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Apulian qualitative binominal Noun Phrases

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We investigate the morphosyntax of qualitative binominal constructions in a Southern Italo-Romance language from the Apulian town of San Marco in Lamis. Qualitative binominal constructions are complex noun phrases like ‘a jewel_{N1} of a village_{N2}’, appearing here prepositionally (with the preposition *da*, ‘of’, allowing definites, indefinites, and demonstratives) and non-prepositionally (only allowing definites with definite articles and not proper names). We propose that, in the latter, a categorial match in the determiner layer, which we call ‘match D’, relates N₁ and N₂. N₁ is embedded as a noun, allowing for: (i) the recursive DP strategy of non-prepositional genitives, and (ii) the extension of this mechanism to qualitative binominal constructions. This leads to the impossibility of syntactic extraction, which we connect to the concept of phase. With non-denominal N₁s, N₁’s article is treated as a head-agreeing adjectival linker, forming a constituent with the modifier but agreeing with the head. A phrase is interpreted as a qualitative binominal construction if N₁ and N₂ share the same number features and if the features of N₁ do not allow for it to be interpreted as the possessor of N₂. We also discuss external agreement with the construction, presenting data supporting the relevance of the [+HUMAN] feature for agreement relations.

KEYWORDS: Apulian, Qualitative Binominal Noun Phrases, phases.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates a type of predicative phrase consisting of two elements, in which the first element (a noun, adjective, or interjection) embeds the second element (understood as the subject of the predication) using prepositions such as ‘of’ (e.g. ‘a jewel of a village’). This type of phrase is characterized by a specific realization of the determiner layer. For instance, in English, the subject (N₂) typically bears an indefinite article in its D position: *a jewel of [a doctor]* (qualitative) versus *a jewel of [the doctor’s]* (possessive). In the first case, the typical interpretation is that N₁ is a quality being attributed to N₂, i.e. the fact that the doctor is a jewel. In the second case, the interpretation is instead that N₁ is owned by N₂. This construction has been well-documented in Aarts (1998) and Den Dikken (2006) in relation to Germanic languages, such as Dutch and English. It has also been the focus of research in Standard

Romance varieties (e.g. Catalan, French, Italian, Romanian, Spanish), including studies by Napoli (1989), Kayne (1994), Vişan (2003), Villalba (2007), and Tănase-Dogaru (2012). Several syntactic analyses, such as those by Den Dikken and Kayne, focus on the role of the preposition in this construction. These analyses posit a predicate-subject inversion strategy¹ as the mechanism that leads to the presence of a preposition. However, in the Apulian variety under analysis in this paper, this type of construction also appears in a non-prepositional form. Therefore, the analysis that posits inversion as the source of the preposition is untenable in this case.

- (1) Apulian (San Marco in Lamis, Foggia)
 l-a kaspəta l-a bul:etə
 DEF-F.SG freaking DEF-F.SG bill
 ‘that freaking thing of a bill’

In this language, qualitative binominals (henceforth QBs) are not the only construction that lacks a preposition; non-prepositional genitives also occur. Massaro (2020) proposes that in this language, caseless, non-prepositional genitives are interpreted as such even in the absence of a preposition due to a categorial match in the D layer of both nouns (which we refer to as ‘match D’ here). This match is realized through matching the type of determiner (in this case, definite articles) in the D layer of both the head and modifier.

- (2) a. l-i rət-ə l-a /*n-a makən-a
 DEF-PL wheels(F)-PL DEF-F.SG /INDEF-F.SG car(F)-SG
 ‘the car’s wheels’
 b. l-a kod-a l-u /*n-u kan-ə
 DEF-F.SG tail(F)-SG DEF-M.SG /INDEF-M.SG dog(M)-SG
 ‘the dog’s tail’
 c. l-i rət-ə də n-a makən-a
 DEF-PL wheels(F)-PL of INDEF-F.SG car(F)-SG
 ‘the wheels of a car’
 d. l-a kod-a də n-u kan-ə
 DEF-F.SG tail(F)-SG of INDEF-M.SG dog(M)-SG
 ‘the tail of a dog’

In contrast, indefinites require the presence of a preposition, resulting in forms such as *də na makəna* (2c) and *də nu kanə* (2d) rather than *na makəna* (2a). Rohlfs (1969: 6) proposed that the preposition is present and that it undergoes absorption in intervocalic contexts. The definite articles of the variety of Morano Calabro (Cosenza) considered by Rohlfs underwent the loss of the lateral, thus resulting in *a* (F) / *u* (M).² However,

not all Italo-Romance varieties lost the lateral in their definite articles, and non-prepositional genitives still occur in these varieties.³ Because of this, Silvestri (2012) suggests that Rohlf's proposal might be incorrect. Moreover, non-prepositional genitives are well attested in Old Romance (see Delfitto & Paradisi 2009 for Old Italian and Old Sicilian; Jensen 1990 for Old French). Therefore, we assume that the preposition-triggering inversion advocated by Den Dikken is not the mechanism generating non-prepositional QBs (or non-prepositional genitives) in this language.

There are several similarities between non-prepositional genitives and non-prepositional QB constructions. Both seem to have similar requirements related to the D layer: N_1 is definite and occurs with an article, and N_2 is also definite and occurs with an article (although proper names, which are bare, trigger the presence of a preposition; see endnote 9). QBs containing indefinite nominals also require a preposition, just like non-prepositional genitives do. We will discuss this further in section 3.

The structure of this paper is as follows: In section 2, we provide an overview of QBs in Standard Romance languages, with a focus on the realization of the determiner layer of each noun. In section 3, we present data on Apulian non-prepositional QBs and discuss how they behave in some respects similar to non-prepositional genitives. Section 3.1 investigates the role of the preposition *də*, and that of syntactic operations such as extraction. In section 3.2, we examine the question of interpretation: how is a QB interpreted as such even when superficially identical to a genitive phrase? Section 3.3 provides an analysis of agreement patterns with QBs in Apulian, including both internal and external agreement relations. We will examine how various factors, including the original category of the element embedded as N_1 , the distance between agreeing elements (such as clitics and direct objects), and the presence of the [HUMAN] feature in the phrase, determine agreement patterns in internal and external morphological agreement. We will specifically analyze the article preceding N_1 as an agreement element, similar to agreeing adjectival linkers (see Toosarvandani & Van Urk 2014). This serves to establish N_1 as a modifier of N_2 , particularly when N_1 is originally deficient in terms of carrying gender and number features (as is the case with interjections like *kaspəta*, derogatory denomination). The article preceding N_1 , by agreeing with N_2 , endows N_1 with an agreement relation with N_2 , thereby turning it into a modifier whose N_2 is the actual head. We will claim that while carrying an adjective-like predicative function, the first element is essentially embedded like a noun. This is relevant especially concerning the question as to why N_1 should have an article at all even when it is already an adjective ('idiot') and in principle already capable of modifying N_2 . By embedding the predicate as a noun (which can then have its own determiner),

the language can extend the iterated DPs ('match D') strategy found in genitival modification to modification in QBs. This also enables elements that are not normally modifiers to function as such. In this way, the construction also allows strictly post-nominal adjectival modifiers to be linearized before the noun, similarly to the alternate linearization of monadic and polydefinite adjectival modifiers in Greek (Campos & Stavrou 2004). Finally, section 4 provides our conclusions.

2. Qualitative binominals in Romance

Romance languages generally realize QB constructions in the following configurations: the demonstrative–definite article type (3), the indefinite article–bare noun type (4)⁴ (which can also be realized with N₁ headed by a definite article (5)), and a definite article–definite article configuration (6).⁵ Lastly, as expected from languages where proper nouns rise to D, data containing proper names show article-less N₂ (3a, 7).

