Apulian Qualitative Binominal Noun Phrases

Angelapia Massaro

angelapia.massaro@unisi.it

Abstract

This paper focuses on several morphosyntactic properties connected to qualitative binominal constructions (*QBCs,* complex noun phrases of the type *a jewel$_{NP1}$ of a village$_{NP2}$*) from a Southern Italo-Romance language spoken in the Apulian town of San Marco in Lamis (Foggia). Here, QBCs appear in two ways: prepositionally (with *də,* allowing definites, indefinites, and demonstratives), and non-prepositionally, (only allowing definite nouns with definite articles, and hence not proper names). We will suggest that in the latter type N_1 and N_2 are related by a categorial match in their determiner layer, 'match D'. N_1, a property-denoting element, is embedded as a noun, which allows 1) the recursive DP strategy found in non-prepositional genitives; 2) the generalization of this mechanism to qualitative phrases, where N_1 has an adjective-like function. This derives the impossibility of syntactic operations such as extraction (which we connect to the notion of *phase*). With non-denominal N_1s, N_1's article will be treated as head-agreeing adjectival linkers, which form a constituent with the modifier but agree with the head. We will suggest that a phrase is interpreted as a qualitative binominal if N_1 and N_2 share the same number features and if the features of N_1 do not allow for it to be interpreted as the head/possessum of N_2. A few words will be spent on external agreement with either noun of the construction, and we will see that the data confirm the relevance of [+HUMAN] features with regard to agreement relations.

Keywords: Apulian, Qualitative Binominal Noun Phrases, phases

1) Introduction

This paper deals with a type of predicative phrase made up of two elements, in which the first one (either a noun, an adjective, or an interjection) embeds a second one (understood as the subject of the predication) through prepositions such as *of* (*a jewel **of** a village*). This type of phrase is characterized by a precise realization of the determiner layer. For example, in English, the subject (N_2) generally hosts an indefinite article in its D position, *a jewel$_{N1}$ of* [*a doctor$_{N2}$*] (qualitative) vs. *a jewel$_{N1}$ of* [*the doctor's$_{N2}$*] (possessive). In the first case, the usual meaning is that N_1 is a quality being

1

predicated about N₂, i.e., the fact that the doctor is a jewel. In the second, the interpretation is instead that N₁ is possessed by N₂.

This construction has been extensively described in Aarts (1998) and Den Dikken (2006) in relation to Germanic (Dutch, English). It was the focus of studies such as Napoli (1989), Kayne (1994), Vişan (2003), Villalba (2007), and Tănase-Dogaru (2012) in relation to Standard Romance varieties (Catalan, French, Italian, Romanian, Spanish).

Several syntactic analyses, such as Den Dikken and Kayne's, focus on the role of the preposition in the construction. Their syntactic analyses share a predicate-subject inversion strategy[i] which in Den Dikken's work is the mechanism triggering the presence of a preposition. Given that in the Apulian variety under analysis here such a construction occurs also in a non-prepositional fashion, then the analysis in which there is inversion, and inversion produces a preposition, is untenable.

1) l-a   ˈkaspəta l-a   bulːˈetːa   *Apulian (San Marco in Lamis, Foggia)[ii]*

   DEF-F.SG freaking DEF-F.SG bill

   'that freaking thing of a bill'

In this language, qualitative binominals are not the only construction involving the absence of a preposition; the so-called *non-prepositional genitives* also occur. In Massaro (2020) it is proposed that caseless, non-prepositional genitives in this language are interpreted as such even in the absence of a preposition thanks to a categorial match in the D layer of both nouns (which we will call 'match D'), which is realized by matching the type of determiner (in our case, definite articles) in the D layer of both head and modifier.

2) a. l-i   rɔt-ə   l-a   makən-a /*n-a   makən-a

      DEF-PL wheels-F.PL DEF-F.SG car-F.SG/INDEF-F.SG car-F.SG

      'the car's wheels'

   b. l-a   kod-a l-u   kan-ə   /*n-u   kan-ə

55   DEF-F.SG tail   DEF-M.SG dog-M.SG/ INDEF-M.SG dog-M.SG

56   'the dog's tail'

57 Indefinites require instead the presence of a preposition, thus resulting in *də na makəna, də nu kanə,*

58 etc. Rohlfs (1969: 6) proposed that the preposition is present and that it undergoes absorption in

59 intervocalic contexts. The definite articles of the Morano Calabrese variety taken into account by

60 Rohlfs underwent the loss of the lateral, thus resulting in *a*(F)/*u, v*(M).[iii] However, not all Italo-

61 Romance varieties lost the lateral in definite articles, and still, non-prepositional genitives occur

62 anyway.[iv] Because of this, Silvestri (2012) proposes that Rohlfs's proposal might be incorrect.

63 Moreover, non-prepositional genitives are well attested in Old Romance (see Delfitto and Paradisi

64 2009 for Old Italian and Old Sicilian; Jensen 1990 for Old French). Because of this, we assume that

65 the preposition-triggering inversion advocated by Den Dikken is not the mechanism generating non-

66 prepositional qualitative binominals (or non-prepositional genitives) in this language. More

67 similarities between non-prepositional genitives and non-prepositional qualitative binominal

68 constructions can be added. Qualitative binominals seem to obey the same requirements related to

69 the D layer we find in non-prepositional genitives, N_1 is definite, occurs with an article, and so does

70 N_2 (even though definite, proper names, being bare, trigger the presence of a preposition; see

71 footnote (X)). Qualitative binominals containing indefinite nominals require a preposition (just like

72 non-prepositional genitives do). We will see more of this in §3.

73   This paper is structured as follows. §2 gives an overview of qualitative binominals in

74 Standard Romance languages, focusing mostly on the realization of the determiner layer of each

75 noun. §3 introduces the data on Apulian non-prepositional qualitative binominals; since Apulian

76 non-prepositional qualitative binominals behave, in some respect, similarly to non-prepositional

77 genitives, we will discuss them too. §3.1 deals with the role of the preposition *də* in the phrase and

78 with syntactic operations such as extraction. §3.2 hinges on the question of interpretation: how is a

79 qualitative binominal interpreted as such even when superficially identical to a genitival phrase?

§3.3 is an analysis of agreement patterns with qualitative binominals in Apulian, both in internal and external agreement relations. We will see how different phenomena determine the choice of goals in both internal and external morphological agreement, and especially the original category of the element embedded as N_1, distance of the probe from the goal, and the presence of [HUMAN] features in the phrase. In particular, the article preceding N_1 will be analyzed as an agreeing element, similar to an agreeing linker (see Toosarvandani & Van Urk 2014), which serves to establish N_1 as a modifier of N_2. This is especially important when N_1 is originally deficient with respect to the possibility of carrying gender features (as is the case in interjections like ˈ*kaspəta*, lit. 'freaking'), 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. Embedding the predicate as a noun (which can then have its own determiner) allows the language to generalize the iterated DPs ('*match D*') strategy found in genitival modification to modification in qualitative binominals. In so doing, the language makes it possible for elements that are otherwise not modifiers (like interjections) to appear as such. In this respect, we will claim that other than allowing unusual elements to be recategorized as modifiers, the construction also allows strictly post-nominal adjectival modifiers to be linearized before the noun, which in part resembles the alternation between Greek *monadic* and *polydefinite* adjectival modification in Greek (Campos & Stavrou 2004). Finally, §4 concludes.

