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The nature of Genitive Case

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Abstract

The research topic of this thesis is an investigation of some aspects of the nominal phrase (DP) in Romance.
In particular, this work is concerned with issues related to the architecture of the DPs, such as:

- Genitive Case distribution within the nominal phrase;

- the process of genitive Case checking;

- the prepositionless genitive configuration in Romance varieties.

My research into DP nominal Phrases has a twofold purpose: on the one hand, it aims to add some evidence to the diachronic change in the Late Latin Case system up to the early Romance one, by showing that the alleged strict complementarity between the (synthetic) inflectional genitive and the (analytic) prepositional one can be challenged by the persistence of a prepositionless type. This is made viable through the evidence in the early stages of some standard Romance languages and modern non-standard varieties. The impact of this diachronic perspective is rather interesting, also in terms of syntactic parameter resetting in the development process from Latin to Romance.
On the other hand, the aforementioned facts regarding the prepositionless configuration shed light on a purely syntactic issue, specifically the structural origin position of N: the sequence patterns of D, N, A, and Gen, provided in this investigation by newly collected data, confirm salient hypotheses about the original position of N and its paths of movement over other categories within the noun phrase.

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Contents

Introduction

This work is an attempt to give a formal account of some aspects of the structure of the Romance Nominal Phrase (DP), with particular attention to Italo-Romance varieties.
The study of DP structures provides an opportunity to investigate one of its most intriguing aspects: forms, manifestations, and distributions of genitive phrases. The array of issues related to the phenomenon of Genitive Case in Romance is quite varied and dynamic, and involves many aspects, such as the diachronic trajectory of change from Latin to Romance varieties, the cross-linguistic typology of genitival codifications, the general properties of genitive constructions interplaying with the reality of thematic roles, and crucially the syntactic operations that occur to transform a base structure into a surface linear order.
The main topic of investigation is represented by a prepositionless genitival configuration displayed by specific old and modern Romance varieties: namely, in Romance domain the common genitival construction, with the exception of possessives, is the prepositional *de / di* - phrase; however, an array of instances of a 'markless' postnominal genitive type is variously displayed and constitutes a quite intriguing idiosyncrasy for the alleged complemetarity of synthetic and analytic genitive in the change from Latin into Romance. The cross-linguistic comparison provides a formulation of a diachronic coherent parameter resetting.
All these aspects are detected all together with a review of the evolution history of the studies and the theories about the phenomenon of Case (Chapter 1), starting from the work of classification of Cases in the ancient grammars, until the findings of the Minimalist approach in the last decades of studies in Linguistics.
An exposition of the more persuasive theories on the DP structure and on the cross-linguistic manifestations of Genitive will be covered in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 3 the investigation focuses on the distribution of genitive phrases and adjectival modifiers across a number of texts and data elicited

through field work of interviews: instances from Portuguese, Castilian, Asturian, Old French, Old Italian, and modern Italian dialects are discussed critically .

In Chapter 4, dialectal data of Calabro-Lucanian area will be microscopically analyzed on a phono-syntactical level and constantly validated by grammaticality judgments and semantic interpretations by native speakers.

Chapter 1

Case

The phenomenon of Case has been detected since the first grammars of Ancient Greek (2nd c. BC). Within the tradition of Classical studies, in grammatical treatises Cases are listed and named, and conceived as inflections of the Nominative. In the 20th century, research on Case accounts is done almost quite exclusively for investigations on the semantic variation of relationships held between nouns and other items of sentences. In particular, the phenomenon is mostly considered parallel to semantic functions of inflectional affixes on nouns or to the formal dependency connections linking specific nominal morphemes and lexical-grammatical properties of neighboring elements. Only more recently, Case is investigated as a statement of the morpho-phonological reflexes of underlying syntactic properties preliminarily assumed as independent of the notion of Case itself. Finally, in generative syntax, a Case Theory is developed about the syntactic distribution of Nominal Phrases, not about morphological form itself.

1.1 Investigations on Case

In most previous works on Case, a common question is asked whether scholars are justified in using the term *case* for any kind of syntactic-semantic relations that were at issue. Among many scholars (Jespersen 1924, a.o.)

there is a common idea that the term should be used only with Case morphemes robustly and distinctly displayed in the inflection system of nouns: without a phonetically evident mark, there would be no need of referring to the very existence of the phenomenon. These along with some other insights within the 'pre-modern' grammar theories keep standing up even in the later developments. For example, the consideration of nominative over the role of subject, the connection of genitive types with thematic roles and the conception of Case as an abstract entity essentially held even in languages without morphological exponent.

In parallel, some assumptions only motivated by the adherence to the classifications of the normative ancient grammars are gradually revised, like e.g. the exclusion of nominative from the array of Cases. Namely, the etymological sense of the Greek term for 'case' arguably (*ptōsis*, 'deviation', 'falling') [1] predisposed grammarians to limit the use of the term and the matter of study only to the non-nominative cases [2]. Only Sweet (1875) exposes a systematic idea of nominative, characterizing it as the Case properly used to denominate. In his analysis, nominative and subject are deeply and univocally correspondent; his hypothesis is that a sentence is a kind of predication on a given noun (signed as nominative, if marked at all), and every noun-like element in sentence, other than the subject, is a kind of derived adverb, i.e. a single part of the predication.

Since the first decades of the 20th century, the questions on Case have become more complex and tentatively involve diverse levels of analysis. The

[1] Initially, the Greeks referred this term to every inflected or derived form of a root; from the Stoic grammarians onward the term is restricted to Case forms (Blake 2009). In the *Technē grammatikē* the very first mention of *ptōseis* in linguistic studies in Western history is found; in the section concerning nouns, the author, presumably but not undoubtedly identified as Dionysius Thrax (cf. Di Benedetto 1990, Pagani 2010), lists the 'fallings of noun':

> *ptōseis onomatōn eisi pente: orthē, genikē, dotikē, aitiatikē, klētikē*
> (ed. by Uhlig, 1883).

[2] Cf. Fillmore (1968:6): "Apart from the fact that such studies do not start out from the point of view of the centrality of syntax, the major defects of these studies were *(a)* that the nominative was largely ignored and *(b)* that classificatory criteria which ought to have been kept distinct were often confused".

morphologically grounded existence of Cases is more explicitly referred to as systematic syntactic relations and basic semantic properties. The use of labels as *synthetic* and *analytic*, for instance, bears witness to an actual change in the linguistic thought. Now, the questions to answer are not only about some exhaustive classification of an array of Cases in a language, but also and mainly about which semantic-syntactic properties of (the parts of) the sentence require and allow a categorization under the phenomenon of Case. Hence, the investigations address the problem of the nature of the sentence atoms involved: nominals, verbs, and prepositions.

In this general tendency, Jespersen (1924) claims that the only entities properly involving the Case phenomenon are the nouns displaying evident inflectional endings; otherwise it is improper to speak of analytic Cases in opposition to the synthetic ones, even when there is no mere *locative* meaning in the preposition phrases. Indeed, in his view, Cases represent one thing and preposition-plus-noun/object constructions are another.

Within the structuralist framework of the 20th century, Hjelmslev (1935) and Jakobson (1936) propose the notion of Case as having a single, abstract nature. They attempt to unify the meanings of each Case and to describe them as a set of distinctive oppositions, in order to define their functioning on the light of a microscopic paradigmatic contrast.

In particular, Hjelmslev's analysis of Case phenomena adhere to two types of localistic criteria:

- oppositions of Cases within the whole Case system;
- degree of *intimacy*.

Jakobson distinguishes between the invariant intentional (typical, unmarked) meaning of a Case itself and its syntactically and/or lexically conditioned variations, which represent the extension of the Case. Echoing Hjelmslev, he conceives a Case as necessarily relational in a system of oppositions. Jakobson presents the Case system in figurative terms of a cube, with *features* serving as dimensions:

[±marginal], [±quantifying], [±ascriptive]

These three features, applied to Russian Cases , provide a set of '+' and '-' values, differently distributed to each Case.

(Blake 2009:22)

cases	MARGINAL	QUANTIFYING	ASCRIPTIVE
Nominative	-	-	-
Accusative	-	-	+
Genitive I	-	+	+
Genitive II	-	+	-
Locative II	+	+	-
Locative I	+	+	+
Dative	+	-	+
Instrumental	+	-	-

Yet, the nature of the features themselves could potentially be ambiguous. The lines of Jakobson (1936) and Hjelmslev (1935) later are partially adopted by Calabrese (1998) who claims that, with respect to the analysis of the Latin Case system evolving into Romance, Cases are bundles of distinctive features (see Chapter 3 for more details).

One of the most fruitful observations about Case as a codification of understanding semantic and syntactic relationships is Benveniste's (1962) proposal which states that the so-called *proper genitive* is essentially the result of a process of converting sentences which display a nominative/accusative opposition into a nominal phrase. The *genitivus subjectivus* and the *genitivus objectivus* merely would reflect the difference between, respectively, the genitive noun being an original subject or an original object. Since a transformation of one sentence into another applies, under this view, his approach turns to be roughly suitable, in some respects, for generative framework.

The influence of Greek and Latin grammarians on the conception of Cases stay rather pervasive in the linguistic studies of the 20th century until descriptions of hundreds of languages became available. The possibility for

scholars to access different linguistic data sets requires a better placement of the Case phenomenon in the grammar, along with an expansion of the terminology for descriptions; for instance:

- the Greek/Latin alternation between Case form system and preposition system is neutralized in languages with, for instance, only adpositions (such as, e.g., Japanese wherein grammatical relations are expressed by a system of postpositions);

- for agglutinative languages it turns to be more appropriate to talk about Case *markers* (Turkish *ked-im* 'cat-my' vs. *ked-im-le* 'cat-my-with') rather then Case *forms* (Latin *lupus* Nom 'the/a wolf' vs. *lupī* Gen 'of the/a wolf');

- terms like *ergative* and *absolutive* are introduced to define newly captured oppositions in non Indo-European languages.

Clearly, the availability of a larger data corpora on Case system(s) allows scholars to pursue cross-linguistic comparisons and consequent efforts of generalization.

The opportunity to conduct rich empirical observations and to advance valid heuristic hypotheses is well suitable for certain novel trends in linguistic research of the second half of the twentieth century. The speculation on language universals, since the early 1960s, provides statistic evaluations of sequential patterns and general constraints governing the linear order of syntactic components. Greenberg (1966) remarks that Cases themselves cannot be cross-linguistically compared, simply because two Case systems may have a different number of items or the names of one Case may convey different functions. What is comparable, instead, is the frequency of Cases as a "summation of a number of discrete uses, each substantially similar in frequency among languages but differently combined in different languages" (Greenberg 1966:68). From Greenberg's observations it follows that, using an *exemplum fictum*, if an 'ablative of inanimate cause' in one language can be identified with an 'accusative of inanimate cause' in another language, then the

'inanimate cause'-type connection between a verb and a noun should be recognizable in the caseless (i.e. not morphologically marked) languages as well, under the same conditions. Therefore, 'case' is not a transparent label (thus, it is not able to be assumed as a *comparandum*) that can bear unequivocally recognizable functions, which instead turn out to be comparable and, under specific conditions, 'universal'.

1.2 Modern approaches to Case

The heterogeneous cross-linguistic evidence in the distributional contexts of Case has provided, in the 20th century, a sufficiently wide spectrum for modern approaches to propose new hypotheses at the explanatory level concerning the nature of such a phenomenon.

1.2.1 'Case Grammar'

A systematic proposal for an analysis of Case as a base component in the syntactic structure was first presented, within the approach of Universal Grammar (UG) theories, by Fillmore (1968). In his 'Case grammar', the syntax is assumed to be the core of the grammar, the aim is to show that the notion of Case deserves a remarkable place among the invariant components of every human language. Case relationships, i.e. semantically relevant syntactic connections involving nouns and the structures containing them, are taken to be primitive terms of the theory of universals. They are supposed to be in large part covert but nevertheless empirically discoverable, since they belong to a specific finite set. Significantly, he adopts the conventional writing first proposed by Blake (1930) of using *case* to identify the underlying syntactic-semantic relationships, and *case form* to mean the overt expression of a Case relationship in a language (affixation, clitics, constraints on word order, etc.)[3]. The crucial claim is that verbs are selected according to

[3]Neither in this illustrative chapter about Case theories nor in the present sub-section about Fillmore's Case Grammar the convention is followed, unless it is necessarily required by specific instances; in such a case, the usage of the terms referred to Fillmore's concepts is signaled by *italic typeface*.

the Case environments provided by the sentence. He crucially refers to the sentence as the *Case frame* or *Case role(s)* and factorizes it as:

1. Sentence→Modality + Proposition

abbreviated in

2. S→M+P

(1) should be taken as one of the common universal bases of language. The expansion of P, the so-called *Case relationship*, may be referred to as a list of formulas of the form expressed in (3), where at least one Case category must be chosen and where no Case category appears more than once.

3. P→V + C_1 + ... + C_n

In (3) a proposition P contains a tenseless set of relationships involving verbs and nouns. P is represented by any of a set of following formulas

- V(erb)+A(gentive),
- V+O(bjective)+A(gentive),
- V+D(ative),
- V+O(bjective)+I(nstrumental)
- V+A(gentive)

and so forth.
In this view, the Case notions involve a set of universal concepts identifying certain types of judgments that human beings are able to make about physical events that happen around them, judgments about such matters as who did something, who something happened to, etc.
The Cases system includes (Fillmore, 1968: 46):

4. - *Agentive* (A): the Case of the typically animate trigger of the action identified by the verb.

- *Instrumental* (I): the Case of the inanimate force or object which causes the action or state encoded by the verb.
- *Dative* (D): the Case of the animate being affected by the state or action encoded by the verb.
- *Factitive* (F): the Case of the object resulting from the action or state encoded by the verb, which is understood as a part of the meaning of the verb.
- *Locative* (L): the Case that identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action encoded by the verb.
- *Objective* (O): the semantically most neutral Case, that represents a noun whose role in the action or state is identified by the semantic interpretation of the verb itself; conceivably the concept should be limited to things which are affected by the action or state encoded by the verb.

The lexical selection is obviously activated for the nouns, but also for the verbs for they are selected according to the *Case frame*. The nominal features required by a particular Case are to be specified by obligatory rules such as (5) which states that any N(oun) in an A(gentive) or D(ative) phrase *must* contain the feature [+animate].

5. N [+animate] $\rightarrow /^{\mathrm{A,D}}$ [X _____ Y].

In this operation, when considering general lexical features associated with a specific Case, one may appeal to a rule which associates a label with a noun, so identifying the Case relation held with the rest of the sentence. The insertion of verbs depends on the particular array of Cases, in question such as the Case frame, which is provided by the sentence. The lexical entries for verbs, abbreviated statements called 'frame features', indicate the set of the Case frames wherein each of such verbs might be inserted. However, such a classification would be quite intricate and not exhaustive because fundamentally many verbs are capable of occurring in more than one distinct Case environment. This set of possibilities is tentatively covered by making

use, in the very basic representation, of parentheses to indicate the optional elements which may be selected. The frame feature for open choices may thus be represented as

6. + [_____ O (I) (A)]

Verbs are distinguished from each other not only by specifying the Case frames wherein they can be inserted, but also by their transformational properties. The most important variables include the following choices:

7. (a) the possibility for a particular Noun Phrase (NP henceforth) to become the surface subject, or the surface object, when such a choice is not determined by a general rule;

   (b) the possibility for adpositions to go with each Case element, when these are determined by idiosyncratic properties of the verb rather than by a general rule;

   (c) other peculiar transformational features, such as, the possibility for verbs taking S complements to show specific complementizers (*that*, *-ing*, *for... to*, and so forth), along with transformational treatment of these elements.

In other words, the semantic representation of certain verbs may specify a relationship or a process related to the animate participation. Given oppositions as, e.g., *hear* vs. *listen* or *see* vs. *look* in which the first verb of each 'minimal pair' is semantically represented as [_____ O + D] and the second as [_____ O + A], one can notice that the distinctive elements, i.e. D and A, are actually both [+animate]: what is really different is the specification of a state in O or of an activity in A, both obviously encoded by the verb.

It is worth noting briefly how Fillmore describes the interaction between the deep structure and the surface manifestations thereof, since the transformational relations occurring between such two layers contribute to create the fertile theoretical environments for Transformational Grammar to make crucial advances in the research on Case. The deep structure of the propositional component of every simple sentence is a set consisting of a V plus a

number of NPs holding special labeled relations within the sentence: *cases* represent such relationships. Verbs are classified and subclassified according to the Case frames which accept them. The semantic mappings of verbs connect them either to specific Case elements or to certain features such as [± animate], which are introduced as obligatory traits of particular Cases. As mentioned, Fillmore deals with some of the ways in which deep structures are converted into surface representations on the basis of the Transformational Grammar (TG): the various mechanisms taken into account involve selection of open Case forms, 'registration' of particular elements in the verb, subjectivalization, objectivalization, sequential ordering, and nominalization. A surface Case system may be related to the set of underlying *cases* in various ways. Two deep Cases may end up being encoded in the same way in their surface structure: for examples, in languages in which D and O direct objects are both represented as the 'accusative' Case. The homogeneous character of the base rules is kept intact by the assumption that prepositions, postpositions, and Case affixes are all in fact realizations of the same underlying element, called by Fillmore K (for *Kasus*). All of the Case categories, thus, are rewritten as K+NP. In this framework, in languages which displaying obligatory surface subject (like English), the 'unmarked' subject choice seems to undergo the following rule:

8. if there is an A, it becomes the subject; otherwise, if there is an I, it becomes the subject; otherwise, the subject is the O.

Therefore, given the inference mentioned in (8), the unmarked choice of subject for sentences containing an A, as stated in generalization (8) for English, is indeed A. The expression of a marked subject takes place through the association of the feature [+passive] with V in the sentence. An example of a marked Case assignment is the following: assumed that one of the semantic factorization of verb *open* is [_____ O], the basic representation of the sentence *the door opened*, where indeed only one Case category occurs, would be [4]

[4]Notice that Fillmore (1968) always uses tree-like representations as syntactic structures.

$$[_S\ [_M\ \text{Past}]\ [_P\ [_V\ \text{open}]\ [_O\ [_K\varnothing]\ [_{NP}\ [_d\ \text{the}]\ [_N\ \text{door}]]]]]$$

From this base structure to the linear order, some transformational operations apply:

- K moves to the front and merges with S;
- a role called 'subject-preposition deletion' applies and erases the K constituent so that S appears as

  $$[_S\ [_{NP}\ [_d\ \text{the}]\ [_N\ \text{door}]\ [_M\ \text{Past}]\ [_P\ [_V\ \text{open}]]]]$$

  Eventually M incorporates into V and the final result is

$$[_S\ [_{NP}\ [_d\ \text{the}]\ [_N\ \text{door}]]\ [_P\ [_V\ \text{opened}]]]]$$

Fillmore's system provides a way to solve the transformational issue of a subject position to fill if there is only one Case element in the sentence by moving the said element to the subject position. This movement operation is not allowed if a verb bears more than one Case category. If the verb does bear more than one Case category, subjects are assigned by *copying* a Case element into the dedicated positions. For this purpose, a S headed by *that*, like *It is true that John likes Mary*, is represented as necessarily passing through the following step:

$$[_S\ [_O\ [_S\ \text{that John likes Mary}]\ [_M\ \text{Pres}]\ [_P\ [_V\ \text{true}]\ [_O\ [_S\ \text{that John likes Mary}]]]]]$$

Moving and *copying* operations relate back to the underlined Case relations. Fillmore points out three invariant operations: 'subjectivization', 'objectivization', and 'nominal-from-sentence'. 'Subjectivization' the first results from a neutralization of underlying Case distinctions called 'nominative'. 'Objectivization' neutralizes Case distinctions in a form distinct from 'nominative', called 'accusative'. The 'nominal-from-sentence' process is the formation of nominals from sentences (or *nominalization*). The Case modifications under nominalization usually involve what is commonly understood as *genitive*.

Genitive, inalienable possession, dative of possession

The facts briefly mentioned above depicting cases in which an S is embedded in the Case category of O provides some hints on how Case Grammar must deal with verb and adjective complementation. A second source of embedded sentences is within the NP itself. The rule for NP generation is stated by Fillmore as (9):

9. NP→N (S)

He crucially notices that one of the most obvious sources of genitive is from relative clauses built within sentences that would assumed the form *'X has Y'*. Fillmore notices that if the N is an ordinary lexical item and the adjunct S contains a co-referential copy of the same N, the result is an NP consisting of a noun modified by a relative clause:

- *John's books*
- *The book that John has* __

In particular, in Fillmore's analysis terms, the N in the modified NP is the same as the N included in the D of the adjunct sentence. A D jointed to an NP has its Case marker modified, which can be, in English, the suffix -'*s*. Fillmore proposes for the process an initial syntactic representation as:

$$[_{NP}[_{N}\text{books}[_{S}[_{M}\text{Pres}][_{P}[_{V}\varnothing][_{O}[_{K}\varnothing][_{NP}[_{N}\text{books}]]][_{D}[_{K}\text{to}]]]]]]$$

This way the very possessive construction resulting in English in an NP of either the form *'X's Y'* or *'Y of X'* is legitimized by its transformational derivation from a sentence that has the form *'X has Y'*. The fact that in some languages there are instances of adnominal D that do not into genitive would support the view that such a conversion is a matter of the surface structure.

The synchronic reality is expressed by indicating that a given noun has a particular kind of relationship to a specific verb, or set of verbs, and that some of these nouns may or must appear in the NP frame [_____ S].

Speaking about the possible universal constraints on the element to be converted to genitive, Fillmore recognizes that it appears that if only one element shows up in the NP, it frequently takes the genitive form [5].

Languages show nouns expressing concepts that are inherently relational. The relational nouns most frequently discussed in the linguistic literature are names of body parts and names of kinship. Many languages display separate possessive morphemes for nouns of items that are obligatorily possessed, referred to as *inalienable* possession, and optionally possessed, which is referred to as *alienable* possession. Further distinctions among these morphemes depending on the type of inalienable possession also occur. In Fillmore's Case Grammar the feature of inalienable possession is taken as a universal property of language. However, differences do appear on surface level structure. What is remarkable is the way he defines as inalienable the semantic relationship which hold for many relational nouns that do not show a superficially 'human' trait. These nouns and certain locative expressions are connected through a sort of grammaticalization derivation.
Namely, it is assumed that certain intrinsically locative nouns take an adnominal L Case. These nouns sometimes name parts of the associated objects, as in (11), and they sometimes identify a location or direction stated with reference to the associated object but not considered as a part of it, as seen in (12). Nouns of the second type appear superficially as prepositions in English.

11. *corner of the table*, *edge of the cliff*, *top of the box;*

12. *beyond the house*, *ahead of the car*, *next to the tower.*

A sentence that assumes the form *'X has Y'* is, as mentioned above, contains that information embedded into its NPs. Since an embedded sentence must have a semantic interpretation that contributes to the meaning of the

[5]He discusses the example borrowed from Jespersen (1924) to notice that multiple constructions of genitive can be expressed at the same time, in the same utterance:

Gainesborough's portrait of the duchess of Devonshire

whole sentence, the sentence-embedding source of possessives is needed as an explanation for alienable possession. However, a distinct strategy is required for introducing the possessive element in the inalienable possession expression. For the types of inalienable possession in which the relationship involves animate or human entities, the solution would be to say that some nouns obligatorily take D complements.
In Fillmore's method, this can be managed by formulating for the grammar an alternative way to write NP, namely the rule in 13:

13. NP→N (D)

One might add, therefore, that Ns which obligatorily take D complements are characterized as having the feature + [_____ D], and these are equivalent to inalienable possession nouns. The general configuration of NPs containing Ds is then represented by the following configuration:

$$[_{NP}[_{N}[_{D}[_{K}][_{NP}]]]]$$

In some cases, the adnominal D remains in the NP and in fact retains the surface features associated with D as in (14 a). Typically, however, a D inside an NP is changed to a genitive form, as in (14 b):

15. (a) *the teacher to the boy*
    (b) *the boy's teacher*

The D constituents often need to not remain in the NP. Under some conditions, although, they may be 'promoted' from the status of modifier to N within the deep structure, to the status of a major constituent on the next higher level of the syntactic structure. This can be seen in sentences that have the base configuration [V + L + A]. For instance:

$$[_{V} \text{ pinch}] + [_{L} \text{ on the nose } [_{D} \text{ to John}]] + [_{A} \text{ by Mary}]$$

In this example, the N in the L constituent is a body part denomination and the D is subjoined to L.

Whenever D remains within NP, it is fronted to the N and converted to its genitive form, displacing the original determiner. Since it is a personal noun, the K element assumes the form of a genitive suffix. In languages allowing the D to stay in NP, the D element is converted to its genitive form. If A occurs in subject position, the next configuration is the result of a sequence of transformational operations:

$$[_S\ [_{NP}\ [_N\ \text{Mary}]]\ [_P\ [_V\ \text{pinched}]\ [_{NP}\ [_D\ [_{NP}\ \text{John}]\ [_K\ \text{'s}]]]\ [_N\ \text{nose}]]]$$

1.2.2 Semantic (proto-)roles and linking

The *Kāraka Theory* by Pāṇini first defined a relationship between semantic roles (such as Agent, Object, Goal, etc.) and overt Case marking. The six Pāṇini's Kārakas (*agent*, *object*, *instrument*, *destination*, *source*, *locus*) are semantic relations held between nouns and verbs, comparable but not overlapping with the eight Cases of Sanskrit (*nominative*, *accusative*, *instrumental*, *dative*, *ablative*, *locative*). Even if vocative and genitive bear no Kāraka, there is not one-to-one correspondence between Kāraka and Case mark. Most theories of Case assume that predicates are specified by their underlying *argument structure*, i.e. a specification as to the number and semantic type of roles involved.
Yet, the thematic roles generally acknowledged, labeled as *agent*, *goal / experiencer*, *theme / patient*, *instrument*, *location*, turn out to be not practically useful due to a sort of descriptive weakness.

1.2.3 Partial remarks

In spite of the alleged vagueness of all definitions of Case roles, Fillmore's original analysis influenced the syntactic theory for some time. The *Localist Case Grammar* is primarily due to to his generalizations. Some of his insights influenced the contemporary 'Government-and-Binding Theory', as the extension of the idea of *deep Cases* (semantic roles) to the items composing the thematic structure. One of the contributions of Fillmore's analysis to Universal Grammar is the implementation of a system consisting of a deep

structure in which the propositional nucleus of sentences is composed of a V and one or more NPs, each of them having a single Case relationship to the proposition and to V. The lexical selection rules on Vs represent a strictly local transformation that corresponds to nothing else than the Cases being co-constituents of V (with the aforementioned exception that the O element must be distinguished as an NP or an S).
Fillmore, eventually, suggests some general criteria to be considered for a typological classification:

16. (a) the presence or absence on the NPs as determined by the deep-case categories:
        i. the nature of such modification as prepositional, affixal or other;
        ii. the conditions for the choice of particular Case forms
    (b) the presence or absence of agreement on the verb:
        i. the nature of the agreement;
        ii. the relation to subject selection (topicalization);
    (c) the nature of anaphoric processes:
        i. type of process;
        ii. conditions of application;
    (d) topicalization processes;
    (e) word order variation:
        i. factors determining unmarked word order;
        ii. conditions constraining stylistic variations on word order.

According to Fillmore, the forms of the NPs in a P are determined on the basis of a variety of factors; one of these is the Case category of such an NP. A NP within an instrumental (I) expression displays a N whose form depends partially or entirely on its lying under I. Accordingly, studies on Case aspects of pronoun systems reveals a great deal about the variety of relationships that can hold between deep and surface Cases, since typologically the Case forms of NPs are most elaborately developed in the system of personal pronouns.