(3) French

- a. *cet imbécile de Jean*
 DEM idiot of Jean
 'that idiot of Jean'

Italian

- b. *quell' idiota del dottore*
 DEM idiot of.DEF doctor
 'that idiot of the doctor'
- c. *quello schifo di canzone*
 DEM disgust of song
 'that abomination of a song'

(4) Romanian

- a. *o scârbă de om*
 INDEF jerk of man
 'a jerk of a man'

Italian

- b. *uno schifo di uomo*
 INDEF disgust of man
 'an abomination of a man'

(5) Old Romanian

- a. *amărât-ul de om*
 wreck-DEF of man
 'a wreck of a man'

Italian

- b. *lo schifo di libro*
 DEF disgust of book
 'an abomination of a book'

- (6) Italian
 a. *l'idiota del dottore*
 DEF idiot of.DEF doctor
 'the idiot of the doctor'
- Spanish
 b. *el idiota del médico*
 DEF idiot of.DEF doctor
 'the idiot of the doctor'
- (7) Catalan
 a. *el babau de Joan*
 DEF idiot of Joan
 'the idiot of Joan'
- Italian
 b. *lo scemo di Michele*
 DEF idiot of Michele
 'the idiot of Michele'

We can see that in Romance, at least two types of QBs are found: those where N_2 never occurs with an article (we exclude cases where N_2 is a proper name, for the reason that in these languages proper names are article-less), and those in which N_2 does. In some contexts, N_1 can also be article-less. Such is the case of exclamatives and QBs embedded in complementizer phrases, as shown in the following examples from Italian.

- (8) a. *stupido di un dottore*
 idiot of INDEF doctor
 'Idiot of a doctor'
- b. *che schifo di canzone*
 COMP disgust of song
 'What a terrible song'

In the Apulian variety under analysis here, QBs occur as either the type in (6) or the type in (4). The type in (8b) is also a possibility. We will describe the Apulian data in the following paragraph, where we will also discuss non-prepositional genitives. As anticipated, non-prepositional genitives and non-prepositional QBs share several similarities, including the absence of a preposition, a categorial match in the D layer of both nouns, and the inability to undergo syntactic operations such as extraction.

3. The Apulian data

All of the Apulian data presented in this paragraph come from the Gargano Apulian Italo-Romance language of San Marco in Lamis (Foggia), unless stated otherwise. Since in this Apulian variety QBs

behave in some respects like non-prepositional genitives, we will introduce them here. We have no data on the realization of non-prepositional qualitative phrases in other Apulian varieties. However, non-prepositional genitives are attested in at least one other Gargano Apulian variety (from the town of Mattinata, Silvestri 2012: 564). Although there is micro-variation as is normal, the presence of non-prepositional genitives in neighboring Gargano Apulian varieties suggests that non-prepositional qualitative phrases could also be possible.

We have mentioned that this language can have two types of genitive constructions. According to Massaro (2020, 2022), the difference between the two is that the non-prepositional type only allows definite nouns and is regulated by a categorial match in the D layer.

(9) San Marco in Lamis

- a. l-i libr-a l-a nəpot-a
 DEF-PL book-M.PL DEF-F.SG niece-F.SG
 ‘his/her niece’s books’
- b. *l-i libr-a n-a nəpot-a
 DEF-PL book-M.PL INDEF-F.SG niece-F.SG
 (intended meaning) ‘the books of a niece of his/hers’
- c. l-i lib:r-a də n-a nəpot-a
 DEF-PL book-M.PL of INDEF-F.SG niece-F.SG
 ‘the books of a niece of his/hers’

This construction is characterized by several syntactic properties, but for now we will focus on two of them, as they are also relevant for the discussion on QB phrases that follows. One of these two syntactic properties is extraction. The question-answer example below illustrates that extraction out of a non-prepositional genitive is not possible, while it is for the prepositional variant.

- (10) a. kwanta n-a let:ə dəl:i pad̄ʒ:ən-ə l-a kart-a?
 how_many PART-have.2SG read.PTCP-PL of.DEF-PL page(F)-PL DEF-F.SG letter(F)-SG
 ‘how many pages of the letter have you read?’
- b. *l-a kart-a n-e^o let:ə dojə pad̄ʒ:ən-ə
 DEF-F.SG letter(F)-SG PART-have.1SG read.PTCP-PL two.F page(F)-PL
 (intended meaning) ‘of the letter, I have read two pages’
- a'. kwanta n-a let:ə dəl:i pad̄ʒ:ən-ə dəl:l-a kart-a?
 how_many PART-have.2SG read.PTCP-PL of.DEF-PL page(F)-PL of.DEF-F.SG letter(F)-SG
 ‘how many pages of the letter have you read?’
- b'. dəl:l-a kart-a n-e let:ə dojə pad̄ʒ:ən-ə
 of.DEF-F.SG letter-F.SG PART-have.1SG read.PTCP-PL two.F page(F)-PL
 ‘of the letter, I have read two pages’

Another syntactic property concerns adjectival modification. Speakers seem hesitant to accept post-nominal modifiers of the head and tend to use a prepositional genitive instead when this occurs.

- (11) l-i rɔt-ə nɔv-ə *(də)l-a makən-a
 DEF-PL tire-PL new-PL (of.)DEF-F.SG car(F)-SG
 ‘the new tires of the car’

A post-nominal adjective can only modify the head if the phrase is prepositional. In contrast, the genitive can be modified by a post-nominal adjective even in non-prepositional contexts.

- (12) l-i rɔt-ə l-a makən-a nɔv-a
 DEF-PL tire-PL DEF-F.SG car(F)-SG new-F.SG
 ‘the tires of the new car’

Instead, in section 4 we will see that non-prepositional binominal qualitatives allow degree modifiers to be interposed between N_1 and N_2 .

In QB constructions in this Italo-Romance language, configurations with N_1 headed by a demonstrative⁷ require a preposition to relate it to N_2 (13c,d). On the other hand, configurations in which both N_1 and N_2 are headed by a definite article do not (13a,b). Article-less N_2 s require instead a preposition (13e,f).^{8 9}

- (13) a. l-u ʃ:em-ə l-u medəkə
 DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG DEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘the idiot of the doctor’
 b. l-a kaspəta l-a bul:et:a
 DEF-F.SG freaking DEF-F.SG bill
 ‘that freaking thing of a bill’
 c. *kwid:-u ʃ:em-ə l-u medəkə
 DEM-M.SG idiot-M.SG DEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘that idiot of the doctor’
 d. kwid:-u ʃ:em-ə dəl:-u medəkə
 DEM-M.SG idiot-M.SG of.DEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘that idiot of the doctor’
 e. *l-u ʃ:em-ə medəkə
 DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG doctor
 ‘that idiot of the doctor’
 f. l-u ʃ:em-ə dəl:-u medəkə
 DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of.DEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘that idiot of the doctor’

As mentioned, this construction obeys similar constraints to those found for non-prepositional genitives, including a ban on indefinites. This involves N_1 s (14b), but also N_2 s (14c). (14d) shows that indefinites

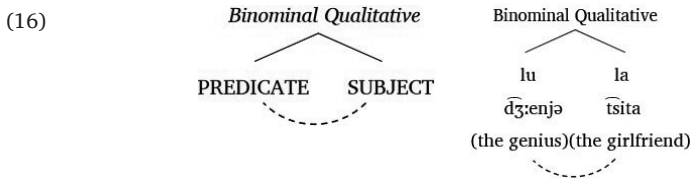
require a preposition. (14e) shows instead that while it is possible to have a non-prepositional phrase when both N_1 and N_2 are definite, this option is ruled out when both N_1 and N_2 are indefinite.

