steps of the extension patterns outlined in Figure 2 and derive them from the three-dimensional structure proposed in Figure 4. Before examining each case we would like to briefly outline a comparison between what we are doing here and what has been done by autosegmental phonology. We have already argued that decomposing the morphology and semantics of the category ‘person’ is similar to establishing the phonetic features

of a given phoneme. The inventory of phonetic features is universal, but all languages select only some of them and among those only a subset encodes meaning distinctions.

Suppose that among the universal inventory of features Romance languages select those that have been discussed above: so, while they are sensitive to speaker or hearer, they are not sensitive to dual or trial, which can be found in other languages but not within the Romance domain. Inside the set of features that build up the three dimensional structure illustrated in Figure 4 each Romance language selects a subset which become distinctive, namely, which are reflected into morphological distinctions in the paradigm of pronouns. Each step in the extension pattern illustrated in Figure 2 can be conceived as the deactivation of a single feature, which becomes non-distinctive, thus obliterating the morphological distinction between two different forms and giving the result that one form is extended from one person to the other.

The extension step from fourth to fifth person can be expressed in our structure by assuming that the feature [+speaker] is deactivated, hence it is not more considered to be distinctive. If [+speaker] is not distinctive anymore, the difference between fourth and fifth person is no more encoded in morphology, and the two persons have the same form (in the figure italics and bold represents the deactivation of [+speaker] as a distinctive feature).

The extension step from fifth person to second person also consists in the deactivation of a single feature, namely [plural], hence starting from Figure 5 we obtain Figure 6.

Also the extension from second to first person can be derived in the same way by simply deactivating the feature [+hearer] and leaving only the feature [+here] as distinctive (Figure 7).

Note that it would be impossible to have a different path in the deactivation of the features, for example, deactivating the feature [+hearer] while leaving the feature [+plural] active. This is so because the feature plural is connected to the

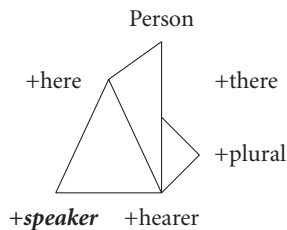


Figure 5.

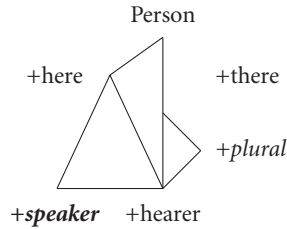


Figure 6.

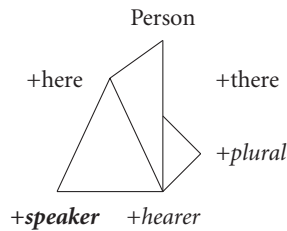


Figure 7.

maximal node ‘Person’ only through the creation of a plane with [+hearer]. If [+hearer] is suppressed, [+plural] must be suppressed as well, as it does not have any connection to the maximal node.

Note that this also derives the combination of [+speaker] and [+plural] is impossible. This is a welcome result, because, from the semantic point of view there cannot be more than one entity perceived as ‘the conscience speaking’.

The last point left to explain is the other side of the implicational scale in Figure 2, namely the reason why third person, more precisely, its impersonal value – and fourth person are connected. In this case the extension cannot simply be obtained by deactivating one feature, but by a different procedure, inverting the activation value of all the features involved: as we hypothesized above, the impersonal reading of third person corresponds to the unmarked value for all features, in other words, the node Person does not contain any feature specification at all (Figure 8).

This is just the opposite of fourth person, which can correspond, at least in one of its readings, to the opposite of an impersonal, namely to the activation of all feature specifications (hence of all nodes dominated by person). Hence, we have to hypothesize that, in addition to the mechanism of deactivation of a single feature, there must be an operation of ‘inversion of polarity’ of the values of all features and this accounts for the cases of *on* or *si* denoting fourth

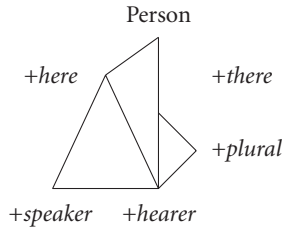


Figure 8.

person discussed in Section 5. We leave further refinements of this operation to future research.