2) Qualitative Binominals in Romance

Romance languages generally realize qualitative binominal constructions in at least three configurations and namely the demonstrative-definite article type (3), the indefinite article-bare noun type (4)[v] (which can also be realized with N_1 headed by a definite article (5)). (6)[vi] shows

instead a definite article-definite article configuration. Lastly, as expected from languages where proper nouns rise to D, data containing proper names show article-less N_2 ((3a) and (7)).

3) a. *cet   imbécile de Jean*   *French*

    DEM idiot   of Jean

    'that idiot of Jean'

  b. *quell'idiota del   dottore*   *Italian*

    DEM idiot of.DEF doctor

    'that idiot of the doctor'

  c. *quello schifo   di canzone*   *Italian*

    DEM disgust of song

    'that abomination of a song'

4) a. *o   scârbă de om*   *Romanian*

    INDEF jerk   of man

    'a jerk of a man'

  b. *uno   schifo   di uomo*   *Italian*

    INDEF disgust of man

    'an abomination of a man'

5) a. *amărât-ul   de om*   *Old Romanian*

    wreck-DEF of man

    'a wreck of a man'

  b. *lo   schifo   di libro*   *Italian*

    DEF disgust of book

    'an abomination of a book'

6) a. *l'idiota   del   dottore*   *Italian*

    DEF idiot of.DEF doctor

130   'the idiot of the doctor'

131   b. *el   idiota del   médico*   *Spanish*

132   DEF idiot of.DEF doctor

133   'the idiot of the doctor'

134   7) a. *el babau de Joan*   *Catalan*

135   DEF idiot of Joan

136   'the idiot of Joan'

137   b. *lo   scemo di Michele*   *Italian*

138   DEF idiot of Michele

139   'the idiot of Michele'

We can see that in Romance, at least two types of qualitative binominals 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 be article-less, too. Such is the case of exclamatives and qualitative binominals embedded in
complementizer phrases, as the following examples from Italian show.

145   8) a. *stupido di un   dottore*

146   idiot   of INDEF doctor

147   'Idiot of a doctor!'

148   b. *che   schifo di canzone*

149   COMP disgust of song

150   'What a terrible song'

In the Apulian variety under analysis here, qualitative binominals 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 touch upon non-prepositional genitives. As anticipated,
non-prepositional genitives and non-prepositional qualitative binominals behave similarly in several

respects, among which the absence of a preposition, a categorial match in the D layer of both nouns, and the impossibility of undergoing syntactic operations such as extraction.

3) The Apulian data

All the Apulian data introduced in this paragraph come from the Gargano Apulian Italo-Romance language of San Marco in Lamis (Foggia) unless stated otherwise. Given that Apulian qualitative binominals behave, in some respects, similarly to non-prepositional genitives, we will introduce them here. We have no data concerning the realization of non-prepositional qualitative phrases in other Apulian varieties. However, concerning the presence of non-prepositional genitives, this is attested in at least another Gargano Apulian variety (Mattinata, Silvestri 2012: 564), although displaying micro-variation as is normal (like the possibility of proper names as genitives), the presence of non-prepositional genitives in neighboring Gargano Apulian varieties suggests that the presence of non-prepositional qualitative phrases could be possible.

We have said that this language can realize two types of genitival constructions. The difference between the two, as proposed in Massaro (2020, 2022) lies in the fact that the non-prepositional type only allows definite nouns, and that it is regulated by a categorial match in the D layer.

9) a. l-i   libːr-a   l-a   nəpot-a   San Marco in Lamis (Foggia)

   DEF-PL book-M.PL DEF-F.SG niece-F.SG

   'his/her niece's books'

b. *l-i   libːr-a   n-a   nəpot-a

   DEF-PL book-M.PL INDEF-F.SG niece-F.SG

   'the books of a niece of his/hers'

c. l-i   libːr-a   də n-a   nəpot-a

   DEF-PL book-MPL of INDEF-F.SG niece-F.SG

   'the books of a niece of his/hers'

This construction is characterized by several syntactic properties, however for the time being we will focus on two of them in that they are also relevant for the discussion on qualitative binominal phrases which will follow. One of these two syntactic properties is extraction. The question-answer example below shows that extraction out of a non-prepositional genitive is not possible, while it is for the prepositional variant.

10) a. kwant-a   n.a   lett-ə də.lː-i   pad͡ʒːən-ə l-a   kart-a?

    how.many-PL cl.have.2.SG read 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[vii]   letː-ə   dojə pad͡ʒːən-ə

    DEF-F.SG letter-F.SG PART-have.1.SG read-PL two.F page.F-PL

    'of the letter, I have read two pages'

a'. kwant-a   n.a   lett-ə də.lː-i   pad͡ʒːən-ə də.lː-a   kart-a?

    how.many-PL PART.have.2.SG read of.DEF-PL page.F-PL of.DEF-F.SG letter-F.SG

    'how many pages of the letter have you read?'

b'. də.lː-a   kart-a   n-e   letː-ə   dojə pad͡ʒːən-ə

    of.DEF-F.SG letter-F.SG PART-have.1.SG read.PST-PL two.F page.F-PL

    'of the letter, I have read two pages'

Another syntactic property is instead related to adjectival modification. Speakers seem reluctant to accept post-nominal modifiers of the head and switch to a prepositional genitive whenever this happens.

11) l-i   rɔt-ə nɔv-ə *(də.)l-a   makən-a

    DEF-PL tires new-PL *(of.)DEF-F.SG car-F.SG

    'the new tires of the car'

The head can only be modified by a post-nominal adjective if the phrase is prepositional. The genitive can, instead, 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 §4 we will see that non-prepositional binominal qualitatives allow degree modifiers to be interposed between N_1 and N_2.

In qualitative binominal constructions in this Italo-Romance language, the D-layer of the predicate can contain either a distal demonstrative or a definite article. N_2 can be article-less or headed by a definite article. Configurations with N_1 headed by a demonstrative[viii] require a preposition to relate it to N_2. On the other hand, configurations in which both N_1 and N_2 are headed by a definite article do not. Article-less N_2s require instead a preposition.[ixx]

13) a. l-u   ˈʃːem-ə   l-u   ˈmedəkə

      DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG DEF-M.SG doctor

      'the idiot of the doctor'

    b. l-a   ˈkaspəta   l-a   bulˈletːa

      DEF-F.SG freaking   DEF-F.SG bill

      'that freaking thing of a bill'

    c. *kwidːu   ˈʃːem-ə   l-u   ˈmedəkə

      DEM-M.SG idiot-M.SG DEF-M.SG doctor

      '*that idiot of the doctor'

    d. kwidːu   ˈʃːem-ə   də.lː-u   ˈmedəkə

      DEM-M.SG idiot-M.SG of.DEF-M.SG doctor

      'that idiot of the doctor'

    e. *l-u   ˈʃːem-ə ˈmedəkə

227   DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG doctor

228   'that idiot of the doctor'

229   f. l-u   ˈʃ:em-ə   də.l:-u   ˈmedəkə

230   DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of.DEF-M.SG doctor

231   'that idiot of the doctor'

As mentioned, the construction obeys similar constraints to the ones we found for non-prepositional

genitives, including a ban on indefinites.