- (14) a. l-u ʃ:em-ə l-u medəkə
 DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG DEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘the idiot of the doctor’
- b. *n-u ʃ:em-ə l-u medəkə
 INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG DEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘an idiot of the doctor’
- c. *l-u ʃ:em-ə n-u medəkə
 DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG INDEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘the idiot of a doctor’
- d. n-u ʃ:em-ə də medəkə
 INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of doctor
 ‘an idiot of a doctor’
- e. *n-u ʃ:em-ə n-u medəkə
 INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG INDEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘an idiot of a doctor’

The absence of a preposition in these configurations shows that it is not feasible to suppose that the construction results from subject-predicate inversion, as suggested by Den Dikken (2006). If inversion produces a preposition, but in our case, a preposition is not present, then we are led to exclude that such a mechanism is feasible in this language. Examples with interjections (1) also show that it is not feasible to derive the construction from an inverted copula. This would imply starting the derivation from **la buletta ε kaspəta*, ‘the bill is freaking’, which is not a possible sentence, unlike what it would appear if we only used elements such as ‘idiot’ to test the inversion hypothesis (‘that idiot of a doctor’ = ‘the doctor is an idiot’). Another claim made in Den Dikken’s work is that in Dutch, the article preceding N_2 is ‘spurious’. Den Dikken reaches this conclusion because, in Dutch, QBs show number agreement mismatches between N_2 and its article, as shown in (15) (Den Dikken 2006: 170).

- (15) Dutch
- a. *die* *idioten* *van* *een* *kerels*
 those idiots of a guys
 ‘those stupid guys’
- b. *die* *idioten* *van* *een* *doktoren*
 those idiots of a doctors
 ‘those stupid doctors’

According to Den Dikken, this ‘spurious’ article doesn’t belong with either member of the construction,¹⁰ and it signals the fact that N_1 and N_2 are contained within a small clause. As discussed in length in Villalba (2007) the definite article preceding N_2 in Romance is a full-fledged determiner and does not allow for agreement mismatches. This is also what we find in Apulian. If agreement mismatches between N_2 and its article are what signals that the article is spurious, but such agreement mismatches do not exist in Romance, then it is a consequence to conclude, like Villalba does, that this analysis cannot be extended to Romance (see Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999 for similar remarks on definite articles in Greek binominal qualitatives). One of the interesting aspects of this construction is the behavior of determiners. In the case of Apulian, for instance, we maintain that articles in the construction realize a categorial match in the D layer (which only includes definite articles; see also Tănase-Dogaru 2012, who proposes that Romanian QBs show definiteness agreement), let us call it ‘match D’ and that match D is what relates N_1 and N_2 . Matching of the type of determiner preceding N_1 and N_2 is what relates them, i.e. this categorial match is the relator.¹¹



The fact that ‘match D’ occurs in both non-prepositional QBs and non-prepositional genitives can be explained by assuming that N_2 , which is the individual-denoting member, has specific reference, similar to possessors in non-prepositional genitives.¹² In non-prepositional qualitative binominals N_2 is in fact a topical element.¹³ This is also what we find in other Romance languages, such as Spanish. Villalba (2007: 11) shows that in Spanish QBs, N_2 is usually a topical element and is incompatible with positions where foci are found.

- (17) Spanish
 *No *hablaste* con *el* *idiota* de [*qué* *médico*]
 not talk.PST.2SG with DEF idiot of which doctor
 ‘you didn’t talk to the idiot of which doctor’

We can see that the same happens in this Apulian variety, regardless of whether the QB is prepositional or non-prepositional.

- (18) a. *non a parlat-ə kul:-u¹⁴ ʃ:em-ə [kwal:-u medəkə]
not have.2SG talk.PTCP-M.SG with.DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG which-M.SG doctor
‘you didn’t talk to the idiot of which doctor’
b. *non a parlat-ə kul:-u ʃ:em-ə də [kwal:-u medəkə]
not have.2SG talk.PTCP-M.SG with.DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of which-M.SG doctor
‘you didn’t talk to the idiot of which doctor’

3.1. *Extraction, prepositions, or lack thereof*

As mentioned previously in this paper, QBs are characterized by several morpho-syntactic properties, among which the impossibility to extract one of their members.

- (19) a. *(də)l-u medəkə e vist-ə l-u ʃ:em-ə
(of.)DEF-M.SG doctor have.1SG see.PTCP-M.SG DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG
‘of the doctor I have seen the idiot’
b. *ε (də)l-u medəkə ke e vist-ə l-u ʃ:em-ə
is (of.)DEF-M.SG doctor that have.1SG see.PTCP-M.SG DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG
‘it’s of the doctor that I have seen the idiot’

This was already observed in Napoli (1989) for Italian and Den Dikken (2006) for Dutch. Napoli described this behavior by linking it to a ‘wordlike’ property of the construction. According to Den Dikken, extraction is not permitted because the construction is derived from a predicative phrase.

Here, we would like to suggest something vaguely related to what Napoli had in mind, but which is also connected to the predicative properties of the construction. More precisely, we claim that the impossibility follows if we treat N_1 in QBs as a modifier with an adjective-like function (see also Aarts 1998). As a first, superficial clue, the first member can be a noun or a nominalized adjective (*lu ʃemə*, ‘the idiot’). Unlike in genitive ‘of’-phrases, where the two members carry different referential indexes, in qualitative binominals N_1 and N_2 share the same index, which is what we find in adjectival modification.

- (20) Qualitative
a. l-u_i d̪ʒ:enj-ə_i l-a_i t̪sit-a_i towa_i
DEF-M.SG genius(M)-SG DEF-F.SG girlfriend-F.SG your
‘that genius of your girlfriend’
Non-prepositional genitive
b. l-u_i d̪ʒ:enj-ə_i l-a_j t̪sit-a_j towa_j
DEF-M.SG genius(M)-SG DEF-F.SG girlfriend-F.SG your
‘your girlfriend’s genius’

In generative frameworks, and especially within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), phrases not allowing syntactic operations

such as extraction are referred to as phases. The peculiarity of phases is that they are syntactic chunks that once built cannot be accessed by further syntactic operations such as, in our case, extraction. More recently, Adger (2003), Radford (2004), Jiménez-Fernández (2012), and Chomsky (2020) have argued that definite DPs can have phasehood status, as shown in (21) (Adger 2003: 327), where the banned syntactic operation is *wh*-extraction.

- (21) a. *Which poem did you hear [Homer’s recital] of last night?
 b. Which poem did you go to hear [a recital] of last night?

Definiteness is related to topicality, and hence with what we have found for topics in (18). But also adjectival phrases constitute phases in that they do not permit extraction (*the beautiful car* → **of the car I have seen the beautiful* / **of the beautiful I have seen the car*, cf. (19-20) and Bošković 2020). We claim here that merging N_1 with a prepositional phrase (or through match D) containing N_2 (‘that genius $_{N1}$ of a doctor $_{N2}$ ’) turns it into a predicative element with an adjective-like function. We will claim (§3.3) that this adjective-like function is realized by generalizing to QB phrases the iterated DPs mechanism found in genitival modification.

In QBs, N_1 is usually a property-denoting element. How N_1 is interpreted as a property-denoting element and not as the head of a non-prepositional genitive seems to also depend on the semantics of N_2 . Consider first what we saw in (20), which we repeat here as (22).

