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N$_1$-of-N$_1$ Constructions? Is There Such Thing?

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1. Away with N$_1$-of-N$_2$ constructions!

Much (if not all) of the literature written on pseudopartitives so far has dealt with the so-called *N-of-N* constructions, or, in another denomination, the *N$_1$-of-N$_2$* constructions. But nothing has been said about constructions in which, for some more or less strange reason, *N$_2$* happens to be the same as *N$_1$*. The obvious question is why… Is there no such construction as the *N$_1$-of-N$_1$* construction? Or is it simply the case that linguists have not paid enough attention to the empirical matter they were supposed to deal with? The aim of the following paper is to try and give an answer to the questions above. In so doing, the paper will mainly focus on Romanian data, and test whether constructions such as *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy'), *fată de fată* ('girl of girl'), *sentiment de sentiment* ('feeling of feeling') a. o. can be subsumed under the name of "qualitative N-of-N constructions".

2. N-of-N constructions

2.1. Some general ideas concerning 'N-of-N' constructions

But, before delving into the rather confusing realm of *N$_1$-de-N$_1$* constructions, let us first present some general ideas concerning *N-of-N* constructions. According to the traditional classification (cf. Selkirk (1977)), constructions which include a noun followed by *of*, and then again by a noun, can be divided into two major classes:

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(i)   partitives

(1)   a group of the students

in which case N_2 is preceded by the definite article *the* (indicating a specific referent), and

(ii)   pseudopartitives

in which case N_2 is not preceded by a definite article. "With partitive constructions, N_2 denotes a definite or delimited domain, while with pseudopartitive constructions, N_2 refers to an indefinite or unrestricted domain" (Dogaru (2009): 81).
Pseudopartitives in their turn can be divided into two classes:

   (a) quantitative pseudopartitives (which Corver (1998) simply refers to as "pseudopartitives"):

(2)   a cup of coffee

and
   (b) qualitative pseudopartitives (which Corver (1998) refers to by the term "N-of-N constructions", or "binominal"- we will use the term "binominal" in this sense throughout the paper):

(3)   a beauty of a woman

   At first sight, we could say that, in all the constructions above, we have an N_1 followed by "of", followed by N_2. However, the lexical status of N_1 has been highly disputed in the literature, and linguists such as Selkirk (1977) or Dogaru (2009) have argued that it is rather functional or semilexical (for it is not really an N_1).

   If we make it our purpose to detect those constructions in which it is possible for N_1 to be the same as N_2, what we can easily notice is that, out of the constructions present above, the only one for which such an identity would be conceivable in principle is the qualitative pseudopartitive construction. Of course, we can also say:

(4)   a student of the students

but, by *student*, we do not understand a part of the class of students , but a noun designating a collection of students, belonging to the bigger class. We could argue that, actually, such constructions are to be analyzed as partitives, which would be supported by the fact that, in English, we have more or less expressions such as *king of kings, sun of suns*. However, we argue that it is best not to analyze them as partitives, given (a) the absence of the definite article in the case of the N_2, and (b) the different meaning (superlative meaning). As for quantitative pseudopartitive constructions, they do not allow identity between N_1 and N_2. In (5):

(5)   *a coffee of coffee

we cannot speak of identity between the two nouns. Not only does such an expression sound odd, but if we were to make sense of it, what we would get would be something with the approximate meaning of "a cup of coffee", in which case it is again clear that the two nouns are differentiated by means of the mass/ count distinction: "coffee" means "a unit of coffee" (in this case, "a cup"), while the second noun "coffee" refers to the substance. We cannot really speak of identity. Not only does N_1 have a different meaning from N_2, but the difference between them is also reflected in the syntax (the presence of the indefinite article *a vs*. the absence of the indefinite article in the case of the second noun). We base our reasoning on the presence of a silent noun in (7):

(6)   "Oh, woman, give me a coffee, for God's sake! Can't you see I'm tired?"

(7)   "Oh, woman, give me a CUP (of) coffee, for God's sake! Can't you see I'm tired?"

A coffee of coffee is an odd and unnecessary expression. If we use "coffee" to refer to the recipient of coffee, then there is no need to indicate the substance contained in the recipient (for it is already mentioned). The ungrammaticality of such an expression could very well serve as support for a silent noun analysis of metonymic nouns. An expression such as *a UNIT/ CUP of coffee of coffee* would be redundant: there is no need to further add "of coffee" and, thus, *a coffee of coffee* is neatly ruled out (since it is already there). Thus, in

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the case of partitives and quantitative pseudopartitives, we simply cannot speak of N_1-of-N_1 constructions. However, this is not how things stand in the case of qualitative pseudopartitives, or binominal constructions. Or, at least, we are in the realm of conceivability. Why is it then that we simply have not heard expressions such as:

(8) a beauty of a beauty *or*

(9) an oaf of an oaf?

How come our ears have not detected such sounds? Why is it that, if we resort to a very simple search on google, no such expressions will be found? What is the mysterious reason that lies hidden behind this puzzling absence?

2.2. *A beauty of a beauty…*

Let us simply prick our mind's ears and get hold of a possible explanation. If I am walking through the park one day and I see a most incredibly looking dog, called Anita, when I go home, obviously still thinking of Anita's gorgeous looks, I will tell my mother:

(10) I saw a beauty of a dog.

Could I not instead say something like:

(11) ??I saw a beauty of a beauty. ?

If not, why is that? Why is it that (10) is perfectly fine, while (11) sounds odd? The reason for this is fairly simple, we will venture to say. As we very well know, a great deal in the literature on binominals has been written on the type of nouns which may occupy the N_1 or the N_2 position. Milner (1978) has argued that N_1 has to be an evaluative noun, it has to express the speaker's evaluation of a particular person/animal/object (entity). Other linguists (Matushansky (2002), Vişan (2003)) have spoken about the fact that the noun has to be scalar in interpretation. Irrespective of the formulation, the idea is basically the same:

not any noun can occupy the position of N_1, but only those nouns which express the speaker's subjective view upon the entity denoted by N_2. The class of N_1 nouns is limited (a fact which has been used as an argument in favour of the semi-lexical nature of N_1). So far, so good. But what about the class of nouns in N_2? Is there any kind of restriction in the case of N_2? As we can easily see, (10) is perfectly fine. N_2 denotes a dog, evaluated by the speaker through the words "a beauty": in other words, I saw a dog and the dog was a beauty. In (11), things are not that simple: what I am saying is that I saw a beauty and that the beauty (I saw) was a beauty. An important remark is in order here. Please note that I am not actually saying what I saw (a dog, a cat, a man, a woman or a flower). I am already referring to the dog by means of an evaluative noun. Hence, when I want to evaluate the entity/ animal I saw I will evaluate it once more. "A beauty" in the position of N_2 acts as a referential noun, "a beauty" in the position of N_1 acts as an evaluation of the referent of N_2. Now, we have to admit that this is fairly odd. Unless I want to make it clear that I am dealing with a beauty, there is no reason for such redundancy.

In other words, even if it seems evaluative, N_2 picks up the referent (by means of a certain trait), and N_1 evaluates N_2 with respect to another trait:

(12)

Types of N-of-N constructions	Positive-Positive	Positive-Negative	Negative-Positive	Negative-Negative
Examples	a wonder of a beauty	a cutie of a jerk	that jerk of a genius	?an asshole of a jerk

What we mean when we refer, for example, to a handsome man by the construction *a beauty of a beast* is not that he is a beast and he is a beauty (the relation is not one of coordination), but we pick him out as a beast (from the set of beasts), and we say that this beast (actually, man) we are referring to is one to which the property of being a beauty can be ascribed (*That beauty is a beast*).[1] This is why it would be very strange to pick out an asshole and say that the property of being an asshole can be ascribed to him. It obviously can, since he is a member of the set of assholes. There is no need for that. Further

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[1]. In other words, N_2 is extensional, it picks an element out of a class, while N_1 is intensional (it ascribes a property to the element selected by N_2).

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specifications are required to describe the asshole, not redundancies. Moreover, this is also the reason why, when N₁ and N₂ are near synonyms (*an asshole of a jerk*), the construction sounds odd (jerks are obviously assholes).

In conclusion, N₂ can be argued to be referential, and N₁ to be evaluative.[2] When I am saying:

(13) Tibi kissed a withered leaf of a woman.

what I mean is:

(14) Tibi kissed a woman.   *and not*

(15) #Tibi kissed a withered leaf.[3]

Some might argue that, in the examples above, N₁ also has a concrete denotation,[4] and, hence, it serves our purposes far too well, because (15) is implausible. For those who might argue thus, let us take an example such as:

(16) Jane dated an oaf of a smartass.

In this example, *oaf* does not have any concrete meanings. But, despite this, (16) still means that:

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[2]. In a sense, we always do refer to entities by means of nouns which express our perception of them. The only difference is that when we are dealing with kind nouns, our perception coincides with the others' perception (we all agree that Anita is a dog), whereas when we are dealing with evaluative nouns, our perception may be different (we might deem Anita a beauty, whereas some might totally resent fluffy white fur, and consider Anita a caricature of a dog.)

[3]. Another funny example translated here (from Dutch) given by Corver (1998) is that, fortunately, *Jan heft [een droom van een huis] gekocht*, i.e. "Jan bought a dream of a house", does not mean "Jan bought a dream", but it means "Jan bought a house."

[4]. In Dogaru's terms, it is a noun which is coerced into an evaluative reading, not one which is evaluative by nature.

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(17)   Jane dated a smartass.   *and not*

(18)   #Jane dated an oaf. (although (16) is perfectly OK from a grammatical standpoint).

Of course, in a sense, it does, because the smartass Jane dated was an oaf, but this is a conclusion the interlocutor reaches (through reasoning), not an assertion the speaker makes: A: Jane dated a smartass. B: The smartass she dated was an oaf. Hence, C: Jane dated an oaf.[5]

To conclude, the reason why N_1 cannot be identical to N_2 would be redundancy. As already mentioned above, since the relation between N_1 and N_2 is not one of coordination, but one of predication (N_1 is predicated of N_2), it is fairly odd to say something like *an idiot of an idiot,* i.e. to pick an idiot out of the set of idiots and then argue that the idiot you have chosen to refer to is such that the property of being an idiot can be predicated of him. It obviously can.[6] And so, this is the reason why N_1 and N_2 in English binominals are not identical. Speakers choose different nouns for a very simple reason: reason itself. However, this explanation has its problems given the fact that, if we assume that N_1 in "a BEAUTY of a beauty" has a different meaning from N_2, namely, the meaning 'true/ authentic beauty', there is no redundancy. The idea of a different meaning would be supported by the existence of expressions such as:

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[5]. This is something we should keep in mind, because it gives us a totally different perspective upon what has been generally labelled in the literature as "the semantic transparency" of pseudopartitives. (Corver (1998), Den Dikken (1998)). According to them, in an example such as:

(i) Billy drank a cold glass of beer.

the adjective *cold* refers both to the glass and the beer. We would like to suggest that (i) actually expresses the idea that Bill drank cold beer. But, because the beer was in the glass, the glass became cold as well. What the speaker says is not that Billy drank a cold glass. The idea of the coldness of the glass is reached through world knowledge and reasoning: A: Billy drank cold beer. B: The beer was in a glass. Hence C: The glass of beer was cold as well (because, generally, the container acquires the temperature of the liquid therein- this is world knowledge.).

[6]. *The idiot is an idiot* is an analytic sentence, true, irrespective of the meaning of the word *idiot*. The sentence is true by virtue of its form.

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(19) a man's man

(20) a doctor's doctor

We will later on explore this idea, showing that, in fact, we are not dealing with two different nouns, but with the same noun inserted in different places in the derivation.

3. In a Romanion Fashion……

We have seen how things stand in English in the case of N₁-of-N₁ constructions. Now, let's delve into the Romanian data, and see what it is that we get. Our focus will be on constructions which have initially entered the language as substandard, but which have become very fashionable in contemporary Romanian, not so fashionable as to become standard, but, nevertheless, recurrent in spoken Romanian: *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy')*, fată de fată* ('girl of girl')*, femeie de femeie* ('woman of woman')*, sentiment de sentiment* ('feeling of feeling') etc. If, initially, it was *băiat de băiat* that stealthily crept into the language, the pattern soon generalized itself, generating expressions where any type of noun can take the place of N, such as *iepure de iepure (*'bunny of bunny')*, gogoasă de gogoaşă (*'donut of donut')*, trandafir de trandafir* ('rose of rose')*, maşină de maşină (*'car of car')*, etc.

What we will like to test in what follows is whether this type of construction, which proves to be such a productive pattern in Romanian, is a binominal construction, a qualitative pseudopartitive construction, or not. Our intuition is that it is not. We would like to claim that, despite its deceiving appearance, *băiat de băiat* does not in fact count as a pseudopartitive.

3.1. Speculation-the Mother of Creation

We do not know which the first expression was, but we will speculate that it was *băiat de băiat (*'boy of boy')*,* by far the most popular of all, as in the lines "(*Ia uitaţi-vă la mine.*/ *Sunt bărbat şi îmi stă bine.*)/ *Mă numesc băiat băiat.*/…../ *Că sunt băiat de băiat…*"

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(Nicolae Guță, *Băiat de băiat),* '(Look at me,/ I am a man and I feel good about it.)', the last two lines literally translate as 'I am boy boy .../Because I am boy of boy.'. The meaning of this construction is "superbăiat", "an awesome boy/ guy", but what is understood by "awesome" is here very different from the ideal use of this word. To be "băiat de băiat" (boy-of-boy) means to have money and girls, to have a rich dad who can fulfill all your wishes, to make use of people so as to serve your purposes, and to be very proud of it, what we would say in colloquial language- "to be a smartass".

In relation to the origin of this expression, several possible hypotheses come to mind.

(a) On a first hypothesis, to be "băiat de băiat" means coming from a rich, but rather uneducated family, it says something about the origin of the boy we are speaking about. It may be similar with the pattern *băiat de doctor* ('boy of doctor'), *băiat de avocat* ('boy of lawyer'), *băiat de deputat* ('boy of deputy') a.o. The second occurrence of the noun *băiat* does not refer to the same individual, but to the (social, moral) status of that individual's father, to his family roots. Thus, *băiat de băiat* would in this sense be more or less similar to *băiat din băiat*, *băiat care se trage din băiat* ('boy coming from a boy'). This would go very much in line with the possibility existent in Romanian to use *de* ('of') instead of *din* ('from') in various contexts[7] (*băiat de doctor*, *fată de medic*), and it could be subsumed under the label of "analytic Genitive" (the expression of the Genitive case in an analytic fashion, by means of prepositions (as in the case of *la mijloc de codru* 'at middle of forest', rather than in a synthetic fashion, by means of markers attached to the end of the word: *băiatul doctorului* ('boy-the doctor-GEN'), *fată medicului* ('girl-the doctor-GEN'). Moreover, the substitution of *din* by *de* is also supported by facts from the history of language (where we know that *din* is a compound form from *de* and *în*).

(b) On a second hypothesis,*băiat de băiat* can be understood as *băiat din băiat*, but what we understand by means of the second noun *băiat* is not our boy's father, but rather an ideal prototypical boy. *Băiat de băiat* would mean 'băiat care face cinste numelui de "băiat"', 'un superbăiat', 'un băiat de calitate', that is, 'a boy worthy of the name 'boy'', 'a cool boy'. In this case, the ideal prototype is a caricature, because everything has an ironic flavour,

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[7]. As Dogaru (2009) points out, although the partitive can be expressed by means of *de*, Romanian makes use of two typical prepositions (*din*, *dintre*): *zece grame de/ din brânză*. ('ten grams of/ from (meaning 'of the') cheese').

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nothing is that ideal. It is as if there existed an ideal world where each entity in the real world had a sort of prototype, endowed with all the specific qualities of that entity. In this case, it is the ideal world for those who dream of money, cars:

(21) băiat$_1$ de băiat$_2$

Although, apparently, N_1 and N_2 represent the same noun, their meaning is slightly different: the first noun *băiat* is used in a normal fashion, meaning 'young male', whereas the second noun *băiat* refers to more than that, 'young male, with lots of money, girls and cars…'. If we say:

(22) Gigi e băiat de băiat.
        'Gigi is boy of boy.'

this means Gigi is a boy/ guy belonging to the class of *cool* boys/ guys. He is not any sort of guy. The PP *de băiat* modifies the noun *băiat* in an essential way. The hidden message would more or less sound this way: there are many *băieți* in this world, but few *băieți de băieți*, or, in other words, many boys, few *real* boys, and Gigi is one of them.

Summing up the remarks above, what we can say is that, from a purely intuitive, interpretative point of view, what we get is a structure in which the first noun *băiat* is felt to be the head, and the PP *de băiat* is felt to be a sort of modifier of the first noun, which is clearly different from what happens in the case of N-of-N constructions, where the head is the second noun, and the first noun is predicated of the second noun.

Our speculation is that starting from the expression *băiat de băiat,* the pattern N-de-N came to be in fashion and grew productive, thus yielding expressions such as *fată de fată (*'girl of girl')*, mobil de mobil* ('mobile of mobile') –more or less related to the world of uneducated, but wealthy people, whose life ideals are very down-to-earth. The pattern can now be used with any noun whatsoever.

(c) On a third hypothesis, the structure can be linked to the Genitive (Dumitrescu (2010)). It may be related to an older pattern that also involves the repetition of a noun, the second occurrence of which is genitive plural.

Traditionally associated to fairytales and archaic, popular language (23a), this pattern is surprisingly productive in contemporary colloquial Romanian (23b):

(23) a. Şi deodată   s-arăta / Păunaşul   codrilor, / Voinicul voinicilor.[8]
         'And suddenly CL-appears/ Peacock-the forest-GEN,/ Sturdy-the sturdy(N)-pl-GEN'

      b. Ţăranul ţăranilor,   oierul oierilor,   prostu' proştilor,
         'Peasant peasants-GEN, shepherd shepherds-GEN, fool-the fools-GEN,
         analfabetul, cine   poate fi? Gigi, cel mai prost om din lume![9]
         'illiterate-the, who can be?   Gigi, the more (most) stupid person in world!'

The two constructions have the same meaning: a superlative reading. *"In Beyssade and Dobrovie-Sorin's (2005) terms, the latter illustrates the intensional mode of predication, whereas the genitival construction is part of the extensional mode. If in the case of genitival superlatives like *voinicul voinicilor* the class reading obtains from the plural form of the second noun, in N_1 *de* N_1 such a reading requires the presence of the silent noun TYPE"* (Dumitrescu (2010)).

   (d) On a fourth hypothesis, we can relate it to an N-N construction:

(24) El e băiat BĂIAT.
      'He is boy BOY.'
(25) E iubire IUBIRE între ei doi, nu glumă.
      'Is love LOVE between them two, no kidding.'

It can be argued that the preposition is inserted for reasons of case.

3.2. Back to Semantics and Syntax

Now the question which we would like to answer is whether the expressions under examination can be subsumed under the name of binominal constructions (i.e. qualitative pseudopartitives) or not. Our hypothesis is that they are not.

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[8]. *Vidra*, popular poem. http://ro.wikisource.org/

[9]. http://www.sport.ro/europa-league/video-stoichita-antrenor-la-steaua-steaua-nu-se-refuza-bergodi-demis-in-direct-la-sport-ro.html/pagina-20/

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There are many arguments in favour of our hypothesis (semantic, syntactic, phonological, crosslinguistic).

1. <u>Semantic arguments</u>

(i) A first argument is related to the types of nouns that can occupy the positions in N_1 or N_2. As already lengthily argued in section 2, in binominal constructions, the nouns which belong to N_2 are referential, while the nouns which belong to N_1 are evaluative (of N_2). Thus, if in the case of the nouns belonging to N_2, any noun can more or less serve as a means of referring to an entity, the nouns belonging to N_1 represent a limited class. They have to be nouns which are scalar. Vişan (2003) proposes a test for such nouns, namely, their occurrence with *aşa/ asemenea*:

(26) N-am văzut un asemenea dobitoc/ prost
        not-have seen a such   jackass/ fool
        'I haven't seen a greater/ such a jackass/ fool…'

However, what we will claim is that this test is not that reliable actually, because, in fact, *aşa/ asemenea* can occur with any type of noun, not just with scalar nouns, and, moreover, it cannot be said that the nouns occurring in this context are coerced into a scalar interpretation, because this is really not the case. We can very well say something like:

(27) N-am văzut un asemenea iepure/ scaun/ dulap
        not-have seen a such   rabbit/ chair/ wardrobe

and this certainly does not mean that we have turned *iepure* into a scalar noun. What we mean is that we have not seen such a lovely/ strange/ fluffy a.o. bunny. The context solves the mystery. *Asemenea* actually modifies an adjectives which is part of the shared knowledge of the speaker and the interlocutor. *N-am văzut un asemenea dulap* can easily be paraphrased as "Nu am văzut un dulap aşa de…". And, in this case, no shift from non-scalar reading to scalar reading is at work.

In the case of expressions such as *băiat de băiat, fată de fată, mobil de mobil, sentiment de sentiment* a.o., we can easily see that the nouns occurring in N_1, N_2 can basically be any type of noun whatsoever. There is no restriction as to the class of nouns that can occur in

N_1, as there is in the case of binominals (where they have to be evaluative). If the set of N_1 nouns is not closed (nouns denoting concrete objects can very well be used, unlike in the case of binominals), this suggests that our construction is different.

   (ii) A second argument is related to the interpretation of these expressions. In the case of binominals, we basically have the following interpretation: N_2 is referential, and N_1 is evaluative and it is predicated of N_2. Following Beyssade and Dobrovie-Sorin (2005), we can argue that we are basically dealing with two modes of predication. By referring to a certain entity as being N_2, we establish that the entity is a member of a set of entities (extensional mode of predication), while by ascribing the property N_1 to the entity referred to by N_2, we localize a property in an entity(intensional mode of predication). From a semantic point of view, N_1 is predicative. However, this is not the way in which we interpret expressions such as this is not the way in which we interpret expressions such as *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy')*, fată de fată* ('girl of girl')*, trandafir de trandafir* ('rose of rose')*, mobil de mobil* ('mobile of mobile')*, masină de maşină* ('car of car') a.o. In such expressions, the head is rather the first noun (N_1), and the modifier of N_1 is N_2:

(28)   a.   Toni şi-a cumpărat o maşină de maşină.
            Toni-CLITIC (himself)-bought-a car-of-car
            'Toni bought himself a supercar.'

       b.   Toni şi-a cumpărat o minune de maşină.
            Toni CLITIC (himself)-bought-a marvel-of car
            'Toni bought himself a marvel of a car.'

In (28 a), what the speaker is saying is that he bought a car which is worthy of the name of "car". The semantic head is the first noun, not the second (which acts as a modifier on the first). In (28b.), what the speaker is saying is, once again, that he bought a car. However, in this case, it is rather the second noun that is semantically selected by the verb *a cumpăra* ('to buy'), and not the first noun *minunăţie* ('marvel'). The only difference is the position of the head: in o *maşină de maşină* ('a car of car'), it is the first noun, in *o minune de maşină* ('a marvel of car'), it is the second noun. In other words, *o maşină de maşină* ('a car of car') means "o maşină care e cool (e MAŞINĂ)", 'a car that is cool (it is a CAR)';

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while o *minune de maşină* ('a marvel of car') means "o maşină care e o minune" ('a car that is a marvel').

2. Crosslinguistic argument

Another argument in favour of our hypothesis that such expressions are not in fact binominals is that there are no qualitative pseudopartitives in other languages that we are aware there are no qualitative pseudopartitives in other languages in which N_1 is the same as N_2. In other words, the opposite hypothesis that such expressions would be pseudopartitives is not at all supported by crosslinguistic data. As lengthily argued in the second section of the paper, English language does not allow expressions such as *a boy of a boy*, *a beauty of a beauty*, *an idiot of an idiot*, a.o. The reason for this is, as already explained, the avoidance of redundancies.

3. Phonological argument

Another argument is phonological: the different intonational contours and stresses which are ascribed to the constructions. The expressions *o minune de maşină* and *o maşină de maşină* are uttered in rather different ways, despite the fact that the words *minune* and *maşină* have the same number of syllables and the stress falls on the second syllable in both cases: /mi-nu-ne/, /ma-ʃi-nə/.

4. Syntactic arguments

Syntactic arguments can also be adduced to corroborate our hypothesis.

(i) In "Predicate Movement in Pseudopartitive Constructions" (1998), Norbert Corver enumerates some tests which any N-of-N construction should pass in order to count as a binominal construction.

(29) a. *Of a machine John bought a monster.   (example from Corver (1998))
    b. *De doctor am văzut un idiot.
       '*Of doctor have-I seen an idiot.'
    c. *De băiat am văzut un băiat.
       '*Of boy have-I seen a boy.'
    d. *Of extraordinary beauty he saw a girl.