The last point we mention has to do with the relation between our structure, which is based on extension patterns of pronominal forms, and the corresponding structure for DP and adjectival agreement (which look essentially the same). We think that only the system of non-deictic persons is connected to the DP-system, while the system of deictic persons is not related to it. This is also one of the reasons why we think that the two pronominal systems, though related, have to be placed on different planes. We will not discuss the system of DP-agreement here, because we do not have a solid enough empirical basis in our data base yet in order to apply a dialectological perspective as the one we have systematically pursued for pronominal clitics.

7. Conclusion

In this work we have presented and analysed some phenomena concerning the pronoun system of Romance languages, concentrating in particular on Italian dialects and the paths that can be seen as extensions of the value of a given pronoun, which acquires the value of another one and substitutes it. We have shown that fourth and fifth person play an important role in morphological extension patterns. In these processes, fourth and fifth persons appear to act as a 'bridge' for the transition from the deictic to the non-deictic persons. We believe that this is so because the extension process is not a random phenomenon but is determined by the feature composition of the elements that undergo extension, in the sense that extension is limited to cases where the two forms have at least one feature in common. Moreover, extension of this sort is a probabilistic phenomenon: the more features which two forms have in common, the more probable extension there will be. As fourth and fifth persons have

the most complex feature composition, they are very often a nodal point in extension patterns.

On this basis, we have tried to formalize a suitable structure for person features and noted that if we adopt a bi-dimensional tree, the outcome does not have the typical properties of syntactic trees. Therefore, we tentatively propose a three-dimensional structure where features can be combined on more planes to reach the final node 'Person'. This obviously does not take place within the syntactic component, though it remains to be seen exactly what the links are between it and the morphological structure.

Notes

* We thank the editors of this volume for inviting us to take part in this exciting enterprise and for being patient during the various stages of evolution of this chapter, and the anonymous reviewers who helped us to improve and clarify our work. We are particularly grateful to Marc van Ostendorp who provide insightful and detailed comments, which will constitute the input for our future work. For the concerns of the Italian Academy, Paola Benincà takes responsibility over Sections 1 and 2, Cecilia Poletto for Sections 3 to 7. We are aware of the fact that the map found in the appendix is only a rough representation of the dialectal situation in Italy, but we think that it can nonetheless provide the reader with an idea of the variety and complexity of the area we investigate in this work.

1. For theoretical reasons which will become clear during the discussion, we will refer to first person plural as fourth person and to second person plural as fifth person. In referring to 'third person' we intend both singular and plural, if not specified otherwise.
2. One might wonder what a sufficient amount of dialects might be. This is a far-reaching question, which we leave aside here. The number of dialects taken into account here is about 200 in the area of Northern Italy.
3. This is currently being done for the Germanic dialects of the Netherlands by the SAND-project, see <http://www.meertens.know.nl/projecten/sand/sandeng.html/>
4. Romance languages have clitic and tonic pronouns. Clitic pronouns have a constrained distribution, as they cannot be modified, coordinated, used in isolation and focalized. Moreover, they occur in a fixed position in the clause (in most Romance languages attached to the verb). The Northern Italian dialects also have subject clitics of at least four different types, and some of them can co-occur; Therefore, several examples have two sets of subject clitics, both glossed as SCL. A subset of them are vocalic clitics, which have special syntactic properties.
5. We use the abbreviation *s+V* for the forms *si/se/sa/* found in various dialects.
6. Kayne (2002) hypothesises that the fourth and fifth person *n+V* and *v+V* in French are in the same paradigm with *m* and *t*. It is important to note that this is not true of Italian *ci* and *vi*, whose origin is from a locative pronoun.

7. Notice that for some persons a subject clitic also occurs, while for others it does not. This is tangential to our present discussion and we refer to Benincà (1994) and Poletto (2000) for a detailed analyses of subject clitics (see Note 13).

8. The AIS: 'Atlas of Italy and Southern Switzerland' is a dialect Atlas in seven volumes; it contains mainly lexical and phonetic data, but also verbal morphology presented in a rather systematic way. Syntactic data are not systematically displayed but occur in several maps.

9. In the declarative sentence a subject clitic is present, whereas in the interrogative clause there is, instead, an enclitic due to the process of subject clitic inversion, which is mandatory in main interrogatives.

10. We refrain here from giving a theoretical analysis of this phenomenon, although it is probably connected to the presence of a set of projections for clitics also contained within the CP-layer (as proposed, among others, by Uriagereka 1995 and Sportiche 1996) and that these can be activated only when the verb itself moves into the CP domain.