- (22) Qualitative
- | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------|----------------------|----------|
| a. | $l-u_i$ | $\widehat{d}z:enj-\partial_i$ | $l-a_i$ | $\widehat{tsit}-a_i$ | $towa_i$ |
| | DEF-M.SG | genius(M)-SG | DEF-F.SG | girlfriend-F.SG | your |
| | ‘that genius of your girlfriend’ | | | | |
| | Non-prepositional genitive | | | | |
| b. | $l-u_i$ | $\widehat{d}z:enj-\partial_i$ | $l-a_j$ | $\widehat{tsit}-a_j$ | $towa_j$ |
| | DEF-M.SG | genius(M)-SG | DEF-F.SG | girlfriend-F.SG | your |
| | ‘your girlfriend’s genius’ | | | | |

As we mentioned, the two structures seem superficially identical. Now consider the example in (23).

- (23) $l-u$ $sgar:\partial:ton-\partial$ $l-a$ $mak\partial n-a$ $towa$
 DEF-M.SG wreck-M.SG DEF-F.SG car(F)-SG your
 ‘that wreck of your car’

N_1 , *sgar:\partial:ton\partial*, ‘wreck’, is usually said of cars, bikes, and barely working machines. So, in that position, it is either the head of a geni-

tive whose modifier is [+HUMAN] (the person owning the car), with the meaning of ‘broken car owned by x’, or it is the first member of a QB. The semantic traits of N_2 are those upon which the interpretation of N_1 is based. In the case of (23), N_2 is [-HUMAN], so it is not a case of a car owning another (broken) car. Rather, it is a property-denoting element, which qualifies N_2 in some respect. Here, the predication is that the car is a wreck. Match D (or the preposition *də*, ‘of’) is just a generic relator that is underspecified with respect to the type of relationship that will take place between N_1 and N_2 , i.e. whether it will be that of a QB or that of a genitive (see also Espinal & Cyrino 2021 on *de* as a phonological linker).

Syntactic analyses concerned with the role of the preposition in these two phrases can be divided according to whether they consider such a preposition as being generated in a shared manner, and whether the two instances of ‘of’ are to be accounted for as separated categories. Den Dikken (2006) proposes two different derivations, one for genitives and the other for QBs. Kayne (1994) suggests instead that the two instances of the preposition can be united within a single mechanism. Given what we have found about the preposition of previously in this paragraph, we maintain that such a preposition is underspecified, and that, like Kayne (1994) assumes, it is the same type of element regardless of whether the phrase is a QB or a genitive. N_1 is then a property-denoting element, like adjectives, and it is related to the noun it modifies through a preposition (or match D, in the case of Apulian). As such, there can be no syntactic operation such as extraction. Consider further, by instance, that a qualitative noun phrase is analogous to saying, ‘x is a doctor and an idiot’, which takes us to what Den Dikken had in mind in relation to QBs being predicative phrases. According to Bošković (2020), who follows Higginbotham (1985), adjunction (modification) is analogous to coordination,¹⁵ which would explain similarities shared by coordination and modification concerning the impossibility of extraction.

3.2. Interpretation

Another clue into how N_1 is interpreted as a predicative element and not as the head/possessum of a genitival phrase comes from number features. In genitival phrases, head and modifier can carry different number features. In Apulian QBs, however, N_1 and N_2 must share the same number features. Remember what we have said about (23), i.e. that N_1 is interpreted as the predicate also because of the semantic traits carried by N_2 . Now if N_1 has different number features from N_2 , the

phrase becomes agrammatical, and cannot be interpreted as a genitive or a QB. It cannot be interpreted as a genitive because of the [-HUMAN] feature of N_1 , and cannot be interpreted as a QB because N_1 and N_2 do not have the same number features.

- (24) *l-i sgar:ət:ɔn-ə l-a makən-a towa
 DEF-PL wreck-M.PL DEF-F.SG car(F)-SG your
 ‘those wrecks of your car’

Remember from (1), which we repeat below, that N_1 can also be an element that is originally an interjection, like *kaspəta*.

- (25) l-a kaspəta l-a bul:et:a
 DEF-F.SG freaking DEF-F.SG bill
 ‘that freaking thing of a bill’

Contrary to *sgar:ətɔnə* (24), which is masculine, *kaspəta* contains no gender features. So, what happens is that the gender features of *kaspəta*’s definite article are retrieved from those of N_2 .¹⁶ We also assume, as in Baker (2003), that nouns are the only lexical category bearing a referential index.

- (26) a. l-u kaspəta l-u lib:r-ə
 DEF-M.SG freaking DEF-M.SG book(M)-SG
 ‘that freaking thing of a book’
 b. l-i kaspəta l-i lib:r-a
 DEF-PL freaking DEF-PL book(M)-M.PL
 ‘the freaking books’

Based on this, we conclude that N_2 , rather than N_1 , is the head of such a phrase (see also Vişan 2013, Masini 2016, and Camacho & Serafim 2021, among others). Masini (2016: 109) describes nouns such as N_1 in this construction as light nouns (see also Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999 on Greek). This, according to Masini, reflects the fact that despite being embedded as a noun, N_1 might express a “lower referentiality with respect to N_2 ”, if it expresses any referentiality at all. N_1 might retain its gender features (as in ‘genius’), but this does not translate into a separate reference from that of the head, which is what we see in adjectives. The fact that these elements have hybrid properties in between nouns and adjectives is a consequence of the fact that they underwent a shift (adjectives or interjections being embedded as nouns). We will see more of this in the following section.

3.3. Agreement patterns

Qualitative constructions of the type analyzed here, being binominal, provide a fertile ground for testing agreement patterns. This paragraph is intended to be a preliminary exploration of agreement patterns in QB phrases in the Apulian variety under analysis here. We will investigate both external agreement (on participles, etc.), and agreement within the construction (on N_1 and D elements). This will help to shed light on how this Apulian variety instantiates agreement in contexts where binominal phrases are found, on the sensibility to certain semantic features such as animacy, or the sensibility to distance between agreeing elements. We will see how agreement in the construction’s D layer can reflect the construction’s basic properties.

In general, when analyzing verbal agreement with complex nominals in Romance, person agreement on the auxiliary and the finite verb is used, as in the case of pseudo-partitives (see, for instance, Lorusso & Franco 2017). When it comes to QBs, however, the number and person features of N_1 and N_2 always match (i.e. N_2 has the same index as N_1 , as in adjectives and head nouns), with third-person features being the rule. Other persons can be realized with additional syntactic material, such as complementizer phrases.

(27) l-a j:em-a l-a pres:or-es:a ke s:o gi / si tu, etc.
 DEF-F.SG idiot-F.SG DEF-F.SG professor-F.SG COMP am I / are you, etc.
 ‘the idiot of a professor that I am / you are, etc.’

QBs per se trigger third-person agreement. Ackema & Neeleman (2019) notice, for example, that R-expressions (regular nouns) do not generally include first or second person features. As in (27), other persons can be realized only by adding additional syntactic structure.

	N_1 & N_2
SHARING OF PERSON FEATURES (3 rd person features)	✓
SHARING OF NUMBER FEATURES	✓
SHARING OF GENDER FEATURES When N_1 is a noun	✗
SHARING OF GENDER FEATURES When N_1 is deadjectival or from another category (interjections, <i>kaspata</i>)	✓

Table 1. Features in Apulian qualitative binominals.