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Apparently, *băiat de băiat* behaves just like an N-of-N construction. However, this is not a reliable test. As we can clearly see in (29d), it is not the case that only qualitative pseudopartitives disallow the extraction of the *of*-phrase. *Of extraordinary beauty* cannot be extracted out of the phrase *a girl of extraordinary beauty*. In this case, *a girl* is the head, and the *of*-phrase is the modifier, unlike in the expression *a monster of a machine*. Hence, the fact that *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy') successfully passes this test actually proves nothing whatsoever.

(ii) The verbs selects the second nominal in the DP.

(30) a. John drives [a monster of a truck].
      b. #John rides [a monster of a truck].
      c. John rides a monster.   (examples from Corver (1998))
      d. Ion a cunoscut o sărmaluță de fată.
          Ion has met   a meat roll of girl.
      e. #Ion a cunoscut o sărmăluță.
          Ion   has met a meat roll.
      f. Ion a cunoscut o fată de fată.
          Ion has met a girl of girl.
      g. Ion a cunoscut o fată.
          Ion has met a girl.

In this case, the difference between the two constructions is pretty clear. If (30d) clearly does not entail (30e), (30f) entails (30g), which suggests that the two constructions have different heads (something already mentioned above, as a second argument in favour of our hypothesis.)

(iii) In N-of-N constructions adjectives enter into a modification relation with N_2 across N_1.

(31) a. a nice bear of a fellow
      b. a polite jewel of a child   (examples from Corver (1998))
      c. un simpatic băiat de băiat
          'a cute boy of boy'

    d. o simpatică minunăție de băiat

      'a cute marvel of boy'

The claim is that N_1 is "semantically transparent". Hence, the adjective somehow modifies N_2 across N_1. In other words, it is not the bear that is nice, but the [bear of a fellow], hence, the fellow. In a similar fashion, it is not the jewel that is polite, but the [jewel of a child], hence, the child. The N-of-N construction seems to have phrasal status. As we can clearly see in (31c), *băiat de băiat* can be preceded by an adjective, just like *minunăţie de băiat*. However, it is not the case that the first noun in *băiat de băiat* is semantically transparent with respect to the adjective. On the contrary, in (31c), the adjective actually modifies the first noun (or, rather, the whole phrase).

    (iv) In N-of-N constructions, N_2 is not a full-fledged DP.

(32) a. *that idiot of the/ that/ this/ my doctor

      b. *acel idiot de doctorul meu

          '*that idiot of doctor-the my'

      c. *acel băiat de băiatul tău

          '*that boy of boy-the your'

(32c) is patently ungrammatical. But this does not make it an N-of-N construction, for it is not only in N-of-N constructions that N_2 is not a full-fledged DP. It suffices to think of phrases such as *băiat de deputat* ('boy of deputy') or *fată de doctor* ('girl of doctor'). Hence, this test again does not make *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy') binominal in any way.

    (v) N-of-N constructions allow recursivity:

(33) a. that asshole of an idiot of a doctor

      b. acea brută de catastrofă de avocat

          'that brute of disaster of lawyer'

      c. acel prost de băiat de băiat

          'that stupid of boy of boy'

      d. ?? băiat de băiat de băiat

          'boy of boy of boy'

    e. *acel băiat de băiat de băiat
       '*that boy of boy of boy'

Indeed, *băiat de băiat* can in its turn be used as an N_2 in a binominal construction, just like *catastrofă de avocat* ('disaster of lawyer'). But this tells us absolutely nothing about the internal structure of the expresssion *băiat de băiat*, whether it is binominal or not. What it tells us, in light of (iv) is that, given the fact that it can occupy the position of N_2, it is not a full-fledged DP. Hence, it could be argued that *băiat de băiat* is rather an NP, it is predicational, not argumental. This is an important remark which we have to retain. Interestingly, *băiat de băiat* cannot be used in a binominal in which N_1 is *băiat* (33e.). This makes perfect sense considering that the nouns occupying the second position in binominals have to be referential, whereas *băiat de băiat* is predicational. Equally interesting is the fact that (49d) is not entirely ungrammatical, if the first *băiat* is interpreted as the head, which is further modified by *băiat de băiat*.

    (vi) In an N-of-N construction, the second noun cannot be removed out of the *of*-phrase.

(34) a. * a problem which this is a hell of
      b. *un kiwi care acesta e o minune de
         '* a kiwi that this is a marvel of'
      c. *băiat care acesta e băiat de
         '*boy that this is boy of'
      d. *calitate care aceasta e fată de
         '*quality that this is girl of'

This test, however, does not prove *băiat de băiat* binominal, since (vi) is true of constructions which are not binominal, such as that in (34d). As we can see, our expressions fail some significant tests that binominal constructions successfully pass ((ii) and (iii)). As for the tests which they successfully pass, they do not prove them binominal in any way, because other types of constructions pass them as well. Anyhow, the fact that there are some tests which they fail is sufficient evidence for their non-binominal status, which is exactly what we wanted to show. Moreover, the semantic and phonological tests seem to be the most relevant.

3.3. Some Food for Thought

In the literature, qualitative pseudopartitives have generally been analysed (cf. Den Dikken (1998, 2006) and Corver (1998)) as involving predicate inversion. Unlike in the case of quantitative pseudopartitives, the attacks against a predicate inversion analysis of qualitative have not been so fierce. In the example below:

(35) a. A beauty of a woman invited Jim to a Magritte exhibition.
　　　b. The woman is a beauty.

it can soundly be argued that predicate inversion is at work (the predicate comes before the referential noun, just like in inverted copular sentences).[10]

　　Can the same thing be argued in the case of expressions such as *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy')*, trandafir de trandafir* ('rose of rose'),a.o.? As already suggested above, it is not so. Unlike *un şmecher de băiat*, deriving from (37b) (Dogaru (2009)), *băiat de băiat* does not derive from a sentence like (36b):

(36) a. băiat de băiat
　　　　　'boy of boy'
　　　b. Băiatul e un băiat.
　　　　　'Boy-the is a boy.'

(37) a. Toni e un şmecher de băiat.
　　　　　'Toni is a cunning of boy.'
　　　b. Băiatul e un şmecher.
　　　　　'Boy-the is a cunning.'
　　　c. Băiatul e şmecher.
　　　　　'Boy-the is cunning.'
　　　d. şmecherul de băiat
　　　　　'cunning-the of boy'

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[10]. For arguments in favour of a predicate inversion analysis, see den Dikken, "Predicate Inversion in the DP" (1998), where he draws on the analogy between nominal and clausal structures to suggest that the predicate moves across the referential noun within the nominal domain.

But can the same thing be said about *un băiat de băiat* ('a boy of boy')?

(38) a. Băiatul e un băiat.
     'Boy-the is a boy.'
   b. Băiatul e băiat.
     'Boy-the is boy.'
   c. un băiat de băiat
     a boy   of boy

(39) a. Toni e băiat de băiat.
     'Toni is boy of boy.'
   b. ??Toni e un băiat de băiat.
     'Toni is a boy of boy.'
   c. ???Băiatul de băiat a venit să mă vadă.
     'Boy-the of boy has come Conj-SUBJ me see'
   d. Şmecherul de băiat a venit să mă vadă.
     'Maverick-the of boy has come conj- SUBJ me see.'
   e. Am văzut un băiat de băiat.
     'Have-I seen a boy of boy.'
   f. Am văzut un şmecher de băiat.
     'Have-I seen a maverick of boy.'

The first noun in our expressions is felt to be predicational. This is why adding the indefinite article in front of it is felt as rather odd (39b). Moreover, anaphorical use again sounds strange (39c). This is in stark contrast with N-of-N constructions (39d), (39f). This clearly points to a rather different status of N_1 in expressions such as *băiat de băiat*, an expression which is different both from *un băiat de băiat*, and from *un idiot de băiat*.

We would suggest the status of NP, a status which has already been hinted at when discussing the test (v)-Corver (1998). In addition, we notice that nothing can intervene between the two nouns:

(40) a. */?? acea cireaşă splendidă de cireaşă
       'that cherry splendid of cherry'

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   b. acea splendidă cireaşă de cireaşă
      'that splendid cherry of cherry'
   c. acea supercireaşă splendidă
      'that megacherry splendid'

(41) *acea fată şmecheră de fată
      'that   girl cunning of girl'

(42) acel idiot scârbos de politician
      'that idiot groce of politician'

After examining the data, we can thus remark that in expressions such as *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy'), *fată de fată* ('girl of girl'), N₁ and N₂ have the following properties: (i) N₁, the head, behaves like a predicate, like an NP, (ii) N₂ modifies N₁ and has to be adjacent to it; again, it is not a full-fledged DP. The modifier in *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy') can no longer be modified, whereas the modifier in *un idiot de băiat* ('an idiot of boy') can be further modified. Therefore, different analyses should be proposed for the two constructions.

4. *(Un) Băiat de Băiat* as a Kind-Final Construction

We will make two claims: a) that *(un) băiat de băiat* ('(a) boy of boy') is a KIND construction; and b) that *(un) băiat de băiat* ('(a) boy of boy') is like "(a) boy of this type" (KIND-FINAL), while *un idiot de băiat* ('an idiot of boy', "an idiot of a boy") is like 'a type of boy' (KIND-INITIAL).
Several arguments can be adduced in favour of these claims. A first argument is represented by KIND PARAPHRASES:

(43) a. 'maşină de maşină' ('car of car') is like 'car of (this) type'
      while
      b. 'o frumuseţe de maşină' ('a beauty of car') is like 'a type of car'

A second argument is represented by EXTRACTION PHENOMENA, namely, these constructions behave like *kind* constructions with respect to extraction phenomena:

(44) I have bought a rose of this species.

(45) *Of this species I have bought a rose.

(46) Am cumpărat un trandafir de trandafir.
      Have-I bought a rose of rose.

(47) *De trandafir, am cumpărat un trandafir.
      Of rose, have-I bought a rose.

(48) *This species I have bought a rose of.

(49) *Trandafir, am cumpărat un trandafir de.
      Rose, have-I bought a rose of

Thirdly, there is the phenomenon of KIND ANTI-ANAPHORA (Zamparelli (1998)), i.e. the kind construction has particular anaphoric properties (or rather, does not have): the definite article has no anaphoric uses in kind constructions (kind-initial and kind-final).

(50) ?The tiger of that kind entered the room.

(51) The kind(s) of dog(s) *(we just mentioned) are/is quite popular.

In the same way as in (50), in Romanian, we have:

(52) ??Băiatul de băiat a intrat în cameră.
      'Boy-the of boy has entered in room.'
      "The cool boy entered the room."

A kind nominal with a simple *definite article* cannot be used to refer back to a previously introduced discourse referent, even if this is a kind[11].

The article is in fact acceptable *to the extent* it is not used anaphorically:

(53) The types of contemporary poems are increasingly similar.   (kind-initial)

(54) "The landlords of the traditional type had been supplemented by London based land-holding companies.   (kind-final)

(55) Băiatul de băiat e un specimen des întâlnit în ziua de azi.
     'Boy-the of boy is a specimen often encountered in day of today.'
     "The cool boy is a specimen often encountered nowadays.'

Here, the definite article is not used anaphorically. Given the fact that both kind-initial and kind-final constructions have the property of KIND ANTI-ANAPHORA, the behaviour of *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy') with respect to this test does not tell us whether the construction is kind-initial or kind-final.

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[11]. We have the following situations:

(i) kind-initial:

"Pink Delight"ᵢ and "Waverly" rosesⱼ were bred in England by Mr. Pinkerton. {*The / The two /These / His} kinds of rosesᵢ₊ⱼ are quite popular nowaday in Scotland.

Trandafirii 'Pink Delight' şi 'Waverly' au fost cultivaţi în Anglia de Dl. Pinkerton. {*Tipurile/ /Cele două tipuri/ Aceste tipuri/ tipurile lui} de trandafiri sunt foarte populare azi în Scoţia.

(ii) kind-final:

The Greyhoundᵢ is common in England, although a dog of [{*the / this }kind]ᵢ always suffers in small spaces.

Greyhound-ul este des-întâlnit în Anglia, deşi un câine de {*tipul/ tipul acesta} mereu suferă în spaţii înguste.

5. A Syntactic Analysis of the *Băiat de Băiat* Construction

Starting from the above, we would like to propose a syntactic analysis of the *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy'), by putting together the Split D Hypothesis (Zamparelli (2000)) with Kayne's (1994) antisymmetric representations of syntactic objects.

5.1. The Split D Hypothesis

In *Layers in the Determiner Phrase* (2000), Zamparelli aims at finding a common ground between:
(a) the idea that there should be a strict mapping between syntactic-semantic categories (Montague (1970, 1973));
(b) the fact that different NPs have different types of denotations ([John] (in *John smiled*) has the semantic type <e>, [a person] (in *Mary is a person*) has the semantic type <e, t>), [every dog] (in *[Every dog] barked*) has the semantic type <<e, t> t>)

The solution he proposes for explaining the predicative/ argumental uses of NPs is the SplitD Hypothesis. On this hypothesis, the interpretation of nominals does not depend on the position in the sentence in which they are interpreted (Kratzer (1989), Diesing (1992)), but on the position within the DP (Heim (1982), Reinhart (1987)).

The proposal has as a starting intuition the idea that the topmost part of the NP (determiners and quantifiers) includes 2 maximal projections ('the determiner system'):
(a) the highest maximal projection, consisting of 'strong' determiners: PNs, personal pronouns (Milsark 1974), quantifiers
(b) the intermediate projection, consisting of 'weak' determiners: those determiners that can appear in predicate position.

The DP is thus split into three parts: SDP (Strong Determiner Phrase), PDP (Predicate Determiner Phrase), KIP (Kind Phrase). Evidence for this tripartition comes from Italian, which has a different pronoun for each layer (*lo*+ AGR for SDP, *lo* –AGR for PDP, *ne* for KIP). PDP is the layer of weak determiners, by which we understand those determiners that can occur normally in existential sentences: *a, sm*[1]*, one, two, three, many, no.* SDP is the layer of strong determiners, by which we mean those determiners which cannot occur in existential sentences: *every, each, the, all, most, both, neither:*

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(56) [SDP (lo + Agr) Spec [SD' [strong det] [PDP (lo-Agr) Spec [PD' [weak det] [KIP (ne) Spec [KI' [of][NP [N]]]]]]]]

5.2. What Syntactic Representation Can We Provide for the Construction *Băiat de Băiat* in a Split-DP Framework?

Taking the above into consideration, we try to provide a syntactic representation for *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy') starting from the provided by Zamparelli (2000):

(57) [SDP Spec [SD' SD [PDP Spec [PD' PD^0 [KIP [KI' [KI of] [SDP [KIP book] [SDP every kind]]]]]]]]

In the representation above, either *every kind* moves to [Spec, KIP], and then to [Spec, SDP], yielding *every kind of book*, or *book* moves to [Spec, KIP], yielding *a book of every kind*.

However, there are several problems with this analysis. The most important problem is that is NOT antisymmetrical: at the NP$_j$ level, NPj is made up of KIND and NP$_i$ (kind-initial constructions), and we would like an analysis that observes antisymmetry.

A second problem is that agreement facts are left unsolved, namely, the Agreement Generalization: *[[Arg]$_{sg,}$ [Pred]$_{PL}$]^{12}

(58) 'this kind of tiger'
     'this kind of tigers'
     '*these kinds of tiger'
     'these kinds of tigers'

Our analysis is inspired from Zamparelli (1998), who proposes an RP analysis of partitives and possessives. RP is a Residue Phrase, i.e. a syntactic projection in charge of expressing the residue operation. In English the head of RP is realized as *of*. The two nouns can be

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[12] In sentences, we can have singular collective predicates (e.g. *couple*).

accommodated in the specifier and complement of this projection, where they are interpreted by the rule:

(59) [[RP]]= Re ([[[Spec,RP]]], [[[Complement,RP]]])

In turn, RP is embedded under a PDP, the site of numerals, and an SDP, to host external determiners (as in *Every one of the boys*). The phrase in [Spec,RP] is a KIP (cf. also Kayne (1994)), while the one in the complement is a full SDP:

(60) [SDP D [PDP two [RP [KIP good friends] [R' [R of] [SDP John [SD' ['s] [PDP four [KIP good friends]]]]]]]]

As for *băiat de băiat* ('boy of KIND boy'), the analysis we propose is:

(61) [PDP [PD' [PD [RP [KIP băiat [R' [R de$_i$ [KIP TIP [KI' [KI] [NP băiat (BĂIAT)]]]]]]]]]]]

In the representation above, we make use of the silent noun TYPE. In our choice, we follow Dumitrescu (2010), who argues: "this position of TYPE is actually the one proposed in van Riemsdijk (2005) for Dutch N *de* N, but which seems inappropriate because it imposes the semantic head status on N_1, therefore N_1 TYPE *de* N_2 was chosen as the right order in binominals. In contrast, in N_1 *de* N_1 the first noun is the head, so TYPE may be assumed to follow the preposition in this construction." (Dumitrescu (2010))

In our analysis, both the Spec and the complement of R are KIP, and the RP can be embedded further on into a PDP, thus accounting for distributional facts (*Am văzut un băiat de băiat*, i.e., 'I saw a boy of boy').

Moreover, we would like to find a place for NumP in the structure. Dogaru (2007) argues that bare predicates are actually not bare, they are NumPs. A very important fact is that we have number agreement between the two nouns in *băiat de băiat*:

(62) băiat de băiat
      'boy of boy'
      băieți de băieți
      'boys of boys'

*băiat de băieți

'boy of boys'

*băieți de băiat

'boys of boy'

We will propose placing NumP between KIP and NP:[13]

(63) [$_{PDP}$ [$_{PD'}$ PD [$_{RP}$ [$_{KIP}$ băiati [$_{R'}$ [$_R$ de] [$_{KIP}$ TIP [$_{KI'}$ KI [$_{NumP}$ [$_{Num'}$ Num [$_{NP}$ [$_{N'}$ [$_{N/}$ băiat (BĂIAT)]]]]]]]]]]]]

This analysis presents many advantages, such as the fact that (i) it is antisymmetric, and the fact that (ii) it accounts for the fact that nothing can intervene between the two nouns:

(64) a. */?? acea cireaşă splendidă de cireaşă
          'that cherry splendid of cherry'
      b. acea splendidă cireaşă de cireaşă
          'that splendid cherry of cherry'
      c. acea supercireaşă splendidă
          'that megacherry splendid'

(65) *acea fată şmecheră de fată
      'that   girl cunning of girl'

(66) acel idiot scârbos de politician
      'that idiot groce of politician'

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[13]. However, the question arises whether, considering that nouns are introduced as kinds (Zamparelli (2000)), it is licit to place NumP between KIP and NP. Does it not break the unity KIP, NP?

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6. What About the Other Languages? Do They Have a Construction of the *băiat de băiat*?

6.1. Some empirical facts

We would like to suggest that, although the *băiat de băiat* construction ('boy of boy') seems to be found in Romanian only, constructions with the same meaning and a similar form, or constructions with the same meaning but a different form exist in other languages as well.

    In English, for example, we do not have this construction, but, instead, we have:

(a)   the Saxon Genitive: *a man's man*, *a doctor's doctor*, *a filmmaker's film maker*;

(b)   the partitive: *king of kings* (animate, human), *sun of suns* (inanimate).

Apart from this, we encounter situations in which the same noun is repeated twice:. The rhetorical device is called *epizeuxis*, and it appears in exclamative/ deictic contexts: "The horror, the horror" (Kurtz in *Heart of Darkness*), "Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity!" (Henry David Thoreau in *Walden*). The same thing can occur with adjectives: "Alone, alone, all all alone, /Alone on a wide, wide sea". (Samuel Coleridge in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*). However, in such cases, a comma is used. Moreover, if we have a DP, the whole DP is repeated: "the horror, the horror", which is not the case in the construction *băiat de băiat*, or even *băiat BĂIAT*:

(67) a. *He is a boy BOY.
       b. *He is a man MAN.

A possible explanation for this is that, in English, when two nouns are adjacent, the predicative/ attributive noun must appear before the noun that is the head.
However, we see that we do not even have:

(68) a. ??He is a BOY boy.
       b. ???He is a MAN man.,

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they are constructions that should be possible in principle (we have *boyfriend, girlfriend, fisherman*). We would like to argue that these are not ruled out by syntax, but by semantics/ pragmatics (in other words, what meaning could we assign to *BOY boy, MAN man*, what would they mean?)

If the noun is [+animate], [+human], then two constructions are possible (Saxon Genitive, partitive), whereas if the noun is [–animate], only the partitive is possible. (this is in accordance with the Saxon Genitive rules in English).

In Italian, we find two types of constructions:
(a)   made of two nouns: *uomo UOMO* (??*Lui è un uomo UOMO*);
(b)   the partitive: *il re dei rei*, *il libro dei libri*

There is no Saxon Genitive construction in Italian.

In French, the partitive is present: *la femme des femmes*, *le livre des livres*, just as in Spanish: *el libro de los libros*.

In Brasilian Portuguese, we encounter:
(a)   two nouns: *um macho macho*, (?) *um homem homem*;
(b) the partitive: *o livro dos livros*

In Chinese, we encounter a noun PRT noun construction: [*jiu zhong zhi jiu*] ('wine middle PRT wine'), [*mei-nii zhong de mei-nii*] ('pretty.lady middle PRT pretty lady'). "Middle PRT" is the equivalent of the preposition *of*. The order is not "A of B" (as in 'the wine of wines"), but "B middle PRT A".

6.2. What is the syntactic structure for *a man's man*?

In what follows, we would like to propose a syntactic structure both for the Saxon Genitive construction, and for the partitive construction, and then compare it to our construction.

Following Kayne (1994):

(69) [D' [D definite] [PossP John [Poss' [Poss –s][two pictures]]]]

what we have is:

(70) [D' [D definite] [PossP man [Poss' [Poss –s] man]]

Adopting Zamparelli (2000)'s Split DP Hypothesis, we can further refine the above representation into:

(71) [PossP [KIP man] [Poss' [Poss 's] [KIP [KI' [KI [NP man]]]]]]

The structure above can preceded by PredP, or SDP (*a man's man*, *the man's man*).
Therefore, the Saxon Genitive construction (*a man's man*) can be accounted for if we resort to a PossP (Possessive Phrase), while the *băiat de băiat* ('boy of boy') construction in Romanian can be accounted for by resorting to an RP (a Residue Phrase). The first construction includes a member in a class, while the second ascribes it a property.

6.3. What Is the Syntactic Structure for *king of kings*, *sun of suns*?

As for the partitive construction, we propose the following representation:

(72) [PDP [PD' [PD] [RP [KIP king] [R' [R of] [KIP [KI' [KI] [NumP [Num' [Num] [NP kings]]]]]]]]]]

Residue Phrase= Kayne's Determiner Phrase

7. Conclusion

In conclusion, we would like to suggest that the *băiat de băiat* construction does not count as qualitative pseudopartitive (neither from a semantic, nor from a syntactic point of view). The same noun is introduced in the structure twice, and the different meanings that the nouns acquire in the structure are the result of the syntactic configuration in which they are

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introduced. By combining Kayne (1994, 2005) and Zamparelli (2000), we have proposed a syntactic representation which manages to account for the 'type' reading of the second noun, and, hence, set them apart from qualitative pseudopartitives.

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Subjunctive obviation in nonargument clauses

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1. Introduction

It is a well-established generalization that in Romance languages (but not only) the pronominal subject (clitic or null in pro-drop languages) of a subjunctive argument clause must be 'obviative' with respect to the attitude holder argument (in most cases, the matrix subject but also the matrix object of some psychological predicates).

Subjunctive obviation has been widely studied w.r.t. argument clauses (Bouchard 1984, Ruwet 1984, Picallo 1985, Raposo 1985, Everaert 1986, Suñer 1986, Kempchinsky 1987, 1997, 2009, Rizzi 1991, Farkas 1992, Progovac 1993, 1994, Avrutin 1994, Tsoulas 1996, Avrutin and Babyonyshev 1997, Manzini 2000, Schlenker 2005), but it has received little attention with respect to nonargument clauses, i.e. in relative and adverbial clauses.[1]

The aim of this paper is to discuss the phenomenon of subjunctive obviation in a broader set of nonargument clauses and consider its theoretical relevance within this novel empirical domain. Particularly, I will address the following questions:

(i)   In which nonargument clauses does obviation occur?

(ii)   Does obviation display the same properties as in argument clauses?

(iii)   Are the theories on obviation in argument clauses applicable to obviation in nonargument clauses?

The first two questions are clearly empirical, whereas the last one concerns which theory is fitter to explain the data. There are however connections between the three

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[1]. As far as I know, Manzini (2000) is the only work treating the question with respect to some types of subjunctive nonargument clause, *before*-clauses and purpose clauses.

questions. For instance, if the second question can be answered positively, then a theory that explains obviation in argument clauses should be able to explain obviation in nonargument clauses as well.

