

Absence of morphosyntactic features vs absence of exponents: Evidence from Northern Italian varieties

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Among the languages that have concord within the DP it is not unusual to find varieties where concord shows postnominally but fails prenominally. Taking as a starting point the account of this type of asymmetries in Bonet, Lloret, and Mascaró (2015), BLM2015, two Northern Italian varieties will be compared: Central Ladin (Fassan *cazet* variety) and Friulian (Friuli Occidentale). These two varieties share two properties relevant to concord: (a) plural concord fails in prenominal position with feminine nouns; (b) the final vowel found in feminine nominal elements differs in the singular and in the plural, the plural being realized by a sigmatic exponent. While the general BLM2015 approach can be adopted, it will be shown that, in order to account for the two Italian varieties, one of their constraints must be split into two constraints, one penalizing missing exponents and one penalizing missing segments.