11. This example is a case of optional doubling of the reflexive, which is also found with second and first person in other dialects.

12. The only exception that we have found to our pattern is the dialect spoken in Trieste, where *se* has extended to the second person but not to the fifth. We do not know how to explain this case, but note that this is a dialect on the border with Slovenia and the pattern obtaining here, therefore, may be due to language contact.

- (i) a. El se ga meso i calzeti *Trieste*
 he himself has put the socks
 "He has put on his socks"
- b. I se ga meso i calzeti
 they themselves have put the socks
 "They have put on their socks"
- c. Se gavemo meso i calzeti
 ourselves have put the socks
 "We have put on our socks"
- d. Te se ga meso i calzeti
 you yourself have put the socks
 "You have put on your socks"

13. These have special syntactic properties – such as the fact that they interact with typical CP elements – and have also been analysed as belonging to the CP layer (cf. Benincà 1983 and Poletto 2000); this singles them out with respect to the more usual "agreement clitics" located within the IP layer.

14. These examples are taken from a XVI century text, namely *Le Lettere* by Andrea Calmo, written in the dialect (in fact, 'language' from the sociolinguistic point of view) spoken and written at that time in Venice.

15. In (13b) there are two subject clitics, a phenomenon which is quite frequent in the NIDs (see Note 4).

16. See Section 5 for examples on this point.

17. Even in Sardinian, where the determiner comes from the Latin word for the anaphoric pronoun “this” *IPSE*, the pronoun is still a form derived from *ille*.

18. Kayne (2002) assumes that the personal and possessive pronouns of fourth person have a plural morpheme attached. In Italian, this plural morpheme would then exceptionally be an *s*, like it is in French, a morpheme that only marks plural in a few Northern dialects and not in Italian. We propose that the morpheme can be treated as marking complexity of features and not plurality *per se*.

19. M. van Ostendorp has pointed out to us that we do not consider here fourth person with exclusive interpretation (i.e. referring to first person + third person and excluding the hearer). This is because, as far as we know, there is no distinction between ‘inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’ fourth person in Romance. The present system is most likely to be the result of simplification of more complex systems which did use to included the distinction ‘inclusive’ vs. ‘exclusive’. Traces of the preceding stage are present in various dialects, in the form of the pronoun, whose value in any case is ambiguous. We hope to have the opportunity to deal with these more complex systems in future work. Moreover, our hypothesis predicts that there are extensions between third person and fourth person, as the only difference between them concerns the [+speaker] feature. This is indeed confirmed, for instance, by the case of extension of the reflexive clitic form from the third person to the fourth person.

20. The reader should be aware that the similarity with autosegmental phonology and our system is offered as an entirely impressionistic suggestion. All phonological features are activated on separate planes and, while here the present research does not examine the possibility of having separate planes, but rather attempts to building an object that is more similar to a neural net, with different paths inside a complex three-dimensional web. Likewise, in autosegmental phonology three-dimensionality is not immediately apparent in trees but in specific processes, at least this is the contention of some phonologists (see for example Halle 1995; Calabrese 1995). The spreading of features can involve non-adjacent segments if the targets are adjacent in the relevant plane, so long as within the three-dimensional space the intervening segment has no specifications in that plane. It is also important to note in this regard that the connection between ‘Place’ node and ‘place’ features are better conceived of as being able in a three-dimensional space.

21. There is another logical possibility that we discard here, namely that the [plural] feature is located both under the [+there] node and under the [+hearer] node. This seems to us to be an unnecessary duplication that cannot be justified. An anonymous reviewer noted that reduplication of features is very common in natural languages. We are aware of this fact, but we think that redundancy is a radically different case from the one we are dealing with here: assuming a reduplication of features would introduce doubling inside the theory, not at the empirical level. Although the empirical level displays a complex and redundant set of data, our theory must be as simple and minimal as possible. Reduplication of features, in other words, is observed as a multiple expression of the same grammatical fact (for example, in many agreement facts) but not inside the same projection as a multiple occurrence of the same feature, not in phonology nor in syntax or morphology. Therefore, we will not admit reduplication of features, although redundancy exists.