To address these questions, I will first discuss some background questions (section 2) In section 2.1 I describe the properties obvition displays in argument clauses. In section 2.2 I illustrate to which condition obviaiton tends to disappear, in section 2.3 I present the main theories on obviation in argument clauses. In section 3 I explain why obviation in nonargument clauses is a relevant empirical field to test previous theories of obviation. In section 4 I discuss the data concerning nonargument clauses. For each clause type instantiating subjunctive mood I consider four properties: whether obviation obtains, whether obviation obeys the same constraints as in argument clauses, and two general properties that will turn out to be crucial to assess which theory is more adequate, namely which clause type displays tense dependency, and which can contain an infinitive verb. In section 5 I analyse the data. The analyses points to the following conclusions:

(i)   Obviation does not hold in each clause type type instantiating the subjunctive;

(ii)   Obviation in nonargument clauses displays the same properties as in argument clauses;

(iii)   Both obviative and nonobviative clause types display tense dependency;

(iv)   Obviative clause types can be in the infinitive;

(v)   Nonobviative clause types cannot be in the infinitive.

Thus, the data suggest that, while nonargument clauses provide no sufficient evidence in favor of the relation between tense dependency and obviation (the basic tenet of theories of obviation based on the Binding Theory), they appear to support the relation between obviation and infinitive). This substantiates the hypothesis that obviation is due to pragmatic principles bringing about mood competition (Bouchard 1984, Farkas 1992, Schlenker 2005). In section 6 I draw some conclusions.

2. Background

2.1. Generalities

Within the theory of Government and Binding framework, obviation was defined as a condition on the indexing of a subjunctive clause pronominal subject (clitic in non-pro drop lnguages, null in pro-drop languages). In sentence (1), for instance, the embedded

subject cannot be interpreted as coreferent with *Piero* (the attitude holder). The acceptability of sentence (2), on the other hand, shows that the status of (1) only depends on indexing.

(1) *Piero$_1$ vuole che pro$_1$ affronti questo problema.
    Piero$_1$ wants that pro$_1$ face.subj this problem

(2) Piero$_1$ vuole che pro$_2$ affronti questo problema.
    Piero$_1$ wants that pro$_2$ face.subj this problem
    'Piero wants him/her to face this problem.'

From a Minimalist perspective, where indexes are no more a primitive notion (Reuland 2001), obviation may be defined as the unavailability of the *de se* and the non-*de se* reading, adopting the terminology introduced by Lewis (1979). The attitude report in (1) would not be adequate to report the illocutionary act in (3), whereas an infinitive structure would be acceptable (see sentence (4)).

(3) a. Piero: "Affronterò questo problema!"
    b. Piero: "I'll face this problem."

(4) Piero vuole PRO affrontare il problema.
    Piero wants PRO face.inf the problem.
    'Piero wants to face the problem'.

Sentence (1) would also be inappropriate to report the illocutionary act in (4), uttered in a situation in which Piero turns out to be the most competent person.

(5) a. Piero: "Voglio che la persona più competente risolva il problema."
    b. Piero: "I want the most competent person to solve this problem."

In this scenario sentence (6) would be considered true, but sentence (1) would certainly not.

(6) Piero vuole che lui (stesso) risolva questo problema.
    Piero wants that he (self) solve.subj this problem
    'Piero wants himself to solve this problem.'

The attitude reports in (4) and in (6) illustrate a *de se* attitude and a non-*de se* attitude respectively. Sentence (1) appears to be unfit to express these kinds of attitudes and would be acceptable to report an illocutionary act as in (7).

(7)   a. Piero: "Voglio che Maria risolva il problema."
        b. Piero: "I want Maria to solve this problem."

Thus, the attitude report in 0 can only be strictly *de re*.

2.2. The syntax of subjunctive obviation

A number of articles have shown that subjunctive obviation is sensitive to a series of syntactic properties that may 'weaken' it, making the *de se* reading available, to a variable degree of acceptability.

    Among the properties that that appear to 'weaken' obviation, the presence of tense, voice, and modal auxiliaries is crosslinguistically the most robust (Ruwet 1984, Picallo 1985, Raposo 1985).[2] To illustrate, the embedded subject in sentence (8), where a modal verb in the subjunctive precedes two more auxiliaries, can be interpreted *de se* without particular effort.

(8)   Piero riteneva che pro potesse   essere   stato   licenziato a causa di
        Piero thought that pro can.subj aux_T aux_{Voice} fired   because of
        quel grave errore.
        that big   mistake
        'Piero thought that he might have been fired because of his big mistake.'

Thus, obviation obtains only in subjunctive clauses, but it does not obtain in *all* subjunctive clauses. Subjunctive obviation is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon, that is, it is not the case that a subjunctive clause is obviative as being in the subjunctive. Rather, only a subset of argument clauses displays obviation – clauses where subjunctive morphology is attached to the verbal theme (see example (1)).

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[2]. Other factors that affect obviation include the type of embedded predicate (agentive vs. nonagentive, Ruwet 1984), the type of subject pronoun (null/clitic vs. strong), and the presence of left dislocated constituents (Feldhausen 2008).

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2.3. Theories about Subjunctive Obviation

A number of hypotheses have been proposed to capture the properties of subjunctive obviation. Among them, two main approaches can be singled out. The first explains obviation resorting to Binding Theory. The second derives obviation from pragmatic principles that rule the distribution of pro and PRO ad of subjunctive mood and infinitive mood.

2.3.1. Binding theory

Theoretically, the phenomenon of subjunctive obviation has drawn attention as early in the 1980s. The fact that a pronominal cannot be coreferent with a DP that is not a coargument was puzzling from the point of view of the Binding Theory as defined in the Governing and Binding Theory.

According to Binding Principle B, a pronominal is free in its binding category. A very natural hypothesis to explain obviation was then that the pronominal subject of a subjunctive clause and the attitude holder argument are part of the same binding domain. This is the line of reasoning of Picallo (1985), Raposo (1985), Everaert (1986), Kempchinsky (1986), Rizzi (1991), Progovac (1993, 1994), Avrutin and Babyonyshev (1997), Manzini (2000), among many others.[3]

Various technical implementations were proposed to answer the question why the attitude holder argument belongs to the binding domain of the embedded subject. A common point to all these analyses was that subjunctive must be someway responsible for the binding domain 'extension', because only subjunctive clauses display obviation–in indicative clauses a pronominal subject can be *de se*.

(9) Piero ha   detto che   pro affronterà il problema   personalmente.
     Piero has   said that pro will.face the problem   personally
     Piero said he will face the problem himself.'

Subjunctive tenses differ from indicative tenses in that their value depends on the matrix tense only (sequence of tense), that is, they behave as if they were 'tense an-

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[3]. Manzini (2000) adopts the Binding approach to explain some phenomena involving obviation in adverbial clauses.

phors' (Picallo 1985).[4] So, it was hypothesized that the 'anaphoric' nature of subjunctive mood caused the binding domain extension as to include the attitude holder argument.[5]

2.3.2. Mood competition

The second approach to obviation builds on the observation that in syntactic environments where obviation obtains, the infinitive mood marks the *de se* reading.

According to these theories obviation does not derive from violations of syntactic constraints (such as Binding), but from pragmatic principles, such as the 'Avoid Pronoun Principle' (Bouchard 1984), 'Blocking' (Farkas 1992) or 'Maximize Presupposition!' (Schlenker 2005). Despite different implementations, they basically claim that a subjunctive clause cannot be *de se* if an infinitival clause is available.

Schlenker (2005), for instance, assumes that by the pragmatic principle *Maximize presupposition!*, the strongest possible presupposition must be marked on variables. This implies that linguistic expressions introducing a presupposition should be preferred to linguistic expressions that do not. He assumes that infinitives introduce the presupposition that a certain proposition is *de se*. Subjunctive mood, on the other hand, is a default mood, that is, it does not introduce presuppositions. In his view, this explains why subjuntive mood enters syntactic environments that, in his view, hardly can be reduced

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[4]. In fact embedded indicative verbs are also interpreted w.r.t the matrix tense, but their interpretation does not depend on the matrix tense only, as they display double access reading (see Giorgi 2004, 2010 and Giorgi and Pianesi 2001).

[5]. Binding theory of subjunctive obviation is not devoid of shortcomings. First, it doesn't explain the fact that non-obviative subjunctive clauses *do* exist, as shown in example (8). If obviation is due to the tense properties of subjunctive mood, one should expect that sentences like (8) were ruled out. Second, Schlenker (2005) observes that while overlapping reference is excluded in local domains, it is possible in contexts where obviation obtains.

(i) *Io ci pettino.

    I   us comb

(ii) Voglio   che   pro   partiamo.

    I.want   that   pro.1pl   leave-subj.1.pl

    'I want we leave.'

This is not expected if *pro* and the subject of the matrix clause were part of the same binding domain.

to a unified semantic import – main clauses having imperative and optative illocutionary force, argument clauses of volitional, desiderative, epistemic, emotive-factive verbs, relative clauses expressing a volition or having a hypothetical meaning, various types of adjunct clauses expressing volition, future orientation, or conditionality). Thus, subjunctive verbs cause a semantic failure it it is used to report an illocutionary act like (3) –the form introducing the presuppostitin that the proposition is *de se*, i.e., the infinitive, is to be preferred.

On the other hand, if the syntactic environment disallows infinitive verbs, the use of subjunctive verbs is not incompatible with the *de se* reading, because its use does not violate *Maximize presupposition!* To illustrate, sentence (10) shows that a subjunctive clause cannot be coordinated with an infinitival clause (example from Schlenker 2005).

(10) *Je   veux que   tu   partes   et   rester.
      I   want that you   leave.subj and   stay.inf

Thus, coordination with a subjunctive clause is a syntactic environment that prevents the occurrence of infinitival clauses. As in this context the form introducing the *de se* presupposition is unavailable due to syntactic reasons, the default mood is not constrained to express the *de se* reading, as sentence (11) shows.

(11) $^?$Je   veux que   tu   partes   et   que je reste.
      I want that you   go.subj and   that I   stay.subj
      'I want you to leave and myself to stay.'

3. Objectives and analysis outline

With this background in mind, let us consider nonargument clauses, that is, relative and adverbial clause, and what their import is from a theoretical point of view.

Nonargument clauses appear to be significant because if obviation is empirically comparable in argument and in nonargument clauses –that is, if it obeys the same constraints as in argument clauses, then it would be natural to assume that the same theory should be able to explain obviation in argument and in nonargument clauses. Particularly, if obviation in nonargument clauses turns out to be the same phenomenon as in argument clauses, then a new empirical field within Romance languages would allow us

to test the two different theories of obviation.[6] Thus, if obviation were intrinsically due to the 'anaphoric' nature of subjunctive mood, one would expect that in all subjunctive nonargument clauses showing morphosyntactic dependency (sequence of tenses), obviation occurs irrespective of the existence of an infinitive 'competitor'. If, on the other hand, obviation were due to pragmatic principles resulting in the 'competition' between subjuntive and infinitive, only the clause types allowing for an infinitival verb should display obviation in subjunctive clauses.

To test these hypothesis, it will be sufficient to consider for each clause type:

(i)   whether obviation occurs;[7]

(ii)   if it does, whether obviation displays the same restrictions as in argument clauses; to check this, it may be sufficient to verify whether the insertion of an auxiliary or of a modal verb makes the *de se* interpretation available;

(iii)   whether subjunctive tenses display 'dependency' as in argument clauses; this may be tested taking into account the sequence of tenses displayed in each clause type[8]

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[6]. It is perhaps the case to note here that in nonargument clauses obviation should be considered as the unavailability of logophoric interpretation, rather than the unavailability of the (non) *de se* reading, because attitude may not be involved in nonargument clauses. I assume that the *de se* reading can be considered as a special type of logophoric reading, so obviation in nonargument clauses is not different from obviation in argument clauses in this respect.

[7]. To check whether obviation holds, one should exclude the syntactic factors that weaken it. Thus, all examples marked with (a') discussed in section 4 are in the third person, include an agentive verb, and do not involve auxiliaries or modal verbs.

[8]. To check this, I examine whether rigid sequence of tense holds. In Italian the subjunctive mood has four 'tenses': *presente* ('present simple'), *passato* ('present perfect'), *imperfetto* ('past imperfective') and *trapassato* ('pluperfect'). The distribution of these forms in subordinate contexts depends on the rules of sequence of tenses, summarized here:

Matrix verb		Subjunctive tense
Mood	Tense	
Indicative	Present	Present/Present perfect (*passato*)
	Future	#Past imperfective (*imperfetto*)/Pluperfect (*trapassato*)
	Imperfetto	Past imperfective (*imperfetto*)/Pluperfect (*trapassato*)
Conditional	Present	*Present/Present perfect (*passato*)
	Past	

(iv)   whether it compatible with infinitive verbs.

If obviation appears to be weakened in nonargument clauses as in argument clauses, then the phenomenon might be considered as the same in nonargument as in argument clauses.

If so, Binding-based theories predict that clause types triggering obviation should display tense dependency and clause types that do not trigger obviation should not display tense dependency, regardless of the possibility of having an infinitive verb. 'Mood competition' theories, on the other hand, predict that the clause types triggering obviation can be in the infinitive, no matter whether they display tense dependency.

4. Data

The subjunctive mood is instantiated in a diverse set of nonargument clauses. Among relative clause, restrictive and free relative clauses conveying a volitional and a conditional meaning trigger the subjunctive mood. As for adverbial clauses, the subjunctive mood is instantiated in time clauses introduced by *prima che* (lit. 'before that'), *finchè*

I notice that when the matrix verb is in the present, in nonargument clauses there may be a temporal referent (overt or covert –that is, contextually retrieved) that licenses a past subjunctive. Moreover, if the nonargument clause has a conditional meaning (like in some relative clauses, time clauses, conditional clauses proper, and comparative clauses) the verb can be in the past subjunctive, conveying a higher degree of irreality.

(i) Chiunque abbia/avesse domande, mi trova nel mio ufficio.

  Whoever has/had questions, me finds in.the my office

  'Whoever has doubts can find me in my office.'

Sequence of tenses is more rigid if the main verb is past.

(ii) Chiunque *abbia/avesse domande, mi poteva trovare nel mio ufficio.

  Whoever *has/had questions, me could find in.the my office

  'Whoever had doubts could find me in my office.'

I will take this second type of sentences as the main evidence to show whether a clause type display sequence of tenses.

('until'), and *quando* ('when'), or *non appena* ('as soon as') having a 'conditional meaning' (Wandruszka 1991), purpose clauses, result clauses having a 'purpose meaning' (Wandruszka 1991), concessive clauses, conditional clauses introduced by different complementizers, such as *se* ('if'), *a condizione che, purchè* ('on the condition that, provided that'), which have a volitional nuance, *a meno che* ('unless'); *in/nel caso* ('in case'), and *without*-clauses. Moreover, there are clause types that optionally select the subjunctive mood – negated reason clauses (in this case, subjunctive appears to be a negative polarity item) and comparative clauses.

For each clause types I will present data concening the occurrence of obviation (example (a')) and obvition 'weakening' (example (a")), tense dependency (examples (b') and (b")), and the availability of infinitival clauses (example (c)).

4.1. Relative clauses

4.1.1. 'Volitional' relative clauses

In this caluse type obviation can occur (example (12a')). Obviation appears to be 'weakened' if a modal verb is inserted (example (12a")). Subjunctive verbs appear to be dependent on the matrix tense, as they display the canonical sequence of tenses scheme (example (12b)). Infinitive mood is available to express logophoricity (example (12c)).

(12) a'. Piero cerca   un insegnante con cui   pro parli   in inglese.
        Piero looks.for   a   teacher   with whom pro talk.subj   in English

  a".Piero cerca   un insegnante con cui   pro possa   parlare
        Piero looks.for   a   teacher   with whom pro can.subj   talk
        in inglese.
        in English
        'Piero is looking for a teacher to talk in English with.'

  b'. Cerco   una segretaria che   parli   /#parlasse
        I.look.for.pres   a secretary   who speak.pres.subj   /speak.past.subj
        inglese.
        English
        'I'm looking for a secretary who speaks English'.

  b".Cercavo   una segretaria che   *parli   /parlasse   inglese
        I.look.for.past a secretary   who *speak.pres.subj /speak.past.subj English
        'I was looking for a secretary who spoke English'.

c. Cerco   un insegnante con cui   parlare   inglese.

I.look.for   a teacher   with whom   speak.inf   English

'I look for a teacher to speak in English with'.

4.1.2. 'Conditional' relative clauses

Relative clauses having a conditional meaning do not display obviation (example (13a)). They display sequence of tenses (example (13b') and (13b")). They cannot be in the infinitive.

(13)   a. Piero saluta   sempre chiunque   *pro*   incontri.

           Piero greets   always   anyone   *pro*   meets.subj

           'Piero always says hello to anyone he meets.'

         b'. Piero saluta   sempre chiunque   *pro*   incontri   /#incontrasse.

           Piero greets   always   anyone   *pro*   meets.subj /met.subj

           'Piero always says hello to anyone he meets.'

         b".Piero salutava   sempre chiunque   *pro*   *incontri   /incontrasse.

           Piero greeted always   anyone *pro*   *meets.subj   /met.subj

           'Piero always said hello to anyone he would meet.'

4.2. Adverbial clauses

4.2.1. Time clauses

4.2.1.1. *Before*-clauses

Before-clauses display obviation and obviation weakening (examples (14a') and (14a")), sequence of tenses (examples (14b') and (14b")), and can be in the infinitive (example (14c)).

(14)   a'. Piero ha   parlato con Maria   prima che pro uscisse.

           Piero aux   talked   with Maria   before that pro went.out.subj

         a".Piero parlava   con Maria   prima che pro fosse   interrotto

           Piero was.talking with Maria   before that pro was.subj   interrupted

           da una telefonata.

           by a phone call

           'Piero was talking with Maria before being interrupted by a phone call.'

b'. Uscirò   prima   che   tu   sia   /*fossi   rientrato.

    I.will.go.out before   that you aux.pres.subj /aux.past.subj come.back

    'I'll go out before you come back.'

b". Sarei   uscito   prima che tu   *sia   /fossi

    I.aux.cond gone.out before that you *aux.pres.subj /aux.past.subj

    rientrato.

    come.back

    'I'd go out before you came back.'

c. Chiamerò prima   di partire.

    I.will.call before P leave.inf

    'I'll go out before leaving.'

4.2.1.2. *Until*-clauses

Until-clauses display obviation and obviation weakening (examples (15a') and (15a")), sequence of tenses (examples (15b') and (15b")), and can be in the infinitive (example (15c)).

(15) a'. Piero rimarrà   finchè   non pro legga   tutto il libro.

      Piero will.remain   until   neg pro read.subj all the book

   a". Piero rimarrà   finchè   non pro abbia   letto tutto il libro.

      Piero will.remain   until   neg pro aux.subj   read all the book

      'Piero will remain until he reads the whole book.'

   b'. Non partirò   finché non sia   /*fosse   sorto il sole.

      neg I.leave.fut until   neg is.subj /*was.past.subj risen the sun

      'I won't leave until the sun rises.'

   b". Non sarei   partito finché non *sia   /fosse   sorto il sole.

      neg I.would.be left   until   neg *is.subj /was.past.subj risen the sun

      'I would not leave until the sun rose.'

   c. Correrò   fino a   cadere.

      I.will.run   until   fall.inf

      'I will run until I fall.'

4.2.1.3. Time clauses having conditional meaning

This clause type does not display obviation (example (16a)). It displays sequence of tense (example (16b') and (16b")). Infinitival verbs are unavailable (example (16c)).

(16) a. Piero gli   parlerebbe non appena   pro lo   incontrasse.
       Piero to.him   would.talk as soon as   pro him met.subj
       'Piero would talk to him as soon as he met him.'

     b'. Voglio parlargli non appena sia/fosse possibile.
       I.want.pres talk-him as soon as aux.pres.subj/was.subj possible
       'I want to talk to him as soon as possible.'

     b".Volevo   parlargli   non appena *sia   /fosse   stato possibile.
       I.want.pres talk-him   as soon as   *aux.pres.subj /was.subj been possible
       'I wanted to talk to him as soon as it was possible.'

4.2.2. Reason clauses

Reason clauses do not display obviation (example (17a)). They do not dislay sequence of tenses (example (17b') and (17b")). Causal clauses cannot be in the infinitive (in the relevant sense).[9]

(17) a. Piero si   alza   alle 6 non perchè   pro vada   presto   al lavoro,
       Piero refl   gets.up at 6   neg   because pro go.subj   early   to work,
       ma   perchè…
       but   because…
       'Piero don't get up at 6 because he goes to work early, but because…'

     b'. Non   voglio   invitarlo   non   perché sia   /#fosse taciturno,
       neg   I.want   invite-him neg   because is.subj /#was.subj taciturn,
       ma   perché   è   antipatico.
       but   because is unkind
       'I don't want to invite him not because he is taciturn, but because he is unkind.'

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[9]. Reason clauses can in fact be in the infinitive. However, the infinitive must be perfective, and negated reason clauses are rather marginal in the infinitive.

(i) Sarà   licenziato per   essere   stato   disonesto.
    She.will.be   fired   for   aux.inf   been   dishonest
    'She will be fired for being so dishonest.'

(ii) *Sarà   licenziato per   essere disonesto.
    She.will.be   fired   for   be.inf dishonest

(iii) [??]Sarà   licenziato non   per   essere   stato   disonesto,   ma…
    She.will.be   fired   not   for   aux.inf   been   dishonest,   but…

    b".Non volevo   invitarlo   non perché sia   /fosse   taciturno,

       neg I.wanted   invite-him neg because is.subj /was.subj taciturn,

       ma   perché è antipatico.

       but   because is unkind

       'I didn't want to invite him not because he is taciturn, but because he is un-kind.'

4.2.3. Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses display obviation (example (18a')) and obviation weakening (example (18a")), sequence of tenses (example (18b') and (18b")), and can be in the infinitive (example (18c)).

(18) a'. Piero la   andrà   a trovare   perchè   pro gli   spieghi

         Piero him will.go to meet   in-order-to pro to-him explain.subj

         la situazione.

         the situation

      a". Piero va   all'   ospedale   perchè   pro possa   essere visitato.

         Piero goes to-the   hospital   in.order.that pro can.subj be   visited

         'Piero is going to the hospital in order to be visited.'

      b'. Lo   vado   a trovare perchè   mi   spieghi

         Him I.go.pres   to meet in-order-to to-me   explain.pres.subj

         /*spiegasse   la situazione.

         /*explain.past.subj   the situation

         'I'll go to meet him in order that he may explain me the situation'.

      b". Lo   andai   a trovare perchè   mi   *spieghi

         Him I.went   to meet in-order-to to-me   *explain.pres.subj

         /spiegasse   la situazione.

         /explain.past.subj   the situation

         'I went to meet him in order that he might explain me the situation'.

      c. Lo vado   a trovare   per   spiegargli   la situazione.

         Him I.go   to meet   in-order-to explain.inf-to.him   the situation

         'I'll go to meet him to explain him the situation'.

3.2.4. Result clauses

Result clauses having volitional meaning display obviation (example (19a')) and obviation weakening (example (19a")). They dispay sequence of tenses (examples (19b') and (19b")) and can be in the infinitive (example (19c)).

(19) a'. Piero studia   in modo che   pro superi   l'esame.
          Piero studies   so that   pro pass.subj   the exam.
     a".Piero studia   in modo che   pro possa   superare   l'esame.
          Piero studies   so that   pro can.subj   pass   the exam.
          'Piero is studying so that he can pass the exam.'
     b'. Parlerò   in modo che   tutti mi   possano   /*potessero   capire.
          I.will.talk   so that   all   me   can.pres.subj /can.past.subj understand
          'I will talk in a way that all everyone will be able to understand me.'
     b".Parlavo in modo che   tutti mi   *possano   /potessero   capire.
          I.talked so that   all   me   *can.pres.subj /can.past.subj understand
          'I was talking in a way that all everyone was able to understand me.'
     c. Parlerò   in modo da farmi   capire   da tutti.
          I.will.talk   so to   make.inf-me   understand by all
          'I will talk so to make myself understood.'

4.2.5. Concessive clauses

Concessive clauses do not display obviation (example (20a)), strict sequence of tenses (example (20b') and (20b")), and cannot be in the infinitive.[10]

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[10]. Concessive clauses can also be in a nonfinite form –in the gerund, introduced by the conjunction *pur* ('even though'). The subject of gerundive concessive clauses has different properties than the implicit subject of infinitives. It may not be coreferent with the matrix subject and it can be overt.

(i) Pur   avendo   piovuto   tutta la notte, le strade   non   erano bagnate.
   even-though having   rained   all night long, the streets   neg   were   wet
   'Even though it had rained all night long, the streets weren't wer.'