     14) a. l-u   ˈʃ:em-ə   l-u   ˈmedəkə

          DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG   DEF-M.SG doctor

             'the idiot of the doctor'

       b. *n-u   ˈʃ:em-ə   l-u   ˈmedəkə

          INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG DEF-M.SG doctor

             '*an idiot of the doctor'

       c. *l-u   ˈʃ:em-ə   n-u   ˈmedəkə

          DEF-M.SG idiot-m.sg   INDEF-M.SG doctor

             '*the idiot of a doctor'

       d. n-u   ˈʃ:em-ə   də   ˈmedəkə

          INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of   doctor

             'an idiot of a doctor'

       e. *n-u   ˈʃ:em-ə   n-u   ˈmedəkə

          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

10

252 exclude that such a mechanism is feasible in this language. Examples with interjections (1) also

253 show that it is not feasible to derive the construction from an inverted copula. This would imply

254 starting the derivation from *l-a bul'letː-a ɛ 'kaspəta, 'the bill is freaking', which is not a possible

255 sentence, unlike what it would appear if we only used elements such as *idiot* to test the inversion

256 hypothesis (*that idiot of a doctor = the doctor is an idiot*). Another claim made in Den Dikken's work

257 is that in Dutch, the article preceding N_2 is 'spurious'. Den Dikken reaches this conclusion because,

258 in Dutch, qualitative binominals show number agreement mismatches between N_2 and its article, as

259 shown in (15) (Den Dikken 2006: 170).

260 15) a. *die   idioten van een kerels*   *Dutch*

261   those idiots   of a   guys

262   'those stupid guys'

263 b. *die   idioten van een doktoren*

264   those idiots   of a   doctors

265   'those stupid doctors'

266 According to Den Dikken, this 'spurious' article doesn't belong with any of the two members in the

267 construction,[xi] and it signals the fact that N_1 and N_2 are contained within a small clause. As discussed

268 in length in Villalba (2007) the definite article preceding N_2 in Romance is a full-fledged determiner

269 and does not allow for agreement mismatches. This is also what we find in Apulian. If agreement

270 mismatches between N_2 and its article are what signals the fact that the article is spurious, and such

271 agreement mismatches do not exist in Romance, then it is a consequence to conclude, like Villalba

272 does, that this analysis cannot be extended to Romance (see Giannakidou & Stavrou 1999 for similar

273 remarks on definite articles in Greek binominal qualitatives).

274   Surely, one of the interesting things about this construction is the behavior of determiners. In

275 the case of Apulian, for instance, we maintain that articles in the construction realize a categorial

276 match in the D layer (see also Tănase-Dogaru 2012, who proposes that Romanian qualitative

binominals show definiteness agreement), let us call it *match D* (which only includes definite articles), 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.

16) a.   *Binominal Qualitative*   b.   *Binominal Qualitative*

PREDICATE SUBJECT   lu   la
                           ˈd͡ʒːənjə   t͡sita
                           (the genius) (the girlfriend)

The fact that *match D* occurs in both non-prepositional qualitative binominals and non-prepositional genitives can be explained if we assume that N$_2$, which is the individual-denoting member, has specific reference, just like possessors in non-prepositional genitives.[xii] In non-prepositional qualitative binominals N$_2$ is in fact a topical element.[xiii] This is also what we find in other Romance languages such as Spanish. Villalba (2007: 11) shows that in Spanish qualitative binominals N$_2$ is usually a topical element and that it is incompatible with positions where foci are found.

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

We can see that the same happens in Apulian, regardless of whether the qualitative binominal is prepositional or non-prepositional.

18) a. *non a   parˈl-atə ˈku-lː-u[xiv] ˈʃem-ə [ˈkwalː-u ˈmedəkə]
         not have.2.SG talk-PST with-DEF idiot-M.SG which-M.SG doctor
         '*you didn't talk to the idiot of which doctor'

   b. *non a   parˈlat-ə ˈku-lː-u ˈʃem-ə də [ˈkwalː-u ˈmedəkə]
         not have.2.SG talk-PST with-DEF 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, qualitative binominals are characterized by several morpho-syntactic properties, among which the impossibility to extract one of their members.

19) a. *(də.)l-u   ˈmedəkə e   vist-ə   l-u   ˈʃːem-ə

      (of.)DEF-M.SG doctor   have.1sg seen-M.SG   DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG

      '*of the doctor I have seen the idiot'

  b. *ˈɛ (də.)l-u   ˈmedəkə ke   e   vist-ə   l-u   ˈʃːem-ə

      is (of.)DEF-M.SG doctor   that have.1SG seen-M.SG DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG

      '*it's of the doctor that I have seen the idiot'

This was already noticed 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 qualitative binominals as a modifier with an adjective-like function (see also Aarts 1998). As a first, superficial clue, the first member can in fact be a noun or a nominalized adjective (*lu ˈʃːemə,* '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) a. l-u$_i$ ˈd͡ʒːənj-ə$_i$ l-a$_i$ t͡sit-a$_i$ towa$_i$ *Qualitative*

      DEF-M.SG genius-M.SG DEF-F.SG girlfriend-F.SG your

      'that genius of your girlfriend'

  b. l-u$_i$ ˈd͡ʒːənj-ə$_i$ l-a$_j$ t͡sit-a$_j$ towa$_j$ *Non-prep genitive*

      DEF-M.SG genius-M.SG DEF-F.SG girlfriend-F.SG your

      'your girlfriend's genius'

327 In generative frameworks, and especially within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), phrases

328 not allowing syntactic operations such as extraction are referred to as *phases*. The peculiarity of

329 phases is that they are syntactic chunks that once built cannot be accessed by further syntactic

330 operations such as, in our case, extraction. More recently, Adger (2003), Radford (2004), Jiménez-

331 Fernández (2012), and Chomsky (2020) have argued that definite DPs can have phasehood status,

332 as shown in (21), where the banned syntactic operation is *wh-* extraction.