1.3 Case in GB and Minimalism

The investigation of general patterns and principles that are capable to predict the extremely complex phenomenon of Case remains one of the more challenging purposes of the Universal Grammar theory and, in particular, of the Minimalist approach.

Whereas the importance of the preceding works lies mainly in the presentation of a wide set of empirical observations cross-linguistically, Government-and-Binding theory and Minimalist program develop a Case Theory about the syntactic configuration and distribution of NPs. In this approach, abstract Case plays a central role in being one of the driving forces of movement, along with a variety of transformations, such as passivization and raising, and in governing alternations between overt and unpronounced subjects in non-finite clauses. In the original presentation of Case Theory in Chomsky (1980), abstract Case is related to the morphological property of Cases via the hypothesis that the formal features that regulate the syntactic distribution of NPs are the same features that are overtly realized as Case morphology in certain languages. As the theory is more and more developed, the connection between Case as a formal feature underlying syntactic licensing of NPs and *case* as the morphological category become much less tight, although the connection between the two represents is an ongoing area of inquiry.

By the late 1970s, it seems plausible that the distribution of Nominals is governed cross-linguistically by special rules. Though Chomsky-Lasnik (1977) have set up a structured and closed list of syntactic contexts in which NPs, in languages like English, are either banned or restricted, the open issue related to the reason why these restrictions should hold remains not completely solved. Shortly thereafter, in an open letter addressed to Chomsky and Lasnik, Vergnaud (1978, published in 2006) proposes that these restrictions in languages like English might be linked to another special cross-linguistic property peculiar to nominals: the presence of specific morphology that shows a form correlated with syntactic position - i.e. the so-called Case morphology.

The Minimalist Program, thereafter, attempts to support the important con-

jecture that most or all properties of linguistic computations in natural language should be understood as arising from either

17. (a) the interactions of independent mental systems
    and
    (b) 'general properties of organic systems' (Chomsky 2001).

The study of Case morphology and the distribution of nominal expressions in the languages of the world is one of the areas where generative syntax has made the most remarkable advances over the previous approaches.
As a consequence of these theoretical efforts, it becomes embraceable to claim that, although Case allows, indeed, for complex phenomena to be predicted on the base of more general principles, such principles themselves look quite specific to syntax and morphology, with loose connections to external cognitive systems (without mentioning here general properties of organic systems).

1.3.1 Case Filter

Case Theory is first proposed in the defining works of the Government-and-Binding framework (GB; Chomsky 1980, 1981) as a solution to the puzzling distribution of lexical (i.e. phonologically realized) NP subjects of infinitival clauses in English, for instance:

18. (a) Mary preferred [(*John/herself) to sing]
    (b) Mary believed [John to be a singer]
    (c) Mary preferred [for John to sing]
    (d) For Mary to leave would be great.
    (e) *Mary to leave would be great.

In general, the subject of an infinitive must not be an overt NP (18 a, e) but this restriction is lifted when the infinitival clause is the complement of a particular class of matrix verbs, such as *believe* (18, b), or when the infinitival clause contains the prepositional complementizer for (18 c, d). Where an overt lexical NP subject is prohibited, the subject of the infinitive

is assumed to be the silent pronominal element PRO, the interpretation of which is determined by Control Theory [6].
Prior to the advent of Case Theory, this distribution fell under the domain of the *NP-to VP filter of Chomsky-Lasnik (1977), given in (19):

19. *[α NP to VP], unless α is adjacent to and in the domain of Verb or for [-N]

The major result of Case Theory is the deduction of (19) from assumptions that are argued to be independently involved, along with one new conjecture, of broader generality than the construction-specific filter in (19). This new assumption, the core of Case Theory, is the proposal that all lexical NPs (i.e., NPs other than PRO or NP-trace) require Case, even in Modern English or Italian, i.e. in languages wherein the morphological exponent of Cases is limited to the pronominal system. This proposal (justly attributed by Chomsky to Vergnaud) is formalized as the Case Filter, given in one version in

20. * NP if NP has phonetic content and has no Case (Chomsky 1981, 49).

Notice that the Case Filter allows a phonetically empty element as Case manifestation.
As Vergnaud (1978) observed, the distribution of certain types of Case morphology on nominals in languages like Latin appears to match the distribution of nominals in languages like English whose Case morphology is rather infrequent or non-existent. Therefore, in languages with Case marking, any nominal, that is morphologically capable to show Case morphology, must do so. As is known, this observation is stated explicitly as Vergnaud's Case Filter in its first formulation:

[6] As is known, Control Theory governs the option for a null (silent) DP found in caseless positions (i.e. the specifier of non-finite TP) to acquire its meaning.
Subject Control (also called *Equi-NP deletion* or *Equi* in early versions of Generative Grammar) is at work in a sentence in which there is a PRO in an embedded non-finite clause controlled by the subject argument of the main clause (e.g. *Mary*$_{\text{i}}$ *is happy to PRO*$_{\text{i}}$ *to leave*).
The Object Control is evident in a sentence in which PRO in the embedded non-finite clause is controlled by the object argument of the main clause (e.g. *Mary convinced John*$_{\text{i}}$ *PRO*$_{\text{i}}$ *to leave*).

21. Case Filter = *[NP -case]

Vergnaud clearly suggested that the Case Filter is also valid for languages which lack Case morphology at all. This conclusion comes from the assumption that English has an abstract variant of accusative that may be assigned by V and P. A nominal complement to V or P receiving Case, even if no overt morphology reflects it, and satisfying the Case Filter. The exemplification is given through English instances.

At this point of linguistic inquiry, it is explicitly maintained that the distribution of nominals in languages which lack Case morphology is nonetheless regulated by the same rules that govern nominative and accusative licensing in languages with a strong Case morphology. Summarizing, GB theory proposes a filter as a requirement on S-structure such as: 'an Abstract Case must be assigned to every overt NP'. Abstract Case is taken to be universal. Languages with rich morphological Case marking, such as Latin or Russian, and languages with very limited morphological exponence, like English, are all presumed to have systems of Abstract Case that differ only in the extent of morphological realization. In GB, Abstract Case is argued to be assigned to NPs by various Case assigners, namely verbs, prepositions, and crucially the Inflection (otherwise known as Tense) category. Verbs and prepositions are taken to typologically assign accusative Case to NPs that they govern, and Infl(ection) accordingly assigns a nominative to NPs. These governing categories are constrained depending on where they can assign Case by means of 'barriers' based on 'minimality conditions'. The notion of Abstract Case and the Case Filter are useful in accounting for a number of phenomena including the distribution of nominative and accusative, and the distribution of overt NPs and empty categories, such as PRO.

Let's review some implementations of the Case Filter.

The distribution in (18) might be deduced from rules of Case assignment which have to be independently motivated. A rather rough statement of Case assignment for English and similar nominative-accusative languages is given in

22. (a) subject of tensed clause → nominative

(b) object of verb → accusative

(c) object of preposition → accusative or oblique.

The descriptive content of (22) is a necessary part of any grammatical description of English and summarizes the observed basic distributional facts for elements that bear overt Case inflection. Nevertheless, absent from (22) is any reference to the subject of a non-finite clause. Given the Case Filter, the absence of Case assignment rules applying to the subjects of infinitives translates into the exclusion of lexical NPs from this position. Moreover, the 'unless' clause of (19) works when viewed from the perspective of Case. That is to say, verbs and prepositions have the distinctive property of being Case assigners, and thus the disjunctive condition stipulated in the 'unless' clause is nothing else than the domain of accusative Case assignment [7]. What (19) amounts to is that the subject of an infinitive may not be lexical, unless it is in the domain of a Case assigner. This proposition is straightforward for the NP in (18 a, c) but requires some additional assumptions for the NP in the infinitival complement of *believe*, to which we now turn. The contrast between (18 a, e) and (18 b, c, d) shows that there is, indeed, some difference between the class of verbs represented by *prefer* and those represented by *believe* [8]. The Case Filter provides an account of this contrast, assumed that what is special about the *believe*-like class is the licensing of Case assignment across a non-finite clause boundary. That the NP in the complement of *believe* is indeed receiving Case, as if it were the object of *believe*, is supported by various diagnostics such as the loss of accusative in this position when *believe* is passivized or the somehow opaque adjacency requirement between *believe* and the NP that is peculiar in objective Case assignment in English (see below). The lexical subject of the non-finite complement of *believe* avoids

[7] This same property of assigning Case accounts for the reason why, in English, only Vs and Prepositions may take NP complements. In this view, adjectives and nouns are not Case assigners and thus are limited to PP and CP complements, where a corresponding verb might take an NP complement (cf. *accept Galileo's idea* vs. *acceptance of Galileo's ideas*). For an alternative approach to complementation asymmetries, within the Minimalist Program but without appeal to Case, see Pesetsky and Torrego (2004).

[8] The *believe*-like verbs approximately coincide with the epistemic verbs (or *verba cogitandi*); the *prefer*-like ones roughly correspond to *verba voluntatis*. Here *believe* and *prefer* are used as emblems of the two classes.

other infinitival subjects (limitation to PRO) because in this configuration it is subject to Case assignment. This comes to be known as Exceptional Case Marking (ECM)[9].
In sum, Case Theory represents a significant step in deducing the crucial effects of a rather puzzling filter (i.e. * NP-to-VP filter), largely from independently motivated principles of the theory, altogether with a very broad and not construction-specific assumption.

1.3.2 Inherent vs. Structural Case

According to Chomsky (1981), it has been assumed that 'structural' Case[10] is defined in terms of purely structural relations between Case assigners and Case assignees. The so-called 'inherent' Case is, instead, defined in terms of merely thematic relations between Case assigners and Case assignees. That is, nominative and accusative are prototypical types of *structural* Case, whereas genitive and dative are commonly considered as prototypical types of *inherent* Case.
Chomsky (1986) argued that genitive can be assigned either to the subject of a noun phrase or to the complement of a noun. For instance, in:

(i) *John's refusal of the offer*

according to Chomsky (1986), both *John* and *the offer* in (i) are assigned genitive, which is morphologically realized in two different types. He argued that categories of [+N] are inherent Case assigners, whereas categories of [-N] are not. Under this definition, N and A, which are [+N] categories, are inherent case assigners, whereas V and P, which are [-N] categories, are not. Moreover, the structural Case assigners V, P, or finite Infl are identified as heads of [-N] categories.
Chomsky (1986) suggested that not only the subject of a head noun but also its complement is assigned *inherent* Case by the head noun. Consider a typical noun phrase such as:

[9]For a definition of ECM cf, Chomsky (1986); for updates thereof cf. Cowper (1992), Lasnik (1999), a.o.
[10]The terms 'structural', referred to Case, is indeed introduced by Chomsky (1981).

(ii) *the barbarians' destruction of the city*

In Chomsky's (1986) analysis, the head noun *destruction* assigns its complement *the city* inherent genitive, which is morphologically realized via the so-called *of*-insertion. He further argued that the head noun in (ii) also assigns its subject *the barbarians* inherent genitive, which is morphologically realized as possessive morpheme -*'s*. However, the arguments for the subject of (ii) to be assigned an *inherent* genitive raised some objections. Let us compare (ii) with

(iii) *the city's destruction by the barbarians*

In (ii) *the city* is *theta*-marked by the head noun, whereas it is not clear whether the subject *the barbarians* is *theta*-marked by the head noun. The passivized form of (ii) is (iii). In (iii) *the city* in (iii) is *theta*-marked not in the subject position but in the complement position. Chomsky (1986) provided a suggestion to solve this incongruity. He argued that *the city* in (iii) is assigned *inherent* genitive Case in the complement position at D-structure and the *inherent* Case is realized in the subject position at S-structure. The assignment of *inherent* Case occurs at D-structure and its the morphological realization at S-structure.
An evidence such as

(iv) *the barbarians' destroying the city*

would prove that *barbarians'* is assigned genitive by VP. This is on contrast with the assumption that only [+N] categories assign *inherent* Case. Chomsky (1986) brought two facts as evidence that *'s*-genitive is *inherent*:

(a) -*s* genitive cannot be assigned to raised subjects.

(b) -*s* genitive cannot be assigned to the *dummy 'there'*.

For instance:
(v)

- *Barbarians seem* [t *to be cruel*].

- * *Barbarians' seeming* [t *to be cruel*].

(vi)

- *There were too many barbarians in the city.*

- *The imperator did not expect there to be too many barbarians in the city.*

- * *The imperator knew there were being too many barbarians in the city.*

In (v) *barbarians* is assigned nominative in the raised subject position, which is not associated with any theta-role. This indicates that nominative is *structural*. Unlike nominative, *'s* genitive is not assigned to the raised subject. According to Chomsky (1986), this is a prove that *'s* genitive is not *structural* but *inherent*.
Instances in (vi) show that *dummy 'there'* may be assigned nominative or accusative, which is *structural* and, on the other hand, that *there* may not be assigned *'s* genitive. This is a second piece of evidence for *'s* genitive to be *inherent*.
However some empirical facts arise against the conclusion in (a). If one considers the following examples:
(vii)

- *The city has been destroyed* t .

- *The city's being destroyed* t .

Nominative and *'s* genitive are distinguished in raising constructions (iv) but not in passive sentences (vii). One might argue that the subject in (vii) is assigned *inherent* Case in the complement position of the verb and the *inherent* Case is realized in the subject position, just as Chomsky (1986) argued for the example (iv). This, however, amounts to saying that V assigns *'s* genitive, which goes against the fundamental assumption that only [+N] elements assign *inherent* Case.

1.3.3 Extensions of Case Theory

The main interest in Case Theory in GB and Minimalism lies not in the novel empirical observations and results, but in the consideration of an array of intricately connected consequences. The postulation of the Case Filter develops ramifications much beyond the distribution of infinitival subjects. For example, Case could now be seen as one of the driving forces of movement for many constructions. Thus, a unified account of promotion to subject in passive, raising, and unaccusative configurations, become possible. In each structure, the NP in its original position is not governed by a Case assigner, but it must raise to finite subject position in order to satisfy the Case Filter requirement.

The Case Filter works as one of the answers to the profound question about the nature of syntactic movement. It must be noted, however, that a Case-based account of movement in these configurations could be considered as being a sort of repetition of another crucial postulation of GB, namely the 'Extended Projection Principle' (EPP; Chomsky 1982) [11], which includes also the requirement that every finite clause have a subject. The proposal in Chomsky (1981) is that infinitival complements are CPs, but that *believe*-type verbs induce a rule of CP-deletion, hence bearing IP complements at the level relevant for the application of the Case Filter. In later works, it is suggested that *believe* selects an IP rather than a CP complement as a lexical property (assumed again in Chomsky-Lasnik 1995). The questions of whether this is a redundancy and, if so, how it can be simplified represent current research issues in GB/Minimalism.

Another remarkable result of Case Theory, carried by Stowell (1981), entails the issue of the order of complements. As shown in (23), for verbs in English that select multiple complements, it is generally held that the NP arguments must precede all other (PP, CP) arguments, at least in 'neutral' clauses, i.e. clauses that are not derived by, for instance, 'Heavy NP Shift', the configuration for which the verb's direct object occurs to the right of a

[11] Essentially, the EPP states that all clauses must have subjects, i.e. the specifier of TP must be filled by DP or a CP.

post-verbal phrase, or similar operations typically associated with a special, marked, intonation.

23. (a) Mary donated [$_{\text{NP}}$ her books] [$_{\text{PP}}$ to the library] .
    (b) *Mary donated [$_{\text{PP}}$ to the library] [$_{\text{NP}}$ her books] .

There is no such ordering effect in the corresponding nominalization, as shown in (24), suggesting that the restriction is syntactic, rather than semantic, in natural languages.

24. (a) ? Mary's donation [$_{\text{PP}}$ of her books] [$_{\text{PP}}$ to the library] is generous.
    (b) Mary's donation [$_{\text{PP}}$ to the library] [$_{\text{PP}}$ of her books] is generous.

Similarly, multiple PP complements to a verb may be fairly freely reordered with respect to one another, in contrast to (23), suggesting that the restriction is specifically about NP complements.

25. (a) ? John talked [$_{\text{PP}}$ to Paul's brother] [$_{\text{PP}}$ about Ed] .
    (b) John talked [$_{\text{PP}}$ about Ed] [$_{\text{NP}}$ to Paul's brother] .

As Stowell (1981) argues, the particular requirement that in English NP complements precede all others could be seen as a particular case of the general requirement of Case Adjacency, whereby the direct object of an accusative Case assigner (V or P) must be adjacent to its assigner. He also considers the strong tendency for finite sentential complements (CPs) to be extraposed and introduces the 'Case Resistance Principle'. This concept was presented along with the assumption that CPs may not bear Case. The proposal to derive the order of complements from Case Theory mirrors to the idea that these ordering constraints could be erased from the phrase-structure rules. This is an important advance towards a generalized X'-Theory, nowadays standard in GB/Minimalism.

This section and the above ones illustrate, indeed, the way in which Case Theory, originally proposed as an alternative to some very construction-specific filters regarding infinitives, could be transparently applied to a wider range of phenomena.

1.3.4 Government

Although (22) is sufficient as a first step within the description of Case assignment rules, the discussion of the details proves to be an important field of inquiry, largely because grammatical functions such, as subject and object, have been taken in GB and related frameworks to be derived, i.e. to work as notions defined through the configuration of the structure (Chomsky 1965). From this perspective, an adequate factorizing of the purview of objective Case assignment seems to refer to two requirements, namely *c-command* [12] and *adjacency*.
In formalizing the domain of Case assignment to capture the results discussed above, Chomsky (1980) states the notion of *Government*, whose original formulation is given here:

26. α is governed by β if α is c-commanded by β and no major category or major category boundary appears between α and β.

The proper definition of Government and, in particular, the formulation of what it means for a category to 'appear' or, subsequentially, 'intervene' between α and β is one of the most significant technical questions of the 1980s [13]. In Chomsky (1980), the definition is taken to assume a linear adjacency as well as structural intervention, although in many later works the adjacency condition on Government, and hence on Case assignment, is held to be derivable from other assessments of the theory. Within the GB framework, the Government relation, which is motivated originally for Case, is proposed to be a core notion in an array of modules of the syntactic theory. Furthermore, looking through the details of quite various specific studies, there is some evidence for Case assignment to remain as a cornerstone of Government, providing the observable instances of the phenomenon from which the

[12] C-command is originally defined by T. Reinhart (1983): "A node A c(onstituent)-commands a node B iff the first branching node α that dominates A either dominates B, or is immediately dominated by a node α' which dominates B, where α and α' are of the same category type (e.g. S and S')" (Reinhart 1983:50).

[13] See Aoun-Sportiche (1983), Chomsky (1981, 1986), Lasnik-Saito (1992), and Rizzi (1990), a.o.

computational operations are to be generalized. If an NP in some configuration is clearly dependent on V or P through Case assignment, then such a configuration must be equivalent to a configuration of Government, and in turn can transitively be used to set conditions on the nature of the basic definition. C-command recalls Adjacency condition, which inevitably in turn refers to Locality conditions. The general definition of Locality as reported in Rizzi (2001), and similarly proposed in Chomsky (2000) [14], for which an intervening target may block a source-target relationship, involves Case as long as a closer NP with the right Case can ban a head from checking the Case of a further NP.

In summation, Case Theory contains at its core the notion of Case Filter and a formulation of Case assignment, as seen in the prospectus (22). It remains closely related to the 'epicenter' of the whole GB framework. Many evident results carried the theory forward and opened new questions. Essentially, it is acceptable to conclude that the statements of Case Theory would be dependent on successful articulation of the theory of Case assignment operations. The explorations of Locality Constraint, depicted in terms of Government, constituted one aspect of the careful formalization of (22). Another field of exploration considers the implications of cross-linguistic variation in Case assignment rules. Although the theory of Government and the various deriving notions provided a sharper formal exactness, the basic rules of Case assignment in (22) leave many questions open, which later triggers a transition from GB to Minimalism. One of the topics that receive attention there is the asymmetry between nominative and accusative or other cases, as well as the following observations:

(i) accusative is assigned by a lexical head (V or P), but nominative is assigned by a functional head (finite Infl);

(ii) accusative is assigned under c-command (head-complement relation-

[14] According to the general Locality constraint, i.e. a constraint on the grammar such that two syntactic items must be 'local' or near one another, a more specific definition is "the Probe must c-command the Goal" (Chomsky 2000:122), i.e. a closer goal with matching features may block a probe-goal relationship.

ship), while nominative is assigned under m-command (head-specifier);

(iii) accusative assignment is subject, in languages like English, to an adjacency condition, while nominative assignment is not (cf. *You won't ever leave*, where the auxiliary is assumed to be in Infl).

In addition, an overt question is why finiteness should matter for the assignment of nominative Case by Infl. A fundamental question, however, remains unasked so far: in the first place,

why should language(s) be endowed with the 'device' of Case?

This question is particularly relevant in the context of the Minimalist Program, whose main goal is defining 'pure' syntactic properties, i.e. those that do not arise directly from the action of merging properties of the interface between syntactic computations and adjacent systems.
Finally, another fundamental question arises of a typological type: do languages that display no morphological opposition (neither in the system of pronouns) present the distributional restrictions on NPs formulated within the Case Filter theory?

1.3.5 Case in applied Minimalism

The early 1990s signaled a passage from GB to Minimalism as the selected framework for many generative syntacticians.
Some confusion is, in particular, shown within the nomenclature. Throughout the Minimalist writings, it is sufficiently clear that Chomsky stressed that Minimalism is a *program*, not a theory or a theoretical framework. A program, typically, proposes itself as a set of rough guidelines about any type of questions that might advance scientific inquiry. This is in contrast with formal approaches to Minimalism, which ended up focusing on providing explanations and characterizations of grammar, in both an universal and particular dimension, at increasing levels of abstraction and generalization. Minimalism, originally, had to provide answers to the question about the fundamental ontological nature of UG:

why is *something* the way it is?

Despite the new goal underlying the Minimalist Program, the majority of work recognized as Minimalist is characterized by a renewed focus on uniformity and theoretical parsimony, but the purpose in most of this work is still (as in GB) an explicit specification of the Principles-and-Parameters framework of UG, i.e. defining the limits of what it means to be a 'possible language'.

A major conceptual difference between GB theories and Minimalism is that in Minimalism lexical items carry their features rather than receiving their features from the nodes that they end up at. This means that nouns are endowed with Case features and that Case is *checked* when they are in Spec(ifier) position of AgrS or AgrO. These two positions subsequently disappear from the theoretical landscape (Chomsky 1991).

For Minimalism in practice, the major questions of Case Theory are about the differences between nominative and accusative Case assignment and, therefore, the possibility of developing a uniform theory thereof, s hinted in the next section. In addition to the technical innovations that characterize Minimalism in practice, a small minority of Minimalist work poses questions that go beyond the specifications of the Principles-and-Parameters of UG, and deal with the core Minimalist question: how close does language come to an'optimal picture' of itself, where 'optimal picture' is to be meant as having no properties other than those required by the option for a language module to interface with two other cognitive systems, the conceptual-intentional system and the motor-articulatory one.

The Strongest Minimalist Thesis (SMT; Chomsky 2001) lies on the assumption that language reaches optimality in this very particular sense. Case could progress to the foreground in such a line of inquiry, in the form of the question

Why must there be (Abstract) Case at all?

At first view, (Abstract) Case looks problematic for the SMT, in the sense that there is no obvious consistence interface for its existence. To the extent that one should somehow consider functionalist explanations, such as

the functions of Case recognized by Mallinson-Blake (1981), Comrie (1989) and others, these seem anyway ill-suited to the core examples of Abstract Case displayed in languages, such as English, wherein Case is essentially unmarked. One interesting speculation is that Abstract Case features, later generalized as part of a system of uninterpretable formal features, lie at the core of the linguistic coding of what Chomsky refers to as the 'duality of semantics' (Chomsky 2004), one side covering thematic relations/argument structure, and the other concerning information structure and scopal relations.

Another speculation (see Pesetsky-Torrego 2001) is that the entity called 'case' is actually the NP analogue of tense in the verbal system. As pointed out above, at the time of writing, that aspect of the Minimalist Program which focuses on the SMT and similar investigations is, according to Chomsky, a research program, still in its embryonic phase. This perspective represents a very promising idea in itself. It could yield new intriguing insights on barely discovered areas. Yet, the exiguity of evidence concerning the properties of the interfaces makes any progress very slow.

In closing this illustrative section, it is worth briefly depicting a few additional topics that have received prominent attention from the perspective of Case Theory within GB and/or Minimalism.

In some sense, each of these topics constitutes an add-on to the core Case Theory.

1.3.6 Case Checking

A further important topic explored within GB and Minimalism concerns the relationship of Case to other features in linguistic modules. The position taken by Chomsky in his Minimalist writings is that Case and Agreement are instantiations of the same basic grammatical relationship, representing head versus dependent marking of that relation, although the precise nature of this relationship goes over the analysis purposes of the Minimalist period[15].

[15]...and is often criticized: "Inasmuch as the relationship between (structural) Case and (morphological) case is transparent, this view would be simply incorrect in light

According to this conception, Agreement is driven by uninterpretable features of the probe, which must be deleted for legibility. With this shift in perspective, structural Case is downgraded in prominence, whereas the Case Filter still keeps its validity indirectly as in Vergnaud's original proposal, in determining the distribution of NPs. However, what matters primarily are the probes, including phi-features (Person, Number, Gender) of Tense. The inquiry of the probes overturns much of the recent history of inquiry into these developments and also brings out more clearly the fundamental question of *why Case exists at all*. The question arises still more prominently if the *matching* configuration is just an identity process, and Case is structurally never attracted. In such a case, it would be necessary to conclude that no computations are triggered by Case-checking requirements (Chomsky 2000).

Agreement has been a temporary answer to a question arising from an observation: if Case in languages with robust Case morphology is a codification of Infl on nominals, what is the nature of the distinction between nominative and accusative morphology? In order to attempt to answer it, one might adopt indeed Chomsky's (1995) suggestion that the selection of nominative or accusative morphology on nominals reflects whether the nominal entered an independent Agreement relation with a feature of I or with a feature of V. This would claim that nominal morphology reflects the identity of the element whose I-features are responsible for evaluating I on the nominal [16]. In Chomsky's suggestion, the independent Agreement relation involves phi-features. Case, thus, is valued on nominals as a product of an Agreement interplay which involves a distinct set of features. Hence, the distinction between nominative and accusative morphology is activated by visible phi-features agreement with I (with subject agreement) or with V (with object

of the many well-attested 'mismatches' between case and agreement. Such mismatches include the type of ergative split in Warlpiri or Chukchi in which ergative-absolutive case marking occurs alongside subject-object (nominative-accusative) alignments in agreement (...), and also more intricate mismatches such as Basque Ergative Displacement (...), and the Chukchi Spurious Antipassive (...)" (Bobaljik-Wurmbrand 2009:57).

[16]It seems that Pesetsky-Torrego's (2001) proposal about nominative-accusative Case assignment is in agreement.

agreement). Nominative and accusative morphology, therefore, reflects agreement or licensing directly.

Marantz (1991) develops an interesting alternative view, compatible with the proposals concerning Case as a by-product of phi-features Agreement (cf. also Pesetsky-Torrego 2001). Therefore, no Case morphology reflects licensing directly. The distinction between nominative and accusative morphology is solely sensitive to the structure and is not related to the source of nominal licensing. Thus, all Case morphology is somehow *quirky*. In particular, for languages with a nominative-accusative system, nominative is assigned under known structural conditions ultimately related to I, but it is unrelated to any Agreement or assignment capability of I. The assignment of accusative is quite different. It is a dependent Case, assigned to the lower of the two nominals, when the higher nominal bears nominative. However, if the higher nominal bears a distinct quirky Case, nominative (rather than accusative) will be found as the lower nominal.