(ii) Pur   avendo   Piero telefonato,   Maria non   era   tranquilla.
   Even-though having   Piero phoned,   Maria neg   was   relaxed
   'Even though Piero had called, Maria wasn't relaxed.'

(20) a. Benché/Nonostante/Sebbene *pro* lavori molto, Piero guadagna poco.
           Although   *pro* work.subj a lot, Piero earns little.
           'Although he works a lot, Piero earns little money.'
      b'. Nonostante abbia   /#avesse   la febbre, oggi Piero   è   al lavoro.
           Although   has   /#has   the fever, today Piero   is   at work
           'Although he has/#had a temperature, today Piero is at work.'
      b" Benché   sia   /*fosse   inverno,   ieri   non   faceva
           Although   is.subj /*was.subj winter,   yesterday   neg   made
           per niente   freddo.
           at all   cold
           'Although it is winter, yesterday it wasn't cold at all.'

4.2.6. Conditional clauses
Conditional clauses do not display obviation, they display sequence of tenses, and can-
not be in the infinitive.[11]

4.3.6.1. *If*-clauses
(21) a. Se pro studiasse   di più,   Piero avrebbe   meno problemi.
           If   pro studied.subj more   Piero would.have fewer problems
           'If he studied more, Piero would have fewer problems.'
      b'. Se non *piova   /piovesse,   uscirei.
           If   neg *rain.pres.subj   /rained.subj I.would.go.out
           'If it didn't rain, I would go out.'

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[11]. *Unless* and *on condition*-clauses can be in the infinitive, but the controller can only be impersonal.

(i) *Piero   guarda   sempre   la partita a meno di non   andare   al cinema.
      Piero   watches   always   the match unless   neg   go.inf to.the cinema

(ii) Si potrebbe partire   domani   a meno di non   voler   proprio   restare   qui.
      SI might   leave   tomorrow unless   neg   want.inf   really   stay   here
      'We/one/you might leave tomorrow unless we/one/you really want to stay here.'

(iii) *Piero resterà   a condizione di spiegare   la situazione.
       Piero will.stay   on condition P explain.inf   the situation

(iv) Si può   restare   a condizione di non disturbare.
      SI can   remain   on condition P   neg disturb
      'One can remain on condition that one do not disturb the others.'

b''.Se non *sia   /fosse   piovuto, sarei   uscito.

If neg *aux.pres.subj   /aux.past.subj rained   I.would.be   gone.out

'If it hadn't rained, I would have gone out.'

4.2.6.2. *Unless*-clauses

(22) a. Piero guarda   sempre la partita   a meno che pro non vada

Piero watches always   the match   unless   pro neg goes.subj

al cinema.

to.the cinema

'Piero always watches the match unless he goes to the movies.'

b'. Compreremo il libro   a meno che   non   costi   /*costasse

We.will.buy   the book unless   neg   costs.pres.subj/*cost.past.subj

molto.

a lot

'We will buy the book unless it costs a lot.'

b''.Avrei   comprato   il libro   a meno che   non   *sia

I.aux.cond bought   the book unless   neg   *aux.pres.subj

/fosse   costato   molto.

/aux.past.subj cost   lot

'I would have bought the book unless it cost a lot.'

4.2.6.3. *On condition*-clauses

(23) a. Piero (ha detto che) resterà   purché/a condizione che   *pro* lavori

Piero (has said that) will.stay   on condition that   *pro* work.subj

with Mario.

with   Mario

'Piero (has said he) will stay on condition that he works with Mario.'

b'. Compreremo il libro   a condizione che   costi

We.will.buy   the book on the condition that   cost.pres.subj

/*costasse   poco.

/*cost.past.subj   little

'We will buy the book on the condition that its price be reasonable.'

b''.Avrei   comprato il libro   a condizione che   *sia

I.aux.cond bought   the book on the condition that   *aux.pres.subj

/fosse   costato poco.

aux.past.subj cost   little

'I'd have bought the book on the condition that its price was reasonable.'

4.2.6.4. *In case*-clauses

(24) a'. Piero si porta la valigia in caso pro decida   di rimanere.
    Piero refl bring the suitcase in case pro decides.subj DI stay.inf
     'Piero is bringing its suitcase in case he decides to stay.'

  b'. Piero preparerà   la valigia   in caso pro debba
    Piero will.prepare the suitcase in case pro must.pres.subj
    /dovesse   partire.
    /must.past.subj leave
    'Piero is preparing the suitcase in case he has to leave tomorrow.'

  b". Piero preparò la valigia   in caso pro *debba   /dovesse
    Piero prepared the suitcase in case pro *must.pres.subj /must.past.subj
    partire.
    leave
    'Piero is preparing the suitcase in case he has to leave tomorrow.'

4.2.7. *Without*-clauses

Modal clauses introduce by *senza che* (lit. 'without that') display obviation (example (25a')) and obviation weakening (example (25a")). They dispay sequence of tenses (examples (25b') and (25b")) and can be in the infinitive (example (25c)).

(25) a'. Piero esce   sempre senza che pro saluti
    Piero goes-out always without that pro says.goodbye.subj

  a". Piero rientrerà   senza che pro debba   giustificare il ritardo
    Piero will.come.back without that pro must.subj justify   the delay
    'Piero will come back without he has to account for his delay.'

  b'. Uscirò   senza che qualcuno lo noti   /*notasse.
    I.will.gone.out without that someone it notice.pres.subj /*noticed.subj.
    'I'll go out without someone notices it.'

  b". Uscii   senza che   qualcuno lo *noti   /notasse.
    I.went.out without that someone it *notice.pres.subj /noticed.subj.
    'I went out without someone noticed it.'

  c. Sono uscito   senza salutare.
    I.am gone-out without say.goodbye.inf
    'I went out without saying goodbye.'

4.2.8. Comparative clauses

Comparative clauses do not diplay obviation (example (26a)), sequence of tenses (example (26b') and (26b")), and cannot be in the infinitive.

(26) a. Piero legge più   volentieri di quanto   pro non faccia   sport.
          Piero reads more eagerly   than   pro neg does.subj   sport.
          'Piero reads more eagerly than he does sport.'

      b'. Piero legge più volentieri di quanto pro non faccia   /facesse   sport.
          Piero reads more eagerly than   pro neg do.pres.subj/do.past.subj sport
          'Piero reads more eagerly than he does/did sport.'

      b".Piero leggeva più volentieri di quanto   pro non faccia   /facesse
          Piero read   more eagerly than   pro neg do.pres.subj /do.past.subj
          sport.
          sport
          'Piero used to read more eagerly than he did sport.'

5. Analysis

The data discussed in the previous section show that not all nonargument clause types display obviation – only 6 out of 15 do. In clause types where obviation obtains, it is weakened if an auxiliary or a modal is insterted. Thus, obviation in nonargument clauses appears to have the same properties as in argument clauses. As a consequence, a theory explaining obviation in argument clauses should then be applicable to nonargument clauses as well.

   Table 1 below summarizes the data presented in the preceding section relative to obviation, tense dependency, and the availability of infinitive mood.

   As for the hypothesized relation between tense dependency and obviation maintained by Binding-based theories of obviation, the data show that excluding reason, concessive, and comparative clauses,[12] all nonargument clauses appear to be temporally dependent. Tense dependency occurs both in obviative (volitional relative clauses, *before-*

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[12]. I note that these clause types do not display obviation, tense dependency, and cannot be in teh infinitive. It cannot be established whther the absence of obviation depends on the lack of tense dependency or on the unavailability of teh infinitive.

clauses, *until*-clauses, purpose clauses, result clauses, *without*-clauses) and in nonobviative clauses (conditional relative clauses, *as soon as*-clauses, conditional clauses).

On the other hand, all clause types showing obviation can be in the infinitive and all the clause types that can be in the infinitive diplay obviation.

Clause types	Subtypes	Obviation	TD	Infinitive
Relative	Volitional	✓	✓	✓
	Conditional	✗	✓	✗
Temporal	*Before*	✓	✓	✓
	Until	✓	✓	✓
	As soon as	✗	✓	✗
Reason		✗	✗	✗
Purpose		✓	✓	✓
Result		✓	✓	✓
Concessive		✗	✗	✗
Conditional	*If*	✗	✓	✗
	Unless	✗	✓	✗
	On condition	✗	✓	✗
	In case	✗	✓	✗
Without		✓	✓	✓
Comparative		✗	✗	✗

Table 1. Obviation, tense dependency and infinitive in nonargument clauses.

Remember now the predictions of the two different approaches to obviation. Theories that associate obviation with tense dependency predict that if a clause type display tense dependency (as marked, for instance, through sequence of tenses), it should also display obviation, and if it does not display tense dependency, it should not display obviation either. On the other hand, theories that associate obviation with the availability of infinitive mood predict that if a clause type display obviation, it must be able to be in the infinitive, while if it does not, it cannot be in the infinitive.

The data show no clear evidence in support of the former approach, since there is no ont-to-one association between obviative/nonobviative clause types and tense-dependent/independent clauses types. Some clause types dislaying obviation also display tense dependency, but some clause types that do not display obviation do display tense dependency.

On the other hand, the data show that there is a correlation between obviation and

mood. Obviative clause types can be in the infinitive, whereas nonobviative clauses cannot be in the infinitive. This appers to support the theories of obviation that resort to mood competition (as the syntactic counterpart of pragmatic principles).

6. Conclusions

Subjunctive obviation has been a puzzling phenomenon in Romance linguistics (and not only) since the 1980s. Various theories have been proposed to account for the phenomenon, building on Binding Theory (Picallo 1985, Rizzi 1991, Manzini 2000, among many others) or to pragmatic principles resulting in mood competition (Bouchard 1984, Farkas 1992, Schlenker 2005).

All of them build on data concerning argument clauses. However, obviation obtains in nonargument clauses as well, that is, in relative and adverbial clauses, and in this syntactic environment obviation is ruled by the same syntactic constrains.

The data relative to nonargument clauses show that

(i)   not all nonargument clauses in the subjunctive display obviation;

(ii)   tense-dependent clauses may be obviative or nonobviative;

(iii)   clause types allowing for the infinitive are all obviative;

(iv)   clause types that do not allow for the infinitive are not obviative.

These generalizations suggest that no correspondence between tense dependency and obviation appears to hold. Rather, they appear to prove a relation between obviation and the availability of infinitive mood. Thus, they provide novel empirical evidence in favor of theories of obviation based on mood competition.

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On *niente:* optional negative concord in Old Italian[1]

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1. Introduction

In this work we will take into account the distribution of the negative quantifier/negative polarity item *niente/neente/neiente* 'nothing/anything' in the Old Florentine variety, commonly referred to as Old Italian, OI, in traditional and also in more recent work (see a.o. Salvi and Renzi (2010)), spoken from 1200 to approximately 1350. We will show that the distribution of bare *niente* is sensitive to its adverbial versus argumental status: when *niente* is adverbial, negative concord is obligatory, when *niente* is argumental, negative concord is optional. We argue that this optionality is only apparent and has to be accounted for in terms of position: *niente* can only trigger negative concord when it is located in a position in the low IP area[2] above *v*P, where aspectual distinctions are encoded (an adverbial position presumably dedicated to bare quantifiers only), but not when it stays in its argumental position. Adverbial *niente* is directly merged in this position and therefore it always displays negative concord.

[2]. Within the cartographic approach adopted here, the low IP area refers to a set of projections where aspectual adverbs are located and the past participle can move, as first proposed by Cinque (1999).

Argumental *niente* can stay within the VP, or be moved to the position in the low IP area, triggering negative concord. During the XIII century there are very few occurrences of preverbal *niente*, while in the following period the number increases rather drastically. We will see that the change in the negative concord system is related to this change in the position of the quantifier.

In order to prove our first point, namely that adverbial *niente* is always in the low IP area, while argumental *niente* is not, we will make use of Cinque's (1999) analysis of adverbs and use what has by now become a standard test within the cartographic approach, namely the respective order of adverbials, which are assumed to be base generated as Specifiers of FPs endowed with a semantic value that matches the one of the adverb. The distribution of *niente* with respect to adverbials of the low IP area will also show that what appears *prima facie* as a case of real optionality is actually the reflex of a complex distributional pattern. This regularity shows that this cannot be handled as a case of "double grammars" as one might be tempted to suggest. According to the double base hypothesis, one might propose that OI represents a "transitional phase" from a language with strict negative concord towards a language with non-strict negative concord, and that the effect we see here is due to the interplay between two grammatical systems. We will show that even within the optionality there are regularities, and that the complex negative concord pattern observed with respect to *niente* can be explained on the basis of one single grammar.

The empirical basis of our investigation is constituted by the same corpus used for the project *Italnet*, based on the one created by the *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* (OVI) online corpus, which is also the basis of the recent "Grammatica dell'italiano antico" (Salvi and Renzi (2010)).[3] The corpus includes all the texts from 1200 to 1350, the period which is traditionally referred to as Old Italian, which displays some of the typical V2 properties (see Benincà (2006) on this). After this period the language changes radically and the Renaissance is generally considered to have a rather different grammar. We will also follow this tradition here, because we believe that before trying to provide an account of the development throughout the whole history of Italian, we need to concentrate on the first attested stage, and once we have carried out a detailed study of the distribution of *niente* during this period, we will be able to develop the analysis for further stages of the language. We have considered all the occurrences of *niente/neente/neiente* in the corpus, and noticed that around the beginning of the XIV

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[3]. The database consists of all the texts available in this period (see Renzi (2007) for a presentation of the OI corpus and for the reasons why all texts have been included) and that are only lexically tagged.

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century there is a drastic change in the distribution of *niente*, which we will also discuss in section 5 and which shows that the conditions on the distribution of *niente* change within a very short time span. Therefore, we primarily concentrate on data from 1200 to 1300.

From the theoretical point of view, the case of OI is also interesting because it appears to violate the empirical generalization formulated by Zanuttini (1991; 1997), who shows that obligatory negative concord with postverbal n-words in the Romance domain is related to the type of negative marker used by the language under examination: if the negative marker is of the preverbal type, then negative concord is obligatory with postverbal n-words, otherwise it is not (see dialects like Piedmontese or Milanese where the postverbal negative marker does not induce negative concord, though for some varieties, it is tolerated).[4] This empirical generalization can be formulated as follows:

(1)   Negative markers located higher than the inflected verb in T°, display obligatory negative concord with at least postverbal n-phrases, while those located lower than T° do not.

The original proposal by Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996) accounts for this fact by assuming that in the Romance languages "negation can only take sentential scope if it is either marked by the head of NegP itself or is in a position c-commanding the head of NegP" (Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996: 121)). Therefore, preverbal n-words, which c-command NegP do not need to be accompanied by the negative marker, while postverbal ones do.

In section 2 we will concentrate our analysis of the texts on the bare n-word *niente/neiente/neente* 'nothing' and show in detail its distribution in connection to its adverbial usage. In section 3 we consider the distribution of argumental *niente* both in OI and in Old Neapolitan, as described by Ledgeway (2009), and propose that the distinction between argumental and non argumental usages concerning negative concord is to be related to the position of the quantifier. Section 4 is dedicated to a discussion of preverbal n-words. In section 5 we briefly discuss the development of *niente* after the XIII century. Section 6 concludes the article, but not our research, as the period after 1300 still requires a detailed empirical investigation.

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[4].   An anonymous reviewer points out to us that this is not always true in all language families. However, Zanuttini's generalization is pretty robust within the Romance family and we would like to keep it. Our account provides a way out of the problem and confirms Zanuttini's findings.

1.2. The peculiarities of bare quantifiers in OI

Before devoting our attention to *niente*, we would like to briefly mention a general property of non negative bare quantifiers, which can help us to shed light on the distribution of bare *niente*. In order to illustrate the point, we will examine in detail the distribution of the bare and non bare quantifier *tutto* 'everything/all', as described in Poletto (2008). OI displays a clear contrast between quantified DPs, which on a par with definite DPs can but need not be fronted through a process of scrambling to a *v*P peripheral Focus or Topic position, and bare quantifiers, which are obligatorily located before the past participle, as they are in modern French.

Therefore, quantified DPs can be found either preceding or following the past participle: (2) provides an example of postparticipial quantified DP, (3) examples of preparticipial quantified DPs.

(2)   ond'io òe perduto tutto lo mio onore... (Anonym., *Tristano Ricc*. 85, 1300c.)
       whereby I have.1SG lost all the my honour
       "…whereby I lost all my honour."

(3)   a. ...ch'egli ebbe tutto questo fatto, e molte altre cose... (Anonym., *Tesoro Volg*.
           2.27, 1300c.)
           that he had.3SG all this done and many other things
           "...that he had done all this and many other things..."
       b. ...che mi teneano tutto il capo gravato. (B. Giamboni, *Libro de Vizi e delle
           Virtudi* 3, 1292)
           that me kept.3PL all the head burdened
           "...that kept all my mind burdened."

This phenomenon has been analysed as movement to a topic/focus area located on the *v*P left periphery as originally proposed by Belletti (2004) for modern Italian postverbal subjects, and by Poletto (2006; 2008) for preparticipial DPs in OI. We provide the layering of the relevant structural portion in (4):

(4)   [*v*P [Topic/GroundP … [Operator/FocusP [... [VP]]]]

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As quantified XPs are generally known to be Topic only in very special contexts, we surmise that the majority of cases like (3a) are rather movement to a Focus/Operator position than to Topic.

The sample of 2000 sentences containing the word *tutto* selected from the OVI corpus contains 26 examples of *tutto* modifying a DP following the past participle and 8 examples of fronting. Therefore, fronting is found in about a third of the possible cases.[5] When this occurs, we believe that the DP modified by *tutto* is located in Operator/FocusP, hence higher than the VP.

When *tutto*[6] is used alone, it can also have an adverbial usage that has been lost in modern Italian;[7] more specifically, it can modify a gerund indicating a contemporary event to the superordinate clause:

(5) a. ...elli disse tutto ridendo. (Anonym., *Tristano Ricc.* 383, 1300c.)
         he said.3SG all laughing
         "...he said laughing heartily."
     b. ...e poi rispuose tutto piangendo... (Anonym., *Tristano Ricc.* 405, 1300c.)
         and then answered.3SG all crying
         "...and then he answered crying desperately..."

As we will see, the same is true of the quantifier *niente* 'nothing' (see below), which might indicate that the adverbial usage and the fronting property of the quantifier are indeed related.

If we consider only the instances when *tutto* occurs bare, then a clear asymmetry emerges, as the quantifier is always fronted; in the sample there are 23 cases of bare object *tutto* and they all display the order *tutto*-past participle; here are some examples:

(6) a. ...e come l'à tutto perduto. (B. Giamboni, *Fiore di rett.* 67, 1292)
         and how it has all lost
         "...and how he lost it all."

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[5]. The percentages are slightly lower than the ones with fronted definite DPs.

[6]. In the sample there are no cases of fronting when the quantified DP is modified by a relative clause. The same is true of definite DPs, which are never fronted in a pre-participial position if followed by a relative clause. We will not pursue this line of research here and concentrate on bare quantifiers (for a detailed analysis of this, see Poletto (to appear)).

[7]. To be more precise, the usage in modern Italian is residual, and restricted to adjectives that follow a copula or are in a small clause.

    b. Ànne tutto paghato, cinque lb., per l' anno. (B. Bencivenni, *Crediti*, 1296)
       have.3PL everything paid 5 pounds for the year
       "They have paid everything, five pounds for this year."

    c. ...cui si vuol ben tutto dare. (Monte Andrea, *Rime* tenz.106, 1300c.)
       to.whom REFL wants well all give.INF
       "...to whom one wants to give everything."

This does not only hold true for cases of direct object *tutto*, but also for cases where it is an indirect object or another PP complement and it is also preposed to the past participle:[8]

(7)   a. ...s'i' mi fosse al tutto a tte gradato... (Dante, *Fiore* 42, 1300c.)
        if I had to everything to you adapted
        "...if I had adapted to you in everything..."

    b. Anzi t'avrà del tutto rifusato... (Dante, *Fiore* 55, 1300c.)
       To.the.contrary you.ACC have.FUT.3PL of all refused
       "On the contrary he will have refused you at all..."

    c. ...che sia per tutto detto... (Dante (?), *Detto d'Amore*, 1300c.)
       COMP be.SBJV.3SG for all said
       '…that is said completely…'

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[8].   In the corpus there are only two cases in which a PP containing *tutto* is not fronted: one is a case of adverbial *tutto*, the other is introduced by the preposition *di*.

(i) a. ...che sia grande e ben fornito di tutto. (Anonym., *Tesoro volg*. 5.9, 1300c.)
      that is big and well supplied of everything
      "...that is big and well supplied with everything."

  b. ...elli era morto in tutto senza fallo... (Anonym., *Tristano Ricc*., 385, 1300c.)
      he was dead in all without doubt
     "...he was really dead beyond doubt..."

Both cases are introduced by the auxiliary *essere* 'be' and look like an adjectival usage of the past participle, so we will leave them aside for the moment.

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Notice furthermore that there can be combinations of preposed bare quantifiers with preparticipial scrambled definite DPs;[9] the quantifier *tutto* is located in front of preposed DPs or PPs in all the available examples:

(8)   Vedemmo che fue tutta in quattro parte divisa... (B. Giamboni, *Libro de' Vizi e delle Virtudi* 32, 1292)
        saw.1PL that was all in four parts split.F
        "We saw that the whole was split in four parts..."

This suggests that the position of the bare quantifier in the low IP area is higher than the one of pre-participial DPs.

The general conclusion we can reach on the basis of the former data is that the quantifier *tutto* can but need not be fronted when it modifies a DP, while it must be fronted when it is a bare QP.[10] On this basis, we argue that the obligatory preparticipial position found only with the bare quantifier is the result of an obligatory movement to a low functional projection in the IP area, which is higher than the position where definite DPs are preposed. This position is most probably dedicated to bare quantifiers, and is similar to the one found in modern French, where items like *tout/tous* 'all' must be fronted, unless they are focalized. In what follows we will see that in OI also the bare quantifier *niente* has its own dedicated position, like modern French *rien* 'nothing' (see Kayne (1975) on this).

2. Adverbial *niente*

As already noted for the bare quantifier *tutto, niente*, the n-word for 'nothing', usually corresponding to the inanimate object (or more rarely the subject) of the verb can also be used as an adverb, meaning 'at all' in negative contexts, as shown by the fact that it is also used with intransitive and reflexive verbs. This usage has been maintained (with some restriction on the verb class) only in some modern non-standard

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[9]. See Poletto (2006) on an analysis of OV orders in terms of movement to a low left periphery of the *v*P phase as proposed in Belletti (2004) for modern Italian.

[10]. The same type of pattern has been noted by Grewendorf and Poletto (2005) in Cimbrian, where bare quantifiers display an OV option, while quantified DPs and definite DPs do not. OV orders are more generally known to be possible with quantifiers in the Scandinavian languages (see Svenonius (2002)).

varieties (like the Veneto dialects and the Veneto regional variant of the standard language), but is nowadays not possible in the standard language.

(9)   a. Elli *non* si ispezzerebbe *niente*… (Anonym., *Tesoro Volg.* 3.2, 1300c.)
        he NEG REFL break.COND.3SG nothing
        "It would not break at all."
   b. Egli *non* si dee *niente* disperare… (Anonym., *Tesoro Volg.* 9.6, 1300c.)
        he NEG REFL must.3SG nothing give.up.to.despair
        "He must not despair at all."

The first argument to show that adverbial *niente* is not located in the object position, but higher is that in OI it is compatible with an object, and it always precedes it:

(10) a. Molte cose dissero di che *non* mostrano *niente* la veritade… (Anonym., *Tesoro Volg.* 3.4, 1300c.)
        many things said.3PL of that NEG show.3PL nothing the truth
        "They said many things, but they don't reveal the truth about them at all."
   b. Tempo *non* appartiene *niente* alle creature che sono sopra 'l cielo… (Anonym., *Tesoro Volg.* 1.9, 1300c.)
        time NEG belongs nothing to.the creatures COMP are.3PL over the sky
        "Time does not belong at all to the creatures that are in heaven."

The following examples show that argumental direct object *niente* can occur after a dative or another PP, but this order is not attested with the adverbial usage:

(11) a. Perché *non* fa a questo fatto *niente*…(B. Giamboni, *Fiore di Rettorica* 22,1292)
        because NEG does to this fact nothing
        "It does not change this fact."
   b. E *non* vede in lui *niente* perché sia degno del pane... (Z. Bencivenni, *Paternostro*, 1310)
        and NEG sees in him nothing because is.SBJV worth of-the bread
        "And he does not see anything in him for which he would deserve bread."

While direct object *niente* can occur to the right of other arguments, adverbial *niente* invariably precedes all complements. This shows that the position of adverbial *niente*

has to be dissociated from the one of argumental *niente*: only the adverb is always higher than all arguments.