      21) a. **Which poem did you hear* [*Homer's recital*] *of last night?*   (Adger 2003: 327)

         b. *Which poem did you go to hear* [*a recital*] *of last night?*

335 Definiteness is related to topicality, and hence with what we have found for topics in (18). But also

336 adjectival phrases constitute phases in that they do not permit extraction (*the beautiful car→*of the*

337 *car I have seen the beautiful/*of the beautiful I have seen the car*, cf. (19-20) and Bošković 2020). We

338 claim here that merging of N_1 with a prepositional phrase (or through match D) containing N_2 (that

339 $genius_{N1}$ of a $doctor_{N2}$) turns it into a predicative element with adjective-like function. In particular

340 (§3.3) we will claim that this adjective-like function is realized by generalizing to qualitative

341 binominal phrases the iterated DPs found in genitival modification.

342   In qualitative binominals, N_1 is usually a property-denoting element. How N_1 is interpreted as a

343 property-denoting element and not as the head of a non-prepositional genitive seems to also depend

344 on the semantics of N_2. Consider first what we saw in (20), which we repeat here as (22).

      22) a. $l\text{-}u_i$ $\widehat{dʒ}\text{:ənj-ə}_i$ $l\text{-}a_i$ $\widehat{tsit}\text{-}a_i$ $towa_i$ *Qualitative*

         DEF-M.SG genius-M.SG DEF-F.SG girlfriend-F.SG your

         'that genius of your girlfriend'

         b. $l\text{-}u_i$ $\widehat{dʒ}\text{:ənj-ə}_i$ $l\text{-}a_j$ $\widehat{tsit}\text{-}a_j$ $towa_j$ *Non-prep genitive*

         DEF-M.SG genius-M.SG DEF-F.SG girlfriend-F.SG your

         'your girlfriend's genius'

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

23) l-u   sgarːətˈːon-ə l-a   ˈmakən-a ˈtow-a

    DEF-M.SG wreck-M.SG DEF-F.SG car-F.SG   your-F.SG

    'that wreck of your car'

N_1, *sgarːətˈːonə*, 'wreck', is usually said of cars, bikes, and barely working machines. So, in that position, it is either the head of a genitive 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 qualitative binominal. 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 and it 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 qualitative binominal or that of a genitive (see Espinal and 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 in both phrases, or 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 qualitative binominals. 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 qualitative binominal or a genitive. N_1 is then a property-denoting element, like adjectives, and it is related to the noun it modifies via 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 qualitative binominals being predicative phrases. According

15

to Bošković (2020), who follows Higginbotham (1985), adjunction (modification) is analogous to coordination,[xv] 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 the predicative element and not as the head/possessum of a genitival phrase comes from number features. In the latter, head and modifier can carry different number features. In Apulian qualitative binominals, 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 qualitative binominal. It cannot be interpreted as a genitive because of the [-HUMAN] feature of N_1, and cannot be interpreted as a qualitative binominal because N_1 and N_2 do not have the same number features.

24) *l-i   sgarːətˈːon-ə l-a   ˈmakən-a ˈtow-a

   DEF-PL wreck-M.PL DEF-F.SG car-F.SG   your-F.SG

   '*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   ˈkaspəta l-a   bulˈletːa

   DEF-F.SG freaking DEF-F.SG bill

   'that freaking thing of a bill'

Contrary to *sgarːətˈːonə* (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.[xvi] We also assume, as in Baker (2003), that nouns are the only lexical category bearing a referential index.

402 26) a. l-u   ˈkaspəta l-u   ˈliːr-ə

403   DEF-M.SG freaking DEF-M.SG book-M.SG

404   'that freaking thing of a book'

405   b. l-i   ˈkaspəta l-i   ˈliːr-a

406   DEF-PL freaking DEF-PL book-M.PL

407   'the freaking books'

Based on this, we conclude that the head of such a phrase is not N_1, but N_2 (see also Vişan 2013, Masini 2016, and Camacho and 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 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 qualitative binominal phrases in the Apulian variety under analysis here. We will investigate both agreement with external probes (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 syntactic distance between probes and goals. Ultimately, we will see how agreement in the construction's D layer can reflect the construction's basic properties.

17

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 and Franco 2017). When it comes to qualitative binominals, however, we have seen that 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   ˈʃːem-a   l-a   presːoˈr-essa   [ke ˈsːo ˈgːi] /[ke ˈsːi ˈtːu]/etc.
    DEF-F.SG idiot-F.SG DEF-F.SG professor-F.SG [COMP am I]/[COMP are you]/etc.
    'the idiot of a professor that/I am/you are/etc.'

Qualitative binominals per se trigger third-person agreement. Ackema and 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 (3d 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, ˈkaspəta)	✓

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 is the goal of the agreement mechanism.[xvii] 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

446 N₂ must agree with it. This is in accordance with what proposed in the *Agreement Hierarchy* (Corbett

447 1979: 204; 2006: 235). Next, we will move to another condition imposed on agreement and namely

448 that of the presence of an animacy feature in the binominal phrase. Another Southern Italo-Romance

449 language where animacy is a condition on agreement is Pantìscu, as described in Idone (2018: 8).

450 The second part of this paragraph will instead delve into agreement on participles with binominal

451 constructions as subjects. Agreement of the participle with subjects yields the same pattern as clitic

452 agreement with objects. When both nouns are [-HUMAN], the participle might agree with either

453 noun. When a [+HUMAN] noun occurs in the construction, the participle obligatorily agrees with it.

454   As we anticipated, the first nominal in qualitative binominals is not referential on its own, it is

455 a predicate of the subject, like adjectives for head nouns, and as such co-indexed with it. Thus, the

456 construction only contains one index. In non-prepositional genitives the resumptive clitic agrees

457 with the head (i.e., the first nominal), as per usual. In qualitative binominals, however, while N₂ is

458 the actual antecedent of a resumption mechanism, not necessarily will the resumptive clitic agree

459 with it. The clitic can agree with either noun. Corbett (1979: 204; 2006: 235) proposed an *Agreement*

460 *Hierarchy,* "attributive > predicate > relative pronoun > personal pronoun", in which elements

461 further to the right are more likely to show semantic agreement. Clitics, pronouns external to the

462 binominal phrase, fit this description.

463   28) ˈkwed:-**a** pal:-**a**   də libːr-ə   non t͡ʃə l-**a**/l-**u**   led͡ʒ:-ə   niˈʃun-ə

464   DEM-F.SG bore-F.SG of book-M.SG NEG CL CL.OBJ-3.F.SG/CL.OBJ-3.MSG read-3.SG nobody-M

465   'nobody reads that bore of a book'

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

467   29) a   ˈkwed:-a pal:-a   də jom-ə non l-**u**   /*l-a   kak-a   niˈʃun-ə

468   DOM[xviii] DEM-F.SG bore-F.SG of man-SG NEG CL.OBJ-3.M.SG/CL.OBJ-F.SG pay.attention-3.SG nobody-M

469   'nobody pays attention to that bore of a man'

Another Southern Italo-Romance language where this happens is Pantìscu, where predicative adjectives modifying qualitative binominals noun phrases agree with the [+HUMAN] noun as well (Idone 2018: 8).