Since both N_1 and N_2 will trigger third person agreement, gender features are a better option for testing which of the two nouns controls agreement.¹⁷ Aside from person, since if N_2 is plural N_1 will be plural, number is excluded as well.

We will start with an analysis of agreement in resumptive clitics. We will find that when the complex nominal is the internal argument of a verbal phrase and undergoes resumption, the resumptive clitic might in principle agree with either noun; on the contrary adjectival modifiers of N_2 must agree with it.

As we anticipated, the first nominal in QBs is not referential on its own, it is a predicate of the subject, like adjectives with head nouns, and as such co-indexed with it. Thus, the construction only contains one index. In non-prepositional genitives the resumptive clitic agrees with the head (i.e. the first nominal), as per usual. In QBs, however, while N_2 is the actual antecedent of a resumption mechanism, not necessarily will the resumptive clitic agree with it: the clitic can agree with either noun. Corbett (1979: 204; 2006: 235) proposed an Agreement Hierarchy, “attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun”, in which elements further to the right are more likely to show semantic agreement. Clitics, pronouns external to the binominal phrase, fit this description.

(28) *kwed:-a pal:-a də lib:r-ə non tʃə l-a/l-u leḏʒ:-ə niʃun-ə*
 DEM-F.SG bore-F.SG of book(M)-SG NEG CL CL.OBJ-3.F.SG/.M.SG read-3SG nobody-M
 ‘nobody reads that bore of a book’

Whenever a [+HUMAN] noun is present, agreement with the [+HUMAN] noun is preferred.

(29) *a kwed:-a pal:-a də jom-ə non l-u/*l-a kak-a niʃun-ə*
 DOM¹⁸ DEM-F.SG bore-F.SG of man-SG NEG CL.OBJ-3.M.SG/F.SG pay_attention-3SG nobody-M
 ‘nobody pays attention to that bore of a man’

Another Southern Italo-Romance language where this happens is Pantiscu (a Sicilian variety spoken on the island of Pantelleria), where predicative adjectives modifying QBs noun phrases agree with the [+HUMAN] noun as well (Idone 2018: 8).

(30) *ddhu ciuri di picciotta è propriu bbèddh-a/*bbèddh-u*
 DEM.DIST.M.SG flower(M).SG of girl(F).SG be.3SG really beautiful-F.SG/M.SG
 ‘That lovely girl is really beautiful’

We can also test agreement with post-verbal subjects and observe that, in this case as well, participles and adjectives agree with the [+ HUMAN] noun if it is present.

- (31) a. $\varepsilon n\text{:}\varepsilon$ ar:əvat-a l-u d̩ʒ:enj-ə l-a tsit-a towa/*ar:əvat-ə
 is arrive.PTCP-F.SG DEF-M.SG genius(M)-SG DEF-F.SG girlfriend(F)-SG your/arrive.PTCP-M.SG
 'here came that genius of your girlfriend'
 b. $\varepsilon n\text{:}\varepsilon$ ar:əvat-ə l-u sgar:ət:ɔn-ə l-a makən-a də papa/ar:əvat-a
 is arrive.PTCP-M.SG DEF-M.SG wreck-M.SG DEF-F.SG car(F)-SG of dad/arrived-F.SG
 'that wreck of dad's car has arrived'

Pre-verbal subjects yield the same pattern.

- (32) a. l-u d̩ʒ:enjə l-a tsit-a towa $\varepsilon n\text{:}\varepsilon$ ar:əvat-a/*ar:əvat-ə
 DEF-M.SG genius(M)-SG DEF-F.SG girlfriend-F.SG your is arrive.PTCP-F.SG/*-M.SG
 'that genius of your girlfriend has arrived'
 b. l-u sgar:ət:ɔn-ə l-a makən-a də papa $\varepsilon n\text{:}\varepsilon$ ar:əvat-ə/*ar:əvat-a
 DEF-M.SG wreck-M.SG DEF-F.SG car(F)-SG of dad is arrive.PTCP-M.SG/*-F.SG
 'that wreck of dad's car has arrived'

We have said that predicates (N_1) have the role of a property-denoting element and that as such, they carry no real index on their own. However, these sorts of nominal predicates (*sgar:ət:ɔnə*) are still nouns and while they do not have a referential index themselves they do preserve their gender features, as evident from their articles (remember instead that the number features of N_1 depend on N_2); participles and adjectives will still agree with them, with the exception in which they appear with a [+ HUMAN] noun, a nominalized adjective, or elements originated from interjections (as in the case of *kaspəta* (26)). In that case, their morphology will bear the features of N_2 . The fact that nominal predicates like N_1 can still retain their gender features (that will be copied also on their articles) is a remnant of their nominal nature (as in Baker 2003). Despite this, the whole phrase contains only one referential index (unlike genitives), which is borne by N_2 .

3.4. More on the D layer

In this Apulian variety, demonstratives may occur only once in the construction, unlike definite articles. They head the N_1 - N_2 phrase, where they agree with N_2 . The same happens in the Italian counterpart (33c).

- (33) a. (kwi)st-u kaspəta də *(kwi)st-u medəkə
 DEM(M)-M.SG freaking of (DEM(M)-M.SG) doctor
 'this freaking doctor'

- b. (kwi)st-u]:em-ə də medəkə
 DEM(M)-M.SG idiot-M.SG of doctor
 ‘this idiot of a doctor’
- c. *quest-o* *caspita* *di* (**quest-o*) *medico*
 DEM-M.SG freaking of (DEM-M.SG) doctor
 ‘this freaking doctor’

As we have seen, definite articles appear instead twice, preceding each noun. The presence of a demonstrative correlates with the realization of a preposition (13c). This is true also for non-prepositional genitives in the same language (Massaro 2020, 2022). We can interpret this as follows. In non-prepositional genitives and QB constructions, modification is realized through a categorial match in the D layer (definite articles only). As we mentioned, QBs (34b) also require that N_1 and N_2 share the same number and gender features. In (34b) we have an invariable element (the interjection), but inflecting elements usually show agreement morphology with N_2 , so in (34b) we will show this agreement relation too.

- (34)
-
- l-i_i lib:r-a_i l-a_i nəpot-a_i
 DEF-PL book(M)-M.PL DEF-F.SG niece-F.SG
 ‘his/her niece’s books’
-
- l-u_i kaspəta_i l-u_i lib:r-ə_i
 DEF-M.SG freaking DEF-M.SG book(M)-M.SG
 ‘that freaking thing of a book’

On the other hand, when the D layer of both nouns shows no categorial matching, a modification relationship between the two nouns is realized with the preposition *də*.

- (35) a. (kwi)st-i lib:r-a də:l-a nəpot-a
 DEM(M)-PL book(M)-PL of.DEF-F.SG niece-F.SG
 ‘these books of his/her niece’s’
- b. (kwi)st-u kaspəta də lib:r-ə
 DEM(M)-M.SG freaking of book(M)-SG
 ‘this freaking thing of a book’

The relationship between N_1 and N_2 , in which the property denoted by N_1 qualifies N_2 , is then established in a twofold manner. In a case, a categorial match in the D layer is sufficient. That is when a preposition is not needed. A categorial match in the D layer is also found in adjectival modification in Modern Greek and Aromanian polydefinites¹⁹ ((36a,c), cf. Campos & Stavrou 2004: 137-138), and in Arabic adjectival phrases ((36d), cf. Fassi Fehri 1999: 107). Like adjectival phrases, Greek QB phrases also employ a polydefinite, recursive D strategy ((36b), cf. Alexiadou 2014: 43). Note that also in Greek, N_1 's article retains N_1 's features if N_1 is denominal: in (36b) N_1 is a neuter noun, while N_2 is feminine, and N_1 is introduced by the neuter form of the definite article.