A second argument that shows that adverbial *niente* is not located inside the VP, but higher in the structure is provided by the respective order of *niente* and the adverb *bene*. According to Cinque (1999), the structure of the low IP area has the following layers (we provide here only the relevant portion of sentence structure):

(12) [Asp perfect *always/never* [Asp retrospective *just* [Asp proximative *soon* [Asp durative *briefly* [Asp generic/progressive *characteristically* [Asp prospective *almost* [Asp sg completive I *completely* [Asp pl completive *tutto* [Voice *well* [Asp celerative II *fast, early* [Asp sg completive II *completely* [Asp repetitive II *again* [Asp frequentative II *often ......*[VP]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]

According to Cinque (1999) (and subsequent work), the adverb *bene* 'well' is located in the specifier of VoiceP, lower than *tutto*. Given that adverbial *niente* occurs to the left of *bene*, it must be located higher than the VP. On the other hand, *niente* occurs on the right of *mai* 'never', which is the negative counterpart of 'always', located in the specifier of [AspPerfect]:

(13) a. Sì no lo potero *niente bene* schifare… (Binduccio, *Storia di Troia* 558, 1322)
          thus NEG it could.3PL nothing well avoid
          "They couldn't dodge it well at all."
      b. Sanza ch' alcun se 'n parta *mai niente*… (Boccaccio, *Ameto* 16, 1342)
          without COMP anyone REFL separate.SBJV.3SG never nothing
          "Without anyone ever separating from it at all."

Therefore, we can restrict the position occupied by adverbial *niente* to a position located between Cinque's Asp(Perfect)P and VoiceP.

We can even be more precise on the location of adverbial *niente* still using the typical reasoning used by Cinque (1999): given that *tutto* is located before the past participle, but adverbial *niente* is located after the past participle, like *bene*, then the position of adverbial *niente* must be between Voice and Completive Aspect, as illustrated in (14):

(14) [AspPperfect *mai....* [Asp completive *tutto V p.prt* [XP *niente* [VoiceP *bene*]]]

The second interesting observation concerning adverbial *niente* is that when it is used as an adverb there are no cases of missing *non*:

(15) a. Che *no* la pò om *neiente* fugire… (C. Davanzati, *Rime* 11, 1300c.)
COMP NEG it can.3SG man nothing avoid
"That a man cannot avoid it at all."

b. … e non dormono niente... (B. Giamboni, *Libro de' vizi e delle Virtudi* 11, 1292)
and NEG sleep.3PL nothing
"…and they don't sleep at all."

Therefore, we propose the following empirical generalization:

(16) *Empirical Generalization*: adverbial *niente* only displays Negative Concord.

In other words, when *niente* is an adverb, there is no optional negative concord, which, for this reason, can be considered a property of argumental n-words. The fact that negative adverbs generally trigger negative concord is confirmed by the behavior of other negative adverbs: elements like *mai* 'never' always display negative concord, both in pre- and postverbal position:

(17) a. ...elli istava tutto tempo tristo e dolente e *mai non* faceva bella ciera (Anonym., *Reggimento de' Principi Volg.* 3.2.11, 1288)
he stayed.3SG all time sad and grieving and never NEG did.3SG nice face
"He was sad all the time, and suffering, and never had a good aspect."

b. Ché *non* retorna *mai* la parola ch'è detta…(B. Latini, *Tesoretto*, 1274)
since NEG comes.back never the word COMP is said.F
"Since a spoken word never comes back."

c. *Non* si posa *mai* in alcun ramo verde… (Anonym., *Tesoro Volg.* 5.34, 1300c.)
NEG REFL lays never on any branch green
"It never stays on a green branch."

Another adverbial element behaving this way is *mica* 'not at all'. Interestingly, in some varieties of modern Italian *mica* can appear in preverbal position as the only negative element of the clause.

(18) a. *Mica* ci vado.
      NEG there go.1SG
      "I am not going."
   b. *Mica* sai che ore sono?
      NEG know.2SG what hours are.3PL
      "Do you know what time it is?"

This configuration is absent in Old Italian.[11] *Mica* can appear only in postverbal position but before objects and past participle (i.e. in the low IP area) and always displays negative concord.

(19) a. *No 'l vo' celare mica…* (N. Poponi, 1300c.)
      NEG it want.1SG hide.INF NEG
      "I do not want to conceal it."
   b. La grandezza delle magioni *non* cessa *mica* la febbre (Anonym., *Tesoro Volg.* 7.68, 1300c.)
      the largeness of.the houses NEG extinguishes NEG the fever
      "The large size of a home does not extinguish the fever."
   c. Lo re Artù *nonn* è *mica* morto… (Anonym., *Tristano Riccardiano*, 1300c.)
      the king Arthur NEG is NEG dead
      "King Arthur is not dead."

Mica can be raised to preverbal position only in a cluster with *né* (or *non*), a configuration derived through movement of the whole negated constituent from its basic position, as in (20) to [Spec, Focus] in CP, as in (21).

(20) E quando 'l Grande Kane seppe queste cose, egli *non* si spaventòe *né mica*…
      (Anonym., *Milione toscano* 77, 1310c.)
      and when the great Khan knew.3SG these things he NEG REFL feared.3SG NEG
      "And when the Great Khan learned these things, he didn't get scared."

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[11]. In old southern varieties it was possible to have *mica* before the preverbal *non*:

(i)   *Mica no* li respuse… (Anonym., *Storie de Troia e de Roma*, 1258, variety of Rome)
      NEG NEG him.DAT answered.3SG

(21) a. *Né mica* disse istamane cotestui il paternostro di san Giuliano. (F. Sacchetti,
       Trecentonovelle 33, XIV cent.)
       NEG said.3SG this.morning he the paternoster of saint G.
       "This morning he did not say the paternoster of Saint Julian."
    b. Federigo di Stuffo già *né mica* par che si celi… (Monte Andrea, *Rime* 8.1,
       1300c.)
       F. of Hohenstaufen already NEG seems COMP REFL hide.SBJV.3SG
       "Frederick of Hohenstaufen does not appear to hide…"

Like in modern Italian and in modern Florentine, OI *mica* has lost its nominal properties
(see Manzini-Savoia 2002); it is in the IP layer, since it precedes *bene*.

(22) La maestà senza forza *non* era *mica bene* al sicuro. (Anonym., *Deca Prima di
       Livio Volg.* 2.55, 1350c.)
       the majesty without strength NEG was NEG well in.the safe
       "To be king without strength was not secure."

Therefore, we conclude that adverbial n-words always trigger negative concord and they
are merged inside the low IP area (see (12)), not in *v*P. However, as we will see in
section 4, *niente* occurs very rarely in a preverbal position before the turn of the XIV
century, while afterwards the cases of preverbal *niente* become as widespread as
postverbal occurrences.

3. Argumental N-words

   In addition to the fact that the position of adverbial *niente* is a fixed one, while the
one of the argument is not (see the scrambling data above), a striking difference
between adverbial and argumental *niente* is that the argumental usage can be found
without negative concord, although *niente* can also occur in negative polarity item
contexts like the following case:

(23) Dimmi, Merlino, dell'avere d'Atene fu trovato *niente*? (P. Pieri, *Storia di Merlino*
       42, 1310)
       tell.me.DAT Merlin of.the possessions of Athens was found nothing
       "Tell me, Merlin, was anything from the goods of Athens discovered?"

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At first sight the presence of the preverbal negative marker *non* is optional with argumental *niente:*

(24) a. ...l'altre parti della diceria, delle quali *non* è detto *neente*...(B. Latini, *Rettorica*, 1261)

the other parts of.the message of.the which NEG is said nothing

"...the other parts of the message, about which nothing is said..."

b. E fede sanza opera, overo opera sanza fede, è *neente* a potere aver paradiso. (B. Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi* 14, 1292)

and faith without deeds or deeds without faith is nothing to can.INF have.INF heaven

"And faith without deeds or deeds without faith are worth nothing for going to heaven."

The empirical generalization we draw from these examples is the counterpart of (16):

(25) Argumental *niente* triggers negative concord only optionally.

We will not interpret these data as a simple oscillation in the internal grammar of the speakers, due to the co-existence of two grammatical systems (one with and one without negative concord) for various reasons. First of all, we would expect this optionality to apply to adverbial *niente* (*mai* and *mica*) as well, but this is not the case. Secondly, as we will see, there are distinctions between bare object *niente* and *niente* when it is preceded by a preposition (which we will refer to as P+*niente*). Again, this is not expected if we attribute optionality to the coexistence of two grammatical systems.

Rather, we argue that the possibility of having *niente* as the only negative item in the clause must be connected to its argumental status and be derived from the syntactic properties that only the argumental usage displays.

One interesting observation which we believe is on the right track comes from Bayer (2009), where non standard usages of adverbial *nothing/nichts* are shown to be possible in Older varieties of German and English and are said to be still possible to some extent:

(26) Karl hat *nichts* gearbeitet. (Bayer (2009: 33))

Karl has nothing worked

"K. has not worked at all."

This adverbial usage is shown to be incompatible with the presence of a direct object DP in German and English varieties. Bayer's proposal to explain this incompatibility is that in these cases the adverbial *nichts* is first merged in the object position. Although we have clear evidence that adverbial *niente* in OI is located in the low IP area and not in the argumental position (as shown in section 2, it always occurs before any DP or PP internal arguments, it occurs before the low Adverb *bene,* and it is compatible with objects), we still think that somehow Bayer's intuition is correct and that *niente* is indeed structurally ambiguous and can exploit an adverbial but also an argumental position inside the VP.[12]

The possible positions of bare argumental *niente* are illustrated in (27):

(27) a. $[_{AspP}$ perfect *mai....* $[_{AspP}$ completive *tutto* $[_{XP}$ *niente* $[_{VoiceP}$ *bene* $[_{VP}]]]]$

       b. $[_{AspP}$ perfect *mai....* $[_{AspP}$ completive *tutto* $[_{XP}$ $[_{VoiceP}$ *bene* $[_{VP}$ *niente*$]]]]$

(27) illustrates the hypothesis according to which argumental *niente* can occur in two positions: it can either be located in the same position of the adverb (and in this case negative concord applies) as in (27a), or it can stay in its merge position inside the VP (and in this case there is no negative concord). This hypothesis makes two predictions: a) there should be no negative concord in the cases when argumental *niente* follows the low adverbs like *bene*, and b) negative concord should be obligatory when argumental *niente* precedes *bene*. Unfortunately, the corpus (which includes all the texts available for OI in the relevant period of time) does not provide us with examples of the relative order between argumental *niente* and the relevant low adverb. We have tested the OVI corpus for the following low adverbial forms: *bene, ben* 'well', *male, mal* 'bad(ly)', *di sicuro* 'surely', *del tutto* 'completely', *sempre* 'always', *così, sì* 'in this way'. None of them are found in the relevant context, hence our prediction is untestable, at least for OI (but see below). Unfortunately, other adverbs mentioned in Cinque's hierarchy are too high to be relevant, therefore the test is not applicable.[13] However, there are other, more

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[12]. Notice that both *tutto* and *niente* have an adverbial usage in addition to the argumental one, a usage which has in both cases disappeared from the language. Although we will not develop the argumentation here, we believe that this is related to the different positions of these quantifiers in OI and modern Italian.

[13]. There are rare cases of *niente* occurring in front of the past participle in the earlier texts, which become progressively more frequent in later texts; in all these cases *niente* obligatorily triggers negative concord, which shows again that negative concord is tied to the position of the n-word:

indirect arguments that show that argumental *niente* can occupy more than one position and that negative concord is not optional, but related to the position of argumental *niente*.

3.1. Minimal variation: The system of Old Neapolitan

We have seen that the lack of relevant data prevents us from testing the prediction concerning adverbs formulated in the preceding section, namely that also argumental *niente* should display obligatory negative concord when moved higher than low adverbs.

A way to prevent this problem is to look at other Old Italian dialects (the one we use here only includes Florentine texts, as mentioned in the introduction), which have a very similar syntax, and could be investigated to test whether our hypothesis that negative concord is mandatory when *niente* has moved out of its argumental base position is correct.

Old Neapolitan, investigated by Ledgeway (2009), is such a variety. As argued at length by Ledgeway, Old Neapolitan displays a very similar system with respect to OI. The item *niente* exists in Old Neapolitan too, and it also has usages as a negative polarity item (exemplified in (28a) and the peculiar adverbial usage already illustrated for OI *niente* (exemplified in (28b):

(28) a. M'avite da dì *niente* cchiù? (Scarpetta III, 7 quoted from Ledgway, 2009: 691)
   me.DAT have.2PL COMP say.INF nothing more
   "Have you anything else to tell me?"

   b. ...per quella feruta *non* essendo spaventato *niente*… (*LFT* 172.24 quoted from Ledgway, 2009: 691)
   for that.F wound NEG being scared nothing
   "…not scared at all for that wound…"

(i)   No lli era niente tenuto. (Anonym., *Novellino* 7, 1300c.)

   NEG him.DAT was.3SG nothing owed

Moreover, *niente* is generally located lower than *mai*, just like in OI:[14]

(29) ...tu *nun* capisce maie *niente*! (De Filippo 204 quoted from Ledgeway, 2009: 691)
       you NEG understand.2SG never nothing
       "You never understand anything."

However, one interesting difference noticed by Ledgeway is the fact that Old Neapolitan, on a par with modern Italian, obligatorily requires the preverbal negative marker *non* when the n-word is postverbal. According to our analysis, this predics that in Old Neapolitan, bare *niente* always moves to the IP space. This prediction is borne out, as there are several cases of *niente* combined with *cchiù* 'no/anymore' in Ledgeway's corpus, and only the order *niente-cchiù* is found, as shown below:

(30) a. Io non ve dico *niente cchiù*… (Scarpetta, XIX century)
          I NEG you.DAT say.1SG nothing anymore
          "I do not tell you anything more…"
      b. Non potimmo fa *niente cchiù*. (Scarpetta)
          NEG can.1PL do.INF nothing more
          "We cannot do anything more."

In turn, this confirms our hypothesis that obligatory negative concord is related to the position of *niente*: when *niente* has been moved, negative concord applies obligatorily.

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[14]. The two grammatical systems are also similar in allowing for preverbal n-words in general to be followed by a negative marker (a property which has disappeared from both Neapolitan (i) and Italian (ii)):

(i) Volea che *nessuno* re *non* vincesse… (Lupo de Spechio, *Summa* I 61.3, 1468)
    wanted.3SG COMP no king NEG won.SBJV.3SG
     "He wanted that no king won…"

(ii) E *neuno non* andasse poscia in paradiso... (B. Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi* 44, 1292)
     and no-one NEG went.SBJV.3SG after in heaven
      "…(that) no one went in heavens after that…"

3.2 Scrambling positions

We can indirectly derive an argument in favor of the hypothesis in (27) considering scrambling cases: as proposed in Poletto (2006), (2008) and (2011) OI has scrambling to the *v*P left periphery (see Belletti (2004) a.o. for the assumption of the existence of a *v*P periphery). Cases of OV where the direct object and PPs precede the past participle (but crucially, not the auxiliary) are to be analyzed as movement to Topic and Focus positions located at the edge of the *v*P. As we have seen above, bare *niente* cannot be a Topic, but it can be a Focus. In the texts, there are various cases where the element *niente* is clearly focussed, as is evident from the interpretation of the context (see Poletto (to appear) for a discussion on this). When an XP is focussed, other XPs precede it and are located in a Topic, or better GroundP position (see Poletto and Pollock (2005), (2009) for arguments on the existence of GroundP in the CP left periphery and its position higher than FocusP). The presence of Focus always requires a background against which the XP is focussed and OI makes this visible through movement of the backgrounded element to GroundP. Therefore, cases where *niente* is clearly focussed generally display another XP preceding it, as shown in (31):[15]

(31) a. Perché *non* fa a questo fatto *niente*…(B. Giamboni, *Fiore di Rettorica* 22,1292)
          because NEG does to this fact nothing
          "It does not change this fact."
      b. …*non* sapendo di Paolo *niente*… (D. Cavalca, *Vite di Eremiti*, 1330c.)
          NEG knowing of P. nothing
          "…not knowing anything about Paul…"

The relevant structure for these cases is illustrated in (32):

(32) [$_{AspP}$ perfect *mai* [$_{AspP}$ completive *tutto* [$_{XP}$ [$_{VoiceP}$ *bene* [$_{GroundP}$ *di Paolo*
      [$_{FocusP}$ *niente* [$_{vP}$ ~~*niente* *[di Paolo]*~~]…]

In cases where bare *niente* occurs on the right of argumental PPs, scrambling has occurred in the low left periphery of the *v*P: *niente* moves to a *v*P peripheral Focus position while the PP in front of it moves to a *v*P peripheral Topic/GroundP (see Poletto (2006; 2008) for a detailed analysis of scrambling). This structure implies the

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[15]. Notice that cases like these are sharply ungrammatical in modern Italian, where bare *niente* must precede all other arguments. This is in line with the fact that OV orders have disappeared from the grammar of Italian since the Renaissance period.

assumption that the PP *di Paolo* cannot move to GroundP unless there is *niente* in the Focus Position. In other words, the activation of GroundP depends on the activation of Focus in the periphery of the OI *v*P. Hence, these cases cannot be interpreted as simple movement of the PP which leaves *niente* in situ, because there is no GroundP without a FocusP.[16] Notice that the hypothesis illustrated in (27) makes the prediction that these cases should always have negative concord, because negative concord is triggered only if *niente* moves out of the VP. The prediction is borne out, there are no cases where we observe scrambling which do not have negative concord.

3.3 PPs including *niente*

Another piece of evidence in favor of the idea that lack of negative concord is only possible in the merge object position, while movement of the quantifier triggers negative concord, is provided by the following observation: bare *niente* can also occur preceded by a preposition. In these cases the percentage of negative concord drops dramatically. In the texts of the XIII century (until 1302) there are 69 occurrences of bare object *neente* with negative concord and only 11 of non negative concord. If we consider PPs, the percentages are the opposite ones: only 4 have negative concord and 44 lack negative concord. Also the form *niente* displays a similar asymmetry: when it is bare, it has negative concord in 73 cases, with only 8 cases of absence of negative concord, while when it is in a prepositional phrase, 19 occurrences lack negative concord, and only 5 have negative concord. These data are summarized in Table 1:

Table 1: Negative Concord of postverbal *niente/neente* in the XIII c.

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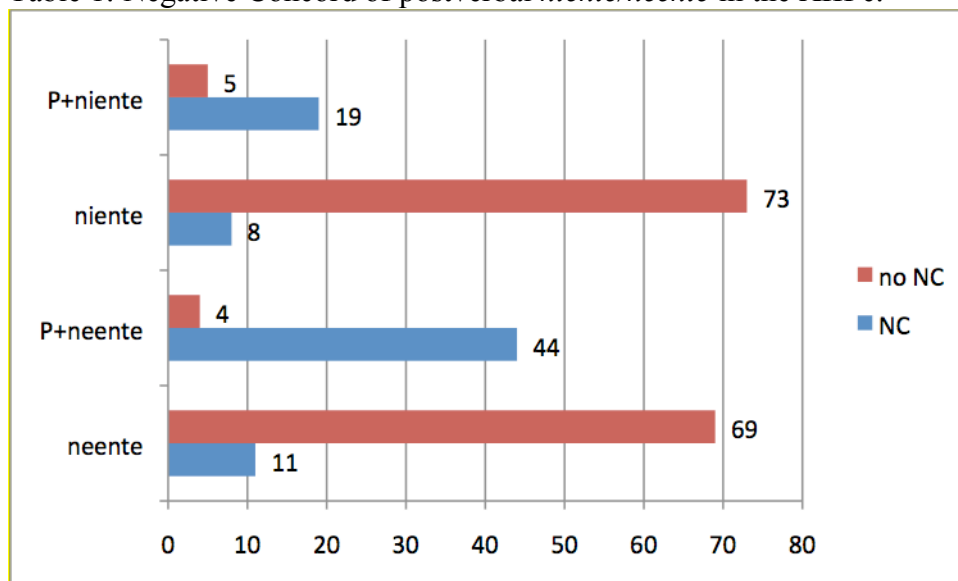
[16]. For a more detailed discussion on the properties of the low left periphery in OI see Poletto (to appear).

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We propose that the clear asymmetry between bare *niente* and P+*niente* with respect to negative concord has to do with the fact that bare *niente* can exploit three positions, and that two of them trigger obligatory negative concord. They are: a) the merge position, where no negative concord occurs, b) the scrambling position, where negative concord is obligatory c) the position of adverbial *niente* where negative concord is also obligatory.

P+*niente* can only occur in the merge position inside the VP or in a scrambling positions at the left edge of the *v*P, where negative concord is obligatory, because the adverbial position is only open to bare *niente*. This explains why in both cases negative concord is apparently optional: this is so, because only the merge position inside VP allows for lack of negative concord. However, given that bare *niente* has one more position where negative concord can apply (the one corresponding to the bare adverb), evidently the number of cases where negative concord is found in the corpus is much higher.

Summing up our proposal:

a) negative concord is related to the position of the n-word: if *niente* stays *in situ* within the VP, no negative concord applies;

b) when *niente* moves outside the VP (either to the *v*P left periphery or even higher in the adverbial space), negative concord applies;

c) bare *niente* has two target positions where it can land (and trigger negative concord), namely the scrambling one at the left edge of the *v*P and the one higher than *bene* and located in the adverbial space;

d) P+*niente* cannot exploit the position of the bare adverb (precisely because it is not bare) and therefore the percentages of negative concord are much lower, though they still exist, because the other VP-external position, the scrambling one on the left edge of the *v*P, is available also to PPs.

4. Pre- and postverbal position

Up to now, we have not considered the preverbal position of *niente*, and what happens when the element is located in this position; let us now consider this case. Another interesting fact, already noted by Zanuttini (2010) for Old Italian and Martins (2000) for Old Romance in general, is that n-words in preverbal position also allow for negative concord (which is either excluded in modern Italian, or gives rise to double negation contexts). This is also true for *niente* if one considers the data after 1300:

(33) a. …e *niente* poteva acquistare contro a quel populo. (Anonym., *Novellino* 36,
      1300c.)

   and nothing could.3SG gain.INF against to that people

   "…and he could not gain anything against those people."

   b. ...dee egli togliere ad altrui sua vivanda, che *niente non* vale? (B. Giamboni,
      Tesoro volg 7.74, 1300c.)

   must he take.INF from other his food COMP nothing NEG is.worth

   "…must (a wise man) take the food away from an other man who is not
   worth?"

One very striking fact is however that before the year 1300 there are no cases of
preverbal *niente* with negative concord, and that in general *niente* is very rarely found in
preverbal position: if we divide the OI corpus in two and restrict the search to the texts
before 1300, there are only 11 cases of bare *neente* in preverbal position against 80 of
neente in postverbal position. Approximately the same rate is obtained with the form
niente, where there are 11 cases of preverbal *niente* over 75 cases of *niente* in postverbal
position.

Therefore, the system of the XIII century does not allow for preverbal *niente* with
negative concord and also the rate of preverbal *niente* is generally rather low. Reading
the texts it is easy to see why this is so: in the preverbal position the bare form *niente* is
generally substituted by *neuna cosa* literally 'not-one thing' which expresses the same
meaning:

(34) Neuna cosa è più da schifare ne li amici che le lusinghe (Anonym., *Fiori e vita di
      filosafi* 20, 1275)

   no.F thing is more COMP avoid in the friends COMP the adulations

   "Nothing more than adulations should be avoided in friends."

The complex item *neuna cosa* was at that time definitely not a single word, as there are
elements like *altra* 'other' that can occur in between *neuna* and *cosa*. On the other hand,
neuna cosa is almost exclusively preverbal up to the beginning of the XIII century: in
the corpus there are 64 cases of preverbal *neuna cosa* without negative concord and 48
cases of preverbal occurrences with negative concord, for a total of 112 cases. The
postverbal occurrences are only 11 with negative concord and none without negative
concord. The data are summarized in Table 2:

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Table 2: Position of *neuna cosa*, *niente* and *neente* in the XIII c.
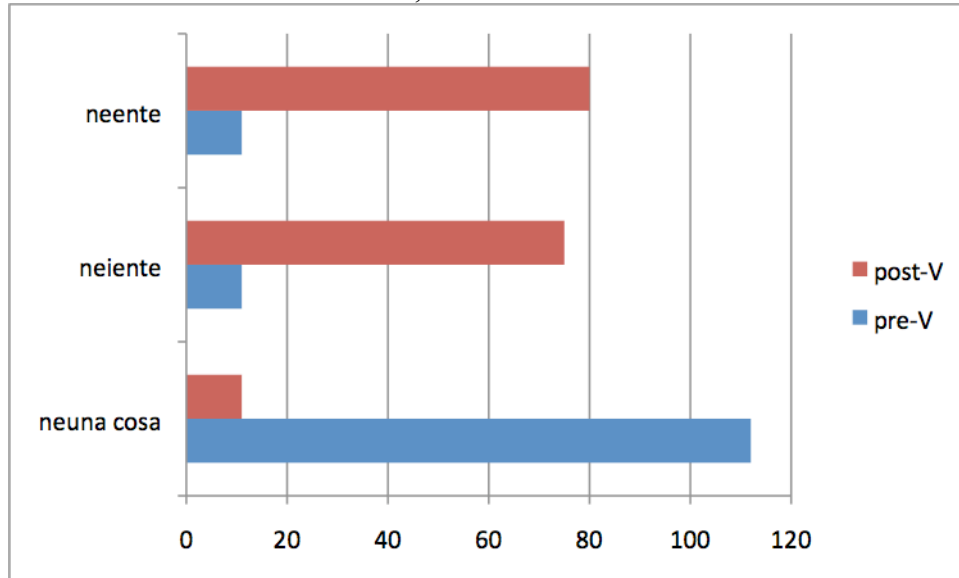
We propose that the item corresponding to 'nothing' is realized as bare *niente* in postverbal position, and that the few preverbal occurrences of bare *niente* in the older system are to be attributed to focalization, a phenomenon which is known to occur independently in OI.