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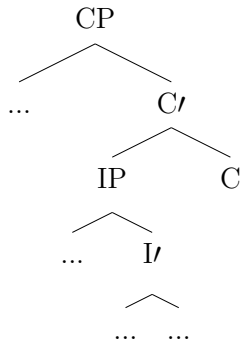
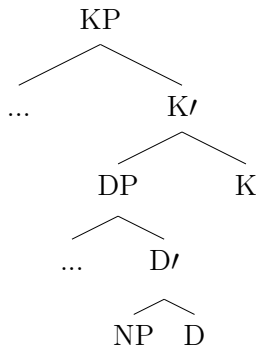
Bittner-Hale (1996) claim that Case materializes in the structure as a functional head, which crucially is the counterpart of C(omp) architecture. In this theory Case represents the maximal extension of the nominal projection, while C(omp) is the maximal extension of the verbal projection. This parallelism is shown in 27 (a, b):

27. (a)

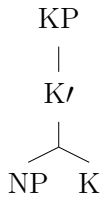


(b)



In a slightly hidden way Bittner-Hale assume that a KP must be a nominal which occurs with a non-null Case marking [17].

The head of KP consists of a bundle of features and the phrase structure can be represented as follows:



Case licensing *versus* **Case agreement**

According to modern Case Theory , one can say that the function of Case is to encode an NP function in S. Each NP would be licensed in S and linked with syntactic head. A simple way to put this is that the Case feature on an NP requires to be *checked* against a corresponding Case feature on the Case-licensing head. In English, Case-licensers must be either verbs or prepositions, but there are languages that display nouns as case-licensers as well. If the Case features on the two participants in a checking relationship do not match up (namely, one is nominative and the other is accusative) or if they do not correspond in a one-to-one relationship (namely, the Case

[17]It is worth mentioning that Fillmore's (1968) analysis saliently influenced the birth of KP development.

feature on a head tries to check Case features on more than one NP), then the sentence is ungrammatical. On the other hand, if each Case feature in a sentence stands in a proper relationship with a proper partner, then the sentence is well-formed as far as Case Theory is concerned. A question immediately arising to syntacticians is whether Case checking is subject to constraints in the structure. If so, we are very interested in providing the most generalized formulation possible of those constraints.
There is reason to believe that two Case checking strategies are available:

a) Case licensing, between a NP and a head external to NP (a verb or preposition);

b) Case agreement, within a NP (between a determiner and a noun).

The relationship between the two participants in a Case-licensing relation is presented in three structural configurations: specifier-head (28), the head-specifier configuration (29), and the head-complement (30). The three configurations are not discussed here, but just shortly sketched with appropriate manifestations:

28. Spec-Head:
    - English nominative with finite Infl [18];
    - English possessive phrase [19];

29. Head-Spec:
    - Exceptional Case-Marking (ECM) constructions;
    - VP shells;
    - small clauses.

[18]This possibility is given by assuming that all subjects in Spec-IP are moved there from lower positions. A proposal originally suggested by Koopman-Sportiche (1991).
[19]See next chapter.

30. Head-Comp [20]:
    - objective Case in a transitive S.

Generally described as Agreement is a phenomenon encompassing two distinct cross-referencing devices: pronominal clitics that double some null and/or overt arguments, and proper agreement (sometimes called inflection; e.g. Blake 1994). Under the Agreement theory of Abstract Case, clitic pronominal elements must always be endowed with Case, and Case must always match the Case of the DP that is doubled. True Agreement is associated with functional heads. What is is traditionally called 'subject agreement' cross-references only nominative in many languages. Since Agreement is closely connected to functional heads, a strong connection between structural Case and Agreement applies and provides support for the modification of the theory proposed by Chomsky (1995) to eliminate the independent agreement heads, AgrS and AgrO (Chomsky 1991), and to locate the agreement features on independently motivated heads such as Infl. Therefore, true agreement should be checked in either a Spec-head configuration or under local c-command. The Case and Agreement features of a head appear to have to be treated uniformly. Namely, it does not appear to be possible to check the agreement features of Infl/Tense against one DP and its nominative Case feature against a different DP.

1.3.7 Null Case

The ECM/control distinction (18, a-b) at the historical heart of Case Theory received renewed attention in the early Minimalist period. The original analysis relied on three stipulations:

31. (a) a selective difference for the infinitival complements of ECM (IP) vs. control (CP) verbs;

    (b) the absence of a Case assignment rule to the subject position of infinitives;

[20] A subspecies of Head-Spec

(c) the exemption of the NP PRO from the Case Filter.

One line of inquiry asks whether these stipulations might not be derivable, at least in part. The major investigation in this area starts from on Stowell's (1982) observation that the control infinitives are typically future *irreales* infinitives, whereas ECM infinitives are typically propositional infinitives. [21] Building on this observation, Chomsky and Lasnik (1995), Bošković (1996, 1997), a.o., propose an adjustment to (22) whereby the subjects of 'tensed' infinitives (those with a future irrealis interpretation) assign Case to their subject position, but the Case assigned is a specific 'Null Case' that only PRO (but not lexical NPs) might bear. Under this view, the Case Filter could thus be taken to regulate all NPs including PRO.

One of the most serious challenges raised within the Null Case perspective is that the presence vs. absence of 'infinitival tense', i.e. the trigger of Null Case, is itself not shown to be predictable on independent grounds, leaving Null Case as possibly simply a notational variant of the earlier account. Another issue for Case Theory treatments of the ECM/Control distinction, relevant for both the Null Case view and the original Case Theory analysis above, comes from languages in which the subject of (non-ECM) infinitives receives a detectable morphological case (non-Null Case). PRO, therefore, bears Case[22]. Empirical evidence from Case-agreement in Icelandic control infinitives (Sigurðsson 1991, 2007) supports this theoretical assumption (examples for Sigurðsson 2007:5, 9):

32. (a) Olafi finnst gott [að PRO vera rikur]
Olaf.DAT.M.SG. finds good to be rich.NOM.M.SG.
'Olaf finds it nice to be reach'.

(b) Bræðurnir æsktu θess [að PRO vera báðum boðið]
brothers.the.NOM.M.PL. wished (for) it [to be both.DAT.PL. invited]
'The brothers wished to be both invited'.

[21] Stowell's statement is developed by Pesetsky (1992), and the resulting picture is far more complex.

[22] Bošković 1997, Chomsky-Lasnik 1995, Landau 2004, a.o.

Icelandic plays an important role in the discussion since morphological case on PRO is detectable via elements that show agreement in Case with the subject position. Namely, if the matrix controller bears quirky Case, PRO is NOM; if the embedded predicate assigns quirky Case, PRO bears that Case. A different aspect of this problem (noted first in Chomsky 1981) is posed by languages that allow overt, Case-marked subjects of non-finite non-ECM clauses, such as accusative subjects in Latin and Greek.

1.4 Remarks on Case

Even by passing through the most advanced theories of fruitful approaches, every effort to make up a comprehensive and explanatory definition of Case ends out being rather difficult. It is plausible, however, that the presupposition of every consideration on this linguistic entity is that Case exists if its morphological manifestation is evident. This concept is intuitively rather valid, since Dionysius Thrax.

Nevertheless, the most critical studies about this phenomenon do not explicitly admit this 'existence condition' on Case. Fillmore's (1968) analysis refers to a semantic notion of Case, wherein every verb is allowed or banned in a specific environment or 'Case frame' built by the necessary relationship between the verb itself and a fundamental Case item (i.e. A, O, I, etc.). Somehow, 'Case frame' works as a *semantic* valency of verbs [23]. Chomsky-Lasnik's (1977) formulation of the restrictions on the NPs distribution, and Vergnaud's fundamental reply to them, place the Case at the core of the syntactic theory: the Case Filter works as a universally required *function* which assigns to each NP a specific Case. However, none of these three fundamental theoretical elaborations nor the advance of the generative semanticists in 1970s discusses the necessity of an overt (phonetically realized) morphological exponent of Case in languages and about the hurdle that languages without any Case-function marking pose. Intuitively, any inquiry on Case,

[23]The properly known as 'Verb Valency' was first exposed by Tensière (1959) and is essentially about the *number* of arguments that the verbs depend on, that is a syntactic account.

included the conjectures on Abstract Case, must start from the empirical account of marks of Case relations.

Languages with overt morphological Case markings prove clearly how Cases are efficient indicators of syntactic and semantic relations, playing an important role in identifying word order and constituency. On a typological generalization, a nominative-marked element is the subject of a clause, bearing a close relation to Tense or Agreement, and an accusative-marked noun/phrase is the object which bears a close relation to V. Thus, nominative and accusative Cases are hints to grammatical relations and structural positions held by subjects and objects. Among the languages lacking morphological Cases, there are some, such as modern (Mandarin) Chinese, that do not exhibit any strategy of Case markings. The inclusion of such languages in some theory of Case is justified only if Case is assumed to be an abstract entity, of course.

Since in such languages grammatical relations, like subjects and objects, are recognizable for their appearing in fixed structural positions,and since the theory of Abstract Case governs the distribution of NPs (arguments) in relation to their Case assigners (Verbs or Tense/Agreement; see above), such a Theory would contribute only to define generalizations on ordering and constituency (Travis 1984 [24], Li 2008).

The necessary initial idea for any study on genitive is that Case requires an own manifestation of itself, even if poor. English displays a Case opposition in certain circumstances such as personal pronouns:

Eng: *I* vs. *me*, *he* vs. *him*, *she* vs. *her*, *they* vs. *them*.

Standard Italian presents a richer pronoun system:

Strong (=contrastive) stressed pronouns: NOM vs. ACC

io vs. *me* vs. *tu* vs. *te*, *noi*, *voi*, *loro*.

Weak stresses pronouns: DAT *cui* / *loro* [25]

[24]Through Chinese, Travis shows that the direct complements are postverbal and marked, so are the direct objects; otherwise they occur prenominally with no mark. Travis claims that the Case is assigned in preverbal position and, if it is not provided with a mark, it can be moved to preverbal position.

[25]Possessives may be considered as weak stresses pronouns in genitive.

Clitics: DAT *mi*, *ti*, *gli / le* (...), GEN/ABL *ne*,

and so forth.

It is empirically evident that if in a given language there is not morphological evidence of an opposition between two Cases there is not a clear concept of Case at all. The syntactic relations expressed by Case can be reduced, under specific conditions, to Thematic roles, wherein NPs are interpret able, in their domain.

If the morphological criterion is not assumed, only hypotheses about the distribution of NPs can be pursued. In this way, the opposition between direct and indirect objects in Chinese might be analyzed under the distributional perspective. Although, the pure morphological evidence, even if essentially required, hardly provides deep generalizations on Case.

In Chapter 2, the variety of formal realizations of genitive Case are taken into account. It will be shown that the morphological exponence helps to reach a useful classification of genitive types. Yet, deep generalizations about genitival manifestations and explanations about the nature of genitive Case itself need a more intense theoretical effort.

Chapter 2

Genitive

Several languages use one and the same Case, traditionally termed genitive, for the arguments of nouns whose verbal thematic correspondents bear formally distinct nominative and accusative (or ergative and absolutive). Such a Case is normally employed to express Possessor as well. However, different formal realizations of genitive in the same language are allowed. Namely, genitive corresponds to the clausal bipartite system also in the sense that its distinctions are mostly positionally determined and not directly connected to thematic interpretations. Here it is assumed that in most languages one must distinguish different types of genitive Case. The usage of a single label to identify genitive is plausibly justified by the consideration that the nominal system can hardly be assimilated to either a nominative-accusative or an ergative-absolutive pattern. The two main types of genitive are distinguished on the base of syntactic properties, i.e. their occurrence in a fixed structural position as well as their iterability.

2.1 The nature of genitive

The term 'genitive', without a preliminary definition, could refer to many different phenomena.
First of all, as previously mentioned in section 1.1, the usage of this term

itself is due to the name that Greek grammarians give to one of the *ptōseis* ('fallings', inflections), *genikē* (turned *genitīvus* in Latin). The root of this adjectival form is the same as the verb *gignomai*. Yet, the connection of the adjective A.Gr. *genikē* / Lat. *genitīvus* / Eng. *genitive* with the specification of a grammatical Case is not so straightforward [1]. The term depicting this peculiar Case relationship remained unchanged throughout the centuries within linguistic research.

Here it seems to be appropriate to define 'genitive' as a neat syntactic notion, disregarding for the moment any connection with the 'possessive' meaning which only certain genitival configurations encode. The terminology around the concepts of 'genitive' and 'possessive' is vague because the attempts to define them pass through diverse and barely compatible perspectives. Here 'genitive' is meant as any (structural) configuration that a language displays to encode the arguments of a nominal head. Although this definition cuts off some conceptual details, it maintains the broadness required. Even if genitive might entail a the wide cross-linguistic variation of morphological forms, syntactic configurations, grammatical relations, and semantic interpretations.

The most salient property of nominal constructions is the cross-linguistically frequent contrast between Case realization of Agent and Theme between nouns and clauses. Many languages use a special Case, which is normally the same used to express Possessor[2], for the arguments of nouns whose verbal correspondents bear nominative and accusative. The array of forms that these arguments assume is heterogeneous.

Therefore, genitival relations are either

- those encoded by specific inflectional morphology (Latin, Russian, etc.),

- or by the agreement relation between a possessive pronoun and its nominal

[1] " De *genos* ont été tirés de rares dérivés touts tardifs: *genikos* "qui appartient au genre, générique" (Arist.), mais *genikē* (*ptōsis*) désigne le génitif, le mot étant d'ailleurs mal expliqué (général? du genre? de l'origine?) cf. Wackernagel *Synt. Vort.* 1, 18-19. Nom d'action *genismos* "répartition der terres en catégories", sans qu'un verbe **genizein* soit attesté. Tous ces termes se rapportent aux divers emplois de *genos*: "race, famille, catégorie" (Chantraine, *Dict. Etym. Gr.*, under the entry *gignomai*).

[2] See below.

head,

- or by phrase headed by a *dummy* preposition (PP),

- or a dedicated affix (English *-'s*),

- or by a specific mark on the head noun governing the genitival phrase/noun.

The definition of genitive adopted here crucially refers to two syntactic and semantic structures within the nominal domain that need to be specified: the hierarchy of arguments and the structure of the Determiner Phrase (henceforth, DP).

2.2 Thematic structure

On the basis of simple observations, one can state that thematic roles of arguments and syntactic categories of verbs and the arguments they select are not assigned arbitrarily.
Let's consider the following sentences:

1. *A mosquito bit me (on the finger)*

2. *I was bitten by a mosquito (on the finger)*

In (1) *a mosquito* is the Agent and the subject, *me* is the Theme and the object; in (2), which is a passivization of (1), *a mosquito* is the Agent and *I* is the Theme and the subject. This evidence supports one of the more insightful principles of UG, i.e. Baker's (1988) 'Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis', for which

3. "Identical thematic relationships between items are represented by identical structural relations between those items at the level of D-structure" (Baker, 1988:46).

It ensures that semantic roles are assigned in a uniform manner at the level of D-structure [3].

[3]D-structure, used to be called Deep-Structure, is the result of the tree generation triggered by the conspiracy ('the base') between the lexicon and the X-bar theory (cf.

In regard to (1) and (2), this means that *I* in the passive sentence must have be originated in an object position in D-structure and then moved to the subject position though a transformational operation like

4. *was bitten I by a mosquito (on the finger)* → *I was bitten _ by a mosquito (on the finger).*

There is, however, another sentence in which (1) can be paraphrased:

5. *A mosquito bit my finger*

In (5) the phrase *my finger* expresses an inalienable possession. As also comes from Fillmore's (1968) considerations. This configuration of genitival nature, manifested by a possessive pronoun, encodes an argument which is not suitable for the Agent(ive) or the Object(ive). For inalienable possession, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Fillmore has to admit a different argument for N so that NP→ N (D) [4].

What Fillmore identifies as a D complement, seems equivalent to a specific nominal argument. The quasi-argument or the R-related phrase of Higginbotham (1983), also improperly called Possessor (P).

Whereas Agent (or Subject) and Theme (or Object) of a clause correspond to Subject (S) and Object (O) in the argumental structure of a nominal head, P does not hold any clause-NP correspondence. It does not exist in the clausal structure.

A 'Configurational Hypothesis' formulated in Giorgi-Longobardi (1991:2) states that:

- It is possible to identify, within NPs, definite Θ- (and not Θ) positions at various levels of hierarchical attachment;
- The Θ structure of Ns (their Θ Greed and the condition of Θ assignment) strictly parallels that of Vs so that the difference on the surface

Carnie 2008:244). It is called also 'underlying' form or representation. The D-structure is subject to 'transformational rules' whose output is the 'S-structure' of a sentence.

[4] "When a D remains in the NP without undergoing genitive modification, certain of its features are copied onto the determiner so that the determiner may eventually assume the form of the appropriate 'possessive adjective' " (Fillmore 1968:67).

must be due to the intervention of other modules of Grammar which determine some systematic variation.

A completing part of the Configurational Hypothesis is the Thematic Correspondence Hypothesis wherein verbs and corresponding nouns receive the same Θ-role from their grid as the external one. Therefore, according to specific criteria, the main arguments of a head noun turn out to be hierarchically ordered as in a clause. So, S is higher than direct O and other complements; P turns out to be higher than S, so that the following hierarchical order comes out:

6. P(ossessor) > S(ubject) > O(bject)

where the first two arguments are external and the third one is internal. The three relevant tests to verify this hierarchy are[5]:

- 'possessivization'

- 'extraction'

- c-command

The 'possessivization' is a test for the validity of the hierarchy above stemming from the observation that most European varieties admit two strategies of formally realizing the P, S, and O nominal arguments of the noun; these two strategies somehow recall the Case distinction between nominative and accusative of clausal structures. P, S, and O are realized:

7. (a) by means of either a postpositional affix (e.g. English *'s*) or a special agreeing form (e.g. possessive pronouns);

   (b) through a postnominal prepositional form (English *of*).

Generally, the 'possessivization' expressed in the realization (7, a) is subject to following limitations (Longobardi-Silvestri 2012)[6]:

[5]Longobardi (2001), Longobardi-Silvestri (2012).

[6]These conditions are first defined by Milner (1978) for French.

8. (a) if only one among P, S, and O is present, then it is normally be able to assume the form (7, a);

   (b) if P is overtly present, it is be the only one able to assume the form type (7, a);

   (c) if P is not overtly present and S is, only the latter (i.e. no O) is be able to assume the (7, a).

Here some examples from French:

9. (a) *Ma* $_{P/S/O}$ *description*

   (b) *Ma* $_{P}$ *description de Marie* $_{S}$

   (c) *Ma* $_{P}$ *description de Marie* $_{O}$

   (d) *Ma* $_{S}$ *description de Marie* $_{O}$

Hence, the following hierarchy clearly ensues:

10. P>S>O

Another methodology is the 'extraction' test. Cinque's (1980) generalization thereof states that, of all the arguments and the adjuncts, only the subject can be extracted from a NP through a *wh*-movement or cliticization in Romance. Here the formulation of an empirical generalization from Longobardi (2001):

'Of the phrases in the frame of a head N, only one representing an argument expressible through possessivization can be extracted from Nmax'.

Examples:

11. (a) *Marie, dont j'ai lu la description* (...)

    (b) *Marie, dont j'ai lu la description de Jean* (...)

(11, b) is thematically ambiguous and can be read with this distribution:

12. (a) *Marie, dont* $_{P}$ *j'ai lu la description de Jean* $_{S}$ (...)

    (b) *Marie, dont* $_{P}$ *j'ai lu la description de Jean* $_{O}$ (...)

(c) *Marie, dont* $_{S}$ *j'ai lu la description de Jean* $_{O}$ (...)

This means that the evidence resulting from the possessivization and the extraction are equivalent and confirm the hierarchy restated in (10).
The further test is related to the internal structure of NP and involves the c-command relations manifesting binding asymmetries between pairs of arguments. Generally, given any pair of nominal arguments among P, S, and O, in which one includes a bound expression, such as anaphors or quantifiers, and the other being the antecedent of such a binding relation, P turns out to always be the *binder*, O represents the *bindee*, and S binds inside O but never inside P (Giorgi-Longobardi 1991).

13. [P[S[O...N...]]]

This NP-internal phrase structure reflects, thus, some the properties of the hierarchy of nominal arguments in (10).
A further specification of the empirical generalization in (8, c) describes the inability of O to appear in a possessive form, even if in the sentence no overt S or P occurs. As Longobardi (2001) notices, this restriction involves specific head nouns that assign an 'affecting' θ-role to their object:

14. (a) *The understanding of the theorem*
    (b) **The theorem's understanding*

This case of possessivization of O changes into a passivization in clauses. In literature it is meant as 'passivization' of NPs. Yet, this turns to be an improper label if one accounts for some facts precisely underlined by Longobardi (2001):

- In English, as previously mentioned, unaffected objects cannot be possessivized, whereas they can in clauses.
- In English possessivization of the object destroys any trace of syntactic activity of the understood subject role as a controller.
- In some languages in which *by*-phrases are used in NPs and in passive clauses, the prepositions introducing the expressions in the respective constructions are different.

- Languages normally have quite distinct morphological forms for passive verbs, but not for 'passive' nouns.

These and other facts lead to Longobardi's (2001) conclusion that possessivization of the object of a noun is more likely the correspondent of middle verbal diathesis rather than a passivization transformation.

2.3 Formal realization of genitive

One of the most salient properties of nominal constructions, namely the frequent differentiation among languages between Case realization of S and O with nouns and in clauses, stems from the empirical evidence that many languages use a special Case, the genitive Case, normally the same that expresses P, for the arguments of nouns whose verbal correspondents bear nominative and accusative. The forms that these arguments assume are various among languages and even within the same language.
However, in this array of forms, a neat divide separates instances of genitive Case realized by means of an adposition (pre-[7] or post-position[8]) from the other genitival configurations, which can be all collected under the group of possessive or possessivized forms.
As for prepositional Genitives, it must be noticed that identifying them unequivocally is less obvious than one might expect, since some arguments bearing the role here called P are often expressed also through dative-like marking (such as French *à*), and some S arguments can be realized through agent-like prepositions (like in English *a novel by Camilleri*). An empirical generalization one can consider is that a phrase assumes a prepositional genitive only if its form may also be used to realize a thematic O argument.
The question now is how the different realizations of possessive (non - prepositional) forms can be defined in the various contexts.

[7] As found in most Romance, Germanic, Celtic and, say, in Bulgarian and some Semitic languages.
[8] E.g., Japanese.

In languages, genitive can occur with morphological endings as, e.g., in Latin in which it is morphologically well defined and considered as paradigmatic since used to define the specific inflectional class a noun belongs to. Some other genitive types are affixal as, e.g., in certain agglutinative languages. A genitive without any manifested mark occurs in certain varieties[9] as some instances in Old French and in certain Italo-Romance varieties. Other genitival phrases bear no mark themselves, but a mark of genitive is realized on the head noun (Hebrew).

The markless genitival configurations within the Italo-Romance domain are the main concern of this work. The next Chapter almost exclusively focuses on this intriguing issue.

At first sight, one notices that within all non-prepositional realizations a maximum of morphological heterogeneity is found. As an attempt to reduce this variety to types of genitive manifestations, a classification by Longobardi-Silvestri (2012) was proposed which states that there are at least five different ways to formally realize a prepositionless genitive:

15. non-prepositional:

    (a) a phrase-final affix (e.g. English/Scandinavian -*s*);

    (b) a word-final affix (e.g. German -*s*, perhaps Arabic -*i*);

    (c) an inflectional ending (e.g. Latin or Slavic Genitive);

    (d) phi-feature concord with N
    (e.g. Romance possessive pronouns, Slavic genitival adjectives, or, in the reverse direction, Hungarian genitive);

    (e) zero-realization (Hebrew Construct State Genitive).

As mentioned in the end of Chapter 1, the pure morphological evidence, even if essentially required, hardly provides deep generalizations on Cases. Syntactically, however, a consequential distinction arises. Prepositional genitives and some inflectional ones (Latin Genitives, Gianollo 2005; probably Classical Greek ones as well , Guardiano 2003) are rather freely iterable and freely

[9]This is comparable to the opposition between nominative and accusative in most varieties of Europe, wherein both the Cases do not display Case-marking.

ordered with respect to each other, once provided with a natural thematic interpretation (*Camilleri's great description of Porto Empedocle of the new novel* etc.). In particular, more than one of these genitive instances may surface in post-adjectival positions. This is not the case with any of the other types mentioned. Slightly oversimplifying, there are two main types:

16. (a) a functionally checked Genitive, called *functional* henceforth, bound to precise structural positions.

    (b) A *free* genitive, licensed simply by its being in (or connected to) a thematically suitable position.

However, the distinction cannot be easily acquired from environmental evidence. The characteristic *iterability* of *free* genitive is unlikely to be robustly manifested in spoken corpora, in which instead nouns with a single genitive abundantly occur. Therefore, it is not surprising that, correlating with the syntactic distinction in question (iterable : free = non-iterable : functional), there are some further detectable peculiarities. On one side, only genitives of the *functional* type are those which, given appropriate conditions, can and must transfer their definite interpretation to the whole DP they belong to (e.g. Semitic construct state, Celtic Genitives, Germanic Saxon Genitives). This is never the case with *free* Genitives, despite occasional interactions among definiteness values (e.g. Stavrou-Tsimpli 2011). On the other hand, *free* genitives seem to be always realized through robust formal marking, in the form of clearly inflectional Case or, analytically, through a dedicated preposition. Instead, functionally checked genitive, cross-linguistically may be signaled by often reduced or non-adpositional forms.

2.3.1 *Free* genitive

Free Genitive seems to be minimally characterized by the following properties (Longobardi-Silvestri 2012):

17. (a) it is always formally marked, even in languages wherein other realizations of morpho-phonologically unmarked or less robustly encoded genitives occur,

(b) it is freely iterable, whenever thematically interpreted,

(c) it does not suffice to satisfy requirements on definiteness marking of the head nominal.

Finally, *free* genitive appears to be subject to a general constraint which in itself is quite useful in enabling the property (17, a).
Moreover, cross-linguistically, it is observable that every language displays at least one strategy to express *free* genitive.

18. *'Uniqueness'*: each language has at most one form to express *free* genitive .

If such conditions do not hold, one will have to do with *functional* genitive.

2.3.2 *Functional* genitive

It is assumed that there are at least (perhaps also at most) two positions for *functional* genitive, one coming before adjectives and the other after them (though surfacing before prepositional genitives in case of co-occurrence), with the surface position of the head noun cross-linguistically varying without substantially affecting this generalization.
The two positions have been descriptively called GenS and GenO, respectively, in Longobardi (2001) and Longobardi-Silvestri (2012), though without any allusion to thematic function; in this work, they are respectively labeled as Genα and Genβ.
Genα is paradigmatically best represented by Germanic prenominal *-s* genitive and probably by all the agreeing types in (15, d). Genβ, the lower one in the structure, basically post-adjectival, type is exemplified by Greek, Slavic, Icelandic, Celtic (prepositionless) genitives (Rouveret 1994), and also by some cases in Old English (Crisma 1999), Old French, and other certain sub-standard Romance varieties (Delfitto-Paradisi 2009). It is slightly less straightforward how to classify Semitic construct-state genitives, which surface before adjectives (unlike in Celtic), but could have been raised there from a lower position along with movement of the noun itself, as part of a

general process of phrasal raising ('roll up' phenomenon; cf. Shlonsky 2000). Nothing appears to prevent languages from using both Genα and Genβ at the same time, as in German. For example:

18. ***Lukas*** *philologischen Darstellung* ***Simonides***
    'Luke's philological presentation of Simonide'

In fact, typologically, languages seem to choose to activate one of the two positions, or both positions together. They then choose to combine them with adpositional (*free*) genitive or not. Therefore, there are languages manifesting Genα alone (Hungarian), Genα and *free* genitive (English), Genβ alone (Greek), Genβ and *free* genitive (Celtic), *free* genitive alone (most of Romance, with the exclusion of pronominal possessives), Genα and Genβ (most of Slavic, adjectival genitives included), and finally all of them (German, probably Latin; cf. Gianollo 2005).
This apparent typological independence might be subject to some deeper cross-linguistic constraints.