(36) Modern Greek, adjectival (polydefinite)

- a. *i asimenj-a i pen-a*
 DEF.F.SG silver-F.SG DEF.F.SG pen(F)-SG
 'the silver pen'

Modern Greek, qualitative

- b. *to teras i adelfi mu irthe arga*
 DEF.N.SG monster[N.SG] DEF.F.SG sister mine came late
 'that monster of my sister came late'

Aromanian, adjectival (polydefinite)

- c. *stilo-lu lai-lu*
 pen-DEF black-DEF
 'the black pen'

Arabic, adjectival

- d. *l-kitab-u l-?axdar-u ř-řađiir-u*
 DEF-book(M)-NOM.SG DEF-green-NOM.M.SG DEF-small-NOM.M.SG
 'the small green book'

In this sense, Apulian non-prepositional genitives and QBs are similar to polydefinites, and, like Modern Greek polydefinites, occur in a variant where no categorial match in the D layer takes place, as we noted. In these cases, merging of N_1 *də* [N_2] realizes a relationship in which the properties of N_1 are applied to N_2 . The preposition *də* then includes N_1 amongst the properties of N_2 .

If our claim is that N_1 has an adjective-like function, then we should expect it to show at least some kind of adjectival behavior. If N_1 has an adjective-like function, it may not be accidental that in this Apulian variety non-prepositional QB phrases can be superficially indistinguishable from non-prepositional genitives (as in (22)) and that they can be realized through the same strategy (categorial matching in the D layer). Cross-linguistically genitival and adjectival modification may be realized with elements of the same category. Examples include Contemporary Persian with its *ezafe*:

- (37) a. ketɔ:b-e æ'li:
 book-LKR Ali
 'Ali's book'
 b. gonbæd-e n:bi:
 dome-LKR blue
 'the blue dome'

The Indo-Iranian linker, the *ezafe*, is etymologically a D element. For example, the Persian *ezafe* goes back to the Old Persian demonstrative 'hya' (Meillet 1931). While Persian lacks gender morphology, other Indo-Iranian languages do have inflecting linkers. The Zaza language, by instance, has adjectival linkers agreeing with the head N (Toosarvandani & Van Urk 2014: 3).

- (38) *kutk-o* *girs mi* *vinen-o*
 dog.M-LKR.M.SG.NOM big 1SG.OBL see-3SG.M
 'the big dog sees me'

In Apulian, the article preceding N_1 shows two things. The first is that the predicate (N_1) is embedded in the same syntactic context as nouns. N_1 's article signals the fact that whatever its origin (from adjectives, interjections, etc.), N_1 is now a nominalized element, i.e. N_1 's article acts as a nominalizer (see also Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999). This allows the language to generalize the recursive DPs strategy found in non-prepositional genitives to adjective-like functions (see Widmer *et al.* 2017 for discussion on overlapping realizations of genitives and adjectival phrases; see Alexiadou 2014 for recursive DPs in Greek QB phrases). A genitive/qualitative overlap also existed in Latin, where qualitative phrases were realized with N_2 in the genitive case (*monstrum mulier-is*, [monster woman-GEN], 'a monster of a woman', cf. Aarts 1998: 120). Then, with N_1 such as *kaspəta*, the article preceding N_1 has another function, that of an agreeing element. The inflecting article carries the gender and number features of the head, which is similar to what we saw with linkers in (38). The agreeing linker is generally thought to form a constituent with the modifier (despite being written as graphically attached to the head, as in Persian; see Philip 2012, Widmer *et al.* 2017), and so does the article preceding N_1 in Apulian.

With no match D and agreement morphology with N_2 in N_1 's D, the preposition *də* has the function of linking subject and predicate.

- (39) a. *kaspəta l-a bul:et:a
 freaking DEF-F.SG bill
 'freaking thing of a bill'

- b. *kaspəta də bul:et:a*
 freaking of bill
 ‘freaking thing of a bill’

Remember that the presence of a demonstrative requires a preposition, as in (35), which also shows that, like articles, also in this case demonstratives agree with N_2 . Demonstratives of N_1 never occur with articles of N_1 . They do occur in binominal phrases where N_2 is a bare noun.

- (40) a. *(kwi)st-u kaspəta də lib:r-ə*
 DEM(M)-M.SG freaking of book(M)-SG
 ‘this freaking thing of a book’
 b. *(kwi)st-u kaspəta dəl:-u/n-u lib:r-ə*
 DEM(M)-M.SG freaking of.DEF-M.SG/INDEF-M.SG book(M)-SG
 ‘this freaking thing of a book’
 c. **(kwi)st-u kaspəta lib:r-ə*
 DEM(M)-M.SG freaking book(M)-SG
 ‘this freaking thing of a book’

The demonstrative in (40a) could be seen as belonging to N_2 . However, like N_1 ’s definite article, here the demonstrative belongs with N_1 (see also Alexiadou 2014 on Greek binominal phrases). N_2 ’s article is not spurious, but a regular article, which belongs with N_2 (see also Etxepare 2013). This is clear from (40b), where the D layer of N_2 is already filled with an article, since demonstratives and articles are never found together in pre-nominal position in this language. As the article, the demonstrative belongs syntactically with N_1 because, like the article, it signals the fact that whatever its origin (from adjectives, interjections, etc.), N_1 is now embedded as a noun.

It should be noted that this construction also allows for a pre-nominal realization of adjectives that are otherwise strictly post-nominal when adnominal, like *fem-* (see Andriani 2018 on the linearization of adjectives in Southern Italo-Romance, and precisely in Barese Apulian). The possibility of a different linearization for adjectives recalls the Modern Greek monadic/polydefinites alternation. Monadic phrases (41c) only allow pre-nominal modifiers. In polydefinites (41a,b) instead, adjectives can occur both pre-nominally and post-nominally (Campos & Stavrou 2004: 137-138).

- (41) a. *i asimenja i pena*
 DEF silver DEF pen
 ‘the silver pen’
 b. *i pena i asimenja*
 DEF pen DEF silver
 ‘the silver pen’

- c. *i asimenja pena*
 DEF silver pen
 'the silver pen'
- d. **i pena asimenja*
 DEF pen silver
 'the silver pen'

Finally, if N_1 has an adjective-like function, we should expect it to be gradable. This is what we find, at least when a noun ('genius', (42b,d)) or an adjective ('idiot', (42a,c)) are involved. Not so much when the first member is instead an interjection (42e). We also note here that, unlike non-prepositional genitives, non-prepositional qualitative phrases allow for modifiers to be interposed between the two nouns.

- (42) a. l-u ʃ;em-ə totalə l-u medəkə
 DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG total DEF-M.SG doctor
 'that total idiot of a doctor'
- b. l-u dʒ;enj-ə totalə l-u medəkə
 DEF-M.SG genius(M)-SG total DEF-M.SG doctor
 'that total genius of a doctor'
- c. n-u ʃ;em-ə totalə də medəkə
 INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG total of doctor
 'a total idiot of a doctor'
- d. n-u dʒ;enj-ə totalə də medəkə
 INDEF-M.SG genius(M)-SG total of doctor
 'a total genius of a doctor'
- e. ?l-u kaspəta totalə l-u medəkə
 DEF-M.SG freaking total DEF-M.SG doctor
 'that total idiot of a doctor'

Masini (2016: 104) also tests the idea that N_1 s should express gradable semantics with the following Italian example containing the noun *larghezza*, 'width', which is not possible (contrasts with *bellezza* 'beauty', and *dolcezza* 'sweetness'), showing that not all gradable nouns are possible.