22. The [+plural] feature is thus restricted to being connected either to the [+there] feature or to the [+hearer] feature, and not to the [+speaker] feature. This conclusion reflects the

assumption, which we take to be a 'primitive', namely, that the speaker is cognitively 'unique', so that there cannot properly be a plurality of speakers. To obtain, from a different perspective, see Giorgi and Pianesi (2005), who also presents a number of empirical arguments in favour of this assumption.

23. This structure does not include any gender feature, because in the two extension patterns gender never appears to play any role. Nevertheless, given that this hypothesis intends to cover also other possible, if not yet known, cases of pronominal extension, gender should also be taken into account. Although we do not insert it into our figures for the above reasons, it is fairly easy to see that gender should be under the [+there] feature in Romance, because it only occurs in the system of third persons, and not in the system of deictic persons. We leave this point for future research, when extension patterns including pronominal forms with gender will have been explored, if they exist.

24. The fact that the feature [+there] is not activated by the configuration of fourth person is expressed here by putting into italics the inactive feature. Italics means deactivation of the feature in the other figures as well.

25. In some cases there might be interferences from phonological constraints, as the fourth and the fifth persons are the only ones where the accent is not on the stem.

26. Hence, postnominal, pronominal and enclitic possessives could be considered to be three different classes. This could lead to our considering the dichotomy clitic/free from a different perspective, in the sense that the splitting into more than one series is a complex phenomenon regarding the internal structure of pronominal phrases (for a detailed theoretical discussion see Cardinaletti & Starke 1999).

27. The special status of fourth and fifth person is also signalled by the phenomenon of partial drop in Middle French. It is well known (cf. Roberts 1993 *inter alia*) that in Middle French, the only persons that have *pro*-drop in all contexts (main and embedded declaratives, interrogatives etc.) are precisely fourth and fifth person.

28. The same pattern is attested in other dialects such as some varieties of the Bergamo area, where the form originally deriving from Latin HOMO is extended from an impersonal to the fourth person, and Friulian, where impersonal *si* is used both for impersonal and fourth person.

29. We are very well aware that one meets serious problems when trying to connect in a formal way the two stages first plural → impersonal by some formal device. Marc von Ostendorp (p.c.) has suggested some interesting possibilities to obviate these solutions, which we will hopefully take into consideration in the future. Here we merely note that the extension process we have suggested in all probability follows the exactly the path we have indicated in this paper.

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Appendix

Map of Italian dialects

Are dialettali

	Provenzale		Meridionale-Interno
	Franco-Provenzale		Meridionale-Estremo
	Gallo-Italoico		Sardo-Logudorese
	Veneto		Sardo-Campidanese
	Ladino		Sardo-Sassarese
	Tirolese		Sardo-Gallurese
	Friulano		Àree miste di complessa classificazione
	Sloveno		Limite approssimativo di varietà dialettali
	Toscano		Decorso di isoglosse
	Mediano		

Isole alloglotte

	Albanese		Emiliano
	Greco		Catalano
	Provenzale		Tedesco
	Croato		Gallo-Italoico (Settentrionale)
	Ligure		Franco-Provenzale

Isoglosse

A Conservazione dei nessi con l	O Limite settentrionale del vocalismo "siciliano" in Calabria e nel Salento
B Palatalizzazione di ca e ga	P Limite meridionale della riduzione della vocale finale e
C Evoluzione di a in è	Q Limite settentrionale della fusione di -e ed -i in i nel Salento
D Evoluzione di ù in ù	R Limite meridionale del vocalismo con metafonemi
E Lenizione delle consonanti sorde	S Limite settentrionale della conservazione dei nessi nd ed mb
E1 Lenizione di p in v	T Limite settentrionale della mancanza del passato prossimo
E2 Lenizione di c in g	U Limite settentrionale della mancanza dell'infinito
E3 Lenizione di t in d	Z Limite dell'area siciliana nord-orientale un tempo prevalentemente grecofona
E4 Degeminazione delle consonanti	
F Assimilazione di nd a nn e di mb a mm	
G Distinzione tra -u ed -o	
H Passaggio delle vocali finali alla vocale indistinta e	
I Sonorizzazione delle sorde dopo n	
L Posposizione del pronome possessivo	
M Riduzione di pl e cl a kj e č	
N Limite dell'area "Lausberg" (vocalismo arcaico)	

Isofone Tirolesi

A Diminutivo dei plurisillabi in li
B Fonetica: ð in e
C Fonetica: uo in ui

DIALETTI

(A)