2.3.3 Manifestations of *free* genitive

Consistency and Uniformity

First of all, it must be noticed that for adpositional genitives it does not seem frequent to occur in a high structural position, in particular with pronominal items.
This restriction might follow from general independent constraints, conceivably from Giorgi-Longobardi's (1991) 'Consistency Principle', primarily meant to ban internal right-recursion from prenominal adjective phrases and itself perhaps to be ultimately derived from some version of Biberauer *et al.'s* (2010) 'Final-over-Final Constraint'.
Technically, a linear Consistency Principle, though descriptively correct, could be insufficient, for it does not forbid prepositional realization of genitives in postnominal functional positions (let's say in Genβ). However, it seems that a prepositional realization be intrinsically impossible for a functional genitive

anyway: for, as a matter of fact, so far no definiteness inheritance has been unambiguously discovered with prepositional Genitive.

Ultimately, whatever the correct formulation of the Consistency restriction is, one must point out that there is no need in all languages for *free* genitive to be formally distinct from *functional* genitive; in effect, synthetic morphology may in principle satisfy conditions on either type of genitive.
A plausible corollary, exposed in Gianollo (2005), is that a language like Latin, which has clearly *free* genitive realized in an inflectional (non-adpositional) form, seems to use the same genitive morphology prenominally in both the positions (pre-and post-adjectival) where non-free genitives are used in other languages. This provides a surface appearance of wide (though not unconstrained) freedom.
This prompts the further hypothesis that if a language has a form of *free* genitive which can occur also in functional positions as well, it will always place there, determining what it may called 'Uniform' genitive:

19. 'Uniformity': if the form of *free* genitive is compatible with functional checking, then it is used in all functional positions also.

This hypothesis seems supported by Classical Greek as well (Guardiano 2011).
A further general observation about *free* genitive is that, once it satisfies the theta assignment requirements, it does not need to move from its basic position, as shown in (9, 11, 12), according to a sort of principle of economy.

2.3.4 Conditions on *functional* genitive

Licensing

Descriptively, it seems that there exist three common ways to license a *functional* genitive:

20. (a) in postnominal position;
    (b) in prenominal position with Gen-N agreement;

(c) in prenominal position with determiner-like function.

Let's examine them in turn.
The postnominal position of functional genitives is always the result of N- (or N projection-) raising over Genα or Genβ. Of course, the most frequent and unambiguous cases are those in Genβ, i.e. in postadjectival position.
The second cross-linguistically common way of licensing a functional Genitive is through phi-feature concord. Longobardi (1996) noted a tendential complementarity between the forms of prenominal and postnominal genitives. The former must often agree in phi-features with the head noun, the latter can dispense with this requirement, a phenomenon with some clausal parallelisms in the relation between pre-/post-verbal subjects and verbs, already noted by Greenberg (1963, Universal 33[10]). This is particularly clear in the case of visible language-internal alternations, as shown, e.g., in Catalan (with the special raising noun *casa* 'house' / 'home'; Longobardi 1996):

21. Catalan:

    (a) *La meva/*meu casa*
    The my(-F)/my(-∅) home

    (b) *Casa (/Ca') meva/meu*
    Home my(-F)/my(-∅)

Thus, some prenominal genitives are definitely licensed just by means of feature copying with the head (essentially 'free riding' of Case on phi-features, in Chomsky's 1995 terminology). This results from the two logically possible varieties: copying from the head onto the argument and in the reverse direction (argument features copied on the noun).
The first variety of agreement is manifested in at least three subcases:

22. (a) restricted to possessive personal pronouns, as in many IE languages;

[10] "When number agreement between the noun and the verb is suspended and the rule is based on order, the case is always one in which the verb precedes and the verb is in the singular" (Greenberg 1966:94).

(b) extended to adjectives derived by many nouns and displaying full argument properties (e.g. also binding anaphors etc.), as in most Slavic languages;

(c) used with all *free* genitives and morphologically exposed on the adpositional marker of the latter (e.g. in Hindi, some Arabic varieties).

The first two subcases concern the licensing of functional genitives, unlike the third one concerning a free configuration. Conditions (22 a, b) seem to occur precisely in Genβ. Genβ is more easily raised over by N or N-projection, therefore agreement is often not necessary as a licensing device, and actually is not normally observed.
The second variety of agreement is well exemplified by Somali or by Uralic languages (namely Hungarian displays such an agreement in Person).
Finally, the third salient case of *functional* genitive is that of the Germanic languages, licensed without any visible agreement with the noun, a fact tentatively attributed in Longobardi (1996) to covert noun movement or, perhaps, noun projection, which would restore the required N-Gen order, producing for English (23, a) an LF representation (23, b):

23. (a) *The professor's helpful handbook about calculus*

    (b) Handbook the professor's helpful t about logic

According to Longobardi (1996), example (23, b) would be a phonetically invisible counterpart of Hebrew Construct State. The idea is motivated by the fact that there is an important semantic correlation of this construction that indeed recalls Construct State, such as the determiner-like function of the genitive itself: Germanic non-agreeing prenominal genitives appear to transmit count and definiteness properties to the whole DP (Crisma 1999, 2011). Longobardi (1996) has tried to set up a theory of covert N movement in such a way as to account for this correlating property as well. Whatever the correct theoretical account, the determiner-like function of such genitives seems a necessary component of their licensing.
Before concluding, one should notice that all the three licensing conditions

above may probably be dispensed with in languages with uniform inflectional genitives; this is suggested by the fact that Ancient Greek displays some apparent instances of prenominal/preadjectival non-agreeing genitives without any interaction with the definiteness interpretation of the whole DP (Guardiano 2011).

The manifestations of *functional* genitive

A second issue is whether a genitive construction must always be signaled formally or can be realized by no morpheme at all, as observed in structural Cases such as accusative in languages like English and many others.
Prepositional, postpositional or affixal/inflectional genitives all formally signal Case in the phonological form and seem to display some degree of mutual historical complementarity (e.g. loss of Latin Case-inflection gave way to Romance prepositional Genitive). Genitives occurring in the category defined as *free* appear to all fall into these classes.
Moreover, among functionally checked genitives, there are instances of formally unmarked phrases, such as Hebrew construct genitive, Romance (ancient or non-standard) juxtaposition genitives, as witnessed e.g. by Old French (Delfitto-Paradisi 2009:296):

24. (a) *la niece le duc*
the niece the duke
'the duke's niece'

The Hebrew case could be understood as an instance of marking on the head noun rather than on the argument, speculating on the idea that the morphophonological modifications of the former (its Construct State) is the reflex of some suprasegmental morpheme signaling *possessee* condition (Ritter 1988). The Romance instances definitely display a Genβ when occurring in varieties which have no overt residue of morphological Case contrasts. This genitival type might reduce to a lexically restricted construction, licensed and, in a sense, marked precisely by the nature of the noun governing it. This assumption is crucially better developed in Chapter 3.

More on Genα and Genβ

In this perspective, a typologically plausible hypothesis is that, in all languages and constructions, without any specific parameterization, Genα is always used to *check* genitive Case, whenever one of the conditions allowing it holds:

- agreement (in either direction),

- (or) overt N-Gen order,

- (or) covert N-Gen order.

Instead, for Genβ some parametrization about the activation of its Case-checking capabilities must be stipulated. There seems to be no obvious way to predict, that Genβ is nowadays productively used in German, though not in English or Romance, for instance.
The residual cases in Romance, when occurring in varieties which have no overt residue of morphological Case contrasts, are definitely a Genβ occurrence (cf. Chapter 3).

2.3.5 A theory for genitive

A preliminary assumption of the complete pattern so far observed is that [+Genitive] is a formal feature of DPs.
Normally, Genitive must correspond to at most one (cf.'Uniqueness' above) salient phonological translation into the Articulatory-Perceptual system, such as some overt inflection or a specified preposition which lexically mean 'genitive'). This form of genitive will be largely *free* in syntactic distribution, depending however on a suitable thematic interpretation.
If there is no such a phonological translation in the language, or the translation is incompatible with some positions, then the feature [+genitive] will be technically inexpressible and will have to be deleted over the course of the derivation. In these occasions, [+Genitive] operations may only be checked and eliminated in designated syntactic positions of the extended functional structure of the noun (Genα and Genβ). Ideally, the deletion of this feature

will result in null realization, but also commonly in some reduced form defined by the syntactic context or morphological constraints; anyway, prepositional genitive is structurally too complex and heavy to ever count as checked, while some inflections and postpositional affixes seem more acceptable as the realization of checked and deleted [+genitive] in functional positions, at least in languages which are otherwise basically prepositional.
The checking of the feature [+genitive] must take place not only in designated positions, but also under specific syntactic conditions, informally described as a reformulation of Longobardi's (1996) 'Case Checking Principle', mentioned in an extended form at the end of Chapter 1:

25. 'Checking': A Case feature on a category *a* is checked by a designated head *g* iff

    (a) a is a member of the internal domain of a CH headed by *g*
    or

    (b) *a* shares f-features with *g*

Postpositional genitives

As mentioned, in certain languages (English and Scandinavian) postpositional phrasal markers are used on prenominal functionally checked genitives, while *free* genitives occur in the prepositional form (*the old man's picture* / *a picture of the old man*). There are definitely languages in which postpositional phrases instantiate apparently *free* genitives, e.g. Basque in Europe (Etxepare 2003, Trask 2003) and typically Indo-Aryan among IE languages:

26. Basque (Etxepare 2003:419)

    (a) *Mikelek Jonen kotxea hautsi du*
    Mikel.ERG Jon.GEN car break AUX.TR
    'Mikel broke Jon's car'

(Trask 2003:143)

(b) *herri pintore-en lanetan*
popular painter.PL-GEN work.PL.OBL
'in the works of popular painters'

27. Marathi

(a) *Maricha ek chitra*
Mary.GEN a pic
'a picture of Mary'

(b) *Johne kadhlele Mariche chitra*
John.by taken Mary.GEN pic
'John's picture of Mary'

Postpositional genitives seem to always occur in a structural high position (e.g. in Indo-Iranian they precede demonstratives and indefinite determiners) and in particular always before the head noun.
Therefore, as for such genitives a wider bidirectional generalization holds:

28. 'Generalized Consistency': prepositional Genitives always surface after the head noun, while postpositional genitives appear before it.

These observations could suggest that adpositional *free* Genitive might be universally fronted to and licensed in a very high pre-DP position, connected to some appropriate thematic position, and obligatorily crossed over by the whole DP if and only if the language chooses prepositional realization (Kayne 2002).

Head marking

As mentioned previously, the adnominal relation is often morphologically marked on the Genitive argument, sometimes on the head noun itself (cf. Nichols 1992, a.o.) but, more plausibly in theoretical terms, on a functional morpheme incorporated by the noun.
To some extent, the two strategies may co-occur, for instance a Genitive affix

in Arabic co-occurs with the morphological modifications on construct state nouns. A subtler typological question is whether the head-marking argument can be in free Genitive, in Genβ, or just in Genα position.
The distinction between head marking and argument marking partly cross-cuts with issues about agreement. As noted above (2.4.1), agreement in phi-features may go in two directions.
Agreement from Gen to N is attested in head-marking languages like Hungarian, and actually the agreement marker on the noun is itself a form of head marking anyway. Agreement from N to Gen in non-head-marking languages is especially widespread with personal pronouns (so-called possessives) and occurs in other cases as well. It is less clear if it may co-occur with phi-neutral head marking.

Genitive and definite suffixes

Some languages with definite markers suffixed to the head noun, such as Rumanian (Androutsopoulou 1999), Bulgarian, and Norwegian display some non-prepositional (i.e. apparently functionally checked) genitive in the position right-adjacent to the N+suffix complex, in a form which is typically reserved to personal pronouns (so-called possessives) in Norwegian and Bulgarian, and occurs basically into all genitive DPs in Rumanian, wherein the latter ones are more distinctly inflected.
In Rumanian the marker *al/ai* (and corresponding feminine forms), doubling phi-features of the nominal head under certain circumstances, appears to perform the same function in a lower, apparently post-adjectival, position:

29. (a) *prieten al regelui*
friend(m/sg) AL(def/m/sg) king(def/m/sg)
'friend of the king'

(b) *prietenul regelui*
friend-the king-the(gen)
'the friend of the king'

(c) * *prietenul al regelui*
friend-the AL king-the(gen)

An interesting natural question arises here, whether two such contexts of Genitive checking in Rumanian are comparable to the two more general checking ones (Genα and Genβ) identified above.
Another general issue, of course, concerns the possible licensing role of definiteness in many of these processes.

2.3.6 Partial conclusions

As a result and a summary of some of these observations, the previous scheme (13) could be embedded in the more complex structure:
30. Longobardi-Silvestri (2012):

[*1* Genα *2* AP* *3* Genβ *4* [$_a$ P [S [O ...N...]]$_a$]]

In (30) the numbered positions 1 through 4 signal some cross-linguistically possible surface positions for the noun. Genα and Genβ are located in the high and low functional positions for possessivized Genitive, respectively. AP* is a potentially iterated base position for attributive APs. The structure in (30) is, therefore, a representation of the architecture of DP.
It is worth, illustrating the general features of DP and the reasons why generative syntax assumes this phrasal component as independent from NP, even if it is strictly related to it.

2.4 DP structure

2.4.1 Determiners

Certain languages are known to introduce the great majority of their nominal structures by means of one (and often at most one) item taken from the (closed) classes of demonstratives, articles, possessives, quantifiers, or cardinal numerals.
These five classes, each with peculiarities of their own, are all identified already in traditional grammar texts and can be well defined in relatively obvious semantic terms. As a first approximation, such classes which, as

noticed, normally seem to be mutually exclusive, are collected, precisely on distributional grounds, under the hyperonymic category of *determiners*. In recent works (one a.o. Ghomeshi-Paul-Wiltschoko 2009), determiners have been variously assigned to the head or Spec(ifier) position of a D projection (see right below), on the base of their surface collocation.
Determiners, moreover, seem to typically establish the definite/indefinite interpretation of the nominal and to often select between a mass or count reading of morphologically singular head nouns, interplaying thus with formal properties as Definiteness and Number.
The underlying syntactic source of such elements has also been discussed in recent works, occasionally giving rise to important conclusions, as in the case of Bernstein's (1997) results about demonstratives.
The role of the D head is taken to be characteristic of a specific phrase, in particular since the influential works of Szabolcsi (1987, 1994) and Abney (1987), that it has come more and more generally to be viewed as the head of the whole nominal structure. Hence it is generally viewed that Determiner Phrases take NP as its complement.

2.4.2 Determiner Phrases (DPs)

Before the works by Szabolcsi and Abney, the determiners were considered to be the specifiers of NPs, thus to belong to phrasal structure headed by N as represented in (33, a). A phrase like *The novel by Camilleri* was supposed to have the structure:
31.

$$[_{NP}\ [_{D}\ \text{The}]\ [_{N'}\ [_{N}\ \text{novel}]\ [_{PP}\ \text{by Camilleri}]\ ]\ ]$$

The head N *novel* is merged with its complement *by Camilleri* forming the N′ projection *novel by Camilleri*; N′, in turn, is merged with D, thus forming NP. Such a structure violates one of the basic conditions imposed by the X-bar Theory, for which

- phrasal categories must be endocentric, i.e. must have a head [11].

[11] The only obligatory element in a phrase is the head.

Hence, the inference:

- all non-head material must be phrasal material.

Determiners are heads in languages, like English, in which there can be only one D in a NP:

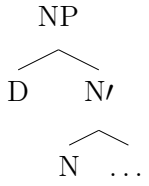
32. *this the cat

Yet, in the representation (31), D, realized as *the*, even if belonging to the category of Determiners, does not head phrasal material. The X-bar requirement above, namely, if applied to the instance (31) or to the structure (33, a), states that in NP the only item that is not a phrase is the N itself: this is clearly an incongruity between the 'headedness' of D and the syntactic configuration of NP.
The unobvious solution proposed first by Abney ('DP Hypothesis', 1987) is that D is not inside the NP, but actually heads its own phrasal projection[12]:
32.

$$[\,[\,[\,[\,[\text{ The }]_{\text{DP}}\text{ novel}]_{\text{NP}}\text{ by Camilleri}]_{\text{PP}}]\,]$$

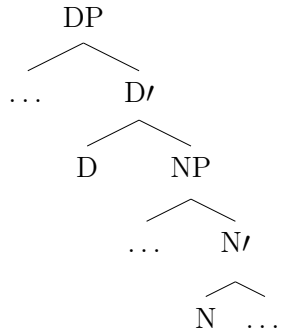
Under this solution, the whole phrase is a DP headed by *the*, with the NP *novel by Camilleri* is its complement. Moreover, this allows to interpret a movement of the type N-to-D raising as a phrasal movement, since a NP raises to the position of the DP.

33. Before Abney (1987)



[12]One might account for another solution such that Spec-NP has to host the DP. However, this does not fulfill instances of N raising to its Spec, as e.g. *Mary's book'*. If this raising is considered as head movement, then a N would move to a DP projection, and this is not accepted in modern linguistic theory. If the raising is taken to be a phrasal type of movement, no phrase really moves, as N′ is not a maximal projection. These additional considerations do not support the validity of (33, a).

34. 'DP Hypothesis' (DP*h*, henceforth)



In this perspective, NP is the complement of DP. It solves the incongruity of the non-phrasality of a D head.
Other pieces of evidence come from the distribution of non-adpositional genitives, i.e. the prenominal final phrasal *-'s* genitive in English, also called *construct* genitive (Carnie 2008:199). For instance, in the clause

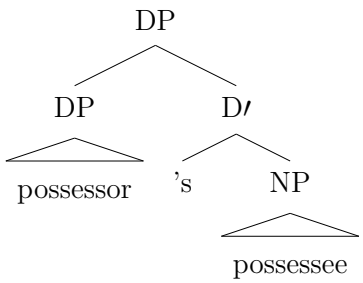
35. [*The boy playing soccer*] *'s book*

the mark *-s* is in complementary distribution with Ds, since the *-'s* genitive does not allow the both Ns to display a D:

36. * [*The boy playing soccer*]*'s the book*
(cf. *The book of the boy playing soccer*)

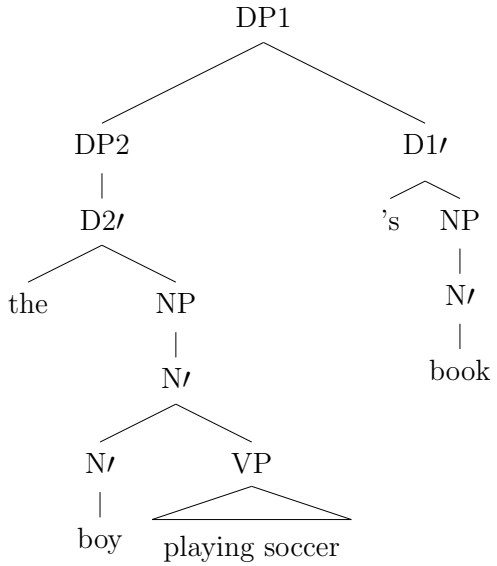
Therefore, Ds and *-'s* genitives are assumed to be two different manifestations of the same entity. If the DP*h* is valid and if *-s* is supposed to be a D, it follows that the positioning of *-'s* with respect to the possessor N, can be depicted in the following tree-like representation:

37.



And the sentence *The boy playing soccer's book* would be represented as:

38.



The possessor [$_{\text{DP2}}$ *the boy playing soccer*] is in the Spec of DP1, headed by *'s*. Thus, linearly, *'s* sits after the entire phrase. With the configuration required by the previous theory there is no chance to generate *'s* as a determiner and, at the same time, to display the possessor NP preceding it. Therefore, the basic syntactic structure assumed here is (34, b).

2.4.3 Modifiers: adjectives

Some generalizations about the domain of attributive adjectives have begun to emerge in recent decades and went beyond considerations about the stylistically conditioned linear variation.

The most salient property of adjectives evaluated by recent work (Sproat-Shih 1988, Crisma 1991, 1996) states that they receive different interpretations according to the positions they hold in the syntactic structure. The intrinsic meaning of certain adjectives is suitable for more than one semantic role, thus allowing them to surface in different positions. Some others are compatible with only one semantic interpretation, thus binding their occurrence in fixed positions.

The existence of different dedicated positions is manifested, rather universally, in the relative linear order of adjectives with respect to each other, and, within parametric variation, with respect to the head noun.
Sproat-Shih (1988) suggest that a preference hierarchy tends to order adjectives expressing more absolute properties, like shape and color, linearly closer to the head than those expressing relative properties, like quality and size. The hierarchy seems observationally well motivated in languages with prenominal modifiers (e.g.English, Chinese), but yields contrasting results in different languages with superficially postnominal adjectives[13]. The hierarchy also has an unclear status in some languages such as Romance varieties, where nouns often surface medially between pairs or sets of adjectives.
Sharper and theoretically more salient results are provided by including in research the richer system of adjectival modification found with event nominals. The relevant facts suggest the existence of a fixed crosslinguistic left-to-right sequence of adjectives:

39. S-(subject or speaker)oriented [14] > Manner > Argument adjective (from Crisma 1991, 1993)

It has been stressed originally by Crisma (1991, 1993, 1996) that the head noun surfaces in different positions in different languages, without affecting the relative order of adjectives. The following paradigms are representative, in turn, of event- and object-denoting nominals:

40. (a) *The probable hostile German reaction* (English, Germanic)
    (b) *La probabile reazione ostile tedesca* (Italian, Romance)

41. (a) *A nice blue German dress*
    (b) *One bèle bleuve cote alemande* (Walloon[15])
    (c) *Un bel vestito azzurro tedesco*

[13]Within European languages, Celtic retains the same order of adjectives as English, but some non-European languages display its mirror image.
[14]Subject-oriented = Speaker-oriented
[15]Bernstein (1991).

Each position corresponds to a distinct semantic role, and many adjectives are lexically able to bear different roles. These adjectives are somehow like DPs that positionally bear different θ-roles. This gives rise to non-synonymous pairs like:

42. (a) *L'ingenua risposta astuta di Gianni*
    (b) *L'astuta risposta ingenua di Gianni*
    (c) *John's naïve clever answer*
    (d) *John's clever naïve answer*

Adjectives and N-raising

The patterns above support the hypothesis that the parametric variation in question does not concern the position of adjectives but rather that of the noun (Bernstein 1991, 1993, Crisma 1991, 1996, Valois 1991, Cinque 1994). These nouns raise leftward to different positions in depending on the language and constructions.

This N-raising approach to the noun-adjective order is a generalization of the narrower but parallel analysis proposed in Longobardi (1994) for the N-A order obligatorily found in Romance with determinerless proper names. Adjectives normally only possible in the D-A-N order but ungrammatical or severely constrained in their meaning options in the D-N-A order become grammatical or retain their ordinary prenominal meaning with proper names in the N-A sequence. Thus, the A-N sequence is ungrammatical. For example:

43. (a) *La sola Giulia ha passato l'esame*
    (b) * *La Giulia sola ha passato l'esame*
    (c) *Giulia sola ha passato l'esame*
    (d) * *Sola Giulia ha passato l'esame*

The paradigm suggests that N substitutes for D with the adjective remaining prenominal. It is perhaps significant that the Romance languages

display both N-to-D raising of proper names (cf. Longobardi 1996) and more general leftward N-raising over adjectives, while Germanic languages lack both. This general question deserves wider typological investigation.
Another type of contrast concerning at least the so-called 'Manner' adjectives, that distinguishes Germanic and Romance and is parallel to the patterns seen above, is between restrictive and appositive modification. With few exceptions, Romance prenominal adjectives are only appositive, while Germanic prenominal adjectives can be restrictive or appositive:

44. (a) *Il gatto grigio*
    (b) *Il grigio gatto*

This contrast as well is suggested to be ultimately reducible to the wider scope (i.e. higher target) of N-raising in Romance (Bernstein 1992, Crisma 1996). Cross-linguistically, 'Manner' adjectives are split. The restrictive type might occur lower than the appositive they, with the noun obligatorily raising above the latter adjectives in Romance but not in Germanic.
Given (39), the analysis suggests the plausible prediction that S-oriented adjectives on one side and argument adjectives on the other should escape the classical appositive/restrictive contrast. The hierarchy (39) then becomes (45), having the potentially universal domain of restrictiveness, and N moving into the position normally targeted by raising of common nouns in most Romance varieties:

45. [S-(subject or speaker-)oriented [M1(appositive) **N** [$_{w}$ M2(restrictive) [Arg adjective ...]]]]

On the whole, two main conclusions have emerged from recent approaches to adjectival modification:

46. (a) one can profitably pursue a research program based on the idea that adjectives occupy universally fixed positions in the nominal structure with N parametrically taking different orders with respect to such positions;

(b) attributive adjectives as a whole (i.e. the entire structure of (39) or (45)) cross-linguistically occur lower than the higher genitive position or higher than the lower genitive position: in other words, (39)/(45) seems to always occur between the two slots (probably specifier positions) labeled Genα and Genβ, a typological conjecture strongly confirmed by a language where both genitives can be realized, such as German.

Therefore, properly inserting (45) into (27), the more complete picture turns out to be the following:

47. [1 Genα 2 [S-oriented [M1 N [Mr2 [Arg3 [Genβ [A P[S[O ...N...]] A]]]]]]]

2.5 A Parametric Comparison

Longobardi's (2003) development of some Roberts' (1998) hints suggests that syntactic parameters are particularly apt to function as *comparanda* for phylogenetic reconstruction, since they are endowed by definition with formal properties (discreteness and universality) that in principle guarantee longest-range comparison, quantitative exactness, and no ambiguity of settings. Longobardi (2003) also suggested, as a strategy of realistic size, that relatively many parameters be studied in relatively many languages, at the acceptable effort of focusing on one compact module of grammar (Modularized Global Parametrization, MGP). Among its advantages, MGP allows for a better identification of cross-parametric implications and for a probabilistically sounder sample/population ratio.

2.5.1 The Parametric Comparison Method

The possibility of a Parametric Comparison Method (PCM) was first proposed in Longobardi (2003). Longobardi-Guardiano (2009) argued that PCM provided language distances and preliminary taxonomies having a feasible empirical agreement with some independent historical evidence, within and without the Indo-European family. Bortolussi-Longobardi-Guardiano-Sgarro

(2011) suggested that the probability of many of the language distances, empirically calculated by PCM, is significant against chance, and therefore calls for historical explanation. Finally, Longobardi (2012) argued that some apparently paradoxical instances of parallel developments can be readily explained by the structure of the syntactic theory underlying PCM. Thanks to its reliance on a universal list of parameters of Universal Grammar, PCM is formulated to potentially address unsolved long-range genealogical questions. To fully assess and increase its adequacy, it is crucial to first test its performance in domains whose genealogy is already known. Furthermore, it is important to test PCM's ability to reconstruct chronologically deep phylogenies using exclusively modern language data. In Longobardi *et al.* (in press)[16], some experiments were performed on a selection of 26 contemporary Indo-European varieties, using a more refined parameter list than previously along with a wider range of statistical procedures. It is proved that the current version of PCM identifies strikingly well the main subfamilies of Indo-European including from modern languages only, performing genealogically as accurately as lexical methods. The 'horizontal transmission (interference) does not seem to limit the effectiveness of PCM to the extent of seriously undermining the correct representation of most 'vertical' relations.