30) *ddhu   ciuri   di picciòtta è   propriu bbèddh-a   /*bbèddh-u*

     DEM-M.SG flower(M).SG of girl(F).SG be.PRS.3.SG really   beautiful-F.SG/*beautiful-M.SG

     'That lovely girl is really beautiful'

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

31) a. ɛn:ə ar:əˈv-at-**a**   l-u   ˈd͡ʒ:ənjə l-**a**   t͡sit-**a**   towa /*ar:əˈvat-ə

      has arrive-PST-F.SG DEF-M.SG genius.M DEF-F.SG girlfriend-F your/arrive-PST-M.SG

      'here came that genius of your girlfriend'

   b. ɛn:ə ar:əˈvat-ə   l-**u**   sgar:əˈt:on-ə l-a   ˈmakəna də paˈpa /ar:əˈvat-a

      has arrived-M.SG DEF-M.SG wreck-M.SG   DEF-F.SG car(F)   of dad/arrived-F.SG

      'that wreck of dad's car has arrived'

Pre-verbal subjects seem to yield the same pattern.

32) a. l-u   ˈd͡ʒ:ənjə l-a   t͡sit-**a**   towa ɛn:ə ar:əˈv-at-**a**   /*ar:əˈvat-ə

      DEF-M.SG genius.M DEF-F.SG girlfriend-F your has arrived-F.SG/arrived-M.SG

      'that genius of your girlfriend has arrived yesterday'

   b. l-u   sgar:əˈt:on-ə l-a   ˈmakən**a** də paˈpa ɛn:ə ar:əˈvat-**a**   /ar:əˈvat-ə

      DEF-M.SG wreck-M.SG   DEF-F.SG car(F)   of dad has arrived-F.SG/arrived-M.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:əˈt:onə*) 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

Unlike definite articles, demonstratives may occur only once in the construction. 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)   ˈmedəkə

   DEM(M)-M.SG freaking of (DEM(M)-M.SG) doctor(M)

   'this freaking doctor'

   b. (kwi)st-u   ˈʃ:em-ə   də ˈmedəkə

   DEM(M)-M.SG idiot-M.SG of   doctor(M)

   'this idiot of a doctor'

   c. quest-o   caspita di (*quest-o) medico

   DEM-M.SG freaking of (DEM-M.SG) doctor(M)

   'this freaking doctor'

As we have seen, definite articles appear instead twice, heading 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 qualitative binominal constructions, modification is realized through a categorial matching in the D layer (definite articles only). As we mentioned, qualitative binominals (34b) also require that N_1 and N_2 share the same number and gender features. In (34b)

21

519 we have an invariable element (the interjection), but as we saw, inflecting elements do show

520 agreement morphology with N$_2$, so in (34b) we will show this agreement relation too.

521 ⌐------ MATCH D ------¬

522 34) a. l-i$_i$ ˈliːr-a$_i$ l-a$_j$ nəpot-a$_j$

523 └---- AGREE ----┘ └---- AGREE ----┘
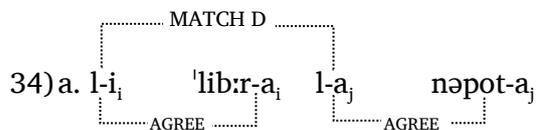
524 DEF-PL book-M.PL DEF-F.SG niece-F.SG

525 'his/her niece's books'

526 ⌐------ MATCH D ------¬

527 b. l-u$_i$ ˈkaspəta$_i$ l-u$_i$ ˈliːr-ə$_i$

528 └---- AGREE ----┘

529 └---- AGREE ----┘
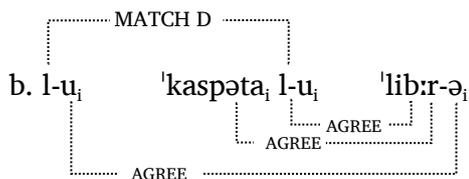
530 DEF-M.SG freaking DEF-M.SG book-M.SG

531 'that freaking thing of a book'

532 On the other hand, when the D layer of both nouns shows no categorial matching, a modification

533 relationship between the two nouns is realized with the preposition *də*.

534 35) a. (kwi)st-i ˈliːr-a dəl:-a nəpot-a

535 DEM(M)-PL book-M.PL of.DEF-F.SG niece-F.SG

536 'these books of his/her niece's'

537 b. (kwi)st-u ˈkaspəta də ˈliːr-ə

538 DEM(M)-M.SG freaking of book-M.SG

539 'this freaking thing of a book'

540 The relationship between N$_1$ and N$_2$, in which the property denoted by N$_1$ qualifies N$_2$, is then

541 established in a twofold manner. In a case, a categorial match in the D layer is sufficient. That's

542 when a preposition is not needed. A categorial match in the D layer is also found in adjectival

543 modification in Modern Greek and Aromanian *polydefinites* ((36a, c), Campos & Stavrou 2004: 137-

544 138), and in Arabic ((36d), Fassi Fehri 1999: 107). Like adjectival phrases, Greek qualitative

545 binominal phrases also employ a polydefinite, recursive DP strategy ((36b), Alexiadou 2014: 43).

36) a. i   asimenja i   pena   (M. Greek, adjectival)

       DEF pen   DEF silver

       'the silver pen'

    b. to   teras   i   adelfi mu   irthe arga   (M. Greek, qualitative)

       the monster the sister mine came late

       'that monster of my sister came late'

    c. stilo-lu lai-lu   (Aromanian, adjectival)

       pen-DEF black-DEF

       'the black pen'

    d. l-kitab-u   l-ʔaxḍar-u   ṣ-ṣaġiir-u   (Arabic, adjectival)

       DEF-book-NOM DEF-green-NOM DEF-small-NOM

       'the small green book'

558 In this sense, Apulian non-prepositional genitives and qualitative binominals are similar to

559 polydefinites, and, like Modern Greek polydefinites, occur in a variant where no categorial match

560 in the D layer takes place, as we noted. In these cases, merging of N_1 + $d\partial$[N_2] realizes a relationship

561 in which the properties of N_1 are applied to N_2. The preposition $d\partial$ then includes N_1 amongst the

562 properties of N_2.

563 If our claim is that N_1 has an adjective-like function, then we should expect it to show at least

564 some kind of adjectival behavior. If N_1 has an adjective-like function, it may not be accidental that

565 in this Apulian variety non-prepositional qualitative binominal phrases can be superficially

566 indistinguishable from non-prepositional genitives (as in (22)) and that they can be realized through

567 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,* the Cantonese associative *-ge,* ETC.

37) a. ketɒːb-e æˈliː

    book-LKR Ali

    'Ali's book'

    b. gonbæd-e ɒːbiː

    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 linkers agreeing with the head N (Toosarvandani & Van Urk 2014: 3).

38) kutɪk-o   gɪrs mɪ   vinen-o

    dog.M-LKR.M.SG.NOM big 1.SG.obl see.PRS-3.SG.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., N1'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 qualitative binominal 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 ˈ*kaspəta,* the article preceding N$_1$ has another function, that of an agreeing element.