- (43) a. **un-a larghezz-a di tavolo*
 INDEF-F.SG width(F)-SG of table
 (intended meaning) 'a large table'
- b. *un-a bellezz-a / dolcezz-a di ragazz-a*
 INDEF-F.SG beauty(F)-SG / sweetness(F)-SG of girl(F)-SG
 'a beautiful girl'

3.5. Indefinites and bare nouns

During the course of this paper, we mostly focused on definite instances of this construction. This is due to the role that definite articles

play in the non-prepositional phrase. Given this, the analysis we carried until now mostly involved readily identifiable referents (proper names included, despite them being article-less).

A logical representation of the semantic apport of definite articles is the iota operator (ι). Iota operators restrict a set of elements having a precise property (for example that of being a table) to a single element (singleton), for example, *the table*. A iota operator might also restrict pluralities within sets (the tables, see also Chierchia 1998); indefinites, represented with an \exists operator, quantify over the whole set (elements that are tables), picking any element as long as it belongs to the set (a table), or, in other words, as long as it belongs to that kind: at least one of the elements which belong to the kind ‘table’. The ι/\exists dichotomy has profound ramifications in sentence structure and the availability of certain configurations (prepositional/non-prepositional alternations being an example here). Another thing worth noting here is that if N_1 ’s article is indefinite, then N_2 is necessarily bare.

- (44) a. *n-u ʃ:em-ə də n-u medəkə
 INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of INDEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘an idiot of a doctor’
 b. *n-u ʃ:em-ə dəl:u medəkə
 INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of.DEF-M.SG doctor
 ‘an idiot of a doctor’
 c. n-u ʃ:em-ə də medəkə
 INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of doctor
 ‘an idiot of a doctor’

This can be explained if we assume that in cases like (44c) N_2 expresses a kind. To be a kind implies a “sufficiently regular behavior” (Chierchia 1998: 348), which limits the properties that characterize an element so that it can be included in that kind, e.g. ‘kind of profession’ = ‘doctor’. The set ‘doctor’ includes any element with the property ‘doctor’ (as having a degree in medicine, healing patients, etc.).

- (45) a. n-u tipə də [medəkə_{KIND}]
 INDEF-M.SG kind of doctor
 ‘a kind of doctor’
 b. n-u ʃ:em-ə də [medəkə_{KIND}]
 INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of doctor
 ‘an idiot of a doctor’

(45b) says that this person is an idiot when compared to what is usually expected of doctors.

Now, the distribution of determiners in (45b) recalls Romance pseudopartitives ((46) from Espinal & Cyrino 2021: 5).

- (46) Spanish
 a. *un kilo de manzanas*
 a kilogram of apples
 'a kilogram of apples'
 French
 b. *un verre de bière*
 a glass of beer
 'a glass of beer'
 Italian
 c. *un bicchiere di birra*
 a glass of beer
 'a glass of beer'

Also in pseudopartitives N_2 expresses a kind. N_1 expresses an amount, while N_2 expresses the fact that this amount can be quantified over any substance that belongs to the kind 'beer', for instance. In practice, this is what indefinites do. Partitives proper, instead, quantify over specific sets (N_2) (Rutkowski 2007, Espinal & Cyrino 2021). What (44c) says is that we have a stupid instance of the kind 'doctor' or that somebody is stupid for the kind 'doctor', or, as put in Den Dikken (2006: 170), 'in his capacity of being a doctor'.

- (47) n-u pokə ʃ:em-ə pə jɛs:ə medəkə
 INDEF-M.SG little idiot-M.SG for be doctor
 'a little stupid to be a doctor'

This difference is at the heart of Den Dikken's proposed difference between 'attributive' and 'comparative' QB phrases. The first (attributive) says that a referent is an idiot for the kind 'doctor'. In the second, a precise instance of the kind 'doctor' is described as stupid. This is the case of the definite descriptions we analyzed in the previous sections, where the iota operator restricts the set to a precise individual.

At the same time, N_2 refers to a kind, but the construction refers to an entity that is an instance of this kind ('this disgust of a song' refers to a particular instance of the kind 'disgusting songs', for example). As we saw in (40a), a bare N_2 can occur with an N_1 headed by a definite article. In (44c) we saw that a demonstrative is possible as well. Here, N_1 's D layer plays another key role. In discussing cases such as 'that kind of animal'/'a kind of animal' Chierchia (1998: 363-364) proposed the 'Derived Kind Predication' which states that, "when an object-argument slot in a predicate is filled by a kind, the type of predicate is auto-

matically adjusted by introducing a local existential quantification over instances of the kind". So, while N_2 refers to a kind, the whole phrase is a predication of a particular instance of this kind, so that N_1 can have a demonstrative as in (40a), but also an indefinite article, as in (44c). This means that the whole phrase can be quantified over by definite or indefinite operators, because it represents an instance of the kind 'doctor', so that we can have 'that idiot of a doctor', 'an idiot of a doctor', etc. This is more or less what we see with adjectival modification, where the adjective modifies a definite/indefinite instance of its head, 'a stupid doctor', 'this stupid doctor', etc. Then, as we mentioned, the preposition *də* (or 'match D') links the predicate to the subject of the predication (N_2).

4. Conclusions

In this paper, we presented new data from the Gargano Apulian Italo-Romance language of San Marco in Lamis concerning the realization of QBs (the 'N-of-an-N' type). Our findings can be summarized as follows. In this language, QBs can be either prepositional, or non-prepositional. We found that the absence of the preposition depends on the make-up of the determiner layer of the two nouns. We have seen that both nouns must be preceded by a definite article for the construction to be non-prepositional: indefinites are in fact only allowed in the prepositional variant. This overlaps with the behavior of non-prepositional genitives in the same language. In this regard, we proposed that both in non-prepositional QBs and in non-prepositional genitives the two nouns are related by matching the type of determiner preceding each of them through a mechanism which we dubbed match D. As we said, definite articles are the type of determiner required by both phrases to be non-prepositional.

As observed in Napoli (1989) and Den Dikken (2006) QBs do not allow for the extraction of either of the two nouns. We connected this to the fact that N_1 is a property-denoting element, like adjectives. Adjectival phrases do not allow the extraction of either nouns or adjectives; they are then what Chomsky (2001) called phases, i.e. phrases that once completed do not allow further syntactic operations (such as extraction) to occur.

We found that in some contexts, non-prepositional genitives and non-prepositional QBs appear superficially indistinguishable (22). We proposed that the interpretation of a phrase as a genitive or a QB depends on the semantics of the two nouns and established that inter-

pretation also depends on the number features of N_1 and N_2 (section 3.2). Just like in the case of agreeing adjectives, if N_2 is plural, N_1 will be plural, too. We based our conclusion that N_2 is the head of the phrase on the fact that when N_1 is a nominalized adjective (*femə*) or an interjection (*kaspəta*), and thus per se void of gender and number features, the features of N_2 will show up on N_1 and on its article. In prepositional genitives, on the other hand, there is no matching in number features between N_1 and N_2 . QBs only trigger third person agreement (either singular or plural), just like R-expressions generally do (see Ackema & Neeleman 2019).

In section 3.3 we gave a first sketch of agreement patterns of adjectives and verbs with QBs. We found that agreement with QBs in the language conforms to the Agreement Hierarchy (Corbett 2006) when it comes to agreeing clitics. Another condition imposed on agreement is the presence of a [+HUMAN] feature: while the clitic might generally agree with either member of the construction, this is not the case when a [+HUMAN] noun is present. In this instance, the clitic will necessarily agree with the [+HUMAN] noun.