2.5.2 The parametric database

An updated database has been used in the parametric experiments presented by Longobardi *et al.* (i.p.). It consists of 56 binary parameters, all in agreement with MGP, defining syntactic properties of nominal structures, identified on the basis of existing literature and ongoing investigation.
Table A[17] lists the parameters and their settings in the format introduced in Longobardi-Guardiano (2009). The alternative states are encoded as '+' and '-', while the neutralized states resulting from the implications across parameters are coded as '0'. Longobardi-Guardiano (2009) stressed that in many cases the value of one parameter is entirely inferred by the values of another

[16]Henceforth, Longobardi *et al.* (i.p.)
[17]The full "Table A" (Longobardi *et al.*, i.p.) is in *Appendix*.

(also cf. Baker (2001)), and thus represents information to be completely disregarded for taxonomic purposes.

2.5.3 Genitival variation in parameter values

A specific group of parameters (i.e. 29 to 32, and 39, as ordered and labeled in 'Table A' in Longobardi *et al.* i.p.) govern the properties of the direct arguments of a nominal head, the genitives.
The two main types of genitival configurations, the *functional* genitives (non-adpositional), and *free* genitives (either adpositional or inflectional) are represented by the value settings of these parameters. In the short description below, the only referential work is Longobardi *et al.* (i.p.) [18].

Free Genitive (p29, GFR)

This parameter describes the existence, in a language, of *free* genitives, which can be realized either in the form of a pre- or post-positional phrase, or by means of rich inflectional morphology. As mentioned, normally each language exhibits only one such strategy ('Uniqueness', Longobardi-Silvestri 2012). Prepositional *free* genitives occur DP-finally, the postpositional ones DP-initially. Instead, inflected *free* genitives also occur in the structural positions normally associated with functional genitives (cf. +p30, GUN [19]). The value +p29 enters implicational dependencies with the parameters describing the internal formal properties of free genitive configurations: p30 (GUN), p31 (GPR), and p39 (GSP), described below.

Uniform Genitive (p30, GUN)

Certain languages, such as Latin (Gianollo 2005) and Classical Greek (Guardiano 2011), within Indo-European, exhibit an inflected genitive that displays, with the same morphology, both the distributional properties normally associated

[18] In Table A, parameters are identified throughout an extended label (e.g. 'Free Genitive'), the ordering number (e.g. p29) , and an univocal three-letters label (e.g. GFR).

[19] The implicational dependencies are encoded with a short label with the value '-' and '+' implicating or implicated, followed by the parameter value.

with free genitives (i.e. it may be phrase-final and freely iterable) and those typically associated with functional ones. Namely, it can occur also prenominally, both to the left and to the right of structured adjectives, and is not iterable in such positions. Therefore, it provides a surface appearance of freedom.
This parameter precisely asks if a language displays such a genitive (+p30) or not (-p30). P30 is relevant only if p29 (*'Free Genitive'*) is set to +. If p30 (GUN) is set to +, all the positions are automatically activated, and no other formal realization of genitival arguments is available. Hence the implication between +p30 and p32 (*GenO*).

DP over *free* Genitive (p31, GPR)

This parameter distinguishes languages displaying a *free* genitive to the right of the whole DP (+p31) from those wherein it appears to the left of the DP (-p31). As for adpositional genitives, this distributional property is taken to strictly correlate with an empirical generalization: phrase-initial genitives are postpositional, phrase-final ones are prepositional. Obviously, for p31 to be set, the value of p29 (*'Free Genitive'*) must be + .

GenO (p32, GFO)

This parameter defines if a language checks a non-*free* genitive in a functional postadjectival position (+p32; Gianollo 2005, Longobardi-Silvestri 2012) or not (-p32). In many languages GenO [20] may surface postnominally, in various positions, depending on the scope of N-movement.
The Greek varieties, along with Celtic languages, uniformly exhibit GenO (=Genβ). Most Germanic languages exhibit GenS[21] , fewer exhibit GenO (German and Icelandic, and among ancient varieties, both Old English and Gothic). Slavic is +p32, with the exception of Bulgarian, while modern Romance is -p21, with the exception of Northern Calabrese that seems to preserve a non-prepositional genitive with the properties of a GenO (see

[20]Remind that in the present work GenO is called Genβ.
[21]Remind that in the present work GenS is called Genα.

Chapter 4).
As mentioned above, p32 is irrelevant in languages wherein a uniform genitive is active (+p30 *Uniform Genitive*. See above), since the position(s) usually held by GenO (and GenS) would already be filled.
It is to notice that Longobardi *et al.*'s (i.p.) system does not express in parametric form the existence of GenS in languages, which seems predictable from the settings of existing parameters. Instances of GenS are likely to be found in +p30 (*'Uniform Genitive'*) languages and in languages wherein a genitive morpheme agrees with the head noun (Hungarian and Finnish).

N-feature spread to *free* Genitive (p39, GSP)

This parameter defines if the phi-features of N are morphologically spread to DPs or PPs expressing a full genitive argument (Hindi and Marathi) or not. This parameter is logically dependent on +p29 (*'Free Genitive'*), and conceptually on the possibility of spreading N-features to adjectival phrases and, indeed, to possessives.

2.6 Remarks on genitive

Summarizing, syntactically there are two main types of genitival configurations: *functional* genitives (always non-adpositional), and *free* genitives (either adpositional or inflectional).
Genitives of the functional type are bound to precise structural positions, which cannot be duplicated: a higher one precede structured adjectives (Genα, best represented in Hungarian or by Germanic prenominal *-s* genitive) and a lower one after structured adjectives (Genβ). Genitive arguments express three types of relation with respect to the head noun: Possessor (in a broad sense), Subject, and Object.
When more than one such relation is represented in a DP, and when at least one genitive in such a DP is functional, their ordering depends on the hierarchy P > S > O (Longobardi 2001). In other words, the evidence suggests that:

48. (a) Granted that genitive is the Case of the relationships between the N and its (nominal) arguments, as a Case it needs to be univocally identified/distinguished in respect with other Cases.

    (b) Unmarked genitives exist among languages.

    (c) A genitive not intrinsically marked by morpho-phonological marks occurs in Genα or in Genβ positions.

These pieces of empirical evidence lead to formulate three hypotheses:

49. (a) Hypothesis#1. If (48 a) is given, then genitive requires a mark of the following types: morpho-phonologic forms (endings, suffixes), fixed syntactic position, or *dummy* prepositions.

    (b) Hypothesis#2. If (48 b) is given, then genitive must occur in a specific fixed position.

    (c) Hypothesis#3 If (48 c) is given, then Genβ genitive must be typologically identified as restricted to a closed list of head noun items and genitival items.

In the next Chapter, pieces of evidence coming from the Romance domain will be closely analyzed. In particular, the genitival prepositionless realizations represent the core analysis of this thesis. Phonetic tests were *ad hoc* formulated to verify the deep phonological absence of preposition between the DP of the head N and the DP of the genitive.
Observations about some patterns of possessives and partitives in Italian dialects will be presented.
Moreover, in order to reduce the Romance prepositionless genitives to one of the two basic types mentioned in this Chapter, data from Italo-Romance varieties are especially examined under the principles governing the DP architecture, such as N movements with respect to adjective and genitive positions.
The validity of the three Hypotheses (49 a,b,c) will be challenged on empirical and theoretical grounds in the remainder of this thesis.

Chapter 3

Genitive in Romance

Romance languages, with the exception of Rumanian, display a prepositional codification of genitive, typically realized through a prepositional phrase headed by the outcomes of Latin DĒ, i.e. *de* / *di* and its variations. However, in Romance a configuration showing no preposition is also traceable to early stages of standard Romance varieties as well as non-standard ones. This configuration has been observed by Delfitto-Paradisi (2009) and was eloquently labeled as 'Juxtaposition Genitive'. It is represented by two DPs appearing in a fixed order: the first DP is the main DP, the second DP is the genitival one. Cross-linguistically, a variation of definiteness codification on the genitival DP is noticeable. The salient instances of this genitival configuration come from Old French, some Ibero-Romance varieties, and the Old variety of standard Italian and a group of Romance dialects of Italy. A intriguing parallel with the unmarked Construct State construction in Maltese is provided.

3.1 Case system: from Latin to Romance

In Latin, number and Case features are morphologically realized by a single suffix, that can also bear gender. Since Latin also displays concord, Case features are found on all the dependents of the head noun, as number and

gender features.

The reduction of items in the Case system is one of the most puzzling aspects of the development of Romance from Latin. Romance displayed different Case systems at different stages of its history, in particular Gallo-Romance and Rumanian show a two-Case system.

The inflection system of Classical Latin reduces to two Case-markings in Late Latin: nominative and accusative [1], giving rise to a case of syncretism between accusative and all the other Cases. Calabrese (1998:85) claims that this syncretic instance, whose outcome is the Proto-Romance accusative, is justified by means of the [-Subject] feature shared between accusative and all the other Cases in opposition to nominative which crucially he maps as [+Subject].

Such a nominative-accusative Case system is seen in Old French and Occitan until the 14th century, when gradually the accusative replaced the nominative as well and ended up functioning as the only mark for all the nominals. The same change variously occurs in all the Romance languages. It is commonly assumed that the other Case functions turned out to be expressed by prepositional phrases [2].

Indeed, the received knowledge is that the synthetic genitive found in spoken Latin was systematically replaced by prepositional Case assignment in Romance. The attested cases of prepositionless genitives in both modern and old varieties of Romance play a significant role for a general theory of genitive Case assignment. A consistent group of revealing instances mentioned in this chapter seriously challenge the alleged complementarity between prepositional genitives and overt synthetic genitive morphology. In terms of con-

[1] The reduction to one Case form is mostly motivated with the need of keeping the distinction in nominals between singular and plural rather than of preserving the two-Case system (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1890-1906).

[2] As for genitive, Classical Latin (CL) encodes it by specific endings. CL uses the ending **-ī** for nouns with *-o/e-* as the vowel alternation characterizing one of nominal classes (e.g. *domin-ī*) and, also, for nouns with *-ā* and *-ē-* (e.g. *rosā-ī* > *rosai* > *rosae*; *diē-ī*). CL shows the endings **-s**/**-is** (< **-es*) in all the other nominal classes (e.g. *consul-is* < **consul-es* , man*u*-s < * *manou-s* (singular); for the plural nouns the original common ending is *-um* (< **-ōm*. E.g. *consul-um*, *classi-um*, *manu-um*), but it has been replaced in nouns with *-ā* and *-o/e-* with * *-sōm* > *-ōrum*/*-ārum* and, due to analogy, *-ērum* for the nouns in *-ē* (e.g. *dominōrum*, *rosārum*, *diērum*. Cf. Vineis 1997:315-317).

siderations about linguistic change, the data discussed here suggests that the loss of inflectional genitive morphology does not strictly require a prepositional genitive. In the Romance cases at issue, the absence of Case marking does not ban the use of prepositionless genitives.
Delfitto-Paradisi (2009) recognize four types of prepositionless genitive in Romance:

- cases of N+N composition like:
  - *taglio spese sociali* 'social spending cut', *ufficio riscossione tributi* 'tax collecting office', *caduta foglie* 'leaf fall', *inizio mese* 'month beginning', *fondovalle* 'bottom of the valley', *centrotavola* 'table decoration' and so forth [3];
- cases of so-called Juxtaposition Genitive (JG) widely attested in Old French (see below. Cf. also Gianollo 2005);
- forms of JG in Old Italian (see below), still surviving in certain Italian dialects;
- the Construct State effects in Romance, first investigated by Longobardi (1995).

3.2 Gallo-Romance

3.2.1 Old French varieties (11-14th c.)

The Old French varieties mentioned here involve Old French *tout court*, also called *langue d'oïl*, and Occitan, also called *langue d'oc* or Provençal.
The two-Case system of Proto-Romance is well preserved in the first texts of French, namely marking the opposition between *cas-sujet* and *cas-régime* is

[3] Delfitto-Paradisi (2009) actually group under this first type of prepositionless genitive some instances of juxtaposed Ns and proper compounds that belong to diverse syntactic configurations. For example, in *taglio* [*spese sociali*]$_{\text{GEN}}$ the genitive bears a O argument; instead in *caduta* [*foglie*]$_{\text{GEN}}$ the genitive fills a S argument.

found in all Old French texts until the first decades of 14th century; thereafter, the latter remains the only mark for singular and plural nouns.

1.

	Singular	Plural
Cas-sujet	*-s* (*-z*)	-∅
Cas-régime	-∅	*-s* (*-z*)

The endings in (1) are shown only in masculine nouns[4] (Anglade 1965:78):

2.

	Singular	Plural
Cas-sujet	*li murs*	*li mur*
Cas-régime	*lo / le mur*	*los/les murs*

A survey of Old French DP syntax is provided by Gianollo (2005), by means of the examination of *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, a religious poem of the 11th century, in which prepositional genitives (3) occur along with inflectional genitives (4), the latter encoded by *cas-régime absolu*. The following examples can be found in Gianollo (2005:196-198):

3. Prepositional:

   (a) *fille d'un noble Franc*
   daughter of a noble Frankish
   'a noble Frankish's daughter'

   (b) *grant masse de ses humes*
   great mass of his men 'a great mass of his men'

[4]In feminine nouns hold no distinction between *cas-sujet* and *cas-régime*. The only detectable morphological distinction for feminine nouns is singular *vs.* plural.
Singular- Cas-sujet = Cas-régime : *la / le rose* ;
Plural- Cas-sujet = Cas-régime : *les roses*.

4. Inflectional:

   (a) *de la cambre sun pedre*
   of the room his father
   'of his father's room'

   (b) *le cors saint Alexis*
   the body St. Alexis
   'St. Alexis' body'

Anglade (1965:155) points out some other instances[5]:

5. (a) *le fil Sainte Marie* (*Roland*, 1634)
   the son St. Mary
   'St. Mary's son'

   (b) *le gonfanon le roi*
   the heraldry the king
   'the king's heraldy'

   (c) *un dent Saint Pierre*
   a tooth St. Pierre
   'a St. Pierre's tooth'

   (d) *la volonté le roi*
   the will the king
   'the will of the king'

   (e) *l'hostel le duc*
   the home the duke
   'the duke's home'

3.3 Ibero-Romance

3.3.1 Colloquial Castilian

The usage of prepositions resulting from Latin DĒ to express the genitival functions is the most frequent one in standard Castilian.

[5]However, the source is unknown in some cases.

However, in the colloquial variety of Castilian instances of a prepositionless genitive can be found. In colloquial context, no trace of preposition is displayed between the two DP, the second corresponding to the genitival phrase. This phenomenon is discussed in Gaviño-Rodríguez (2008:56) who underlines some cases of genitive configuration where the presence of the preposition is optional:

6. *Calle (de) Alcalá*, *Teatro (de) Calderón*, *plato (de) sopa*, *tortilla (de) camarones*, *libro (de) reclamaciones*, *botella (de) agua*, *botella (de) aceite*, *encima (de)l burro*[6].

Gaviño-Rodríguez states that these instances are examples of the weakening and consequent deletion of the phoneme /d/, allegedly extended to the preposition *de* following the noun [7]. The alveolar-dental consonant of the alleged preposition, would first weaken and then delete, since it lies between the final vowel of preceding word and the second segment [e] of the preposition itself. Yet, in Gaviño-Rodríguez (2008) the subsequent steps of the phonological chain procedure, where the vowel [e] should delete as well, are not explained. The hypothetical deletion of /d/- does not justify the co-occurring absence of the vowel -/e/ in the prepositionless genitive configuration. In order to refer to a proper preposition deletion, a necessary intermediate stage must be assumed, such as:

7. *botella* [e] *agua*, *Calle* [e] *Alcalá*, etc.

At least a very few instances of colloquial Castilian should show this stage of evolution. Otherwise, the absence of the preposition as a result of phonological deletion is a very difficult claim to make. However, (7) is not documented. Furthermore, an array of newly captured productive cases in colloquial Castilian shows that phonological deletion is not the explanation of these idiosyn-

[6] 'street of Alcalá', 'theater of Calderón', 'soup plate', 'tortilla of prawns', 'book of claims', 'water bottle', 'oil bottle', 'on top of the donkey'.

[7] "La evolución de [d] > [ð] > [∅] (que es la tendencia estándard tanto del español peninsular como del hispanoamericano) se extiende al resto de sónidos oclusivos intervocálicos, como es el caso de [g] > [ɣ] > [∅] (...). Un apartado destacable de supresión es el de la preposición *de* en las frases preposicionales dependientes de un sustantivo, que alternan con usos con preposición." (Gaviño-Rodríguez 2008:56)

cratic configurations. Here, significant instances of prepositionless genitive show a rich array of combinations with respect to two main features which can be used as a preliminary classification of these cases, i.e. [+Definite] and [+Human][8]:

8. (Fully grammatical instances:)

   (a) *el hijo el ministro*; *el hijo un ministro*; *el hijo los ministros*;

   (b) *los hijos los ministros*;

   (c) *un hijo el ministro*; *un hijo un ministro*; *un hijo los ministros*; *'the minister's son', 'a minister's son', 'the ministers' son'...*

9. Acceptable:

   (a) *hijos (un) ministro* 'sons of (a) minister';

   (b) *la novia mi hermano* 'my brother's wife'; *la(s) novia(s) mis hermanos* 'my brothers' wife/wives'; *una novia mi hermano* 'a wife of my brother';

   (c) *una cesta harina* 'a basket of flour'; *una cesta manzanas* 'a basket of apples'; *una cesta las manzanas* 'a basket of the apples'; *la cesta manzanas* 'the apples basket';*las cestas las manzanas* 'the baskets of the apples';

   (d) *la casa mi hermano* 'my brother's house'; *la casa mis hermanos* 'my brothers' house'; *casas mi hermano* '(some) houses of my brothers'; *la casa un ministro* 'a minister's house'; *la casa los ministros* 'the ministers' house'; *las casas el ministro* 'the minister's houses'.

3.3.2 Asturian

The Asturian variety of Cabo Peñas also shows some instances of prepositionless genitive:

[8]The whole array of Spanish instances can be found in the *Appendix*. I am very grateful to M. Español Echevarria for providing me interesting data and helpful suggestions for this Chapter.

10. Data from Diaz Castañon (1966:243-4)

    (a) *la casa 'l medicu* 'the doctor's house', *el portico la Iglesia* 'the church's portico', *el carru la yerba* 'the cart of the grass', *un carru yerba* 'a grass cart', *un cistu cereces* 'a cherry basket', *El Cabu Peñes*.

3.3.3 Rioplatese Spanish

Ocampo (1998) points out that in the casual speech of Spanish speakers from La Plata (Argentina) the omission of the prepositions in PPs often occurs. Besides the sociolinguistic motivation for the prepositions to be lacking before a relative pronoun (a sort of hypercorrection based on the stigmatization of the *dequeísmo*, i.e. the excessive use of the sequence *de que*, as a coarse expression), Ocampo (1998) defines three factors overriding the ungrammatical judgments of this documented omission: the presence of a syntactic parallel structure, the specific conversational context, and some ongoing processes of grammaticalization.
Below instances of omission of *de* are quoted:

11. (Data from Ocampo 1998)

    (a) ⊘ **eso** *se enteraba la madre ...*
    (of) him *clitic* found the mother ...
    'the mother found that of him ...'

    (b) *porque la costumbre acá* ⊘ **la gente** *fue he visto las vidrieras...*
    because the habit here the people it was, I have seen the show windows...
    'because the habit of the people was, I have seen the show windows, ...

    (c) *Ustedes se acuerdan* ⊘ **los brasileños** *cuando vinieron...?*
    you *clitic* remember the brazilians when they came...
    'Do you remember the brazilians when they came...?'

3.3.4 Portuguese

Nunes (1989:233) notices that some cases of two juxtaposed nouns normally linked by the preposition *de* can occur without preposition. The following instances are provided:

12. (a) *ave do paraíso / ave paraíso*
bird (of) heaven

(b) *estrela do mar / estrela mar*
star (of) sea

(c) *cobra de cascavel / cobra cascavel*
snake (of) rattle

(d) *cobra de coral / cobra coral*
snake (of) coral

Some Portuguese cases of non prepositional genitive are to be interpreted as compounds, such as

(e) *cabo esquadra* which alternates with
leader (of) troop

(f) *cabo de esquadra*

The difference between (e) and (f) is found in the adjacency requirement between the head noun (*cabo*) and the genitival noun (*esquadra*), as no modifiers are allowed to intervene within the genitival phrase (e.g. *cabo* *[*esquadra especial*] vs. *cabo* [*de squadra especial*]).
Thus, also in Portuguese a sort of barely marked postnominal genitive is accepted, which is a step toward a compound formation, in certain cases.

3.4 Maltese

The mixed Semitic and Romance nature of the Maltese language justifies the placement of this section in the present Chapter. The Arabic component and the Italo-Romance (Sicilian) one clearly interplay on the morphological level,

since after the Norman conquest of the island, Sicilian and Medieval Latin strongly influenced Maltese Arabic. The Arabic 'Construct State' (CS) and the prepositionless genitive, presumably present in early stages of the Sicilian variety (and, anyway, the functional genitive detectable in Medieval Latin), may have been two forces capable of giving rise to a type of Juxtaposition Genitive in Maltese, represented by a case of Construct State construction where the genitive phrase is morphologically unmarked.

Aquilina (1959) points out, in the section of his Maltese grammar devoted to the syntax of Semitic and 'mixed' Romance Maltese, that the syntactic combinations show a maximal mixture between the Arabic component and the un-Arabic one[9]. Here some instances from the list presented as N+N sequences expressing 'possession' found in Aquilina (1959:325-326) [10] follow:

13. (a) *tattsa-nbid* = glass wine, 'a glass of wine'
    (b) *karettun-tiben* = cart straw, 'a cart of straw'
    (c) *felli-bittiefia* = slice melon, 'a slice of melon'
    (d) *tomna-rabaɣ* = tumolo land, 'one tumolo of land'
    (e) *ɣalqa-tin* = field figs, 'a field of fig-trees'
    (f) *dar-sultan* = house king, 'a king's house'
    (g) *bieb-knisya* = door church, 'a church door'
    (h) *belɣa-ilma* = gulp water, 'a gulp of water'
    (i) *yum-ilferh* = day the rejoicing, 'day of rejoicing'
    (j) *Ras-irrandan* = head the Lent, 'the first day of the Lent'
    (k) *dawl-ilqamar* = light the moon, 'moonlight'
    (l) *kittieb littra* = 'the writer *of* the letter'
    (m) *bin ilmara* = son the wife, 'the wife's son' ('stepson')

[9] "Though the syntactical combinations are largely Arabic, the manner of self-expression is largely un-Arabic, a linguistic situation that is the product of a series of Semitic syntactical combinations conveying in many instances sequences of stylistically un-Arabic manners of self-expression, briefly a series of Siculo-Italian calques" (Aquilina 1959:323).

[10] Aquilina transliterates the following instances in IPA. Here a very loose phonological transcription is used, instead.

(n) *zewj ittifla* = husband the daughter, 'the daughter's husband' ('son-in-law')
Toponyms:

(o) *ɣar-ilma* = 'cave water', Water Cave

(p) *ɣayn-tuta* = 'fountain mulberry', 'the fountain of the mulberry tree'

Aquilina adds instances of constructions encoding family relationship by marriage expressed by N followed by a prepositional phrase headed by *taɣ*[11], in the template

N1+*taɣ*+N2

where N1 and N2 are proper names.

14. *Mariyya taɣ Mikiel*
Mariyya of Mikiel
'Mariyya, Mikiel's wife'

A very detailed analysis of the CS constructions and other possessive noun phrases in Maltese has been provided by Fabri (1996) and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1996) respectively. The two scholars agree in noticing that in Maltese the CS is mostly restricted to constructions in which the noun represents an inalienable *possessee* denoting a body part or a kinship noun (as showed in Aquilina's 1959 examples (13 m,l)):

15. Fabri (1996:230)

(a) *xagħar Pawlu*
hair Paul
'Paul's hair

(b) *omm Pawlu*
mother Paul
'Paul's mother

[11]This preposition is written also as *ta'* and corresponds to *of*. Aquilina (1997:55) notices that *ta'* is a short for Arabic mataːʕ.

(c) **ktieb Pawlu*
book Paul
'Paul's book'

(d) **mejd-a Pawlu*
table Paul
'Paul's table'

As just shown, the 'alienable' possessee nouns (*ktieb* 'book', *mejda* 'table' do not head a CS construction. Instead, nouns as these hold a possessive prepositional phrase introduced by *ta'* (= *of*)[12]. For instance:

16. (ibid.)

(a) *il-mejda ta' Pawlu*
DEF-table of Paul
'Paul's table'

(b) *il-ktieb Pawlu*
DEF-book Paul
'Paul's book'

Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1996:266) notices that the *ta'*- phrases encode the three different types of nominal arguments:

17. (ibid.)

(a) *ir-ritratt ta' fotografu professjonal ta-l-katedral*
DEF-portrait of photographer professional of-DEF-cathedral
'the picture of the cathedral by the professional photographer'

(b) *il-kotba ta' Pietru ta' l-awtur favorit tiegħ-i*
DEF-book:PL of Peter of DEF-author favourite of-1SG
'Peter's books by my favourite author'

(c) *pinna ta-d-deheb ta' Pietru*
pen of-DEF-gold of Peter
'Peter's golden pen'.

[12]As hinted above, this possessive phrase is also used for family terms referring to marriage relationship.

Fabri (1996:235) lists the nouns which typically occur as heads of CS constructions in Maltese.
18.

BODY PARTS	FAMILY RELATIONS
ras 'head'	*omm* 'mom'
id 'hand'	*missier* 'father'
sorm 'backside'	*zija/u* 'aunt/uncle'
għajn 'eye'	*ħu* 'brother'
qalb 'heart'	*oħt* 'mother'
xagħar 'hair'	*nanna/u* 'grandmother/father'

The word *dar* 'house' may head a CS construction[13]:

18. *dar il-qassis*
house DEF-priest
'the priest's house' (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1996:252)

In Maltese, CS displays a possessor noun morphologically unmarked [14] that is fully comparable to the cases of juxtaposition genitive detected in the Romance varieties discussed in this Chapter.
The maximal DP containing the possessor noun occurs right adjacent to the head noun. Modifiers of the head nouns, thus, do not appear between the head noun and the CS complement [15]:

20. Fabri (1996:234)

(a) *sieq Pawlu l-leminija*
foot Paul DEF-right

(b) * *sieq il-leminija Pawlu*
foot DEF-right Paul
'Paul's right foot'

[13]Cf. also (13,f).
[14]Since many nominals do not distinguish between absolute and construct form, juxtaposition only signals the type of possessive construction.
[15]Both head noun and CS are modified by adjectives to the right of the whole construction.

This restriction does not apply for possessive *ta'* phrases:

21. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1996:247)

    (a) *is-siggu z-zgħir ta' ʔietru*
    DEF-chair *def*-little of Peter
    'Peter's little chair'

Moreover, the definiteness of the CS phrase is inherited by the whole construction. For instance:

22. (a) *id ir-ragel*
    hand DEF-man
    'the man's hand Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1996:246)

    (b) oħt (wieħed) tifel
    sister one-M.SG. boy-M.SG.
    'a boy's sister' Fabri (1996:232)

Therefore, in Maltese two different possessive phrases occur: the CS genitive (hence CS-Gen), a type of juxtaposition genitive, and the prepositional genitive (PrepGen). Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1996) claims that the two configurations are primarily distinguished as referring to *alienable* vs. *inalienable possession* and corroborate a principle of iconicity.
To sum up, in Maltese the conditions for Cs-Gen to be grammatical are:

23. (a) the head noun belongs to a restricted list of items [16],

    (b) the CS noun is not morphologically marked at all,

    (c) a strict adjacency applies between head noun and CS noun,

    (d) the definite value of CS noun defines the definiteness of the whole construction.