Embedding the first member as a noun allows for a recursive DP modification strategy, and agreement with N_2 on N_1's article signals this modifier-head relation. 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 matching in 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. *ˈkaspəta l-a   bulˈletː-a

       freaking DEF-F.SG bill-F.SG

       'freaking thing of a bill'

   b. ˈkaspəta də bulˈletː-a

       freaking of bill-F.SG

       '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   ˈkaspəta də ˈlibːr-ə

       DEM(M)-M.SG freaking of book-M.SG

       'this freaking thing of a book'

   b. (kwi)st-u   ˈkaspəta də.lː-u   /n-u   ˈlibːr-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   ˈkaspəta ˈlibːr-ə

       DEM(M)-M.SG freaking book-M.SG

618 'this freaking thing of a book'

619 The demonstrative in (40a) could be seen as belonging to N_2. However, like N_1's definite article,

620 here the demonstrative belongs with N_1 (see also Alexiadou 2014 on Greek binominal phrases). N_2's

621 article is not spurious, but a regular article, which belongs with N_2 (see also Etxepare 2013). This is

622 clear from (40b), where the D layer of N_2 is already filled with a definite article, since

623 demonstratives and definite articles are never found together in pre-nominal position in this

624 language. As the article, the demonstrative belongs syntactically with N_1 because, like the article, it

625 signals the fact that whatever its origin (from adjectives, interjections, etc.), N_1 is now embedded

626 as a noun. Then, as we noted, a modifying relationship between N_1 and N_2 is realized by match D

627 and agreement on N_1's article, whenever it applies, because while syntactically belonging with N_1,

628 N_1's article agrees with N_2, the head (as in agreeing linkers).

629   It should be noted that this construction also allows for a pre-nominal realization of adjectives

630 that are otherwise strictly post-nominal when adnominal, like ˈʃːem- (see Andriani 2018 on the

631 linearization of adjectives in Southern Italo-Romance, and precisely in Barese Apulian). The

632 possibility of a different realization order for adjectives recalls the Modern Greek *monadic /*

633 *polydefinites* alternation. Monadic phrases only allow pre-nominal modifiers. In polydefinites

634 instead, adjectives can occur both pre-nominally and post-nominally (Campos & Stavrou 2004: 137-

635 138).

636   41) a. i   asimenja i   pena   (Modern Greek)

637   DEF silver   DEF pen

638   'the silver pen'

639   b. i   pena i   asimenja

640   DEF pen   DEF silver

641   'the silver pen'

642   c. i   asimenja pena

643   DEF silver   pen

644   'the silver pen'

645   d. *i   pena asimenja

646   DEF pen silver

647   'the silver pen'

Finally, if N₁ has an adjective-like function, we should expect it to be gradable. This is what we find, at least when a noun ('genius', (41b, d)) or an adjective ('idiot', (41a, c)) are involved. Not so much when the first member is instead an interjection (41e). 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   ˈʃːem-ə   total-ə   l-u   ˈmedəkə

       DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG total-M.SG DEF-M.SG doctor

        'that total idiot of a doctor'

    b. l-u   ˈd͡ʒːənj-ə total-ə   l-u   ˈmedəkə

        DEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG total-M.SG DEF-M.SG doctor

        'that total idiot of a doctor'

    c. n-u   ˈʃːem-ə   total-ə   də ˈmedəkə

        INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG total-M.SG of doctor

        'a total idiot of a doctor'

    d. n-u   ˈd͡ʒːənj-ə total-ə   də ˈmedəkə

        INDEF-M.SG genius-M.SG total-M.SG of doctor

        'a total genius of a doctor'

    e. ? l-u   ˈkaspəta total-ə   l-u   ˈmedəkə

        DEF-M.SG freaking total-M.SG 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

   '*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'

3.4.1 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*. It 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 $\iota/\exists$ 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 ˈʃːem-ə də n-u ˈmedəkə

   INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of INDEF-M.SG doctor

'an idiot of a doctor'

b. *n-u ˈʃ:em-ə də.l:-u ˈmedəkə

    INDEF-M.SG idiot-M.SG of.INDEF-M.SG doctor

'an idiot of a doctor'

c. n-u ˈʃ:em-ə də ˈmedəkə

    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 in order to 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, curing patients, etc.).

    45) a. n-u tipə də [ˈmedəkə$_{KIND}$]

        INDEF-M.SG kind of doctor

        'a kind of doctor'

      b. n-u ˈʃ:em-ə də [ˈmedəkə$_{KIND}$]

        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 from doctors. The distribution of determiners recalls the realization of Romance pseudopartitives ((46) from Espinal & Cyrino 2021: 5).

    46) a. un kilo de manzanas   Spanish

        a kilogram de apples

        'a kilogram of apples'

      b. un verre de bière   French

718   a   glass of beer'

719   'a glass of beer'

720   c. un bicchiere di birra   Italian

721   a   glass   of water

722   'a glass of water'

723   Also in pseudopartitives, N_2 expresses a kind. N_1 expresses an amount, while N_2 expresses the fact

724   that this can be quantified over any substance that belongs to the kind *beer*, for instance. In practice,

725   this is what indefinites do. Partitives proper, instead, quantify over specific sets (N_2) (Rutkowski

726   2007, Espinal & Cyrino 2021). What (44c) says is that we have a stupid instance of the kind *doctor*

727   or that somebody is stupid *for the kind 'doctor'*, or, as put in Den Dikken (2006: 170), 'in his capacity

728   of being a doctor'.

729   47) n-u   pokə ˈʃːem-ə   pːə jɛsːə ˈmedəkə

730   INDEF-M.SG little idiot-M.SG for be   doctor

731   'a little stupid to be a doctor'

732   Den Dikken distinguishes between *attributive* and *comparative* qualitative binominal phrases. The

733   first says that a referent is an idiot for the kind *doctor*. In the second, a precise instance of the kind

734   *doctor* is described as stupid. This is the case of the definite description we analysed in the previous

735   sections, where the iota operator restricts the set to a precise individual.

736   At the same time, N_2 refers to a kind, but it also refers to an entity that is an instance of this kind

737   (*this disgust of a song* refers to a particular instance of the kind *disgusting songs*, for example). As we

738   saw in (40a), a bare N_2 can occur with an N_1 headed by a definite article. In (44c) we saw that a

739   demonstrative is possible as well. Here N_1's D layer plays another key role. In discussing cases such

740   as *that kind of animal/a kind of animal* Chierchia (1998: 363-364) proposed the *Derived Kind*

741   *Predication* which states that, "when an object-argument slot in a predicate is filled by a kind, the

742   type of predicate is automatically 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 (Foggia) concerning the realization of qualitative binominals (the *N-of-an-N* type). Our findings can be summarized as follows. In this language, qualitative binominals 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 qualitative binominals and in non-prepositional genitives the two nouns are related by matching the type of determiner preceding each of them, '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) qualitative binominals do not allow 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 qualitative binominals appear superficially indistinguishable (22). We proposed that the

31

interpretation of a phrase as a genitive or a qualitative binominal depends on the semantics of the two nouns (§3.2). In particular, we have established that interpretation also depends on the number features of N_1 and N_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 ('ʃːemə) 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. In prepositional genitives, on the other hand, there is no matching in number features between N_1 and N_2. Qualitative binominals only trigger third person agreement (either singular or plural), just like R-expressions generally do (see Ackema and Neeleman 2019).