In section 3.4 we focused on the determiner layer of the phrase and tried to answer two questions, (i) what is the behavior of N_1 's article, and (ii) what can its behavior tell us about the nature of N_1 and its role in the phrase. We claimed that the fact that the first element is embedded as a noun allows the language to generalize the recursive DP strategy of non-prepositional genitives to QB noun phrases. 'Match D' (or the preposition 'of') links the two nouns, applying the property expressed by N_1 to N_2 . If N_1 is not denominal (i.e. it is an adjective or an interjection like *kaspəta*) N_1 's article agrees with N_2 , showing that it is a modifier of N_1 . N_1 's article agrees with the head, but forms a constituent with the modifier. Because of this, we claim that N_1 's article has a parallel in head-agreeing adjectival linkers of the type found in Zaza, an Indo-Iranian language (Toosarvandani & Van Urk 2014).

Abbreviations

CL.OBJ = object clitic; COMP = complementizer; DEF = definite article; DEM = demonstrative; F = feminine; INDEF = indefinite article; LKR = linker; M = masculine; NEG = negation; PART = partitive; PL = plural; PST = past tense; PTCP = participle; QB = qualitative binominal; SG = singular. Elements whose gender is signaled by both inflection and a metaphonetic process on the root have gender glossed twice, e.g. *kwist-u*, DEM(M)-M.SG; *kwest-a*, DEM(F)-F.SG.

Notes

¹ The mechanism takes a copular phrase such as *the doctor is a jewel*, and through inversion yields *a jewel of a doctor*. The preposition is the result of this inversion mechanism.

² These article forms are descendants of the accusative form of the Latin demonstrative *ille* (M.SG), *illa* (F.SG), *illud* (N.SG), as is usually the case in Romance (two exceptions being Sardinian, Mensching 2005, and Balearic Islands Catalan, Gaspar 2013). Languages such as Verbicaro Calabrese (Silvestri 2013: 136) did not retain the lateral in *ille* (while Italian *l-o* (M.SG), *l-a* (F.SG) and Apulian *l-u* (M.SG), *l-a* (F.SG) did).

(i) *a nučə u kvəddə*

DEF.F.SG nut DEF.M.SG neck

'cervical vertebra'

³ Amongst the Romance languages with non-prepositional genitives whose article retained the lateral we can include Old French (Jensen 1990: 19, 20), Old Italian, Old Sicilian, and Lombard (Delfitto & Paradisi 2009: 62, 63). Delfitto & Paradisi also list data from Castro dei Volsci (in the province of Frosinone, Southern Latium), another variety with non-prepositional genitives where the lateral was retained. Rio Platense Spanish is another language with articles endowed with a lateral where non-prepositional genitives occur (Silvestri 2013: 90).

⁴ Romanian, Old Romanian, and Catalan data from Vişan (2013) and sources quoted therein.

⁵ Spanish data from Villalba (2007).

⁶ *n-* (en in French, *ne* in Italian, *nde* in Sardinian) is a partitive clitic, roughly meaning 'of it', where 'it' is a proform for the direct object.

(ii) a. *h-o lett-o un libro* Italian

have-1SG read.PTCP-M.SG INDEF.M.SG book

'I have read a book'

b. *ne h-o lett-a un-a pagin-a*

PART have-1SG read.PTCP-F.SG INDEF-F.SG page(F)-SG

'I have read one page of it'

See Mensching (2020) on Sardinian; Cardinaletti & Giusti (1991) on Italian; Ihsane (2013) on French.

⁷ The Apulian non-reinforced form of the distal demonstrative being *dd-u/-a* (Latin *ille*), the reinforced one being *kwid-u / kwed-a* (Latin **(ec)cu(m) ille*). The Italian counterpart being *quell-o/-a*. Italian has a non-reinforced variant (Latin *iste*) for the proximal *quest-o/-a*, being *st-o/st-a*, but lacks a non-reinforced variant of the distal demonstrative. Apulian proximal demonstratives are *kwist-u / kwest-a*, and *st-u/-a*, respectively.

⁸ Cross-linguistically non-prepositional genitives and qualitative binominal phrases are reminiscent of Celtic genitives (see Widmer *et al.* 2017) and Semitic Construct State genitives for their juxtaposition strategy and for their definiteness requirements. Similarities with the Semitic Construct State genitive were noted in Longobardi (1995, 2001) for Italian, and Massaro (2020, 2022) for this Apulian variety.

⁹ The same happens in non-prepositional genitives: article-less modifiers are not allowed, and definite articles need to be realized at all times, resulting otherwise in the prepositional variant. On the basis of this, agreement for definiteness via D was postulated (see Massaro 2020, 2022).

(iii) **l-u lib:r-ə Məkelə*

DEF-M.SG book(M)-SG Michael

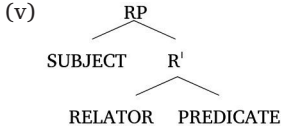
'Michael's book'

(iv) *l-u lib:r-ə *(də) Məkelə*

DEF-M.SG book(M)-SG of Michael

'Michael's book'

¹⁰ In Den Dikken’s analysis, the article would be contained in the relator node, which also includes the preposition ‘of’. N_1 and N_2 are predicate and subject, respectively (tree of the Relator Phrase from Den Dikken 2006: 3).



¹¹ By which we mean an element establishing the modification mechanism between head and modifier.

¹² This is true of Romance non-prepositional genitives generally, and it is also confirmed by diachronic data, cf. Delfitto & Paradisi 2009 for Old French and Old Italian varieties; Jensen 2012 for Old French.

¹³ The examples analyzed here contain N_2 s which are readily identifiable in the interlocutors’ shared knowledge, or Common Ground (see Krifka 2008). Here the definite article signals that the noun it precedes belongs to the Common Ground, and it is hence a topic or an accommodated topic (Epstein 2002 for other uses of definite articles).

¹⁴ The doubling of the lateral in *kul-u* is due to syntactic doubling. In this variety in fact the preposition ‘with’ is always *ku*, never *kun* or *kum* (in which case it would be possible to speak of assimilation).

¹⁵ ‘A big butterfly’ = ‘That is a butterfly, and it is big (for a butterfly)’, cf. Higginbotham 1985: 563.

¹⁶ The same reasoning applies to nominalized adjectives in the construction, as in the case of *femə* ‘idiot’.

¹⁷ Of course, this can only be done when N_1 is a noun proper, as we have done in (28-32), because in the case of nominalized adjectives, N_1 and N_2 will have the same gender features, too.

¹⁸ DOM (Differential Object Marking, Bossong 1991) describes a phenomenon in which only a subset of direct objects receives special markings. In Persian, *-rā* attaches to specific direct objects only (Lazard 1982, Samvelian 2018); In Romance, the preposition *a* is the usual differential object marker, except for Romanian, which has *pe* (Bossong 1991), and Gascon, which has *ena/enda* (Rohlfs 1970). Like Spanish, languages of Southern Italy employ the preposition *a*. In these languages, DOM usually marks [+ANIMATE] or specific objects (Ledgeway *et al.* 2019).

¹⁹ Polydefinites are adjectival phrases whereby both the head noun and the adjectival modifier are preceded by a definite article. They are opposed to monadic adjectival phrases, in which only one article is realized. In Greek, polydefinites also allow for post-nominal adjectives, contrary to monadics (see Campos & Stavrou 2004).

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