The first of the above conditions is crucial for the type of possessive relation to be identified between alienable or inalienable.

[16] Cf. Fabri's (1996) list in (17).

3.5 Genitive in Italo-Romance

Standard Italian and Italian dialects generally display a prepositional phrase to realize genitive case, except for possessives (i.e. the genitive of personal pronouns) which behave as adjectives:

24. (a) *Il libro* ***di Camilleri di Gianni*** *è sullo scaffale.*
the book of Camilleri of Gianni is on-the shelf
'Gianni's book of Camilleri is on the shelf.'

    (b) *La* ***tua*** *foto* ***di Maria*** *è molto espressiva.*
the your pic of Mary is very expressive
'Your pic of Mary is very expressive.

    (c) *Ho perso la foto* ***di te di Maria****.*
(I) have lost the pic of you of Mary
'I've lost the pic of you by Mary / Mary's pic of you'.

    (d) *Dove hai messo la bottiglia* ***dell'olio****?*
where (you) have put the bottle of-the oil
'Where have you put the oil bottle?'

Nonetheless, the standard and non-standard varieties present instances of non prepositional genitive.
In Italian, there is a widespread use of a genitive following a closed list of head nouns, which all refer to place nouns:

25. *via, piazza, corso, viale, villa, largo, androna, riva, ponte, colle* (...)
'street','square', 'boulevard', 'avenue', 'villa', 'park', 'hall', 'bank', 'bridge', 'hill', ...)

26. *via L'Arancio* , *piazza Berlinguer*, *corso Italia*, *villa Opicina*, *largo Battisti*, *androna Campo Marzio*, *riva Nazario Sauro*, *Ponte San Giovanni*, *largo Barriera*, *Colle Val D'Elsa* (...)

Rohlfs (1966-69:§29) [17] states that these constructions are to be analyzed as compounds of proper place names. But, another valid interpretation is that

[17]Hereafter Rolhfs 1966-69 will be abbreviated as 'GS' (=*Grammatica Storica (della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti)*) and the indication of the paragraph will be given.

the construct following such nouns is to be analyzed as a non prepositional genitive ("a construct genitive phrase" Longobardi 1997, fn.4).
The noun *casa* has to be added to this list due to it being fully comparable for its syntactic behavior to proper names and a subset of kinship nouns.

27. *casa Bianchi*, *casa Rossi-Ricci*, *Ca' Foscari* (toponym)

Some synchronic and diachronic aspects of the syntax of *casa* in Romance will be discussed below in this Section, according to Longobardi's studies of the syntactic configurations of proper names extended to certain common nouns.
Some of such common nouns, taken as head nouns, present an interesting issue in their genitive construction. In certain cases, they represent a compact list that overlap with an array of nouns allowing for genitival non-prepositional phrases, which were present in the early stages of Italian and remain still in certain Italian dialects.

Old Italian

Cases of non prepositional genitive are found in the older documents attesting the early phases of Italian (10th-12th century). Here the the complete list of the instances found in Castellani (1973)[18]:

28. (a) *parte* ***sancti Benedicti*** ('Placitum' of Capua, 960)
part of St. Benedict
'St. Benedict's part'

(b) ***Pergoaldi*** *foro* ('Placitum' of Sessa, 963)
Pergoald-GEN court

(c) ***S(an)c(t)e Marie*** *è, (...)*
et trenta anni la posset parte ***S(an)c(t)e Marie***
('Memoratorium' of Teano, July 963)
St. Mary:GEN is
and thirty years it owned pars St. Mary:GEN

[18]The totality of the genitive occurrences can be found in *Appendix*

'It is St. Mary's'
'St. Mary's part owned it for thirty years'.

(d) *trenta anni la possette parte* ***S(an)c(t)e Marie***
('Iudicatum' of Teano, October 963)
thirty years it owned pars St. Mary:GEN
'St. Mary's part owned it for thirty years'.

(e) ('Confessione Umbra', 1037)

i. *ad o(mne)s s(an)c(t)i (et) s(an)c(t)e* ***D(e)i***
to all saint:M.PL. and saint:F.PL. God:GEN
'to all saints of God'

ii. *Acc(usome) de .V. sensus* ***co(r)p(or)i mei***
(s/he) accused-me of five senses body:GEN my:GEN
'S/he accused me of satisfying my five senses'.

iii. *an(te) c(on)spectu* ***D(e)i***
in-front-of presence God:GEN
'in the presence of God'

iv. *Per i(n)t(er)cessione(m)* ***beatissime D(e)i ginitrici(s) se(m)per v(ir)gini(s) M(ari)e*** *(et)* ***o(mn)iu(m) s(an)c(t)orum atq(ue) s(an)c(t)a(rum)***
for intercession sainted:SUP.GEN God:GEN parent:F.SG.GEN forever virgin:GEN and all:GEN saint:M.PL.GEN and saint:F.PL.GEN
'for intercession of God's very sainted parent, forever Virgin Mary, and all saints.

v. *absolutio(n)e(s)* ***o(mn)iu(m) pecc(at)o(rum) tuo(rum)*** *(et) spatiu(m)* ***v(er)e pen(i)t(entie)***
absolutions all:GEN sin:GEN your:GEN and space true:GEN penitence:*gen*
'absolutions of all your sins and chance of true penitence'

(f) *col filio* ***Orselli*** ('Conto navale pisano' 1080-1130)
with-the son Orsell-GEN
'with Orsello's son'

(g) *In nomine* ***sancte (et) i(n)dividue Trinitatis***
(Carta Osimana, 1151)
in name saint:F.SG.GEN and alone:F.SG.GEN Trinity:GEN
'in the name of the Saint and alone Trinity'

(h) *ab i(n)carnatione* ***d(omi)ni n(ost)ri Iesu Christi*** (*ibid.*)
for incarnation lord:GEN our:GEN Jesus:GEN Christ:GEN
'for the incarnation of our Lord, Jesus Christ'

(i) *de Casa* ***Magii*** (for 3 times)
('Testimonianze di Travale', 1158)

(j) *Casa* ***Magii*** (*ibid.*)
(from) House Mag(i)-GEN
'(from) Magi's House'

(k) *In no(m)i(n)e* ***D(omi)ni*** (Dichiarazione di Paxia, end of 12th c.)
in name:ABL Lord:GEN
'in the name of Lord'

(l) *uxor* ***Joh(ann)es*** (*ibid.*)
wife Johann(e)-S
'Johanne' wife'

(m) *In no(m)i(n)e D(omi)ni* (Carta Fabrianese, 1186)
(same as (k))

(n) ('Declaratoria Pistoiese', begin of 12th c.)

i. *Lotteringo filio* ***Paganelli***
Lottering:DAT son:DAT Paganell-GEN
'to Lotteringo, Paganelli's son'

ii. *cognato* ***eiusdem Lotteringi*** *de Capraria*
relative:DAT same:GEN Lottering-:GEN of Capraia
'to the relative of the same Lotteringo of Capraia'

iii. *filio* ***Guidonis*** *de Tignoso*
son Guidon-GEN of Tignoso
'son of Guidone of Tignoso'

iv. *filio* ***Menelai***
son Manela-GEN
'Menelao's son'

v. *Guido* ***Aliccionis***
Guido Aliccion-GEN
'Aliccione's guido'

vi. *ad ma(n)datum* ***eccl(esi)e***
to mandate church:GEN
'to church mandate'

First, the same documents display non prepositional genitives as well as prepositional genitives. All the instances of non prepositional genitive present a clear signal of the Latin morphological mark: *-i*, *-is*, *-e* (<-ae), *-orum/arum*. The adjectives modifying these genitive nouns display full agreement: *sancti/-e*, *beatissime*, *vere*. Clearly, these forms are Latin genitives remained in texts where a high percentage of elements cannot be considered Latin.
Significantly, the genitive instances of the first documents of Italian are all postnominal, except for the occurrences in (20) and (22,d=*Dei genitricis*) . Most genitives appear headed by a kinship noun or by *casa*. Far from being a conclusion, this is a clue that postnominal non prepositional genitive generally follows a defined group of nouns, since the first stages of Romance.
In order to find independent evidence to support this insight, it seemed pertinent to find other documents where a high frequency of kinship nouns may be followed by genitives. This opportunity was offered by examining a few pages of a *Liber Natorum* of one of the parishes of Verbicaro-Cosenza. The *Liber Natorum* is a registrar of 16th century (1556-1579), where the baptism rites were recorded. After the indication of the date always in Latin, a non-fixed formula was constantly used:
By me (priest's name) *the son/daughter of* (parents' name) *has been baptized, with the godfather and/or the godmother* (godfather/-mother's name) etc.
The few examined pages did not present instances of prepositionless genitive following the kinship nouns. Yet, the genitive preposition is variously written as *di* or *de*, even in the same page. This fact would stress a very hesitation

in writing the preposition, which hardly may be due to a phonetic variability of the vowel. Perhaps the priest (or whoever writes in his place) is force to use, due to the registrar formal context, a preposition that barely uses in the spoken language: arguably, *di* / *de* was not a frequent mark of genitive of kinship nouns[19].

Later stages:

29. 'Libro di Sidrac' (1st half of the 15th c. Cf. Sgrilli 1983:160)[20]

    (a) *per la gracia* ***deo***
    for the grace god
    'for God's grace/mercy'

    (b) *lo filho* ***deo***
    the son god
    'God's son'

    (c) *per l'amore* ***deo***
    for the love god
    'for God's love'

30. 'Scripto sopra Theseu Re' (2nd half of 15th c. Cf. Maggiore 2013, par. 104)

    (a) *per lo dicto* ***Seneca***
    for the saying Seneca
    'for Seneca's saying'

    (b) *la dicta* ***Niobè***
    the sayings Niobe
    'the Niobe's sayings'

[19]For instance, on the page 90r of the *Liber*, four baptism records appear. The first, on the top of the page, shows a different handwriting in respect with the other three records. Thus, arguably two people wrote on that page (probably the high priest and one of his representatives). The second, third, and fourth records show the same handwriting: the one who recorded those baptisms uses variously *di* or *de*.

[20]This text is a translation in an Italian variety from the Salento area of the *Le livre de Sidrach* in Old French (end of 13th c.).

(c) *per gratia* ***Ihesu***
for grace Jesus
'for Jesus' grace/mercy'

(d) *lu re* ***li api***
the king the bees
'the king of the bees'

(e) *de huomo* ***altissimo ingenno***
of man highest talent
'of man of great talent'

(f) *eber desiderio* ***libertate***
(they) had freedom desire
'they had desire of freedom'

3.5.1 Italian Dialects

Synchronically, the data from standard Italian in (24) and (25) can be compared to the evidence from certain modern Italian dialects, from to Northern, Central, and Southern Italy. The collection of the revealing instances has been made through the scrutiny of the data of the *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (AIS)[21], of the historical grammars of certain dialects, and by field interviews for the dialects of Verbicaro and Orsomarso (Cosenza), in order to present newly collected evidence.

The exclusion of the 'deletion' hypothesis

The analysis of data from Northern Calabrese under the phonetic and phonological point of view helps prove the fundamental assumption about every study on non prepositional genitive configuration detectable in Romance. The analysis of such an evidence led me to claim that the lack of the preposition is not due to a phonetic reduction and consequential deletion of the alveolar-dental item /d/- , followed by a necessary 'opacization' of the vocalic

[21]The complete list of the relevant instances of prepositionless genitive found in the AIS is in *Appendix*.

segment (i.e. /i/ or /e/). The deletion hypothesis is supported by Rohlfs (GS, 630), a.o[22].

In order to prove that the /d/- deletion hypothesis is inconsistent, some phonetic tests are presented, mainly grounded on the (non/) activation of phonological rules applying in intervocalic contexts.

Taking the Southern dialects into account, the prepositionless genitive is always expressed by a D+N phrase where D is an article [+Definite] realized as /u/ for singular masculine, /a/ for singular feminine and /i/ for plural both masculine and feminine. Exclusively in peculiar phono-syntactic conditions, the article can be realized as /l/+/V/, i.e. [lʊ] s.m, [la] s.f., [lə] pl. m./f. Here, the vocalic articulation of article is considered for the tests, as it creates the intervocalic context wherein the alveolar-dental voiced /d/ indeed might allegedly weaken and delete:

30. [d] > [ð] > [∅]

The alveolar-dental consonant of the alleged preposition /de/ (< Lat. DĒ) would lie between the final vowel[23] of a preceding word (called Word_1) and the article articulated as vowel (called Word_2).

Thus it would be reasonable to hypothesize for the alleged deletion (30) to be an outcome of the application of Rule#1:

31. **Rule#1**

$$/\text{d}/ \rightarrow \varnothing / \text{V}_1 \#\_\_ \text{V}_2$$

In (31) V_1 = -[a] or -[əe] of Word_1; V_2 = [a], [ʊ], [ɪ] = Word_2 (i.e. D, the definite article). The rule in (30), in the appropriate context, activates and would be supported also by a sort of analogical influence of the non-article preposition /di/ realized as [ɪ]. Namely, if the consonant of /di/ = [ɪ] is deleted, then under a sort of analogy effect, it may trigger the deletion of the

[22]The same interpretation is provided by Gaviño Rodríguez (2008) for the colloquial Castilian instances of non prepositional genitive.

[23]The vowel is -[a] or -[ə].

other realizations [dʊ] > [ʊ], [da] > [a], [dɪ] > [ɪ][24].
At a deeper level of analysis, the evidence for a consonantal deletion becomes less and less valid. After the application of Rule#1, Rule#2 applies:

32. **Rule#2**

$$V_1 \rightarrow \oslash / \_\_\#V_2$$

Rule#2 applies in the case where a word ending in a vowel (V_1 = -[a] or -[ə]) is followed by the vowel (V_2) which results in the deletion of the preposition's consonant. V_1 deletes and its phonetic slot is occupied by V_2. This happens in fast speech, thus in almost all the spontaneous productions. The following cases can be observed:

33. Verbicaro:

    (a) [s-ˈa **mːanˈdʒaːt ʊ** ˈpwaːnə]
    '(he) ate the bread' ('he did not COOK it', e.g.)

    (b) [a ˈ**kaːs ʊ** ˈswɪnːəkə]
    '(it's) the mayor's HOUSE (it's not the mayor's CAR')

Nevertheless, in some specific cases, Rule#2 does not apply. In particular, it does not have any effect if $Word_1$ is focalized. Under that condition, the final vowel of $Word_1$ cannot be affected by deletion. For example:

34. Verbicaro:

    (a) [s-a **mːanˈdʒaːtə** ʊ ˈpwaːnə]
    '(he) has EATEN the bread' (not 'he COOK it')

    (b) [a ˈ**kaːsa** ʊ ˈswɪnːəkə]
    'the mayor's HOUSE (not 'the mayor's CAR')

[24]This idea is quickly challenged, for the phonetic articulation of the preposition without article is systematically [ɪ], no matter what the phonetic context is; instead there are two contextually free alternative realizations for the preposition followed by the article, i.e. [dʊ] / [ʊ], [da] / [a], [dɪ] / [ɪ].

Visibly the alleged /d/- of the preposition would lie in an intervocalic context, and then it should delete. At first sight no restriction to the deletion is active, but if one considers the prosodic status of the utterance, the conditions change. Namely, the focalization mechanism leads Word_1 to bear some phonetic prominence not only by holding all of its phonetic segments (or, in particular cases, by increasing their articulatory prominence) but also by creating a prosodic boundary, such as a pause between Word_1 and Word_2.

35. (a) [s-a **mːanˈdʒaːtə** △ ʊ ˈpwaːnə] [25]

    (b) [a ˈ**kaːsa** △ ʊ ˈswɪːəkə]

So far, the above evidence suggests that the /d/- of the allegedly understood preposition is lacking but the reason is not to be found in the weakening and deletion processes in intervocalic context. Due to the pause, namely, there is not a proper intervocalic environment and Word_2 lies after the prosodic boundary, in a position not different from the absolute beginning of the utterance.

Another clearly relevant test is the dislocation of the genitival phrase to the first position of the utterance. Even in a non intervocalic context, the genitival structure remains as D+N. The speaker does not reconstruct the supposed phonological /d/-, even though no deletion process could apply. In other words, if it has never been deleted, it has never existed. In this regard, the following fictitious dialogue is revealing:

36. (Dialect of Verbicaro)

- SPEAKER A: *a kas u swinnəkə* (= 'the mayor's house')
- SPEAKER B : *a kasa i kujə?* (= 'whose house is this?')
- SPEAKER A: *u swinnəkə* (= 'mayor['s])

In the case where these tests are not sufficient to support my claims, a quick comparison with data from other dialects is definitively useful. For instance, the variety of San Marco in Lamis (Foggia) could shed light on this issue. This variety shows some prepositionless genitival constructions, as reported

[25] The symbol △ is here adopted to signal the prosodic pause.

in the Galante-Galante (2006) and pointed out by Fanciullo (2007). The phonetic realization of the article [+Definite] is always consonantal, i.e. /lu/ s.m., /la/ s.f., /li/ pl. m. and f.
For example:

37. *canna lu fucile* 'barrell the rifle', *funne lu mare* 'bottom the sea', *sacchetédde lu sale* 'sack the salt', *la vócca lu furne* 'the mouth the oven', and so forth.

As Fanciullo (2007) notices, some of these prepositionless genitives alternate with the prepositional forms.

38. (a) *la duménneca li Palme / la duménneca de lli Palme*
'the Sunday (of) the Palms'

(b) *la funnerigghia lu vine / la funnerigghia dell'ógghie*
'the remnant (of) the wine/oil'.

The examples in (38) show that the preposition /de/ triggers the 'Rafforzamento Fonosintattico' (RF) [26] of /l/-. Only a pattern like

39. **la duménneca lli Palme* or **la funnerigghia ll' ógghie*

where the weakening and deletion of /d/- would happen after the activation of RF on /l/- by the preposition. This could reopen the debate in favor of the deletion. Yet, such a pattern is not attested. Not even an intermediate stage is documented, such as:

40. **la duménneca e lli Palme* or **la funnerigghia e ll' ógghie*

There is no reason to suppose a deletion of the consonantal segment of the preposition exists for most Romance varieties wherein /de/ does not occur

[26] Roughly, RF is the phenomenon for which, given two words, Word_1 and Word_2, the initial consonant of Word_2 (C_2) geminates, only if intrinsically 'doublable', under the effect of Word_1:

$$C_2 \rightarrow C{:}_2 / \text{Word}_1 \_\_$$

E.g., in standard Italian the sequence 'a casa' ('at home') is articulated as [a 'kkasa].

in certain genitival configurations.
Independently, Tuttle (2002) states that the phonological deletion hypothesis is noted by the Renaissance grammarians who had a clear judgment about such constructions in Old Italian. To them, the lacking of the preposition was not due to a gradual phonetic erosion of its segments, but rather a genuine omission of the prepositional item[27].

3.6 Further considerations

If further considerations are taken into account about a semantic-based classification of the main head noun and the genitive noun involved in such prepositionless configurations, an accurate synthetic description can emerge. As suggested in Delfitto-Paradisi (2009), a classification of the crucial instances is required to formulate an adequate theory of how genitive may be licensed on possessors or other arguments of the head-noun. One should pay attention to the role played by interpretable formal features such as [+Definite] and [+Human].
A table with the restrictions of [Definite] and [Human] features on non prepositional genitive in Old French (OF), Ibero-Romance (IR), Maltese Arabic (MA), Old Italian (OI), and modern Italian Dialect (MID) is proposed:

41.

	OF	IR	MA	OI	MID
HN [+Def] - GenP [+Def]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
HN [-Def] - GenP [-Def]	*	✓	*	*	*
HN [+Def] - GenP [-Def]	*	✓	*	*	*
HN [-Def] - GenP [+Def]	*	✓	*	*	✓
GenP [-Human]	*	✓	*	*	✓

[27] "Quali che fossero le origini, i grammatici rinascimentali lo interpretarono in chiave sincronica come un dileguo, un "levare" o "togliere" [...]. Quel "togliere" o "ellissi" a cui si riferirono era sentito come un dileguo schietto, non come un'evanescenza della preposizione *di* con determinanti fonostilistici." Tuttle (2002:74)

The criteria allowed for in this classification table are the options for the definiteness to be encoded or not on the head noun (HN) and/or on the genitival phrase (GenP), as well as the possibility for GenP to include a N semantically characterized by the feature [- Human].
In modern Italian dialects, the head noun marked as [- Human] can display an indefinite article if the genitival construction is in predicative position. For instance:

42. (a) *jè na fɪgghja ʊ sɪmnəkə*
(she) is a daughter the mayor it's a daughter mayor('s)

The reference of this [- Definite] expression is quite specific. The individual who it is mentioned is well identified, even if she/he never appeared in the discourse domain previously.
Let's consider a minimal pair, such as:

43. (a) *jè na fɪgghja ʊ sɪmnəkə*
(she) is a daughter the mayor ' it's a daughter mayor('s)'

(b) *jè(d) a fɪgghja ʊ sɪmnəkə*
(she) is the daughter the mayor ' it's the mayor's daughter'

is formed on the base of the definiteness encoded by the article: (43,a) denotes an individual already defined by all the participants into the discourse, while (43,b) introduces a new item in the discourse domain. Therefore, the [- Definite] article in the case of (43,b) does not bear a quantifier function (i.e. 'one of the daughters of the mayor').

Chapter 4

Possessives, genitives, partitive in Italian dialects

Various Italian dialects variously display a prepositionless genitive configuration, easily comparable to the types found in the Ibero-Romance and Gallo-Romance varieties discusses in Chapter 3. A deeper analysis of Italo-Romance instances contributes to advance a diachronic hypothesis about the evolution of Classical Latin to Romance, throughout the Late Latin stage. A process of parameter resetting also can be seen in this transition phase. Moreover, considerations about the type of N-raising observed in these dialects, within the configurations of possessives and of functional genitives, adds some crucial evidence to the syntax of such a movement.

4.1 The noun phrase in Italian dialects

As in standard Italian, the noun generally displays agreement with the article and the quantifiers for Number and Gender features. Adjectives and Possessives are fully involved, with specific conditions, in such an agreement

interplay. As for the agreement between the noun and the article, it has been assumed that a characteristic of the Italo-Romance varieties is that the article displays an internal structure like the one attributed to the subject or the object clitics (Vincent 1998, Manzini-Savoia 2005). As for the adjectives, they can surface prenominally or postnominally empirically. in Romance and in English, when they appear prenominally, they cannot acquire arguments:

1. * *un orgoglioso del figlio padre*

2. * *a proud of his son father*

This evidence counts as an empirical argument for adjectives to be allowed for as functional heads (Abney 1986)[1].

In the non-standard Romance varieties of Italy a wide variation of the possessive lexicalization occurs in the position of the possessive within NP, for many alternative reasons.

In northern dialects, Tuscan, Corsican and Gallurese varieties, and 'Extreme'[2] Southern Calabrian, ans Sicilian the adjectival possessive surfaces before the noun and is preceded in turn by the article, in the following a linear order:

1. D-Poss-N

For example:

4. (Manzini-Savoia 2005:553-554)

   (a) *l me/tɔ/sɔ kaŋ* [3]
   the my /your$_{SG}$ / his/her dog (Tresivio-Sondrio)

   (b) *u mɛu kani* (S.Luca-Reggio C.)

   (c) *la mɛ sɛddʒa*
   the my chair (Camporeale-Palermo)

[1]The alternative approach suggests to consider the adjectives as adjectival phrases originated in the Spec-N position or as functional phrases of N (Cinque 1995 a.o.)

[2]The nomenclature for the Italian dialects is taken from the classification adopted by Pellegrini in the *Carta dei dialetti d'Italia* (1977).

[3]Most examples in this Chapter are transliterated in IPA symbols; the word stress on the penultimate syllable is never indicated.

5. Variety of Pisa:

   (a) *il mi χane*
   the my dog

   (b) *il mi amiχo*
   the my friend

The possessive in postnominal position is found in the Central-Southern dialects, in Sardinian varieties, in some Sicilian points, and in the Gallo-Romance varieties spoken in Southern Italy (cf. 6,d).
For example:

6. (Manzini-Savoia 2005:557-558)

   (a) *la kamiʃa meja / teja / seja / nɔʃtra / vɔʃtra*
   the shirt my / your / her/his / our / your$_{PL}$
   (Vastogirardi-Isernia)

   (b) *u kɛnə mɛjə*
   the dog my (Molfetta-Bari)

   (c) *su kane meu*
   the dog my (Siniscola-Nuoro)

   (d) *u vɛs mɛvə*
   the dog my (Guardia P.-Cosenza)

7. Dialects of Verbicaro (7,a) and Orsomarso (7,b) - Cosenza

   (a) *u kwanə mwija/tua/sua/nuəstrə/vuəstrə*

   (b) *ru kanə miə/tuə/suə/nustrə/vustrə*
   the dog my / your / his/her / ...'

In the Central-Southern dialects the postnominal possessive co-occurs with the basically prenominal surfacing of the numeral quantifiers.

8. (Manzini-Savoia 2005:565-566)

(a) *je tre kkane meje*
the three dogs my (Sonnino-Latina)

(b) *li trɛ kkasɛ mia*
the three houses my (Copertino-Lecce)

(c) *sɔs trɛze is'tirɛl miɔzɔ*
the three clothes my (Padria-Sassari)

9. Dialects of Verbicaro (9,a) and Orsomarso (9,b)

(a) *i kwattrə terrə mija*
the four fields my

(b) *ri trɛ kanə mijə*
the three dogs my

In several northern and southern dialects, the prenominal occurrence of the possessives is realized after D and before the numeral quantifier (henceforth 'Num'), so that the order is D-Poss-Num-N. This is also the general unmarked order in standard Italian (*i miei tre figli (maschi)*).
For instance:

10. (Manzini-Savoia 2005:563-564)

(a) *i miɛ trɛi fiddʒi*
the my three children (Fontanigorda-Genoa)

(b) *lɛs mɛs trɛs sours*
the my three sisters (Pinzano-Modena)

(c) *i ta tri ffiɟɟi* (Modica-Ragusa)
the your three children

To sum up, the linear order D-Num-N-Poss is complementary to the string D-Poss-Num-N.
However, in Manzini-Savoia (2005:567) it is noticed that in Florentine another type of ordering is possibly found, i.e. D-Num-Poss(-Adj)-N:

11. (Manzini-Savoia 2005:567)

(a) *(le) θre su bɛlle hamiʃe*
(the) three her/his nice shirts

along with:

(b) *le su θre bɛlle hamiʃe*
the her/his three nice shirts

The optionality of the D in (11,a), though not in (11,b), suggests that this string may be the only possible one for an indefinite noun phrase. Namely, the linear order Num-Poss(-Adj)-N is allowed also in standard Italian along with the more natural Num(-Adj)-N-Poss for the indefinite context.
Furthermore, Manzini-Savoia (2005) point out that in the varieties with the postnominal possessive the descriptive adjective can normally surface after the possessive, as for example in the dialect of Monte S.Angelo-Foggia:

12. (Manzini-Savoia 2005:567)

(a) *u ken irussə mijə*

(b) *u ken mijə irussə*
the dog my big

(c) *lu vəstitə nuvə mijə*

(d) *lu vəstitə mijə nuvə*
the dress my new

Such a double placement for the predicative adjective is confirmed by evidence coming from the variety of Verbicaro (Cosenza):

13. (a) *a tɛrra mija jɛrsa*

(b) *a tɛrra jɛrsa mija*
the field fallow my

14. (a) *a kammisa mija lɔrda*

(b) *a kammisa lɔrda mija*
the shirt dirty my

However, (13,a) and (14,a) are not interchangeable with (13,b) and (14,b), due to the fact that (13,a) and (14,a) show that the adjectives *jɛrsa, lɔrda* clearly express a contrastive function, so that:

15. *a tɛrra mija* **jɛrsa**
    '(I will sell) my FALLOW field'
    that means: 'I will sell my fallow field, not the farmed one'.