In §3.3 we gave a first sketch of agreement patterns of adjectives and verbs with qualitative binominals. We found that agreement with qualitative binominals 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] trait in either noun: while the probe might generally have both members as its goal, this is not the case when a [+HUMAN] noun is present in the construction. In this instance, in fact, the probe will necessarily have the [+HUMAN] noun as its goal.

In §3.4 we focused on the determiner layer of the phrase and tried to answer two questions. 1) what is the behavior of N_1's article, and 2) 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 qualitative binominal noun phrases. 'match D' (or the preposition 'of') links the two nouns, applying the property expressed by N_1 to N_2. This seems true also of *of*-phrases and Latin genitive phrases. If N_1 is not denominal (i.e., it is an adjective or an interjection like *kaspəta*) N_1's article will agree with N_2, showing that it is a modifier of N_1. N_1's article agrees with the head and forms a constituent with the modifier. Because of this, we claim that N_1's article has a parallel in head-agreeing

794 adjectival linkers of the type found in Zaza, an Indo-Iranian language (Toosarvandani & Van Urk

795 2014).

796

Bibliographical References

Aarts, Bas. 1998. Binominal noun phrases in English. *Transactions of the Philological Society, 96*(1), 117-158.

Ackema, Peter, & Neeleman, Ad. 2019. Processing differences between person and number: A theoretical interpretation. *Frontiers in psychology*, *10*, 211.

Alexiadou, Artemis. 2014. *Multiple determiners and the structure of DPs* (Vol. 211). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Andriani, Luigi. 2018. Adjectival Positions in Barese: Prenominal Exceptions to the Postnominal Rule. In Roberta D'Alessandro & Diego Pescarini (eds.), *Advances in Italian Dialectology*, 214-249. Brill.

Baker, Mark C. 2003. *Lexical categories: Verbs, nouns and adjectives* (Vol. 102). Cambridge University Press.

Bošković, Željko. 2020. On the coordinate structure constraint and the adjunct condition. In András Bárány, Theresa Biberauer, Jamie Douglas & Sten Vikner (eds.), *Syntactic architecture and its consequences II: Between syntax and morphology*, 227–258. Berlin: Language Science Press. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4280649

Bossong, Georg. 1991. Differential object marking in Romance and beyond. *New analyses in Romance linguistics,* 143-170.

Cardinaletti, Anna, & Giusti, Giuliana. 1991. Partitive "ne" and the QP-Hypothesis: a case study. *Working Papers in Linguistics*, 1, 1-19.

Camacho, Roberto G., & Serafim, Monielly C. S. 2021. Head identification in binominal constructions. *Linguistik online*, *109*(4), 3-21.

Campos, Hector, & Stavrou, Melita. Polydefinite constructions in Modern Greek and Aromanian. In Olga Mišeska Tomić (ed.), *Balkan syntax and semantics* 67. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 137-173.

Chierchia, Gennaro. 1997. Partitives, reference to kinds and semantic variation. In Aaron Lawson (ed.), *Semantics and Linguistic Theory, Proceedings of the 7th Semantics and Linguistic Theory Conference, March 21-23 1997, Stanford University* (7). 73-98. https://doi.org/10.3765/salt.v7i0.2792

Chierchia, Gennaro. 1998. Reference to kinds across language. *Natural language semantics, 6*(4), 339-405.

Chomsky, Noam. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. Derivation by Phase. In Michael K. (Ed.), Ken Hale: A Life in Language. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1–52.

Chomsky, Noam. 2020. The UCLA lectures. *Ms. online:* https://ling. auf.net/lingbuzz/005485

Corbett, Greville G. 2006. *Agreement.* Cambridge University Press.

Delfitto, Denis, & Paola Paradisi. 2009. Prepositionless genitive and N+ N compounding in (Old) French and Italian. *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2006: Selected Papers from 'Going Romance', Amsterdam, 7-9 December 2006,* 53-72.

Den Dikken, Marcel. 2006. *Relators and linkers: the syntax of predication, predicate inversion, and copulas* (Vol. 47). MIT press.

Espinal, Teresa M. & Cyrino, Sonia. 2021. The status of *de* in Romance indefinites, partitives and pseudopartitives. *Studia Linguistica*.

Etxepare, Ricardo. 2013. Quotative expansions. In Sergio Baauw, Frank Drijkoningen, Luisa Meroni, & Manuela Pinto (eds.), *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 11, Selected papers from 'Going Romance' Utrecht 2011.* Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 93-123.

Gaspar, Catarina. 2013. *Ipsas kalendas/nonas*-an approach to the evolutionary process of the definite article in the Iberian Peninsula. *La Variation et le Changement en Langue (Langues Romanes), 87,* 461-476.

847 Giannakidou, Anastasia, & Stavrou, Melita. 1999. Nominalization and ellipsis in the Greek DP. *The*
848 *Linguistic Review, 16* (4), 295-332. https://doi.org/10.1515/tlir.1999.16.4.295

849 Idone, Alice. 2018. Pantìscu. Ms. University of Zürich.
850 https://www.dai.uzh.ch/DAI_Pantiscu%20Overview.pdf

851 Ihsane, Tabea. 2013. En pronominalization in French and the structure of nominal expressions.
852 *Syntax, 16*(3), 217-249.

853 Jensen, Frede. 2012. *Old French and comparative Gallo-Romance syntax* (Vol. 232). Walter de Gruyter.

854 Kayne, Richard S. 1994. *The antisymmetry of syntax* (Vol. 25). MIT press.

855 Lazard, Gilbert. 1982. Le morphème *râ* en Persan et les relations actancielles, *Bulletin de la*
856 *société de linguistique de Paris 73*, 177-208.

857 Ledgeway, Adam. & Schifano, Norma. & Silvestri, Giuseppina. 2019. "Differential Object Marking
858 and the properties of D in the dialects of the extreme south of Italy", *Glossa: a journal of*
859 *general linguistics* 4(1), p.51. doi: https://doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.569

860 Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1995. A case of construct state in Romance. In Roberto Ajello & Saverio Sani
861 (eds.) *Scritti Linguistici e Filologici in Onore di Tristano Bolelli*, 293-329. Pisa: Pacini.

862 Longobardi, Giuseppe. 2001. The structure of DPs: Some principles, parameters and problems. In
863 Mark Baltin & Chris Collins (eds.) *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, 562–
864 603. Oxford: Blackwell.

865 Lorusso, Paolo, & Ludovico Franco. 2017. Patterns of syntactic agreement with embedded
866 NPs. *Lingua, 195*, 39-56.