We also surmise that the cases of postverbal *neuna cosa* are due to the fact that at this time there was an ambiguity between 'nothing' and 'not a single thing', and that the 11 cases of postverbal *neuna cosa* are to be interpreted as focalizations meaning precisely 'not a single thing', as the following example shows, where *neuna cosa* is actually contrasted with *dodici vergati di Guanto*:

(35) Non si ricorda che gli faciesse recare neuna cosa da Sant'Omieri se nno dodici vergati di Guanto... (C. de' Cerchi, *lettera a G. Rinucci*, 1291)
NEG REFL remembers COMP him.DAT did.SBJV.3SG bring.INF no.F thing from S. if not 12 *vergati di Guanto*
"He does not remember that he had to bring anything if not 12 *vergati di Guanto* (a type of fabric)."

The reason why *neuna cosa* never allows for lack of negative concord is thus due to the fact that when it is postverbal, it is always in the *v*P peripheral position in Focus and never in the argumental position.

Furthermore, OI displays an asymmetry between the preverbal and the postverbal position, with *neuna cosa* being preverbal and *niente* postverbal, if we factor out

Focus.[17] This asymmetry clearly recalls the class of asymmetries between the preverbal and the postverbal position that in the traditional G&B framework were analyzed as instances of head government, namely cases where a null element (in our case the noun corresponding to *cosa*) can be licensed by the verbal head under government, while this is evidently not the case for the preverbal position, which is not governed by the verb.

Notice however that for the parallel to be perfect we should also find *neuna* in postverbal position and not *niente*, which is also a compound of a negative prefix *n*-plus the word *-ente* (this is very evident in the allomorph *ne-ente*) which meant 'existing item, something that exists', similarly to English 'no-thing'.

Therefore we propose that *niente* has an incorporated 'thing' (existential) element, which also allows it to be generated in the object position, but given that this item is a single word, there is also the possibility to treat it as an adverb, ignoring its original nominal portion. This is evidently not the case for *neuna cosa*, which is never used as an adverb, because the nominal part is morphologically and syntactically independent.

Coming back to our main point, namely the hypothesis that negative concord is related to the position of *niente*, and more precisely, that negative concord is only triggered when *niente* moves out of its original VP internal position, we can further support this idea with the following argument:

All the 9 cases of preverbal *neente* and the 11 ones of preverbal *niente* found in the XIII texts are argumental cases, (and they do not have negative concord). The adverbial form does not seem to raise during this period. This radically changes around the turn of the century, but at least the older system is stable.

We can therefore conclude that our generalization is pretty stable and that in the OI variant of the XIII century negative concord is only triggered when *niente* is moved out from its argumental position either in a *v*P peripheral position or in its adverbial position in the low IP area. When *niente* moves out of its argumental position to get Nominative case or to be focused directly in the CP area no negative concord is found. In our view, this is so because *niente* cannot move through an A' Position (like the *v*P left peripheral Focus position or the adverbial position in the low IP area) to reach either the A position where Nominative is assigned or the higher Focus.[18] This means that negative concord

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[17]. This means that all postverbal cases of *neuna cosa* are due to Focus in the *v*P, but also all preverbal cases of *niente* are due to Focus, in the CP.

[18]. We assume here that once any element has moved to the low *v*P Focus, it cannot further move to the higher CP Focus, the movement would not be motivated. Moreover, the same holds true for the adverbial low IP position, which is a different type of A' position and is also criterial in Rizzi's (2007) sense.

on OI until the end of the XIII century is related to an area of the sentence structure, the low functional field immediately preceding (actually at the edge of) the *v*P.

5. A change in the system

As mentioned a few times above, the system of negative concord radically changes around the year 1300. We will not attempt to provide a detailed analysis of the new system, but we think that at least a summary of the differences found can be helpful to future research.

The first change found in the system is that *niente* starts being found in preverbal position as well as in postverbal position, with about the same rate; after the year 1300, the occurrences of *neente* (until 1350) are 92 for the postverbal position and 80 for the preverbal one, the occurrences of *niente* are 193 for the postverbal position and 127 for the preverbal one. There is evidently a rather sharp increase of the cases of preverbal bare *niente/neente*. The same is true for *niente/neente* when it is inserted inside a PP: the preverbal cases become much more frequent. We think that this has to do with a radical change in the whole system of negative concord, and it is not *per se* related to properties of the bare quantifier we have been observing.

The change is probably related to another astonishing fact, namely the rise of contexts where preverbal n-words like *neuno/a/i* plus Noun display negative concord. At the same time, also the number of postverbal n-words without negative concord raises. This seems to last for a relatively brief period of time, and it can probably be traced back to French influence in texts like *La Tavola ritonda o l'Istoria di Tristano* but this is also the system found in authors like Zucchero Bencivenni, where no plausible French influence can be claimed to be at work. Before we can make sense of this change, it is necessary to consider the whole system of negation and negative concord across the two centuries, and relate it on the one hand to the distribution of other quantifiers and on the other to a more general change in the architecture of the clause, an analysis we will not try here.

6. Conclusions

In this work we have examined the distribution of the bare n-word *niente/neente* 'nothing' in the OI variety of the XIII century. We have first noticed that in general bare

quantifiers have a dedicated position within the low IP space defined in Cinque (1999): this is very clear for a bare quantifier like *tutto* 'all', which can occur before or after the past participle when it is modified by a DP, but must occur before the past participle when it is bare. We have also noted that bare *tutto* has an adverbial usage that is not found in modern Italian. The same appears to be true for *niente*, which can also be either an argument of the verb or display an adverbial usage approximately meaning 'at all'. *Niente* generally occurs after the past participle, but we can use low adverbs to show that in its adverbial usage, *niente* is indeed located in the low IP space, as it sistematically occurs before the adverb *bene*.

On the other hand, adverbial *niente* has obligatory negative concord, while argumental *niente* does not. We have proposed that this is so, because negative concord is only triggered when the argument leaves its original position inside the VP and reaches either a scrambling position at the edge of the *v*P or the adverbial position in the low IP area. Scrambled *niente* has indeed obligatory negative concord, as expected.

Further evidence for this are the following arguments: first, the percentages of bare *niente* with negative concord are much higher than the percentages of P+*niente* with negative concord. This is so, because the position for bare quantifiers is not available to P+*niente*.

Moreover, although the OI texts do not provide evidence for movement of bare *niente*, Old Neapolitan does: in this variety *niente* systematically occurs before a low adverb like *cchiù* 'anymore' and negative concord is obligatory.

An additional argument is provided by the fact that *niente* is very rare in preverbal position, while the preverbal element is *neuna cosa*. The few cases of preverbal *niente* are all without negative concord, as the argument has been extracted directly from its thematic position to get case in the preverbal subject position or to be contrastively focussed. Moving through an adverbial or scrambling A' position would block any further movement to subject position or to the CP-Focus position, because these are criterial positions. Hence preverbal cases are correctly predicted to be without negative concord.

We conclude that in the OI variety of the XIII century, negative concord of *niente* is related to a precise area in the low IP area. Whether this is so also for later stages of Italian remains to be seen. If this hypothesis is correct, this might have interesting consequences on the general theory of negative concord, which would thus be related to movement to (or through) a particular low IP area.

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Remarks on Temporal Anchoring: The case of the Armenian aorist

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1. Introduction

It is a well-known fact that languages differ widely as far as their verbal systems are concerned. Some languages for instance, have very poor verbal morphology –like English or Chinese– whereas other ones overtly mark several subtle temporal and aspectual distinctions –like Russian and Greek, both Ancient and Modern. Temporal and aspectual properties, moreover, can combine with each other following certain patterns discussed at length in the literature.[1]

In this paper we consider a verbal form of the Armenian system, the aorist, that exhibits temporal and aspectual properties not easily fitting the "canonical" descriptions. We will see that its distribution might seem at first sight incoherent and show that only by means of a finer analysis it is possible to account for its characteristics in a uniform way. To this end, we compare the Armenian aorist with the English simple past and present perfect, on one side, and with the Italian *passato remoto* (simple past) and *passato prossimo* (present perfect), on the other.

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[1]. For a typological perspective, see Dahl (2000) and references cited there. Note also that in some languages the same morpheme can express both a temporal and an aspectual value. This is for instance often the case in Italian.

2. A brief overview of the Italian and English simple past and present perfect

In this section we briefly compare the properties of the English simple past and present perfect with those of the Italian –allegedly– corresponding forms. We show that in spite of the superficial morphological similarity, one must be very cautious in directly identifying the verbal forms in question, given that at a closer look they exhibit different temporal and aspectual properties.

In English some forms are clearly identifiable as temporally marked as past –such as the simple past *I ate*– whereas some forms encode an aspectual value –such as the present perfect *I have eaten*. The literature on this topic, the English past and perfect forms, is particularly rich and emphasizes in various ways the following point: aspectual and temporal values interact in complex ways, which are idiosyncratic of a specific language.

For instance in English the aforementioned forms can both refer to a past event, but if the present perfect is used, the consequences of the event must be detectable at the time of the utterance, i.e., it must be *relevant at the present time*.[2] Consider for instance the following example (from Higginbotham 2006, ex. 47):

(1) I have spilled my coffee.

This sentence is acceptable only if there is spilled coffee around at the moment of Utterance. Moreover, presumably for the same reason, these forms are (mostly) incompatible with a definite temporal reference, as in the following case:

(2) *John has left at four.

The sentence in (2), with a present perfect, contrasts with the sentence in (3), with a simple past, or with (4), where no temporal reference is realized:

(3) John left at four.

(4) John has left.

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[2]. There are other conditions that might intervene in the licensing of a present perfect in English, which will not be discussed here. For a comparative discussion of Germanic and Romance see, among the many others, Giorgi and Pianesi (1997).

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Both sentences are about a past event of leaving, but the specific aspectual properties of the present perfect give rise to the contrast above.

The Italian present perfect has exactly the same morphological structure as the English one: a present tense auxiliary, followed by a past participle. The sentences equivalent to (1) and (2) are however perfectly grammatical and there is no requirement to be observed, such as the *present relevance* found in (1). Consider the following examples:[3]

  (5) Ho versato il caffè.
     I have spilled my coffee

  (6) Gianni è partito alle quattro.
     Lit: Gianni has left at four
     'Gianni left at four'.

Sentence (5) can be uttered even if there is no sign around of spilled coffee and there is full compatibility with definite temporal adverbs.

It is a well-known fact that it is very difficult to find a correspondence between the forms expressing temporal distinctions and those expressing aspectual ones. In the case of English and Italian illustrated in (1) it is important to understand that if the English sentence *I have spilled my coffee* is translated as *ho versato il caffè*, the fact that the (English) speaker is in a situation where there is actually coffee around is simply lost in the Italian equivalent, where this might be true, or not. On the other hand, the Italian sentence does express a meaning corresponding to the English one, i.e., both sentences talk about a past event of spilling coffee, but this is not enough to capture and explain all the properties of these forms.

The challenge is therefore to account for these facts in general theoretical terms, by means of general principles, which might predict the English/Italian behavior of the verbal forms.

In this work we are not going to further discuss the contrast illustrated above, but we will consider a case displaying similar properties: the Armenian aorist. As we anticipated above, this verbal form has in fact a rather puzzling distribution when

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[3]. The variety of Italian given here is the one spoken in Central and Northern Italy, where the simple past, *partì* (he left), is quite marked and used only in certain contexts, and the notion of *pastness* is mostly expressed by means of a present perfect. In Southern Italy, the situation is the opposite one: the simple past is the form expressing pastness, whereas the present perfect is only very marginally used.

compared to the possible equivalent ones in languages such as Italian and English. The analysis of the Armenian aorist will also shed light on the interactions between aspectual properties and the anchoring conditions, which are crucially relevant in the temporal interpretation of utterances.

3. Temporal and aspectual properties of the Armenian aorist

3.1. On the temporal properties of the Armenian aorist

In Modern Eastern Armenian –henceforth, MEA– most verbal tenses, at least in the indicative system, are periphrastic, i.e. formed by means of an auxiliary and a participle. The aorist is the only synthetic verbal form of the indicative. It includes the aorist stem of the verb followed by the verbal inflection. Note that for many verbs the aorist stem is lexicalized by adding the suffix *c'* to the verb. We will consider the nature of this suffix with more details in section (5) below. [4]

The Armenian aorist normally expresses pastness, i.e., it refers to past events, both in main and in subordinate contexts. Consider for instance the following examples: [5,6]

(7) Erek Armenǝ lav gnahatakan **stac'av**.
Yesterday Armen gained(AOR) a good mark.

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[4]. Armenian is an Indo-European language spoken in Armenia and in Persian and Indian colonies (even if nowadays it is also spoken in other colonies created by a recent emigration from Armenia) –this variety is called *Modern Eastern Armenia*, MEA– and in communities living in Turkey and several other countries where the Armenians have emigrated especially after the 1915 Genocide –their varieties go under the general label of *Modern Western Armenian*, MWA. MEA and MWA exhibit some differences, in particular in the verbal system. Even if the aorist is presumably quite alike in the two languages, we limit our analysis to MEA. For a description of some properties of the verbal system of MEA, see Haroutyunian (2011); for an analysis of tense and aspect in MWA, see Donabedian (1996, 1999, 2002) and Donabedian and Ouzounian, (2008).

[5]. In this work we will consider the present perfect – *ho mangiato*, I have eaten – as the standard way of expressing pastness in Italian. However, it must be kept in mind that this is true of Northern Italian varieties and that in the Southern varieties the simple past – *mangiai,* I ate – plays this function.

[6]. In this work Armenian graphemes are translitterated adopting the system developed by Hübschmann-Meillet (1913).

(8) Silvan asac', wor erek Armenə lav gnahatakan **stac'av**.
    Silva said that yesterday Armen gained(AOR) a good mark.

The temporal interpretation of (8) is analogous to the English one: Armen gained a good mark in the past with respect to Silva's saying it. The same holds in Italian as well:

(9) Ieri Gianni ha preso un bel voto.
    Yesterday Gianni gained(PRES PERF) a good mark.

(10) Maria ha detto che ieri Gianni ha preso un bel voto.
    Maria said that yesterday Gianni gained(PRES PERF) a good mark.

In (10) the gaining of the good mark lies in Maria's past. Hence, it looks like the aorist is the form corresponding to simple past in English and to the present perfect in (Central-Northern) Italian.

In some cases however, the aorist does not have a past reading, but on the contrary, refers to a future events. Consider for instance the following sentence:[7]

(11) (Aysōr ašxatavarj em stac'el.) Vałə t'atroni tomserə **gnec'i**.
    (Today I received my salary.) Tomorrow I'll buy (AOR) the tickets for the theatre.

The buying of the tickets has not taken place yet, as clearly specified by the time adverb *tomorrow*. The speaker's intuition is that the aorist in this sentence is admitted as the future outcome of a past situation, i.e. "I got the money, *and on the basis of this* I make a decision concerning the future". The specification concerning the past, enabling the present and the future situation to come out, does not necessarily has to be mentioned, but needs to be present and retrievable from the context. Hence, the future meaning of the aorist needs a presupposition concerning the conditions enabling the future event.

Let us compare now this future usage of the aorist with the meaning expressed by the other future forms in Armenian. In MEA, but not in MWA, the future can also be expressed by means of a form from the conditional mood, i.e. the finite verb prefixed by

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[7]. Dum-Tragut (2009) mentions a similar case in her work, at p. 252. As we discuss below, however, we show that this future meaning is not just *imminential*, as proposed by Dum-Tragut, but selects a particular presupposition.

k-, as seen in example (12), which we will gloss as "conditional future" (COND FUT). This form, to be fully acceptable, requires the existence of a planning in the future, as in the following case:

(12) Vałə t'atroni tomserə **kgnem** (ayspisov erekoyan miasin kgnankʻ).
Tomorrow I'll buy(COND FUT) the tickets for theatre (hence in the evening we'll go together).

The planned events do not need to be overtly mentioned in the same sentence, but they are in some sense implicit. This future is in some sense considered a colloquial form and not used in writing. The periphrastic future, formed by means of the future participle and the inflected auxiliary *em* in the present tense, on the contrary, is the more learned form, used in writing as well. Consider for instance sentence (13):

(13) Vałə t'atroni tomserə **gnelu em** (ayspisov erekoyan miasin kgnankʻ).
Tomorrow I'll buy(FUT) the tickets for theatre (hence in the evening we'll go together).

In this case as well, a planning is required, either expressed or retrievable form the context.

Finally, the present tense can also have a future meaning, analogously to Italian – and, to a certain extent, to English – as shown the following example:

(14) Vałə **arjanagrvum em** pari dasəntʻacʻi (baycʻ vstah čʻem).
Tomorrow I enroll (PRES) in a dance course (but I am not sure)

To clarify the meaning of the various forms in Armenian, note that the clause, *baycʻ vstah čʻem* (but I am not sure) could neither be added to the sentence with the aorist, nor to the one with the future. The first in fact entails a certainty by the speaker, based on events located in the past, and the second the existence of a plan in the speaker's mind. Hence the presence of *I am not sure* would be inconsistent. The present tense, however is neutral and therefore compatible with it.

The aorist tense can also express ingressive meaning with verbs of emotion as illustrated in the following example (from Dum-Tragut 2009, p. 232):

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(15) Lilit'n atec' ayn nor usanołin.
      Lilit' started to hate(AOR) that new student

The event expressed by means of a future aorist does not need to take place in the *immediate* future, as shown by the fact that adverbs such as *in two months* can also be used:

(16) (Aysōr imac'a, wor erku amis heto ašxatavarj em stanalu.) Erku amis heto t'atroni tomserə **gnec'i**.
      (Today I learnt that in two months I'll receive my salary.) In two months I'll buy(AOR) my tickets for the theatre

Hence, the value of this future aorist is not purely *imminential*, because the event can be delayed.
Interestingly, the future interpretation of the aorist is natural for the first person, but quite marginal for the third one, where a regular future is by far the preferred option:[8]

(17) Armenə avartec' dasere. (Na) Hima **kgna**/ ***gnac'**.
      Armen has just finished his lessons. He is now going(COND FUT/*AOR) away.

Note also that the futural interpretation of the aorist cannot be simply labeled a *modal* one, in the sense that it is not the expression of a wish, and it is neither an optative, nor a desiderative. The speaker simply expresses what she is going to do in the future.
Furthermore, to strengthen this view, note that the Armenian aorist cannot be used as a counterfactual form – as it might be the case for past forms in other languages, for instance in English, as shown by the following example:

(18) If you went to bed earlier, you would not be so tired

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[8]: Note also that, if inserted in a special context, where the sentence can have an exclamative/valutative interpretation, the aorist can be used. Consider the following dialogue:

(i) A: erku zham avel mn-ank' ašxat-enk'. B: Razmikə hastat mn-ac'!

   A: Let's stay for two more hours and work. B: Razmik will stay for sure!

In this sentence B is meaning exactly the opposite, namely that R will never consent at staying. This piece of evidence will also follow from the proposal we argue for in section 5, but we will not consider these contexts in details. See also fn. 23 below.

Armenian in these cases uses the subjunctive, as Italian. The aorist is ungrammatical, as shown by the following examples:[9]

(19) Etʻe du erek šut ankołin **mtac lineir**(PAST SUBJ)/***mtar** (AOR), ayskʻan hognac čʻēir lini.

(20) Se tu ieri fossi andato(PAST SUBJ)/*sei andato(PRES PERF) a letto prima, non saresti così stanco.
If you went to bed earlier, you would not be so tired.

Summarizing, in a language like Italian, having the subjective in its verbal inventory, it is never the case that the simple past, or the present perfect, can have a modal interpretation:

(21) Se sapessi /*seppi/ *ho saputo volare, farei un giro sopra New York.
If I could (subj/*simple past/*present perfect) fly, I would fly over New York

The same holds in Armenian as well:

(22) Ete yes tʻřčʻel imanayi/ ***imacʻa** / *imacʻel em New Yorki vrayov ktʻřčʻei.
If I could fly (subj/*AOR/*present perfect), I would fly over New York

The Armenian aorist, therefore, seems to behave as a regular past form, with the interesting exception of the future reading.

Note that, in general, past forms cannot be used to express future meanings. As discussed above, in Italian, the present tense can have such a use, as shown in the following example (from Bertinetto, 1991, ex. 57):

(23) Esco fra un attimo.
I leave(PRES) in a moment

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[9]. Note that in Italian the imperfect of the indicative can have a counterfactual role as well:

(i) Se partivi domani, saresti arrivato in tempo per la cerimonia di aperture.

If you left(IMPF) tomorrow, you would be(IMPF) on time for the opening ceremony

This, however, does not seem to be the case in Armenian, where counterfactuals an only be expressed by means of the subjunctive.

But a past, i.e. a present perfect or a simple past, cannot:[10]

(24)   *Sono uscito/*uscii fra un attimo.
         Lit: I have left /I left in a moment

Hence, the present discussion will focus on the anomalous behavior of the Armenian aorist with respect to the availability of the future interpretation, which we will try to characterize and explain without introducing *ad hoc* theories, resorting instead to more general principles of temporal anchoring.

3.2. On the aspectual properties of the Armenian aorist

In the previous section we illustrated the temporal properties of the aorist. In this section, we will consider its aspectual one. We apply here the well-known tests on the compatibility of a verbal form with time adverbials, which have been shown to discriminate well between the various aspectual interpretations. In this section we show that the aorist is a perfective form. Consider the following example:

(25)   Silvan erekʻžamum salorə **kerav**.
         Silva ate(AOR) the plum in three hours.

In this sentence, the aorist form is compatible with the adverbial *in X time*, which is a typical property of perfective forms.[11] The sentence means that the plum has ben eaten up in a time span of three hours. Analogously, in the following case:

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[10]. Bertinetto (1991) discusses some case where the present perfect can have an anteriority reading in subordinate clauses (from Bertinetto, 1991, ex 153b):

(i) Se entro due ore Enrico non è arrivato, gliene dico di tutti i colori.

    If in two hours Enrico has not arrived, I'll give him what for

These cases however, have a peculiar distribution and never appear in matrix clauses.

[11]. There is important and very interesting literature on this and related issues. Here, we are taking the relevant generalizations for granted, without further discussing them. See, among the many others, Bertinetto (1991) and Giorgi and Pianesi (1997).

(26) Armenə erekʿ tarum tunə **kaṛucʿecʿ**.
      Armen built(AOR) the house in three years

This sentence expresses the reaching of a result: Armen finished building the house in three years.

Let us consider now a different adverbial. Bertinetto (1991) points out that in Italian the adverbial *da X tempo* (lit: from X time) is compatible only with compound perfective forms and not with the synthetic ones, namely it selects a certain past, even if both past forms in Italian can be said in general to be perfective. Hence, in a way, we can say that the compatibility with this time adverbial identifies a certain *nuance* in the perfective aspect.

Consider the following contrast between the Italian present perfect and the simple past (adapted form Bertinetto 1991, section 1.5.2.2., exx. 204 and 207):[12]

(27) Marco è arrivato da almeno due ore.
      Lit: Marco has arrived(PRES PERF) at least from two hours
      Marco arrived at least two hours ago.

(28) *Marco arrivò da almeno due ore.
      Marco arrived(PAST) at least from two hours
      Marco arrived at least two hours ago.

According to Bertinetto (1991), the compound form and the simple one differ because in the former, but not in the latter, the interpretation requires the presence of a *reference point*, in Reichenbachian terms.[13] The adverbial in question in fact measures the time span between the end of the event and the reference point, hence it cannot be compatible

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[12]. We will not consider here the distribution of similar time adverbials in English, given that the discussion would not be pertinent to the main topic of this paper. In general, however, the indexical temporal expression *X time ago,* does not distinguish between the two verbal forms, as shown by the English translation. On the other hand, other temporal expressions, such as the ones introduced by *since*, would have a different distribution, along however different dimensions.