16. *a kammisa mija* **lɔrda**
    '(I'm looking for) my DIRTY shirt'
    that means: 'I'm looking for my dirty shirt, not the clean one'.

This suggests that the adjective surfacing in the post-possessive position gives rise to a marked expression in contrast with the corresponding unmarked order

17. (a) *a tɛrra jɛrsa mija*
        '(I'm going to sell) my fallow field'
    (b) *a kammisa lɔrda mija*
        '(I'm looking for) my dirty shirt'

The identical contrastive effect could be given to (17 a-b) also with a merely perceptive strategy, assigned to the co-occurrence of suprasegmental (prosodic) facts, i.e. a remarkable increasing of the pitch on the production of jɛrsa, lɔrda, along with a lengthening of the stressed vowel articulation and a prosodic pause right after the salient words:

18. (a) *a tɛrra jɛːːrsa mija*
        '(I'm going to sell) my fallow field'
    (b) *a kammisa lɔːːrda mija*
        '(I'm looking for) my dirty shirt'

Thus, in (18 a-b) the contrastive role of the adjective is realized through phonetic strategy, since the position between N and Poss is more 'natural' for native speakers. This suggests that the contrastive function is checked through the adjective surfacing in the post-possessive position.

Such a contrastive role of the post-possessive position of predicative adjectives in traceable in many points of the 'Lausberg's area', a linguistic compact region including the Northern Calabria and the Southern Lucania, in particular in the so-called *Zwischenzone*[4], such as Aieta, Papasidero, Orsomarso, Praia a Mare, and so forth. This vague approximation, made on the data from quick field interviews to native speakers, does not exclude the possibility for the order D-N-Poss-Adj to appear as marked in many other varieties which display the postnominal possessive. In fact, this consideration will be taken as a plausible hypothesis: from the evidence that has been collected for this thesis I assume that the normal, unmarked, linear order in Romance non-standard varieties with postnominal adjective is D-N-Adj-Poss.

4.1.1 Possessive and kinship nouns

A special closed list of head nouns shows an enclitic type of possessive. Such head nouns are kinship nouns as well as a few others, such as *casa*, 'house/home', in several Central-Southern dialects. For example:

20. Dialect of Verbicaro [5]:

    (a) *patrə-ma, patər-ta* alternative to the different lexical base:

    (b) *papajə mwɪja, papajə tʊa*
    father-my, father-your

    (c) *mammə-ta*
    mom-your

    (d) *fratə-ma, frat-ta* *sʊər(ə)-ma, sʊər-ta*
    brother-my, brother-your sister-my, sister-your

    (e) *zɪjəma, zɪjəta*
    uncle/aunt-my, uncle/aunt-your alternative to

    (f) *zɪjə mwɪja, zɪjə tʊa* (m.) / *zɪja mɪja, zɪja tʊa* (f.)

[4]For the first definition of the zones composing the 'Lausberg's area' cf. Lausberg (1939:260). Later specifications thereof have been advanced by Rensch (1964) and Pellegrini (1977).

[5]The paradigm of the occurrences of Poss in the dialect of Verbicaro is in *Appendix*.

(g) *kanatə-ma, kanat-ta* alternative to

(h) *kanatə mwɪja, kanatə tʊa* *kanata mɪja, kanata tʊa*
brother-in-law-my, -your sister-in-law-my, -your

(i) *patrɪjə-ma, patrɪjə-ta*
father-in-law-my/-your

(j) *nəputə-ma, nəput-ta*
grandson/nephew/niece-my, nefew/nice-your alternative to

(k) *nəputə mwɪja, nəputa tʊa*

(l) *fratɪəddə-ma, fratɪəddə-ta* (disused in favor of)

(m) *kʊddʒwɪmə mwɪja, kʊddʒwɪmə tʊa*
cousin-my, cousin-your (m.)

Manzini-Savoia (2005:661) point out that in a dialect the possibility to express a clitic Poss on these types of nouns is not related to the postnominal position of the possessive. For instance:

21. Dialect of S. Luca-Reggio C. (Manzini-Savoia 2005:662, 557):

(a) *frati-ma*, *frati-ta*, *sɔri-ma*, *sɔri-ta*
brother-my, brother-your, sister-my, sister-your

(b) *u mɛu kani*
the my dog

This is not the case for many varieties with postnominal Poss, such as the dialect of Verbicaro showing postnominal Poss and clitic Poss.
General characteristics for the clitic Poss are detectable, such as the tendency to exclude the 3rd person Poss[6]. The 2nd person Poss is the more widespread, closely followed by 1st person Poss. This suggests the generalization that when a dialect shows only one clitic Poss, this is a 2nd person Poss.
Another trait to stress is that, significantly, a clitic Poss construction often

[6]In Manzini-Savoia (2005) only two points, i.e. S. Agata del Bianco- Reggio C. and Putignano-Bari, show the 3rd person Poss clitic.

co-occurrs with a morpho/phonetic reduction of the head noun, as shown e.g. in the dialect of Verbicaro (20 e, g, j). It is revealing that in this dialect the constructions with clitic Poss and kinship nouns, whose morphological forms are blurred due to the phonetic continuum between N and Poss, display indeed an alternative form with a full (stressed and prosodically autonomous) Poss (cf. 20 f, h, k). Moreover, the highest frequency of clitic Poss is on the corresponding of 'dad/father' and 'mom/mother'. The prototype construction, therefore, is assumed to be

'dad/father-your' and 'mom/mother-your'

An important variation is that the plural kinship nouns do not admit the enclitic Poss, except for some dialects of central Italy:

22. Dialect of Guardiaregia-Campobasso (Manzini-Savoia 2005:665[7]):

(a) *fratə-mə* 'brother-my' *fratə-tə* 'brother-your' vs.

(b) *ri fratə-mə* 'brothers-my' *ri fratə-tə* 'brothers-your'

Kinship nouns and'casa', with its phonetic variations, systematically represent a special subclass not only on the base of the possibility for such head nouns to show the clitic Poss, but for other crucial syntactic facts, such as the presence/absence of the article.

Certain dialectal points display for Poss a pattern comparable to the general order distinguishing German and some Gallo-Romance varieties, like French. In Grigioni, Ladin, and Provençal dialects the article is absent not only with kinship nouns and 'casa' but with any other nominal class, which follows the general pattern

my book vs. **the my book*
mon livre vs. **le mon livre*

which bears a definite interpretation of the whole DP (*definiteness inheritance*). For instance:

[7]They point out also Vastogirardi, Capracotta, and Agnone-Isernia, Popoli-Pescara, Colledimacine, Montenerodomo, and Torricella P.-Chieti, Pescocostanzo, Secinaro-L'Aquila and others.

23. Dialect of Colfosco-Treviso (Manzini-Savoia 2005:709):

(a) *mia/tua/sua so* *mi:s/tus/sus sor'us*
'my/your/her/his sister/s'

(b) *mi gwant* *mi gwaŋtʃ* 'my dress/es'

The presence/absence of the article in DPs with Poss entails a set of fundamental issues about the nominal mapping in Romance and the nature of D.

4.1.2 Nominal mapping in Romance: D

The observation of the empirical evidence provides an overview of the Italo-Romance DPs characterized by the presence of adjectival possessives, such as genitive personal pronouns that distribution ally and morphologically behave as adjectives. As previously mentioned, the DPs showing more variability are headed by nouns belonging crucially to a kinship item list and the equivalent forms of 'house/home'. A table with all the linear ordering of (D-)Poss-N in the Italo-Romance varieties, including standard Italian, is given here:

1stPers Poss		2ndPers Poss		3rdPers Poss	
your father	✓	my father	✓	her/his father	✓
the your father	✓	the my father	✓	the her/his father	✓
father your	✓	father my	✓	father her/his	✓
father-your	✓	father-my	✓	father-her/-his	*
the father-your	✓	the father-my	*	the father-her/-his	*
		father	✓	the father	✓
your mother	✓	my mother	✓	her/his mother	✓
the your mother	✓	the my mother	✓	the her/his mother	✓
mother your	✓	mother my	✓	mother her/his	✓
mother-your	✓	mother-my	✓	mother-her/-his	✓
the mother-your	*	the mother-my	*	the mother-her/-his	*
		mother	✓	the mother	✓
your sister	✓	my sister	✓	her/his sister	✓
the your sister	✓	the my sister	✓	the her/his sister	✓
sister your	*	sister my	✓	sister her/his	✓
sister-your	✓	sister-my	✓	sister-her/-his	✓
the sister-your	✓	the sister-my	✓	the sister-her/-his	*
		sister	*	the sister	✓
your house	*	my house	*	her/his house	*
the your house	*	the my house	*	the her/his house	*
house your	*	house my	*	house her/his	*
house-your	✓	house-my	✓	house-her/-his	*
the house-your	*	the house-my	*	the house-her/-his	*
		house	✓		
your dog	*	my dog	*	her/his dog	*
the your dog	✓	the my dog	✓	the her/his dog	✓
dog your	*	dog my	*	dog her/his	*
dog-your	*	dog-my	*	dog-her/-his	*
the dog-your	*	the dog-my	*	the dog-her/-his	*
		dog	*	the dog-her/-his	*

The absence of the article in certain patterns above reflects the syntactic behavior of D in other noun classes, i.e. proper names and bear nouns, that are both equally *determinerless* in Romance, with some exceptions in French.

Namely, most Romance varieties display a movement of proper names into the D position (Longobardi 1994 and subsequent works, in particular 1995, 2001, 2005). For example:

24. Standard Italian

    (a) *Il tuo Gianni è un caro ragazzo.*
    The your Gianni is a good boy.

    (b) *Gianni tuo è un caro ragazzo.*

25. (a) *Il prossimo dicembre sarà pieno di sorprese.*
    The next december will be full of surprises.

    (b) *Dicembre prossimo sarà pieno di sorprese.*

The interpretation of the postnominal Poss in (24,b) is not contrastive. Generally, a contrastive reference of a postnominal Poss is attributed in Italian to a sentence like

26. *Il Gianni TUO è un caro ragazzo (non il MIO)*
    'YOUR Gianni is a good boy, not MINE.'

(24,b) does not require a contrastive interpretation. This, along with he empirically resulting assumption that the postnominal position of Poss (i.e. D-N-Poss) is allowed in standard Italian only in order to fulfill a constrastiveness requirement, suggests a plausible explanation for (24,b) to be unmarked. This means that the movement of N to D position applies by crossing over Poss.

Proper names with non-Poss adjectives, as shown in (24) and (25), are a parallel to this paradigm. As Longobardi (2005) clearly points out, the N-raising to D correlates with a unambiguously single referential reading of the nominal. Proper names function as items constantly referring to particular single individuals, such as *object* in Carlson's (1977) definition. Longobardi (1994, 1995) draws a mutually implied generalization for determinerless arguments:

27. (from Longobardi 2005:12)

(a) Object-reference if N-to-D

(b) N-to-D if object reference

Casa in Romance represent a case of nouns whose nature is bipartite between common names and fully proper names. In Longobardi (1996) a raising construction is fundamentally considered as 'analogical' with respect to the construction of proper names. N-raising to D of *casa* and kinship names is justified by the interplay of referential properties which trigger also the raising of proper names, scu as in standard Italian:

28. 'casa'

(a) *La tua casa è troppo rumorosa.*
'Your home is too noisy'.

(b) *Casa tua è troppo rumorosa.*

(c) **Tua casa è troppo rumorosa.*

(d) *La casa TUA è troppo rumorosa (non la MIA).* [8]

In standard Italian and in many Italian dialects kinship relation names (at least 'dad' and 'mom' with their geo-linguistic variations) overtly raise to D only if followed by a genitival modifier:

29. *papà tuo*, *mamma tua* (Central-Southern)

Such raised common nouns show an important common peculiarity: they must be interpreted as fulfilling a possessor semantic role, even when they surface as 'bare' nouns, without D nor Poss:

30. (a) *Ho pulito casa*
'I've cleaned (my/our) home'.

(b) *Ha comprato casa.*
'He has bought his house'

[8]Central and Southern regional varieties of Italian standard accept this marked construction with focus on Poss more easily than the Northern regional varieties.

(c) *Hai pulito casa?*
'Have you cleaned (my/your/our) house?'

(d) *Papà è partito.*
(my/our) dad has left.

(e) *Mamma ha telefonato.*
(my/our) mom has called.

At first sight, it seems that the Person in the genitive modifier is instantiated through an interplay with the Person in other arguments which are activated within the sentence. For instance, a reading of *casa* (30,a) as *la tua casa* (='your house') appears very difficult to accept, unless a 2nd person clitic is overtly expressed:

Ti ho pulito casa which unambiguously means
'I have cleaned your house'.

A generalization could be made on the base of Person indices present in the discourse domain, even if not overtly grammaticalized, as in the case of 'bear' kinship names and 'casa'. For example, (30,a) could be mapped as follows:

Ho $_{\text{i=1ps.s}}$ *pulito casa* $_{\text{i=1ps.s}}$

In this sentence the index (i) is assigned to the *understood* Poss person of *casa* and is clearly the same one expressed by the morphology of the inflected auxiliary (1PS.S). Yet, it is plausible to assume that the Poss person can be assigned by other indices, such as a 1st plural person required by the involvement within the discourse domain of a further element, such as the addressee of the utterance (hence,'you' $_{\text{s./pl.}}$). The pluralization of the 1st person of the possessor index would be due to a sort of addition of the 1st singular person, which is overtly encoded, with the 'silent' participant(s) in the discourse, which can be defined as the possessor(s) of the house/home being cleaned.

4.2 Possessive and partitive in the Calabro-Lucania area

The varied co-occurrence of several types of Poss within DP configurations among the Italian dialects, and the internal variability shown by any dialect, force a selection of a group of varieties in order to closely observe them and extract generalizations.

One sample is the group of dialects of the boundary zone between Lucania and Calabria, in Southern Italy.

As mentioned in the previous Chapter, Lausberg (1939) defines a linguistic peculiar zone (thenceforth called 'Lausberg area', consisting of Southern Lucania and Northern Calabria), according to the evidence first brought to light by his mentor Rohlfs and through newly collected data, on the base of a distinction on different types of vowel systems. Such an area is in turn composed by (sub-)zones, each one detected by a vocalism type or by a mixture of two types of vowel systems, and further characterized by morpho-phonological peculiarities, commonly valued as very conservative in respect with Latin.

However, some syntactic facts also group these dialects together, such as the Poss position in DP and a singular partitive configuration of Poss.

In this section, data from Lausberg area is discussed, in particular from Valsinni (Matera), Senise (Potenza), Albidona, Mormanno, Nocara, Orsomarso, Terranova P., Verbicaro (Cosenza). Some dialects close but officially external to this area will be considered as well: S. Maria a Vico (Caserta), Acerenza (Potenza), Altomonte, Montalto U., S. Fili, S. Marco A. (Cosenza), Conflenti (Catanzaro), Cirò M. (Crotone).

Such dialectal points may cut out a homogeneous area already considered as compact due to independently motivated factors. Its compactness is confirmed on the base of the syntactic characteristics considered below.

In all this Chapter, the data from the dialect of Verbicaro (Cosenza) play a very important role in clarifying and solving ambiguities. Verbicarese is well suited for this study since it is very easily accessible and the best known due to the total availability of grammaticality judgments by native speakers.

4.2.1 Possessive

The Poss configuration in DPs headed by common nouns displays the following types:

31. DEFINITE ARTICLE + N + POSTNOMINAL POSS

    (a) Verbicaro (Cosenza)

        i. *u kwanə mwɪja/tʊβa/sʊβa/nʊəstrə/vʊəstrə/sʊβa*
        the dog my/your/her/his/our(/...)

        ii. *a kammɪsa mɪja/tʊβa/sʊβa/nɔstrə/vɔstrə/sʊβa*
        the shirt my/your/her/his/our(/...)

    (b) Terranova P. (Cosenza; Manzini-Savoia 2005:560)

        i. *u ˈkɔɐnə ˈmuejə/tojə/nuəstə*
        the dog my/your/her/his/our

        ii. *a kammisə mɛjə/tojə/sojə/nɔstə*
        the shirt my/your/her/his/our

In dialects belonging to the same area, the Poss configuration in DPs headed by kinship names shows the following types:

32. (KINSHIP) N-CLITIC POSS

    (a) Verbicaro

        i. *patrə-ma/patər-ta* [9]

        ii. *mammə-ta*

        iii. *suər(ə)-ma/suər-ta*

        iv. *fratə-ma/frat-ta*

        v. *marɪtə-mə/marɪt-tə*

        vi. *mʊʃʃwɛr(ə)-ma/mʊʃʃwɛr-ta*

    (b) Senise (Potenza; Manzini-Savoia 2005:676) [10]

[9] Glosses: father-my/-your, mom-your, sister-my/-your, brother-my/-your, husband-my/-your, wife-my/-your

[10] Glosses: father-my/-your, mom-your, sister-my/-your

i. *attanu-mə/attanə-tə*

ii. *mammu-mə/mammə-tə*

iii. *sɔrə-mə/sɔrə-tə*

iv. *fɪʄʄu-mə/fɪʄʄə-tə*

(c) Nocara (Cosenza; Manzini-Savoia 2005:677)

i. *sɔrə-mə/sɔrə-tə* [11]

ii. *fratə-mə/fratə-tə*

iii. *fiʎʎə-mə/fiʎʎə-tə*

33. (NO ARTICLE+ KINSHIP) N+POSTNOMINAL (STRESSED) POSS

(a) Verbicaro

i. *papajə mwɪja/tʊβa/sʊβa/nʊəst(r)ə/vʊəst(r)ə/sʊβa*
dad my/your/her/his/our(/...)

ii. *mamma mɪja/tʊβa/sʊβa/nɔst(r)ə/vɔst(r)ə/sʊβa*
mom my/your/her/his/our(/...)

iii. *nɔnnə mwɪja/tʊβa/sʊβa/nʊəst(r)ə/vʊəst(r)ə/sʊβa*
granpa my/your/her/his/our(/...)

iv. *zija mɪja/tʊβa/sʊβa/nɔst(r)ə/vɔst(r)ə/sʊβa*
aunt my/your/her/his/our(/...)

(b) Valsinni (Matera; Manzini-Savoia 2005:695)

i. *məʄʄera mejə/tʊjə*
wife my/your

ii. *fiʄʄə mejə/tʊjə*
son my/your

iii. *sɔra mejə*
sister my

(c) Mormanno (Cosenza; Manzini-Savoia 2005:696)

i. *muʄʄɛri mia*

[11] Glosses: sister-my/-your, brother-my/-your, son-my/your

ii. *maritu meju*

iii. *fiɟɟu mejə/tøə*

iv. *sɔra mejə*

34. Definite article + (kinship) N +Postnominal Poss

(a) Terranova P. (Manzini-Savoia 2005:695)

i. *i frɔɐtə sujə/nuəstə/vuəstə/ uərə*
the brothers his/her / our ...

ii. *a suərə sojə/nɔstə/vɔstə/ɔrə*
the sister his/her / our ...

(b) Albidona (Cosenza; Manzini-Savoia 2005:696)

i. *u tata sojə*
the dad his/her

ii. *a mamma sojə*
the mom his/her

iii. *u fiʎʎə sujə* the son his/her

iv. *u fratə sojə/nuəstə/vuəstə/ɣuərə*
the brother his/her / our ...

Article-N-Poss

The type in (31) is valid for all the common nouns and it is syntactically identical to the type in (34). All the kinship names that do not head the configurations in (32) and (33) belong to the type in (34), where they appear as plural or modified by adjectives.
The way to explain this position is rather straightforward. Let us consider the position of modifiers in this structure:

35. (a) *u kwanə fʊrbə grʊəssə mwɪja/tʊβa/sʊβa/nʊəstrə/vʊəstrə/sʊβa*
the dog clever big my/your/her/his/our(/...)

(b) *a kammɪsa ˈnɪvəra mərəkana mɪja/tʊβa/sʊβa/nɔstrə/vɔstrə/sʊβa*
the shirt black American my/your/her/his/our(/...)

36. (a) *a sʊəra spɛrta mɪja/tʊβa/...*
the sister smart my/your(/...)

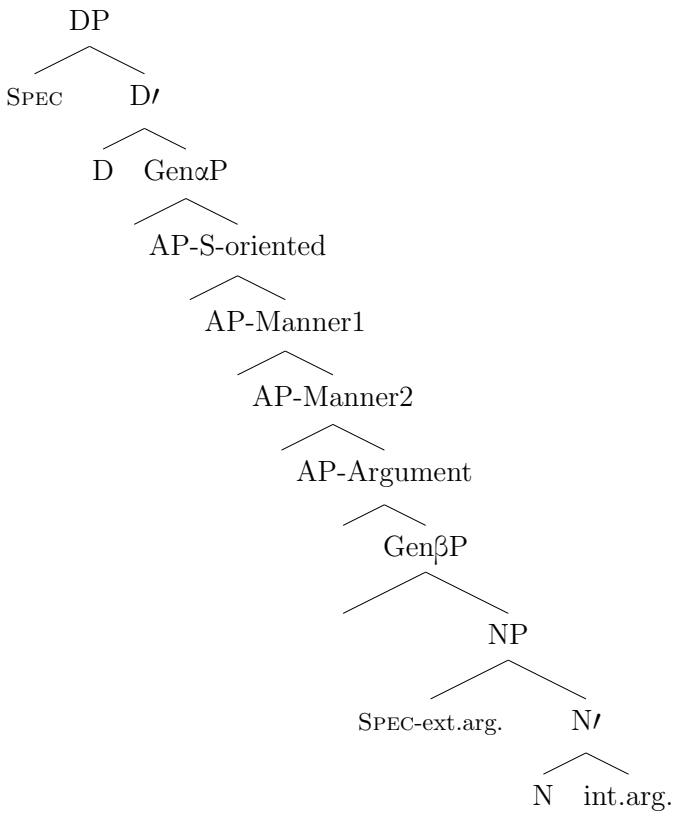
(b) *a sʊəra spɛrta adavəta mɪja/tʊβa/...*
the sister smart tall my/your(/...)

There are enough reasons to assume that Poss position displayed in (35) and (36) is not the original one. It is not likely that Poss remains in the lower original position, i.e. under a nP (cf. Longobardi-Silvestri 2012). Poss, therefore, must move to a higher position, close to D, arguably for two reasons:

- it must interpret the semantic role of P, which is the highest of the hierarchy P>S>O;
- it must check its phi-features and Case requirements in the D area.

Let us assume that the Poss movement takes place, thus Poss ends up in a high position characterized by a sort of adjacency with D or some element of D.
The linear order in (35) and (36) is explained with a movement of N. Both types of head nouns, common nouns and kinship names, involved in such a configuration, move from the lower origin position, crossing over all the different adjective types and clearly leaving them in the base hierarchy. So, given a simplified structure like (37), built on the base of the theoretical proposals of the last decades (cf. Longobardi 2001 and works cited), it is assumed that N can be raised to higher positions, crossing over some or all the various positions for adjectives. (In Longobardi 2001 GenαP is Gen1P and GenβP is Gen2P).
Therefore, the common nouns and the kinship names in (35) and (36) move over all the different adjectives and end up in a higher position than the AP S-oriented phrase, as shown in (35,a) and (36,b). The tree-like representation assumed as the syntactic architecture of DP follows:

(37)



To finally reach the surface order displayed in (35) and (36), in which the phrase headed by N and its modifiers surface before Poss, another movement must be assumed to take place. The N phrase has to move to a 'landing site' between D and Poss. The evidence for the aforementioned movement hypothesis is given by the fact that the position of Poss as shown in (35) and (36) occurs also if Poss bears a contrastive meaning. E.g.:

u kwanə fʊrbə grʊəssə mwɪja vs. *u kwanə fʊrbə grʊəssə* ***mwɪja***

Summarizing, the sequence of movements required for the configuration D+N+Poss to surface is:

1 - movement of Poss to D area to interpret P role and to check phi-features and Case;

2 - N raises to a position higher than the structured adjectives;

3 - the consistent phrasal N constituent moves to a position in-between D and Poss, probably under the form of an adjunct lying just below D site.

Plural kinship names are included under this configuration type, while the correspondent singular forms do not display any article. For instance:

i zijə tua, *i fratə tua*, *i suərə tua*

* *zijə tua*, * *fratə tua*, * *suərə tua*

In such instances, the referential uniqueness characterizing the singular kinship names does not apply. Thus, at plural nouns behave exactly as common nouns.

The requirement of the definite article supports the hypothesis that in one of the movement steps the definite article and Poss may end up in adjacent positions. This fact can be also proved with the evidence that, with a indefinite head, noun Poss is embedded in a partitive construction (4.2.2). This partitive configuration is a manifestation of a deep structure where the adjacency between D and Poss is not required. Moreover, some evidence from Portuguese supports this view. Namely, in Portuguese, the Poss requires the definite article (i; and other determiners (ii)) to surface as adjacent to each other. The postnominal position of Poss is allowed only with a contrastive meaning (iii).

Portuguese (data from Rinke 2010:124):

i. **meu livro* vs. *o meu livro*
my book vs. the my book

ii. *o meu livro / um livro meu / este meu livro*
the my book / a book my / this my book

iii. *o meu livro / um livro meu*
the my book / a book my

(No article-)N-Poss

The examples in (33) show a configuration without article.
At first sight, arguably this linear order is the outcome of a N-raising to D, exactly the same as the raising of proper names to D, as seen in standard Italian:

38. standard Italian

    (a) *Il mio Francesco*

    (b) *Francesco mio*

In the dialect of Verbicaro, for instance, the only possible configuration for proper names and Poss is the one where the head noun is raised to D:

39. (a) *Maria mia*

    (b) *Gianninə mija* which is syntactically parallel to

40. (a) *papajə mija*

    (b) *zija mia*

In the absence of contrary evidence, here, the assumption is that, among the dialects of Lausberg area, the strategy governing the surfacing of proper names in the order (no article-) N-Poss is the same as the one for the kinship names to reach the configuration in (33) and (39,b). Both the closed lists of lexical items, proper names and kinship nouns, include Ns that from a lower position are raised to a very high landing site, crossing some or all the adjective positions, and occupying all of the D space.
It is likely that this is due to the property shared by singular kinship names and proper names. Namely, they all denote a referential uniqueness of an individual in the discourse universe.
In terms of N movement, the main difference between the configuration D+N+Poss and the alternative lacking D is that the common nouns with D end up in a position lower than the the site reached by the nouns behaving as proper names, which move higher and fully occupy the D slot.