867 Masini, Francesca. 2016. Binominal constructions in Italian of the N1-di-N2 type: towards a
868 typology of Light Noun Constructions. *Language Sciences, 53*, 99-113.

869 Massaro, Angelapia. 2020. *Morfosintassi dell'accordo nel genitivo e sua correlazione con elementi del*
870 *tipo D*. PhD Dissertation, Università degli Studi di Firenze.
871 http://hdl.handle.net/2158/1188743

Massaro, Angelapia. *In press*. Romance genitives: agreement, definiteness, and phases. *Transactions of the Philological Society*.

Mensching, Guido. 2005. Remarks on specificity and related categories in Sardinian. In Klaus von Heusinger, Georg A. Kaiser & Elisabeth Stark (eds.), *Proceedings of the Workshop: Specificity and the Evolution/Emergence of Nominal Determination Systems in Romance*. U. Konstanz, 81-106.

Mensching, Guido. 2020. On "partitive dislocation" in Sardinian: A Romance and Minimalist perspective. *Linguistics, 58*(3), 805-835.

Napoli, Donna Jo. 1989. *Predication theory: a case study for indexing theory* (Vol. 50). Cambridge University Press.

Philip, Joy Naomi. 2012. *Subordinating and coordinating linkers*. Diss. UCL (University College London).

Poletto, Cecilia. 2014. *Word order in Old Italian* (Vol. 7). OUP Oxford.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. 1969. *Grammatica storica dell'italiano e dei suoi dialetti, vol. III, Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Torino, Einaudi.

Rutkowski, Paweł. 2007. The syntactic structure of grammaticalized partitives (pseudo-partitives). *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics, 13*(1), 26, 337–350.

Samvelian, Pollet. 2018. Specific features of Persian syntax. In Anousha Sedighi & Pouneh Shabani-Jadidi (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Persian Linguistics*.

Silvestri, Giuseppina. 2012. Casi di genitivo apreposizionale in alcune varietà romanze: primi risultati di una comparazione sintattica parametrica. *Studi Italiani di Linguistica Teorica e Applicata, 41*(3), 559-572.

Silvestri, Giuseppina. 2013. The Nature of Genitive Case. Phd Dissertation, Università di Pisa. https://etd.adm.unipi.it/t/etd-05022013-005828/

Tănase-Dogaru, M. 2012. Romanian double-definites: Double-DP qualitatives. *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics*, (1), 57-70.

898 Toosarvandani, Maziar, & Van Urk, Coppe. 2014. The syntax of nominal concord: What ezafe in

899 Zazaki shows us. In Hsin-Lun Huang, Ethan Poole, & Amanda Rysling (eds.), *Proceedings of*

900 *NELS* (43), 221-234.

901 Villalba, Xavier. 2007. True and spurious articles in Germanic and Romance. *Cuadernos de*

902 *Lingüística, 14*, 121-134.

903 Vişan, Ruxandra. 2013. Qualitative binominals revisited. *Studii şi cercetări lingvistice*, 207-226.

904 Widmer, Manuel. & Auderset, Sandra. & Nichols, Johanna. & Widmer, Paul. & Bickel, Balthasar.

905 2017. NP recursion over time: Evidence from Indo-European. *Language, 93*(4), 799-826.

[i] The mechanism takes a copular phrase such as *the doctor is a jewel*, which through inversion yields *a jewel of a doctor*. The preposition is the result of this inversion mechanism.

[ii] Abbreviations used: DEF-, definite article; INDEF-, indefinite article; CL.OBJ-, object clitic; DEM-, demonstrative; NEG, negation; PART, partitive; PRS, present tense. PST, past tense; PTCP-, participle. Elements whose gender is signalled by both inflection and a metaphonetic process on the root have gender glossed twice, ex. *kwist-**u***, DEM(M)-M.SG; *kwest-**a***, DEM(F)-F.SG (both meaning 'this'). Inherent gender is glossed within parentheses, ex. (F).

[iii] These article forms are descendants 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 as Verbicaro Calabrese (Silvestri 2013: 136) did not retain the lateral in *ille* (while Italian *il*(M.SG), *l-o*(M.SG), *l-a*(F.SG) and Apulian *l-u*(M.SG), *l-a*(F.SG) did).

(i) a   nučə u   kυəddə
DEF.F.SG nut DEF.M.SG neck
'cervical vertebra'

[iv] 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 (Frosinone area, 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).

[v] Romanian, Old Romanian, and Catalan data from Vişan (2013) and sources quoted therein.

[vi] Spanish data from Villalba (2007).

[vii] *n-* (*en* in French, *ne* in Italian, *nde* in Sardinian) is a partitive clitic, roughly meaning 'of it', where 'it' = a direct object.

(ii) a. *h-o   lett-o   un   libro*   *Italian*
have-1SG read.PTCP-M.SG INDEF(M) book
'I have read a book'

b. ***ne   ho   lett-a   una   pagina***
PART have-1SG read.PTCP-F.SG INDEF-F.SG page

'I have read one page (**of the book**)'

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

[viii] The Apulian non-reinforced form of the distal demonstrative being *dd-u/-a* (Latin *ille),* the reinforced one being *kwidː-u/ kwedː-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.

[ix] 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 *author* (2020, *in press*) for this Apulian variety.

[x] 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, Massaro *in press*).

(iii) **l-u   ˈliːbːr-ə   Məˈkelə*
   DEF-M.SG book-M.SG Michael
        'Michael's book'

(iv) *l-u   ˈliːbːr-ə   *(də) Məˈkelə*
        DEF-M.SG book-M.SG of   Michael
        'Michael's book'

[xi] 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).

(v)   RP
          /   \
    SUBJECT   R'
                /   \
          RELATOR   PREDICATE
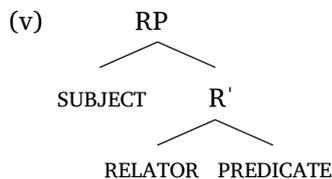
[xii] This is true of Romance non-prepositional genitives generally, and it is also confirmed by diachronic data, cf. Delfitto and Paradisi 2009 for Old French and Old Italian varieties; Jensen 2012 for Old French.

[xiii] 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).

[xiv] Initial consonants such as the lateral in ˈku-lː-u undergo phonosyntactic doubling if preceded by voiced nasals, *cum lu =* ˈku-lː-u (compare with the Italian counterpart *collo, con + lo*).

[xv] *A big butterfly = That is a butterfly, and it is big (for a butterfly)* (Higginbotham 1985: 563).

[xvi] The same reasoning applies to nominalized adjectives in the construction, as in the case of ˈʃemə ('idiot').

[xvii] 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.

[xviii] DOM (*Differential Object Marking,* Bossong 1991) describes a phenomenon in which only a subset of direct objects receives special markings. In Persian, *-râ* 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). Like Spanish, languages of Southern Italy employ the preposition *a*. In these languages, DOM usually marks [+ animate] or specific objects (Ledgeway et al 2019).