[13]. Reichenbach (1947) identifies three temporal points, relevant for locating an event along the temporal axis: E, the event point, S, the speech point, and a third point, R, the reference point. We will not discuss here the Reichenbachian system and the various interpretations given by the scholars during the years. For a brief discussion, see Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, ch.2).

with the simple past, which hasn't any.[14]

The same judgments obtain with the locution *sono due ore che* (lit: it is two hours that):

(29) Sono due ore che Marco è arrivato.

Lit: It is two hours that Marco has arrived(PRES PERF)

Marco arrived at least two hours ago.

(30) *Sono due ore che Marco arrivò.

It is two hours that Marco arrived(PAST)

Marco arrived at least two hours ago.

In Armenian the only locution available is the one corresponding to the Italian *sono due ore che* in examples (29)-(30). Consider the following examples:

(31) Erku žam ē inčʿ Armenə hasel ē.

Lit: Two hours is that Armen has arrived (PRES PERF)

Armen arrived two hours ago.

(32) *Erku žam ē inčʿArmenə hasav.

Lit: Two hours is that Armen arrived (AOR)

Armen arrived two hours ago.

In this case as well, Armenian behaves like Italian, and the aorist patterns with the simple past.

As an *interim* conclusion, we can say that the Armenian aorist is a perfective verbal form, which exhibits properties similar to the non-compound perfective forms of the Italian system.

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[14]. Bertinetto (1991, section 1.5.2.2), precisely for this reason, distinguishes between two kind of perfectivity: the perfectivity of the present perfect and compound tenses, and the one, which he calls *aoristic*, of the simple past. According to him, the aoristic forms cannot express the *persistency* of a certain result at a reference time.

4. Towards an explanation: The anchoring conditions

Let's summarize the properties of the Armenia aorist discussed so far:

(33) a) It is a synthetic verbal form.
  b) It can have a futural meaning, even if it is mostly used as a past.
  c) It is aspectually perfective.
  d) It patterns with the Italian non-compound perfective forms.

The hypothesis we will argue for here is the following: the Armenian aorist is a perfective present tense. In what follows we argue in favor of this hypothesis.
It is a well-known fact that verbal forms are obligatorily *anchored*.[15] Namely, an event –or state, henceforth *eventuality*– must be placed along a temporal *continuum*, taking some other event as the *anchoring* one. In main clauses the anchoring event is provided by the Speech event itself. Consequently, a past, a present or a future verbal form has the effect of placing the eventuality as preceding, overlapping, or following the Speech event:[16]

(34) John ate an apple.

(35) John is eating an apple.

(36) John will eat an apple.

In example (34) the event precedes the Speech event, overlaps it in (35) and follows it in (36).
We follow here Higginbotham's (1995) and Giorgi and Pianesi's (1997) proposal according to which a temporal morpheme is a two-place predicate. Hence, a past verbal form like *ate* is characterized by the presence of a predicate as the following one: *past (e1, e2)*, where e1 is identified with the *eating* event and e2 with the Speech event. The anchoring procedure is analogous to a *theta-marking* (or *theta-identification*) procedure, i.e. to the process involved in the linking of the predicate to its arguments in general.

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[15]. See among the many others Enç (1988).

[16]. There is an ample debate on this topic. See, among the many other, Giorgi and Pianesi 2001a, 2001b, Higginbotham 1995.

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Subordinate events must be anchored as well. In normal complement clauses, the anchoring point is provided by the superordinate event, plus a condition enabling the Double Access Reading in languages having this requirement. The anchoring requirement is even in this case universal.[17]

Consider for instance the following examples:

(37) Mary said John ate an apple.

(38) Mary said John is eating an apple.

(39) Mary said John will eat an apple.

In sentence (37) the eating precedes the saying, in (38) it is simultaneous with it and in (39) it is located in the future.[18]

However, the anchoring conditions are on their turn constrained by the aspectual properties, Namely, the aspect of the verbal form, for instance being perfective or continuous, contributes to the outcome of the temporal anchoring. This issue is analyzed at length in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), who propose the *Punctuality Constraint*. Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) argue that the anchoring event is by definition punctual, both in the case it is taken to be the Speech event itself, and in the case it is the superordinate event in the case of embedded clauses.

Note also that Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) develop a mereological view of the notion of punctuality, to the effect that *punctuality* does not necessarily implies absence of a temporal extension. A *point* under their view is defined as something that, independently of its extension, cannot be partitioned. This is however a technical issue we will not further consider here and refer the reader to the cited works.

The Punctuality Constraint can be stated as follows (from Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, p.163):

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[17]. On the anchoring procedure, see also Higginbotham (1995, 2002, 2006). On the Double Access Reading see Giorgi and Pianesi (2001a, 2001b) and Giorgi (2010, 2011).

[18]. Note that the future must be computed both with respect to the time of John's saying and the time the time of the utterance event. Giorgi and Pianesi (2001b) and Giorgi (2010) consider this property evidence in favor of a Generalized Double Access Reading theory, holding not only for an embedded present tense, but for a past and a future as well. The issue however is not directly relevant to the present discussion, and we do not pursue it further here.

(40)   A closed event cannot be simultaneous with a punctual event.

Let's consider now what a closed event is and why it cannot coincide with a punctual event.
Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, ch.4) argue that all eventive predicates – as opposed to stative ones – have an internal structure. Each predicate, even achievements ones – i.e., those usually considered to be inherently punctual – can be seen as a sequence of temporally ordered sub-events. In order to clarify this notion, the authors discuss the following example (Giorgi and Pianesi, 1997, ch.4, ex.9):

(41)   John ate an apple. While eating the first bit of it, he remembered that he had to phone Mary.

The first sentence set the scene: a native speaker of English knows that the eating event took place in the past and has ended. The rest of the example, however, makes it clear that this event can be partitioned in a meaningful way. Giorgi and Pianesi argue that the role of the past morpheme appearing on *eat* in the first sentence is to put a *boundary* to the sequence of eating sub-events, which however remain conceptually available for further reference. In other words, the English simple past *closes* the eventive sequence. The punctuality constraint states that even if the internal structure of the event, once closed, is still *conceptually* available, it is not *formally* so anymore. Coherently with this view, the following sentence is completely unacceptable:

(42)   *While John ate an apple, Mary was playing the piano.

The only possibility is to express the first verbal form as an open sequence, by means of the progressive periphrasis, also appearing in the second part of the sentence:

(43) While John *was eating* an apple, Mary was playing the piano.

A progressive form is continuous and non-perfective, whereas the simple past of an eventive verb is perfective. Only the progressive form, as shown in example (43), can be interpreted as the background for another event. In other words, the eating and the playing can be made to overlap only if the former is aspectually an open, continuous, sequence, and not if it is a closed, perfective, one.

Hence, a closed event can only be ordered as preceding or following a punctual, closed, event and can never be simultaneous with it.[19] In other words a perfective, closed event, can only be past with respect the Utterance time or the anchoring point, or future, but could never be

5. Back to the Armenian aorist

What can we say about the Armenian aorist and its peculiar characteristics? Our hypothesis is that the aorist morpheme does not contribute a past temporal value, but an aspectual one, namely we propose that the aorist is a purely aspectual form and that its temporal interpretation is a side-effect of its aspectual value. More specifically, we propose that this form is a *perfective present tense*.

5.1. A diachronic view

Let us illustrate the diachronic and synchronic evidence in favor of this conclusion. A typical Armenian aorist form is the following (see also Haroutyunian 2011 for a detailed discussion):

(44) gr -ecʿ –i.
      write-AOR-1SG (were -*e*- is the thematic vowel)
      I wrote.

with respect to the Armenian aorist suffix -*cʾ* Meillet (1936, p.115) claims the following:

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[19]. Ramchand (2008, p.1698, ex.23) points out, with respect to perfective forms in Russian, the following properties:

    i. [perfective forms] cannot get a simple ongoing interpretation in the present tense.

    ii. They cannot be used as the complements of phrasal verbs such as 'begin/finish/continue'.

    iii. They cannot form present participles.

    iv. In discourse, they combine to form non-overlapping events in the narrative.

These properties all follow from our proposal, in that they would all violate the punctuality constraint.

(45) La caractéristique *-c'-* de l'aoriste repose sur un ancien **-ske-*; le grec a de même des prétérits comme φευγεσχον; le suffixe n'a rien de proprement aoristique: […] l'aoriste arménien représente une forme indo-européenne a désinences secondaires, mais non pas nécessairement au aoriste.

Ačaṙyan (1961) –who is a very authoritative Armenian grammarian– completely agrees with Meillet.

Hence, even if it might *prima facie* seem that the Armenian suffix *-c'* marking the Aorist resembles the Indo-European sigmatic aorist, this is presumably not the case. In more modern historical literature the issue is still debated, see for instance Klingenschmitt (1982) and Kortland (1995), without however providing any clear evidence against Meillet's claim.

Note also that in Armenian this verbal form is not called *aorist*, which is a term introduced by the non-Armenian tradition, but is simply called *antc'yal kataryal*, literally meaning *past perfect*.

Now, we know that **-ske-* is an Indo-European suffix which gives rise to different semantic nuances in the various languages, as pointed out for instance by Szemerényi (1985, p. 314). In Latin, for instance –see also Ernout (1953, p. 132)– it has a clear inchoative value, but in Hittite, it attributes to the verb an iterative or distributive meaning, and in Tocharian it mostly adds a causative meaning –cf. Szemerényi (1985, p. 315). Note that in all these cases it contributes an aspectual value and not a temporal one. Hence, a reasonable hypothesis might be the following: the Armenian aorist is formed by the verbal stem plus an aspectual marker, followed by inflection.

Under this hypothesis, this form does not include any temporal morpheme. Note that the absence of an overtly realized temporal morpheme in the present tense is a largely widespread property among the languages of the world. For instance, Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) argue that this is a universal characteristic of present verbal forms, and that the lexically realized morphemes, which might occasionally surface in association with the present tense, have always an *aspectual* value, and not a *temporal* one, as we briefly discuss below. This observation is coherent with our claim: we propose that the morpheme in question is an aspectual perfective morpheme; hence, the Armenian aorist is a present perfective form.

5.2. Deriving the properties of the aorist

Let's go back to the properties of the aorist listed under point (33), repeated here:

(46) a) It is a synthetic verbal form.
b) It can have a futural meaning, even if it is mostly used as a past.
c) It is aspectually perfective.
d) It patterns with the Italian non-compound perfective forms.

Property a) follows from our hypothesis, as we pointed out above. Present tense verbal forms may combine with aspectual morpheme, but never have a purely temporal affix.

An example of this sort is provided for instance by the present tense in Turkish, as discussed in Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, ch.2). We briefly review the relevant paradigm here, because it has some significant similarities with the Armenian phenomena in question.

In Turkish the present tense is formed by means of the verb stem, the suffix *-iyor* and verbal inflection. Consider for instance the verb *gitmek* (to go). The verbal stem is *gid-*. The stem is followed suffix *-iyor* and verbal inflection, giving rise to the form *gid-iyor-um,* meaning *I am going.* The presence of the suffix is obligatory, i.e., the form **gid-um* is not available. One might therefore prima facie conclude that the morpheme *-iyor* is a temporal one. On the other hand, by considering the whole system, we can see that the form *gid-iyor-um* can be combined with the past morpheme *-d-*, giving rise to *gid-iyor-d-um,* which means *I was going*. Moreover, the morpheme *-iyor-* is not the only one that can appear in between the verbal stem and inflection, given that, interestingly, the aorist morpheme *-er-* can also appear, giving rise to the pair *gid-er-im*, which might be glossed *I go (habitually)*, and *gid-er-d-im,* that can be glossed as *I used to go*, i.e., an habitual past.

Summarizing, therefore, the paradigm in Turkish looks as follows (see Giorgi and Pianesi, 1997, exx.3-5):

(47) gid-iyor-um. (I am going)

(48) gid-iyor-d-um. (I was going)

(49) gid-er-im. (I go habitually)

(50) gid-er-d-im. (I used to go)

Hence, both morphemes *iyor* and *er* can be combined with a past, and therefore cannot be taken to mark a present. They express therefore aspectual meanings, progressive and habituality, respectively.[20]

Therefore, we can conclude that exactly the same situation arises in Armenian: The verbal stem is followed by an aspectual marker and inflection. There is one difference though, in MEA the "normal", continuous, present tense is available and is periphrastic. MEA in fact forms the present tense by means of the *–um* present participle of the verb, and the auxiliary *em* (be):[21]

(51) kardum ē.
      Read(PRES PART) is
      (He) reads

Hence, in Armenian we find an unmarked, periphrastic, present tense and an aspectually marked one, the so-called aorist.

A possible generalization to account for the non-periphrastic nature of the aorist could be that in MEA it is impossible to inflect a tensed verb, but there is no ban for inflecting an aspectually, or modally, marked form. Note that this might also account for the existence of the synthetic (conditional) future in MEA i.e. the finite verb prefixed by *k-*, a marker for the conditional, as in **k-gne-m** (COND FUT-buy-1SING), as discussed above –cf. for instance ex.(12). As far as *k-* is concerned, we can say that is a conditional –i.e., a modal– prefix, with a future interpretation, hence, there is no co-occurrence of tense and inflection. This ban does not exist in MWA.

Let's consider now the temporal interpretation in point (b). As proposed by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, 2001) and briefly discussed in section 4, a perfective verbal form cannot be interpreted as a presently ongoing event, due to the *punctuality constraint*. A perfective form, being closed –i.e., punctual in the relevant sense– cannot overlap the Speech event, which, being an anchor, is punctual by definition.

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[20]. By descriptive grammars, the meaning of the aorist *er i*s often defined as conveying a nuance of "general truth". See for instance Thomas and Itzkowitz (1967, p.75).

[21]. Note that the Armenian present tense, as the Italian one, can have the continuous reading. Hence, example (51) corresponds to the English sentence *he is reading,*

Therefore, a perfective present tense cannot *de facto* be interpreted as a present. The consequence of this is that its temporal interpretation must be shifted either in the past, or in the future. The aorist permits both options. Let us consider the future interpretation first.[22]

As pointed out above in section 1, the aorist can express the future outcome of a past situation, which may or may not be explicitly mentioned, even if it must be retrievable from the context. This interpretation is exactly what we expect. As discussed in the introduction, a *present perfect* usually expresses the *present* outcome of a past situation –as very well exemplified by the English language– in which the *past* component is introduced by the perfective marker.

Hence, we can say that in the future interpretation the perfective marker of the Armenian aorist has the same function, requiring the event to be the outcome of a past situation.[23]

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[22]. In Russian the shifting to the future is the natural interpretation of perfectively marked present tense, as in the following example:

(i)   Zavtra Maria **pri**gotovit užin.

        Tomorrow Maria PERF-makes dinner

        'Tomorrow Maria will make dinner'

If there is no perfective prefix, the sentence is interpreted as a continuous present. Finally, if the perfective form is combined with a past inflection, it is interpreted as a perfective past. See the following examples:

(ii)   Maria gotovit užin.

        Maria makes dinner

        'Maria is making dinner'

(iii)   Včera Maria **pri**gotovila užin.

        Yesterday Maria PERF-make-PAST dinner

        'Yesterday Maria made dinner'

Note however that this issue is much more complex than that, and has been studied at length by many scholars. The only point relevant to our discussion, however, is the shifting of the present perfective form to the future, as predicted by our hypothesis.

[23]. The reason why this is most naturally happens with first person sentences might simply be due to the fact that the knowledge of the past situation is taken to be subjective, i.e. to be limited to the speaker. This might also be an explanation for the fact that, if third person, is tends to have an exclamative/evaluative interpretation –see fn. 8 above. The evaluative component is in fact speaker-related as well.

Finally, given the co-occurrence in the Armenian system of the futurate –i.e., the present tense with a future interpretation– and the "normal" future, either with the *k*-prefix, or in the canonical periphrastic construction, we find a specialization of the various forms.[24]

Property c), i.e. perfectivity, has already been discussed in section 3 above. Finally with respect to property d), let us briefly consider the analysis proposed by Bertinetto (1991, section 1.5.2.2). He suggests that the temporal adverbs such as *da due ore* (lit: from two hours, roughly meaning *two hours ago*) –and we also added periphrases such as *sono due ore che* (lit: are two hours that, roughly meaning *two hours ago*, as well) must stress the present relevance of the past event. We can say that in Italian they measure the time lapse between the beginning of the event –the left boundary– and the right boundary, which must coincide with the present moment. In other words, *are two hours that (sono due ore che)* implies that the event lasted two hours, and that its final point coincides with *now*. The present perfect is compatible with them because it combines perfectivity, expressed by means of the participle, with the present auxiliary. The present tense on the auxiliary is interpreted as a regular, continuous, present –hence, it does not violates the anchoring conditions imposed by the punctuality constraint, as discussed by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997, ch.3). Therefore, the locution can denote the relevant time span. As proposed above, the events expressed by means of the aorist, on the contrary, *cannot* coincide with the present moment, due to the punctuality constraint, hence the temporal locution cannot be properly interpreted, giving rise to ungrammaticality.[25]

6. Conclusive remarks

In this work we have shown with several arguments coming mostly from a cross-linguistic analysis that the so-called aorist is actually a perfectively marked present tense. Due to perfectivity, the event is a closed sequence –i.e., a mereological point– and cannot be simultaneous with the Speech event. We argued, following Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), that this move would violate the punctuality constraint holding on the anchoring conditions. For this reason, the aorist cannot have a present temporal value,

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[24]. For a discussion of the futurate interpretation as a *planning* future, with respect to the normal future, see Copley (2009) and Greco (2011),

[25]. See Beninca' (1978) for a syntactic analysis of locutions such as *sono due ore che* (lit: are two hours that, roughly meaning *two hours ago*).

but must be interpreted either as a past, or as future, according to further pragmatic conditions. This analysis is also supported by some diachronic considerations, pointing to the conclusion that its temporal interpretation is just a side effect of its aspectual properties.

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Evidence for a Split DP in Latin[1]

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1. Introduction

In the last two decades, the DP-hypothesis has opened up the possibility of extending the projection of Nominal Expressions (from now on NEs) with a (number of) functional head(s) above the NP-level. There are many reasons for assuming a DP in UG, most of them reside in the analogies between NEs and clauses. (For a detailed overview, cf. Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou 2007). Parallel to clauses, NEs have subjects. For this reasons, the DP is often considered parallel to IP. Adverbs and Adjectives both modify the lexical head and are not selected by it. For this reason, they are conceived by competing theories either as adjoined to NP, or as filling the specifiers of dedicated functional heads. Both clauses and NEs can be arguments of an external head. For this reason, the DP is often considered parallel to CP. In the spirit of these and many more parallels, a number of functional nominal projections have been proposed in a tension between a cartographic approach which tends to assume functional heads in UG on the evidence of individual languages, and the minimalist approach which tends to minimize merging of features and proliferation of structure.

In some literature (from Longobardi 1994 onwards), the DP layer is taken to be the syntactic counterpart of argumenthood and to convey definiteness and referentiality. In this respect, the existence of articleless languages, like Latin and most Slavic languages, poses the problem of whether the same relation between syntax and semantics can be

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maintained assuming a null article or whether a parameterized theory of functional structure and its semantic correlate could be more explanatory.

Chierchia (1998) on the semantic side and Bošković (2005, 2008, 2009, 2010) on the syntactic side propose a DP/NP parameter according to which argument/referring NEs are NPs in articleless languages and DPs in article languages. Bošković's proposal is of particular interest for the numerous apparently unrelated facts it claims to derive from the presence or absence of the DP projection in a given language.

This paper has the twofold goal of providing a descriptive account of the syntax of Latin nominal modifiers (demonstratives and adjectives) based on quantitative and qualitative data, and to establish, in the frame of the DP/NP parameter, if Latin can be considered a DP-language. We will come to the conclusion that despite appearances, there is strong evidence internal to the DP/NP parameter theory to assume a highly developed functional nominal structure in Latin including a DP and a further left-peripheral projection for discourse-driven movement, in the spirit of Giusti (1996, 2006) applied to Latin by Giusti and Oniga (2007).

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 briefly presents the NP/DP parameter and shows that only some of the predictions are met in Latin. Section 3 focuses on the distribution of Latin demonstratives and claims that they are the highest modifiers in the unmarked case (differently from Spanish, cf. Brugè 2002), but can be crossed by DP-internal movements (parallel to what happens in Romanian). Section 4 deals with adjectives and shows that Cinque's (2010) distinction between direct and indirect modification can elegantly capture all orders apart from some statistically quite rare cases, which can be reasonably derived assuming discourse-driven movement to the left periphery of the NE. Section 5 spells out the properties of this projection on the basis of previous work by Giusti and Oniga (2007), and draws some conclusions in diachronic perspective.

We will exclusively rely on attested data. We base our observations on a corpus of data collected by Iovino (in progress) from a selection of authors active from the end of the 3rd century BC to the beginning of the 4th century AD. We consider simple nominal expressions (SNEs) and complex nominal expressions (CNEs) separately. The former consist of just N and a modifier (e.g., *ille vir*; *omnis homo*). The latter include at least two elements modifying the same N (e.g., *haec magna diligentia*; *omne id medium tempus*; *etc.*). As for CNEs, which are less frequent in Latin, we extend our comparative survey to a larger corpus extracted from the *B(ibliotheca) T(eubneriana) L(atina)*, constituted by 262 CNEs including a DEM and 109 CNEs including at least two adjectives and a noun.

2. Latin and the NP/DP parameter

Bošković (2005, 2008) observes that left-branch extraction is possible in articleless languages like Serbo-Croatian (1a) and impossible in article languages like Bulgarian (1b). This is also true in Latin vs. Romanian (2):

(1) a. nova$_i$/ta$_i$ je prodao [t$_i$ kola]
        new/that   is [he] sold   car
     b. *novata$_i$/tazi$_i$ prodade Petko [t$_i$ kola]
        new.the/this   sold   Petko   car

(2) a. maximam   habet opinionem   virtutis
        greatest.ACC.SG   has   opinion.ACC.SG.   virtue.GEN.SG.
        "He has the greatest consideration of the Virtue" (Caes. *Gall*. 7,83)
     b. *maxima/ă   are opinie (a) virtutii
        greatest-the   has opinion   virtue-the.gen
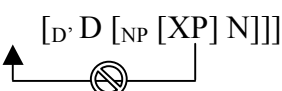
The same occurs with wh-modifiers. Example (3) contrasts Latin with Italian:

(3) a. quales$_i$ legimus   [t$_i$ panegyricos]?
        what.ACC.PL.   read.pres/1PL. panegyric.ACC.PL
        "What kind of panegyrics do we read?" (Quint. *Inst*. 2,10,11)
     b. *quali   leggiamo   panegirici?   (Italian)

Bošković (2008) derives the blocking effect of DP with three assumptions:

(4) a. DP is a phase, while NP is not.
     b. For an element to be extracted out of a phase, it needs to move through the left edge. (Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC))
     c. Movement out of SpecDP is excluded by anti-locality.

In DP-languages, PIC forces movement out of DP to take the intermediate step in SpecDP, which is however banned (5a) by anti-locality. This is not the case in NP-languages (5b):

(5)   a.   … [_{DP}   [_{D'} D [_{NP} [XP] N]]]

      b.   …[_{NP} [XP] N]

This proposal makes a number of predictions. For reasons of space we only review those that are relatively easy to check in a corpus language such as Latin.[2] First of all, lack of DP should bring with it lack of the morphological category D, with the consequence that determiners be morphologically and syntactically adjectival in nature. This is apparently the case in Latin, where most quantifiers, wh-modifiers, demonstratives, possessives display a paradigm that is very similar or identical to adjectives. For this reason, a demonstrative and a possessive can co-occur, as in (6), and can be predicates, as the possessive in (7). Notice, however, that this is also the case of Italian, a DP-language:

(6)   a.   illam   meam   cladem
           that.ACC.SG.   my.ACC.SG   misfortune.ACC.SG.
           "that my misfortune" (Cic. *Sext*. 31)
      b.   quella mia sventura   (Italian)

(7)   a.   suam   esse   hereditatem   defendit
           his.ACC.SG.   to-be   the inheritance.ACC.SG. claim.3SG.PRES.
           "[he] claims that the inheritance belongs to him" (Cic. *Inv*. 2,23)
      b.   sostiene che l'eredità è sua

A second property that could set Latin among NP-languages is freedom of NE-internal word order. For Bošković, this is due to adjunction of APs to NP. In Section 4, we will observe that different orders can also be captured by a constraint theory of functional structure.[3]

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[2]. For example, since adnominal PPs are quite rare in Latin (cf. Wharton 2009), extraction of nominal adjuncts would be very difficult to find even if it was possible.

[3]. In his response to Pereltsvaig (2007), Bošković (2009) observes that his proposal does not imply that the NE has no functional projections. The issue of adjunction of adjectives is therefore not clearly related to the DP/NP parameter. We have no space to discuss the theoretical issue of the difference between D and other functional heads in a minimalist framework that tends to eliminate labels from its primitives.

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Bošković (2010), revising his proposal on the phase status of NP, claims that NP is a phase and this is why NP-languages do not allow for extraction of a complement of N. This is the case of Serbo-Croatian (cf. Zlatić 1997), but not of Latin, which allows extraction of a genitive like Italian:

(8) a. *Ovog studenta sam pronašla [knjigu t] (Serbo-Croatian Zlatić 1997)
        this student.GEN. am found book

    b. summi   oratoris   habuit laudem
        great.GEN.SG. orator.GEN.SG. had   reputation.ACC.SG.
        "He had the reputation of the great orator" (Cic. *Brut*. 110)

    c. Di questo studente ho corretto il compito   (Italian)
        of this student [I] have checked the assignment

A third property that casts doubts on the NP-nature of Latin is the possibility of two argument genitives.[4] According to Willim (2000), a second structural case could only be assigned in the upper DP-layer. The assumption of the lack of DP in this language would accont for the impossibility of two genitives, as in (9a), while (9b) would be well-formed because the subject is expressed by the instrumental case:

(9) a. *zničení   Říma   barbarů
        destruction Rome.GEN.   barbarians.GEN.

    b. zničení   Říma   barbary
        destruction Rome.GEN.   barbarians.INSTR.

But Giusti and Oniga (2007) show that Latin transitive nouns can have two genitives. Furthermore they argue that subject genitives are in prenominal position and object genitives are in postnominal position, in their term Latin is therefore a SNO language:

(10) a. *omnium*   expectatio   *visendi*   *Alcibiadis*
        everybody.GEN.PL. expectatio.NOM.SG. to see.GER.GEN. Alcibiadis.GEN.SG.
        "everybody's expectation to see Alcibiadis" (Nep. 7, 6,1)

    b. veteribus *Helvetiorum*   iniuriis   *populi*   *Romani*
        old.ABL.PL. Helvetii.GEN.PL. injuries.ABL.PL. people.GEN.SG. Roman.GEN.SG.
        "the old offences by the Helvetii to the Roman people" (Caes. *Gall*. 1,30,2)

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[4]. Contrary to what is claimed by Bošković (2008) who however gives no attested data for this claim.

Devine and Stephens (2006) and Gianollo (2007) who work on single-genitive occurrences, further show that subject genitives tend to precede the noun even in the absence of an object genitive, while object genitives usually follow it. This shows that the upper genitive position is always available, regardless of how many arguments are projected.

A fourth property that sets Latin among DP-languages is the possibility for a pronominal possessor to co-refer with a lower antecedent. The contrast in (11) is derived assuming that DP in English (11b), but not in Serbo-Croatian (11a), shields the possessive (in, say, PossP) from c-commanding its antecedent. As is clear from (11c), Latin is like English:

(11) a. *njegovi najnoviji   film   je zaista razočarao   Kusturicui
          his   latest   movie is really disappointed Kusturica

      b. his latest movie really disappointed Kusturica

      c. omnes   qui   sunt eius$_i$ ordinis,
          all. NOM.PL. who NOM.PL. are   his.GEN.SG. orders.DAT.PL.
          a Pompeio$_i$ evocantur
          by Pompeius$_i$. ABL.SG. called.PASS.
          "all of those who are at his orders were called by Pompeius" (Caes. *Civ*. 1,3,1)

Finally, despite the free order of adjectives (12), Serbo-Croatian displays a fixed upper position for the demonstrative (13):

(12) a. Jovanova bivša kuća/bivša Jovanova kuća
          "Jovan's former house"

      b. Jovanova skupa slika /skupa Jovanova slika
          "John's expensive picture"

      c. Marijina omiljena kola/omiljena Marijina kola
          "Mary's favorite car"

(13) a. ova skupa kola/?*skupa ova kola
          "This expensive car"

      b. ova Jovanova slika/?*Jovanova ova slika
          "This Jovan's picture"

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Bošković (2009) affirms that the semantics of the demonstrative ensures that no modifier is further adjoined after reference to an individual has been picked.

This is not the case in Latin. In the following section we focus on the syntax of Latin demonstratives and show that in 20% of the cases they are not the topmost modifier of the NE, apparently contradicting Bošković's semantic argument.

3. The syntax of Latin Demonstratives

In this section, we base our discussion on a previous study by Iovino (2011) who claims that demonstratives (DEMs) are high in the nominal structure but can be crossed by a dislocated constituent.

Simple Nominal Expressions (SNEs), consisting of just a DEM and an N, clearly show an overwhelming prenominal position of DEM. Tables 1 and 2 present this in a diachronic perspective. The marked postnominal position of DEM in the archaic and classical-imperial period (3rd BC-2nd AD) increases in the late imperial period (3rd-4th AD) but never reaches a number that could justify the assumption of a change in the structure of the language.

Table 1 (3rd BC-2nd AD)

Hic, haec, hoc 131 (47%)		*Ille, illa, illud* 125 (46%)		*Iste, ista, istud* 21 (7%)	
Hic > N (94%) 123	N > *hic* 8 (6%)	*Ille* > N 101 (81%)	N > *ille* 24 (19%)	*Iste* > N 16 (76%)	N > *iste* 5 (24%)
DEM > N 240 (86,6%)			N > DEM 37 (13,4%)		

Table 2 (3rd – 4th AD)

Hic, haec, hoc 137 (48%)		*Ille, illa, illud* 87 (31%)		*Iste, ista, istud* 59 (21%)	
Hic > N 118 (87%)	N > *hic* 19 (13%)	*Ille* > N 48 (55%)	N > *ille* 39 (45%)	*Iste* > N 39 (66%)	N > *Iste* 20 (34%)
DEM > N 205 (72,4%)			N > DEM 78 (28,6%)		

CNEs are more telling with respect to the relative position of different elements. In our corpus of 262 CNEs consisting of three elements, DEM can appear in first or second position, never third or last. It can precede (14), or be preceded (15) by any nominal modifier, e.g. possessive, numeral, or descriptive adjectives of any class (in the

sense of Cinque 1994, 2010, also cf section 4 below). It can precede a N followed by a modifier (16), but it is almost never preceded by N and followed by a modifier (17):[5]

(14) a. *hunc*   *suum*   dolorem   DEM>POSS>N
          this.ACC.SG.   his.ACC.SG.   pain.ACC.SG.
          "this pain of his" (Cic. *Sext*. 32)

      b. *huic*   *uni*   crimini   DEM>NUM>N
          this.DAT.SG.   one.DAT.SG.   crime.DAT.SG.
          "for this unique crime" (Cic. *Cluent*. 48)

      c. *his*   *novis*[age]   civibus   DEM> ADJ>N
          this.DAT.PL.   new.DAT.PL.   citizen.DAT.PL.
          "to those new citizens" (Liv. 6,4,4)

      d. *illum*   *dentatum*[physical property]   virum
          that.ACC.SG.   toothed.ACC.SG.   man.ACC.SG.
          "that toothed man" (Plaut. *Pseud*. 1040)

(15) a. ex *vetere*[age]   *illa*   disciplina   ADJ>DEM>N
          from old.ABL.SG. that.ABL.SG.   discipline.ABL.SG.
          "from that old discipline" (Cic. *Cluent*. 76)

      b. *noster*   *hic*   populus   POSS>DEM>N
          our.NOM.SG.   this.NOM.SG.   people.NOM.SG.
          "this people of ours" (Cic. *rep*. 3,24)

      c. *una*   *haec*   pugna   NUM>DEM>N
          one.NOM.SG.   this.NOM.SG.   battle.NOM.SG.
          "this only battle" (Liv. 8,30,7)

(16) a. *hanc*   *virginem*   adultam[age]   DEM>N>ADJ
          this.ACC.SG.   girl.ACC.SG.   adult.ACC.SG.
          "this adult girl" (Liv. 3,44,4)

      b. *haec*   *urbs*   praeclara[evaluation]
          this.NOM.SG.   city.NOM.SG.   famous.NOM.SG.
          "this famous city" (Cic. *Mil*. 93)

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[5]. For reason of space, we do not give complete data with *ille* or *iste* which are however attested in our *corpus* and fully contribute to our quantitative analysis.

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    c. *hic*   *pagus*   unus   DEM>N>NUM

       this.NOM.SG. village.NOM.SG. one.NOM.SG.

       "this unique village" (Caes. *Gall.* 1,12,5)

    d. *huius*   *iudicis*   nostri   DEM>N>POSS

       this.GEN.SG. judge.NOM.SG. our.GEN.SG.

       "this judge of ours" (Cic. *Mil.* 16)

(17) a. *Cato*   *ille*   noster   N> *ILLE* > POSS

       Caton.NOM.SG. that.NOM.SG. our.NOM.SG.

       "Caton, the one of ours" (Cic. *Att.* 2,5,1)

    b. *bello*   *illo*   maximo[dimension]   N> *ILLE* > ADJ

       war.ABL.SG. that.ABL.SG. very big.ABL.SG.

       "that very big war" (Cic. *rep.* 1,25)

Only *ille* appears in second position preceded by N (proper name or common noun) and followed by a possessive or an adjective. Iovino (2011) shows that the construction in (17) can only contain a predicative adjective, and refer to a topical referent. She suggests that N-*ille*-Adj is the same construction as the Romanian N-*cel*-Adj construction (Cornilescu 1992, Coene 1999). *Ille* introduces an appositive DP with a null N, which is inserted in the specifier of a functional projection selected by the DP containing the noun. In this structure, DEM is the leftmost specifier of the appositive DP. For reasons of space we cannot discuss this construction any further here. But it is interesting to observe that in this construction N is not moved to the left periphery of its own DP, but it is only moved across an appositive DP, much in the same fashion as it can move across an appositive AP. In our analysis the left periphery is only occupied by maximal projections that are modifiers of the noun and not be the noun itself.[6]

Table 3 reports the frequency of the orders found in (14)-(17) above, to be quantitatively compared with Tables 1-2 above:

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[6]. We do not enter the discussion of whether N-movement is X° or XP movement, it seems that only a complete extended projection can A-bar move to the left-periphery of the DP and not a subpart of the extended projection.

Evidence for a Split DP in Latin

Table 3 Dem position in CNEs

Dem in first position			Dem in second position			
Dem Poss N	16	6.0%	Poss Dem N	8	3%	
Dem Num N	30	12.0%	Num Dem N	6	2%	
Dem A N	97	37.5%	A Dem N	35	13.5%	
Dem Modifier N	143	55.5%	Modifier Dem N	49	18.5%	192; 74%
Dem N A	40	15.0%				
Dem N Num	3	1.0%				
Dem N Poss	12	4.0%				
Dem N Modifier	55	20.0%				55; 20%
			N *ille* Modifier	15	6%	15; 6%
Total	198	75.5%	Total	64	24.5%	262; 100%

DEM is in initial position at basically the same rate in CNE (75.5%) as in SNE (which present an average of 80%); but we cannot omit to notice that this piece of data is the result of very different combinations. The postnominal position of DEM in SNEs is solidly attested in the 20% of the cases and reaches a peak of 45% for *ille* in the late imperial period, while DEM is almost never postnominal in CNEs (only 6%). The 18.5% of DEM in second position in CNE is due to a preceding adjective, an order which is not allowed in Serbo-Croatian (13). Notably, the third position that could be expected by, say, a right-branching adjunction of DEM is not found in our corpus. This may mean that it is not ungrammatical *tout court*, but that it is rare and cannot represent a basic order.

Neither the cartographic approach, nor the NP/DP-parameter or the semantic approach adopted with it can provide a good reason why DEM can follow N only if N has no modifier. This can be explained comparing Latin with other Romance languages. In (18) the postnominal position of DEM is found in Spanish and Romanian, but not in Italian, which shares the prenominal position with Spanish and Romanian:

(18) a. el (ultimo) cuadro redondo *este* suyo (Spanish)
       the last   picture round   this her/his

   b. tabloul   *acesta* rotund al   său (Romanian)
      picture-the this   round   AL   her/his

   c. *questo* (ultimo) quadro tondo suo (Italian)
      este (ultimo) cuadro redondo suyo (Spanish)
      acest (ultim) tablou rotund al   său (Romanian)
       this last   picture round   AL   her/his

The NEs in (18) include a prenominal AP ("last"), a postnominal AP ("round") and a postnominal possessive in order to test the relative position of DEM with respect to other modifiers. What is of interest for our discussion is that DEM is first in all Romance languages, but can also be second in Romanian and low (crucially after the lowest adjective and before the possessive) in Spanish.

According to Brugè (1996, 2002) and Giusti (1997, 2002), demonstratives are maximal projections, first-merged in a low portion of nominal structure and moved to SpecDP where the referential index can be valued. Parametric variation regards the realization of DEM. Spanish can realize the low copy in the first merge position (19a). The second position of Romanian *acesta* is analysed by Giusti (2005), as (re)merging of DEM to SpecDP and movement of N° to TOP° (19b). In both cases the highest functional projection is made visible by the definite article, a last resort, semantically void element. (19c) shows that a DEM in the leftmost specifier is in complementary distribution with an article. This is also the case in Spanish, Romanian and English (18c) above:

(19) a. [$_{DP}$ ~~este~~ el [ultimo cuadro [redondo ~~cuadro~~ [*este* ~~cuadro~~ [$_{NP}$ suyo ~~cuadro~~]]]]]

   b. [$_{TopP}$ tabloul [$_{DP}$ *acesta* [$_{D°}$ ~~tabloul~~] [rotund ~~tabloul~~ [*acesta* ~~tabloul~~ [$_{NP}$ al său ~~tabloul~~]]]]]

   c. [$_{DP}$ *questo* D° [ultimo quadro [tondo ~~quadro~~ [*questo* ~~quadro~~ [suo ~~quadro~~]]]]]

In (19) we see that Romanian is parallel to Italian in having DEM in a high position, but contrary to Italian this high position may not be the highest of the NE. Here we claim that this is the case of Latin as well. DEM is realized in SpecDP but a further "left edge" of the NE can be projected to host displaced consituents or to function as an escape hatch, as argued for by Giusti and Oniga (2007). Before spelling out the details of this proposal in section 5, we investigate in the section 4, whether there is evidence for this position independently from the distribution of DEMs, focusing on adjectival modifiers.

4. Direct and indirect modification in Latin

As noted by De Sutter (1986) and Devine and Stephens (2006) among many, in Latin the adjective closest to the noun more closely restricts the denotation, while an external adjective takes scope above the whole constituent. This "functional/semantic" consideration, which corresponds to Bošković (2009) semantic explanation of adjectival

order, can derive the unmarked orders and some pragmatically marked orders, but cannot derive those in which an adjective precedes a demonstrative. In this section we adopt a syntactic approach.

Following current minimalist proposals, we assume that a NE is formed by merging the head N with a modifying constituent, then the merger may continue with a second modifier, and so on. Following Cinque (2010), we distinguish direct and indirect modification. Direct modification adjectives are inserted in a low layer while indirect modification adjectives are higher and correspond to reduced relative clauses. In our corpus of Latin CNEs consisting of 109 NEs containing N and at least two APs, these two positions may occur in their first-merge order, as depicted in (20a). In (20b) a direct modification AP follows N and this constituent is restricted by a preceding indirect modification AP. In (20c) N precedes both APs in their first-merge order:[7]

(20) a. [parvulis   [equestribus   [proeliis]]]
     [AP$_{ind}$ [AP$_{dir}$ [NP]]]
     little.ABL.PL. equestrian.ABL.PL. battle.ABL.PL.
     "little equestrian battles" (Caes. *Gall.* 5,50,1)

   b. [veteres   [cives   [Romanos [~~cives~~]]]
     [AP$_{ind}$ [NP   [AP$_{dir}$ [~~NP~~]]]]
     old.ACC.PL. citizen.ACC.PL. Roman.ACC.PL.
     "old Roman citizens" (Liv. 8,11,14)

   c. [libro   [vetere ~~libro~~ [linteo [~~libro~~]]]]
     [NP   [AP$_{ind}$ ~~NP~~ [AP$_{dir}$ [~~NP~~]]]]
     book.ABL.SG. old.ABL.SG. linen.ABL.SG.
     "old linen book" (Liv. 10,38,6)
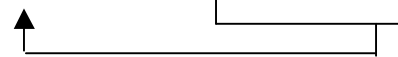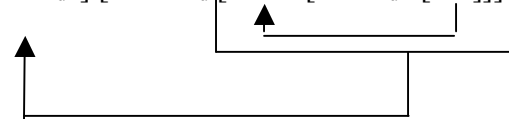
The position of the noun in (20) is easily derived by Cinque's (2010) proposal that NP can move (in one or two steps), optionally pied-piping a larger remnant, so that we find a structure like (21a) with no movement yielding (20a); in (21b) remerger of NP yields (20b), two applications of remerge yields (20c):

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[7]. For reasons of internal coherence in the account, we follow the antisymmetric perspective (Kayne 1994) according to which specifiers can only be left branching. For this reason (20b) is derived with one application of NP movement in (21b). However, nothing of what is discussed here hinges on this assumption. Our proposal is compatible with right-branching specifiers (cf. Bouchard 2000), which is more "minimal" in dispensing with the first NP-movement.

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(21) a.   [FP AP$_{ind}$ [FP AP$_{dir}$ [NP]]]

  b. [NP [FP AP$_{ind}$ [FP ~~NP~~ [FP AP$_{dir}$ [~~NP~~]]]]]

The indirect modification AP can follow the constituent formed by the NP preceded or followed by a direct modification AP, as exemplified in (22) and analyzed in (23):

(22) a. [[de patriis   fortunis]   amplissimis] [[AP$_{dir}$ NP] AP$_{ind}$]
     familiar.ABL.PL. richness.ABL.PL. very big.ABL.PL.
     "about the very big familiar richness" (Cic. *Cluent*. 31)

  b. [[ova   anserina]   pilleata]   [[NP AP$_{dir}$] AP$_{ind}$]
     egg.ACC.PL.   of goose.ACC.PL. with pilleum.ACC.PL.
     "goose eggs with *pilleum*" (Petr. *Sat*. 65,2)

(23) a. [FP [AP$_{dir}$ NP] [FP AP$_{ind}$ [FP AP$_{dir}$ [NP]]]]

  b. [FP [NP AP$_{dir}$] [FP AP$_{ind}$ [FP NP [FP AP$_{dir}$ [~~NP~~]]]]]

The optional remnant movement *à la* Cinque, however, cannot account for (24), where the referential AP (unambiguously of direct modification) appears to the left of *longa* (either of indirect modification or higher in the hierarchy of direct modification):

(24) Plautina   longa   fabula
     of Plautus.NOM.SG. long.NOM.SG. comedy.NOM.SG.
     "Plautus' long comedy" (Plaut. *Pseud*. 2)

A close inspection of the context[8] confirms the interpretation of *Plautina* in (24) as referential "by Plautus" contra a possible, but in this case inappropriate, descriptive

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8. The Prologue of the comedy by Plautus starts with the exact words: *Exporgi meliust lumbos atque exsurgier: Plautina longa fabula in scaenam uenit.* "It is better to stretch the kidneys and get up: a Plautus' long comedy is performed" (Plaut. *Pseud*. 1-2).

reading "*à la* Plautus, in Plautus' fashion". The unexpected order can be explained assuming that the identity of the author is shared knowledge and the displacement of the adjective is due to contrastive topicality[9]. The two further examples of displaced adjectives present in the corpus are given in (25):

(25) a. ***Alexandrina***   beluata   tonsilia   tappetia

　　　 of Alexandria.NOM.PL. decorated.NOM.PL. trimmed.NOM.PL. carpet.NOM.PL.

　　　 "decorated shaved carpets of Alexandria" (Plaut. *Pseud*. 143)

　 b. ***Homerico***   annuo   partu[10]

　　　 in Homerus.ABL.SG. in one year.ABL.SG. childbirth.ABL.SG.

　　　 "about the childbirth in one year in Homerus" (Gell. 3,16,22)

The proposal to be spelled out in next section is that also for these cases a left-peripheral position is needed to account for this undoubtedly statistically and pragmatically marked order.

5. A Split DP-layer for Latin

That quantitatively marked orders in Latin have pragmatically marked interpretation is common knowledge since the seminal work by Marouzeau (1922). Recently, Devine and Stephens (2006) derived this through displacement of (sub)constituents to Foc/Top projections. Giusti and Oniga (2007) argue that Latin NEs display the unmarked order

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[9]. The possibility for a topic to occur in the second line of a comedy, in the absence of a textual antecedent, is due to the strict connection between the drama and the context in which it is played. In this sense, the so-called "shared knowledge" is to be researched in the situational context and not (only) in the text.

[10]. *Faciam ut valide [vestra latera] varia sint, ut ne peristromata quidem aeque picta sint Campanica, neque Alexandrina belvata tonsilia tappetia.* (Plaut. *Pseud*. 145-147) "I will make your hips in such a state that they will be so variegated that even the blankets of Campania or the decorated trimmed carpets of Alexandria will have such a variety of colors". *Sed quoniam de Homerico annuo partu ac de undecimo mense diximus quae cognoveramus, visum est non praetereundum, quod in Plinii Secundi libro septimo naturalis historiae legimus.* (Gell. 3,16,22) "Since I quoted the passage of Homer about the childbirth in one year and at the eleventh month, I think I must not omit a curious fact that I have read in Pliny, in the seventh book of his Natural History".

found in many other languages and that a peripheral projection derives marked orders, as in (26):

(26)   [Foc/Top   [Dim   [Poss   [Num   [A   [N]]]]]]

      a. meus   hic   ~~meus~~   forensis   labor

         my.NOM.SG.   this.NOM.SG.   forensic.NOM.SG. work.NOM.SG.

         "This forensic work of mine" (Cic. *Cael.* 6)

      b. tres   eos   ~~tres~~   libros

         three.ACC.PL.   this.ACC.PL.   book.ACC.PL.

         "those three books" (Cic. *Att.* 13,32,2)

      c. militaris   illa   ~~militaris~~   virtus

         militar.NOM.SG.   that.NOM.SG.   virtue.NOM.SG.

         "that military virtue" (Cic. *leg. Manil.* 64)

      d. vetus   nostra   ~~vetus~~   simultas

         old.NOM.SG .   our.NOM.SG.   hostility.NOM.SG.

         "Old hostility of ours" (Cic. *fam.* 3,12,4)

According to Giusti and Oniga (2007), the proposal of a left periphery inside the NE, can also account for split genitives (27a) and split AP-coordination (27b), and more generally all discontinuous orders also discussed by Bolkenstein (2001):

(27)   a. [$_{NE}$ reliquorum [nutriculas [~~reliquorum~~ praediorum]]] (Cic. *Phil.* 11,12)

      b. [$_{NE}$ magna [aliqua [~~magna~~ ac nobilis] virtus]]] (Tac. *Agric.* 1)

Our proposal can capture the first three of the four properties discussed in the previous sections:

1. When present, DEM is the highest modifier in the unmarked case but not in all cases, contrary to what a bare NP structure constrained by the semantic approach would predict.
2. When DEM is in second position, we can find any class of modifier preceding it. This is captured by the assumption that the left periphery hosts discourse features and is a sort of A-bar position.
3. Only one element at a time can precede DEM. This supports the proposal that we are dealing with a syntactic and not phonological rearrangement of the elements.
4. N precedes DEM only if no other modifier is present.

The fourth property can be briefly explained as follows. Movement to the left of DEM is constituent movement. NP movement to its own left periphery is blocked by the presence of an intervening AP due to the necessity that such AP come into a proper configuration with the concordant N(P). This solution admittedly needs further elaboration which cannot be carried out in the space allowed to our contribution.

6. Conclusion

In this paper we argued in favor of the existence of a DP in Latin. In section 2 we showed that most of Bošković's (2005) generalizations suggest that Latin is a DP-language. Lack of articles, full adjectival-like inflection of demonstratives and determiners and their morpho-syntactic behavior are not sufficient conditions for the NP-parameter, since they are all present in Italian as well. The NE-internal free word order and the discountinous orders of NEs are derived by the well-grounded assumption of a left peripheral phrase above DP. There is no evidence to assume that Latin has a single phase NP structure.

In the diachronic perspective, our hypothesis can explain why all Romance languages developed an article: having a DP projection, they had better chances to develop a filler for the head D (a last resort process) than Slavic languages had (if we assume that proto-slavic was not DP-language). It is left for future research to investigate how the left peripheral phrase has evolved into a projection lower than DP (Giusti 1996, 2006), which does not allow extraction.

A final remark regards the nature of labels of functional structure as D, Agr, *etc*. in the current minimalist framework. If they are just phantoms and are not primitives, it may well be the case that the DP/NP parameter can dissolve into a theory of how functional features are bundled (and overtly realized) in different languages.

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