N-Clitic Poss

The type in (32) is an example of the clitic Poss, typically displayed by certain Central and Southern Italian dialects. The linear order of (32) is the same as (33). Some of these dialects present both configurations. The question which naturally arises is whether these two types are the same at a deep layer of the syntactic structure.
Let us first define the similarities existing between (32) and (33):

- Both cannot be preceded by any adjective, if functioning as arguments:
  - **bɛdda zɪja tʊβa (has just come)*
    pretty aunt your
  - **bɛdda zɪja-ta (has just come)*
    pretty aunt-your
- Neither (33) nor (32) allows a modifier between N and Poss.
  - ** zɪja bɛdda tʊβa*
    aunt pretty your
  - ** zɪja bɛddə-ta*
    aunt pretty-your
- Both admit modifiers such as adjectives and, therefore, only after Poss, but the adjectives bear a contrastive meaning:
  - *zɪja tʊβa adavəta*
  - *zɪjə-ta adavəta*
    aunt(-)your **tall**

At first glance, the syntactic configuration of the clitic Poss construction is assumed to be the same as the configuration used in proper names.
Now, one should mention the only difference detected between (32) and (33): a head noun within a stressed Poss configuration, in a non argument function, admits a modifier; on the contrary, the unstressed Poss construction does not. For example:

- - *ˈpɔvəra zɪja tʊβa!*
- - * *ˈpɔvəra zɪjə-ta!*
  poor aunt(-) your

The ungrammaticality of the latter is arguably due to the fact that, in its raising, the prosodic word *zɪjə-ta* reaches the highest position available in D, so that no space for another element (such as 'poor') is left.

4.2.2 Partitive Poss

In expressions with indefinites and numeral quantifiers, the Italian dialects extensively present a partitive construction, basically restricted to the kinship names as head nouns: the two main types are reducible to

a) *uno dei miei fratelli / due dei miei fratelli* (found also in the standard variety)
one of-the my brothers / two of-the my brothers

b) *un fratello dei miei (/del mio) / due fratelli dei miei*
a brother of-the my / two brothers of-the my
'one/two of my brothers', 'a brother/two brothers of mine'

Significantly, among the dialects of Lausberg area, the relevant characteristics of such a Poss construction, manifested under the shape in (b), are displayed by all the Ns, without any detectable distinction with respect to [± human] and [± animate]. Not only indefinite operators govern these expressions, but partitive constructions headed by demonstratives as well, as shown in the following examples:

40. Verbicaro:

    (a) *nʊ frwatə d-ɪ mɪja*
    a brother of-the$_{\text{PL.}}$ mine

    (b) *nʊ frwatə d-ʊ mwɪja*
    a brother of-the$_{\text{SG.M.}}$ mine

(c) *dʊjə fratə d-ɪ mɪja*
two brothers of-the$_{PL.}$ mine

41. (a) *na gaddɪna d-ɪ mɪja*
a chicken$_{F}$ of-the$_{PL.}$ mine

(b) *na gaddɪna d-a mɪja*
a chicken$_{F.}$ of-the$_{SG.F.}$ mine

(c) *ɣʊna gaddɪna d-ɪ mɪja* one$_{F.}$ chicken$_{F.}$ of-the$_{PL.}$ mine

(d) ? *ɣʊna gaddɪna d-a mɪja*
one$_{F.}$ chicken$_{F.}$ of-the$_{SG.F.}$ mine

(e) *trɛ ggaddɪ d-ɪ mɪja* three chickens of-the$_{PL.}$ mine

(f) *kwɪdda / sa / sta gaddɪna d-ɪ/d-a mɪja*

42. (a) *nʊ kʊmpwaŋŋə d-ɪ mɪja / nʊ kʊmpwaŋŋə d-ʊ mwɪja*
a friend$_{M}$ of-the$_{PL.}$ mine / of-the$_{M.SG}$ mine

(b) *ɣʊnə kʊmpwaŋŋə d-ɪ mɪja*
a friend$_{M}$ of-the$_{PL.}$ mine

(c) ? *ɣʊnə kʊmpwaŋŋə d-ʊ mwɪja*
a friend$_{M}$ of-the$_{M.SG}$ mine$_{M.SG}$

(d) *na kʊmpwaŋŋa d-ɪ mɪja / na kʊmpwaŋŋa d-a mɪja*
a friend$_{F}$ of-the$_{PL.}$ mine / of-the$_{F.SG}$ mine

(e) *trɛ kkʊmpwaŋŋə d-ɪ mɪja*
three friend$_{M./F.PL}$ of-the$_{M./F.PL}$ mine

(f) *kwɪddə / sʊ/ stʊ kʊmpwaŋŋə d-ɪ mɪja/d-ʊ mɯɪja*
that/this/this friend$_{M}$ of-the$_{PL.}$ mine / of-the$_{M.SG}$ mine

4.3 Prepositionless genitive

Now that we have a picture of the DP structure of some Southern Italian dialects belonging to a linguistically important area, it is worth trying to integrate the prepositionless/juxtaposed genitive occurring in these varieties,

along with several dialects depicted in the previous Chapter.
The fundamental question that emerges is:

What is the nature of prepositionless genitive in Romance?

In order to discover useful pieces of evidence that might lead toward insightful observations, we have to focus the attention on the group of dialects put under observation previously observed.
The scrutiny of historical grammars about Calabro-Lucanian varieties, the data from the *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (AIS), and the newly collected data provide sufficient evidence to prove that this genitival configuration in Italo-Romance is not infrequent and marginalized in usage, but rather is active in many Italo-Romance varieties.
An array of prepositional genitive cases coming from certain dialects of Lausberg area will be added to the Italo-Romance data provided in the previous Chapter. The validity of the instances has been confirmed by field interviews. The important cases of genitival DPs have been classified into different sets on the basis of their argumental function.

4.3.1 R-related genitive

The first set of instances is defined by genitives expressing a R-related phrase function. The 'R-related phrase' label is here adopted for the configurations of prepositionless genitive where the head nouns are [- Human] and to differentiate themselves from the Possessor prepositionless genitive wherein head nouns are characterized as [+ Human].
Typically, the head nouns of these genitival configurations are common nouns and the genitival DP include body part names. The two juxtaposed DPs in the following examples represent the nominal denoting a human body part.

43. (a) *a kjanda a manə* (Saracena, Cosenza; AIS I,152[12])

[12]Henceforth, the reference to the *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* (AIS) will appear with the indication of the Volume in Roman numbers, followed by the chart number.

(b) *a kjønt a mønu* (Mengone, Cosenza; AIS I,152)
the palm the hand

(c) *u pum Adømu* (Mengone, Cosenza; AIS I,120)
the apple Adam

(d) *a gall u pɛðe* (Mengone, Cosenza; AIS I,164)
the nut the foot 'malleolus'

44. Verbicaro

(a) *a nʊč ʊ kʊəddə*
the nut the neck 'cervical vertebra'

(b) *a katɪna ʊ kʊəddə*
the chain the neck 'cervical vertebras'

(c) *ʊ čiələ a vʊkka*
the sky the mouth 'palate'

(d) *ʊ frɔnt a gamma*
the front the leg 'shin'

(e) *a nʊč u pɪədə*
the nut the foot 'ankle'

(f) *a panza a gamma*
the belly the leg 'calf'

Furthermore, the lexical class of toponyms presents some instances of the prepositionless genitival configuration:

45. Verbicaro

(a) *U Škinə a Turra* [13]
the back the tower

(b) *U Škinə a Krista*
the back the peak

[13] I do not use IPA symbols for transliterate these toponyms.

(c) *dd-Acqua u Vuagnə*
the water the bath

(d) *dd-Acqua a Nučidda*
the water the walnut

(e) *A Vadda a Sɛpa*
the valley the corral

The section of the lexicon that these cases belong to is non-productive, since both body part names and place names function as a univocal denotation of a specific entity in the discourse domain. These genitival expressions are denominations. The list of these denominations belonging to the type of prepositionless genitives expressing R-relation is finite. Due to the nature of a single item of denomination, the head noun cannot be modified at all. Neither adjectives nor other modifiers are allowed to intervene within the DP. This evidence suggests for this configuration a static tuple of the two DPs, the first being the head, the second expressing an old postnominal genitive. Another pattern where the R-relation genitive is expressed is the type representing a 'container-contained' relationship.

46. Verbicaro

(a) *ʊ sakkiəttə a farɪna*
the sack the flour

(b) *ɪ sakkiəttə a farɪna*
the sacks the flour

(c) *ʊ fjaskə ʊ vwɪnə* (also with plural head N)
the flask the wine

(d) *a vʊttəčɛdda ʊ mʊskwatə* (also with plural head N)
the little barrel the muscatel

(e) *a čista ʊ grwanə* (also with plural head N)
the basket the wheat

The main characteristic of the pattern in (46) is that the genitival DP is always represented by a mass (non-count) noun. Although a neat understanding of the last meaning of this configuration is truly difficult even for native speakers, almost all of them provided an explanation of this 'container-contained' relationship: if one says *"The sack the flour" teared*, s/he means that the flour was actually inside the sack that teared, thus one refers to a sack with flour inside. Given another situation in which a bottle originally made for wine ends up being used for vinegar, its denomination would change as well: 'the bottle the wine' would turn into 'the bottle the vinegar'.
A formal peculiarity coming from the data collected in these varieties is the requirement for the genitival DP to be headed by a definite article. This can be assumed due to the fact that there are some peculiar sequences {D+N}, where the native speakers are not able to detect the definite article, as they are phonetically realized in a form occurring less frequently. They do not appear as genitival DP even if they could formally and semantically fit that position and function. For instance:

47. Verbicaro

(a) * *a bʊttəgghjɛdda dd-akkwa*

(b) *a bʊttəgghjɛdda ɪ dd-akkwa*

(c) *a bʊttəgghjɛdda də dd-akkwa*
the small bottle *(of) the-water

(47,a) is ungrammatical, even though it is paradigmatic alternation with 'flour', 'wine', 'muscatel', 'wheat' in the examples in (46). Arguably, the constraint in (47,a) is due to a mere phonological issue. The definite article when preceding certain nouns beginning with a vowel presents a consonantal realization, i.e. [dd], a variation of the type [d̪d̪]. This is a systematic outcome of the Latin geminate lateral -LL- in many areas of Southern Italy, in intervocalic word-internal context (cf. Rohlfs GS, par. 234) and in the article position pointed out here. This applies perhaps due to the low frequency of usage of such type of definite article with respect to the common vocalic one, i.e. / *ʊ , a, ɪ* /. Native speakers hardly recognize [*dd-*] to be the

definite article of a finite list of nouns. For this reason, arguably, an instance of genitival DP headed by a consonantal definite article is not found.

4.3.2 Possessive genitive

The pattern of prepositionless genitive expressing the semantic role of Possessor (cf. Chapter 3) typically presents kinship names as head nouns or a proper name or *casa*. The person denotated by the proper name is related to the individual expressed by the genitival DP through a tight kinship relation such as *son/daughter-father/mother* or *wife/husband*, or by a clear dependence such as the *employee-employer* relation.

Kinship name/'casa' - [+human] N

The first type of configuration where the prepositionless genitive expresses the semantic Possessor role presents, as mentioned, kinship names or *casa* as head nouns and, altogether, [+ human] noun within the genitival DP. Here are some examples:

48. (a) *a casa 'u sinnicu* (Morano C., Cosenza; Rohlfs GS, par.630)
    the house the mayor
    (b) *u latti 'u picucaru* (*ibid.*)
    the milk the shepherd

49. (a) *a mʊʄʄwɛra ʊ ˈmɪədəkə* (Verbicaro)
    the wife the doctor
    (b) *a kasa ʊ ˈmɪədəkə*
    (c) *ʊ frwatə a mbərmɛra*
    the brother the $\text{nurse}_{\text{f.}}$
    (d) *a mamma ʊ ˈsɪnnəkə*
    the mother the mayor
    (e) *ʊ pwatrə a kuǧǧwɪna u ˈprɪəvətə*
    the father the $\text{cousin}_{\text{F.}}$ the priest

This type of configuration is somehow productive. Namely, the possibility of a choice among the available head nouns allows a combinatory freedom with the genitival DPs, which are restricted in respect to some aspects. Thus, the genitival DPs must display the following characteristics:

a) the semantic feature [+ human];

b) a univocal and unambiguous denotational reference to the individual in the discourse universe.

The merging of an item of the possible main DPs list (head nouns) with one of the formally defined classes of genitival DPs, shown among the Lausberg area dialects, produces a very high number of grammatical combinations.
The example (49,e) shows the possibility for two (and perhaps more) genitival DPs to co-occur, but the second is dependent on the first. This is the only pattern of linear co-occurance of two prepositionless genitives. Namely, the iterability is not a characteristic of this genitival type.

Proper names - [+human] N

50. Verbicaro

(a) *Marija ʊ kʊsətʊrə*
Maria the taylor

(b) *Vɪtə a pʊtjara*
Vito the storekeeper$_{\text{F.}}$

The relationship between 'possessee' and 'possessor' expressed by this type is a kinship relationship or a less frequent dependence relation, such as *employee-employer*. Namely, (50,a) can mean 'Maria, the taylor's wife/daughter/sister(?)' or 'Maria, the taylor's housekeeper'.
However, one should notice that the genitival DPs in (50) can be interpreted differently. They could function as a family nickname, creating a different meaning of the sequence altogether, such as 'X belonging to the family called Y', in which X=head noun and Y=genitival DP:

51. (a) *Marija ʊ fʊrğğwarə*
'Maria the smith'
'Maria the smith's wife/daughter/sister(?)/housekeeper'
'Maria of "The Smith" ' (which means 'Maria, the one belonging to the family called "The Smith" '.

4.4 Prepositionless genitive in the structure

The descriptive outlines of the previous Section about the type of prepositionless genitive found in the Lausberg area dialects provides a very heterogeneous and rather coherent picture to observe in order to advance some generalization. The considerations arising in this Section, coming from interpreting the Calabro-Lucanian data, will be extended to the fully comparable cases detected in the Italo-Romance domain, along with the evidence from the Romance varieties discussed in Chapter 3.
Now, a few related questions need to be addressed:

- What is the nature of this genitive phrase?

- If there is evidence for N to raise to higher position,

    - what is its 'landing place'?

    - does it involve adjectives in its raising?

4.4.1 A functional genitive

As hinted above, the *functional* genitive at issue is defined as not being iterable. This fact independently and definitively distinguishes it as distinct from the genitival type called *free* (cf. Chapter 3), which is freely iterable and, once it has fulfilled the thematic role requirements, freely mutually ordered.

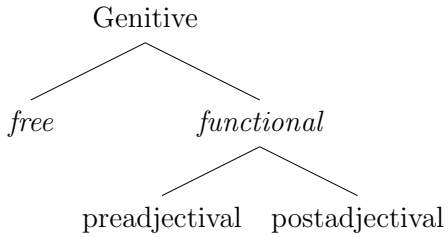
52. Verbicaro:

(a) *u kwadrə d-u priəvətə* $_{\text{P}}$ *d-a Madonna* $_{\text{O}}$ *d-u pətturə scaliuətə* $_{\text{S}}$
the painting of the priest of Mary by the painter from Scalea

(b) * *u kwadrə Vitə a Madonna u pətturə scaliuətə*
the painting *(of) the priest *(by) the painter from Scalea

According with previous theoretical findings, if a genitive is not of the *free* type, it must be of the *functional* type (Longobardi 2001, Longobardi-Silvestri 2012), since cross-linguistically two main types of genitive are recognizable. The *functional* type in turn manifests itself in two different structural positions, before/above all the different types of adjectival phrases or after/below them.

53.



The lack the preposition or of any morphological mark is an independently motivated factor for the genitive type to be defined as *functional*.
In order to establish which one of the two available position in the structure this functional genitive holds, it is necessary to introduce different types of adjectives in the DP. Granted that adjective clusters are hardy allowed in the genitival configuration, it appears that the head noun modifiers surface in a postnominal position:

54. Verbicaro:

(a) *(kwidd)a buttigghja gròssa u vinu (janku)*
(that/) the bottle big the wine white

(b) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja miricana u vinu (janku)*
(that/) the bottle American the wine white

(c) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja lòrda u vinu (janku)* (*lòrda* is S-oriented)
(that/) the bottle dirty the wine white

In (54) a Manner adjective (*gròssa*), a Reference adjective *miricana*, and a Speaker-oriented *lòrda* one linearly follow N.
As a matter of fact, there is no natural place for adjectives after the genitival DP. If any type of adjective appears in a post-genitive position, it receives a contrastive reading.
Let us compare (54) with (55):

55. (a) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja u vinu (kwidd/a)* LÒRDA (focus on the Adj)
    (b) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja u vinu (kwidd/a)* GRÒSSA (")
    (c) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja u vinu (kwidd/a)* MIRICANA (")
    (that/) the bottle the wine (that/the) dirty / big / American (one)

If the phrases in (54) and (55) are inserted in the tree architecture of DP in (37), it becomes clear that the nature of the genitive displayed among the Calabro-Lucanian dialects is *functional*.
From (54) it is derived that

Manner1 Adj > Genitive

Manner2 Adj > Genitive

S-oriented Adj > Genitive

According to Longobardi's (2001) findings, this prepositionless genitival configuration is to be identified as a postadjectival functional genitive.
Another conclusion arising from the instances in (54) is that a N-raising clearly occurs and that N can move to a position above the highest structured adjective phrase, thus crossing over all he adjectives. Here it is assumed that adjectives have the following structural hierarchy:

56. S-(subject or speaker)oriented > Manner > Argument adjective
    (Crisma 1991, 1993)

Therefore, the data provides a clear picture of the N surface position:

N > Manner1 Adj > Genitive

N > Manner2 Adj > Genitive

N > S-oriented Adj > Genitive

4.4.2 N-raising over 'High' adjectives

The next important question worth asking is what is the order that all structured adjectives have after being crossed over by N.
The following data presented difficulties when eliciting, since the possibility for this configuration to appear with more that one modifier is very infrequent. However, the judgments by native speakers were rather homogeneous.

57. (a) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja lòrda gròssa u vinu (janku)*
(that/) the bottle dirty big the wine (white)

(b) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja lòrda miricana u vinu (janku)*
(that/) the bottle dirty American the wine white

The data straightforwardly show that the adjective order mirrors the basic hierarchy in (56). The S-subject adjective surfaces before the 'Manner1' (57,a) and before 'Manner2' (57,b). Also, these data points further prove that the raising N can reach a position above the highest adjective phrase (57,a).
Moreover, the basic order of the structural adjectives appears unchanged, as shown in the orderings

N > S-oriented Adj > Manner1 > Genitive

N > S-oriented Adj > Manner2 > Genitive

which perfectly reflect the hierarchy in (56).
Assumed from the data above that a N-raising movement occurs, a few other steps are needed to define the type of N-raising seen in the Italo-Romance varieties discussed. Clarifying if N movement triggers any *pied-piping* of 'Manner1' or 'Manner2' adjectives would be useful. The following examples rule out an adjective *pied-piping* option:

58. (a) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja gròssa miricana u vinu (janku)*

(b) N > Manner1 > Manner2 > Genitive

A genitive *pied-piping* is not displayed either, since an adjective occurs after Genβ iff there is a semantic requirement of contrastive meaning.

59. (a) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja gròssa u vinu (kwidd/a)* LÒRDA
(that/) the bottle big the wine (that) dirty

(b) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja miricana u vinu (kwidd/a)* GRÒSSA
(that/) the bottle American the wine (that) big

(c) *(kwidd/)a buttigghja lòrda u vinu (kwidd/a)* MIRICANA
(that/) the bottle dirty the wine (that) American

It is likely to infer that the type of prepositionless genitive occurring in the Calabro-Luacanian dialectal points analyzed above is a Genβ (or GenS, in Longobardi's terms), i.e. a *functional* postpositional genitive.

4.5 The Construction *' è figlio a...'*

Within Italo-Romance a peculiar codification of the Possessor is represented by the type *(lui) è figlio a Gianni* ('(he) is son to Gianni'), where typically a kinship noun (altogether with other nouns selected from a finite list of lexical items) is in a predicative function and is the head of a prepositional phrase, introduced by *a*, which bears nominals of only of specific types, proper names, pronouns, and common nouns with univocal denotation.
For instance:

60. Verbicaro and Orsomarso)

(a) *jè figghjə a Pitruzzə*
(he) is son to Pitruzzə

(b) *jè / su parentə a Marija*
(he) is / (they) are relative(s) to Marija

(c) *su cuğğinə a mija/tija/jidda/...*
(they) are cousins to me/you/her/...

Such a construction has been noticed and more or less deeply detected in previous works: a.o., Mancini (1989), Formentin (1998), Loporcaro-and-Limacher-Riebold (2001).

A more detailed field investigation brings out a certain variability of the type exemplified in (60). First, other 'copular' verbs and verbal phrases are allowed to hold this possessive construction (61); second, in the two dialects detected the possessive dival phrase can bear also kinship nouns (in fixed expressions with specific meaning; see 62) and common nouns with specific semantics (63).

61. Verbicaro and Orsomarso:

    (a) *para (proprjə) figghja a Marija/tija*
    (she) (really) looks/seems daughter to Marija/you

    (b) *si creda figghja a mija*
    (she) believes (to be) daughter to me

62. (a) *jè/para (proprjə) figghjə alla mamma*
    (he) is/seems/looks (really) son to (his) mother
    'he is certainly the son of that woman'

63. (a) *si figghjə alla sarta?*
    (you) are son to the taylor?

    (b) *sizə parentə allu farmacista?*
    (you guys) are relatives to the farmacist?

As noticed during the interviews to the native speakers, the instances in (62) and (63) display in the dival phrase a denotation of individuals who are unique in the discourse domain. In particular, in the common knowledge of a small and compact speakers' community, the denomination of the taylor and the farmacist refer to one and only one person, detected through the job s/he does, without any ambiguity of reference. Such common nouns, used as denotation function, end up being similar to proper names.
Such a type of dival possessor is found also within a clitic configuration:

64. (a) *m'è fratə*
    '(he) to-me is brother'

(b) *ddə su parentə*
'(they) to-him/her/them are relatives'

Moreover, the head nouns never appear modified by adjectives:

65. (a) * *su parentə strittə alla sarta*
(they) are relatives close to the taylor

(b) *si figghjə grannə allu farmacista?*
(you) are first child to the farmacist?

Therefore, a tight adjacency between the head noun and the dativa possessor is required.
The selection conditions for such a construction to be grammatical are:

66. (a) the dativa phrase is headed by a kinship noun which must be
- bare
- in a predicative function

(b) the dativa phrase, introduced by the preposition *a*, displays a Nominal which can be
- a proper name
- a pronoun
- a common noun with univocal denotation [14]

(c) no modifier is allowed neither for the head noun nor for the genitival noun

(d) (hence) a strict adjacency between the head noun and dativa phrase is required.

The points in (66,a) have been also mentioned by Loporcaro-and-Limacher-Riebold (2001:264).
Structurally, the dativa possessive construction *' è figlio a...'* of the Southern Italian dialects shows some distributional features of the adjectival construction *' è caro a...'* of the standard Italian.

[14]More generally, every definite is allowed, at plural as well. For example, *jé figghjə a quiddə dujə ca stanə qua* = (he) is son to those two that live here.

Both constructions heads a dativa phrase, introduced by *a*, and both constructions occur in predicative function.
For instance:

67. (a) *è caro a te / alla madre/ all'insegnante / a Mario*
(he) is beloved to you / the mother/ the teacher / Mario
(b) * *Il caro a te Paolo è partito.* [15]
the beloved to you Paolo is left

In both constructions the dativa phrase requires a definite Nominal, such as a pronoun, a proper name, a common noun with univocal denotation. Thus, the following examples with indefinite DPs are ungrammatical:

68. (a) * *è parentə a nu farmacistə.*
(he) is relative to a farmacist
(b) * *è caro a un cugino / a un insegnante.*
(he) is beloved to a cousin / a teacher

The head nouns of both the constructions at issue cannot be modified:

69. (a) * *è parentə strittə a mija.*
(he) is close relative to me
(b) ?/* *è molto/veramente caro a me* [16]
(he) is very/truly beloved to me

This parallel suggests that the nominals used as head nouns within the construction *' è figlio a...'* could have an adjectival selectional properties. This assumption would be corroborated by some subtle observations of the native speakers on the semantic of the head nouns within such a construction. Namely, in a minimal pair of two possessive configurations, such as

70. (a) *jèd u figghjə i Marijə*
(he) is the son of Mario

[15]This aspect correlates with the nature of this adjective that belongs to the specific set of the structured adjectives, as the English *proud of...*, and surface postnominally.
[16]The correspondent clitic form of the pronoun makes the example more acceptable: *mi è molto/veramente caro* = to me (he) is very/truly beloved.

(b) *jè figghjə Marijə*
(he) is son to Mario

in (70,a) *u figghjə* denotes a specific individual whose relationship with the other individual (Mario) is defined by the Case that this second Nominal is assigned. Instead, in (70,b) *figghjə* rather refers to a property or a state, that is in (70,b) the being son itself, of an individual with respect to another.

4.6 Remarks

The sample of Calabro-Lucanian dialects, closely examined in this Chapter, provides some straightforward evidence of three crucial aspects of the DP structure: the type of N movement, the nature of the prepositionless genitive, and the origin site of possessives in the structure.
In particular, the cases of *functional* genitive detected in many Italo-Romance varieties, show a partial productivity in combining items of the lexical finite lists of the head nouns with the nouns of the genitival nucleus. This restricted productive capability is not found in other Romance varieties discussed in Chapter 3.
Nevertheless, the general traits defined for the prepositionless genitives in this peculiar group of Southern dialects are common to the genitives detected in Old French, Castilian, Asturian, Portuguese, Old Italian, and Maltese Arabic. Namely, the nature itself of the prepositionless genitive is the same. Therefore, in the absence of contrary evidence, all the Romance instances analyzed between Chapter 3 and 4 are to be reduced to Genβ type, a *functional* post-adjectival genitive.
A comparison with Old French data, discussed by Gianollo (2005), provides a bridge towards a diachronic hypothesis. Old French, as mentioned in Chapter 3, presents a prepositionless genitive that is identified, here and in Gianollo (2005), as *functional*, holding in a postadjectival position. The hypothesis of automatic historical change of the Latin morphologically marked genitive into the Romance prepositional phrasal type has to deal with the preposi-

tionless and apparently markless genitive found in old and modern Romance. The interpretation by Gianollo (2005) states that the postnominal position in Classical Latin, wherein a *functional* or a *free* genitive could surface, has been reinterpreted in Late Latin as a site dedicated to a *functional* genitive. This interpretation may be valid for Old Italian as well and for later stages thereof. The possibility that 'ancient' *functional* genitive has been retained up to the manifestations of prepositionless genitive in modern Italian dialects is not to be ruled out.

Further crosslinguistic evidence supports this possibility. Guardiano (2003) and Crisma-Gianollo (2004) provided some interpretations to prove that a parametric resetting of the genitival arguments occurred in New Testament Greek and in Old English, respectively.

In terms of parametric mapping, the parameter of Genβ displays a '+' for Latin, Old French, Old Italian, and certain non standard Italo-Romance varieties. This is claimed and exhaustively proved by Longobardi *et al.* (i.p.).

Conclusions

In the end of Chapter 2, three related hypotheses had been presented:

- Given that genitive Case encodes the relationships between the N and its (nominal) arguments, as a Case it needs to be univocally identified/distinguished with respect to other Cases, therefore:
  -Hypothesis#1: it requires a mark of the following types: morpho-phonologic forms (endings, suffixes), fixed syntactic positions, *dummy* prepositions.

- A morpho-phonologically unmarked genitive exists among languages, then:
  - Hypothesis#2: unmarked genitive Case must occur in a fixed specific position.

- A genitive not intrinsically signaled by morpho-phonological marks, occurs in Genβ position, then:
  -Hypothesis#3: Genβ must be typologically identified by a lexically finite combination of a closed list of head noun items and of genitival items.

Throughout this thesis, threes such Hypotheses received supporting arguments by the newly collected data provided in Chapters 3 and 4,
Hypothesis#3 plays a significant role, since it allows to advance the generalization that among Romance varieties no Genβ type is found to be normally productive. This generalization leads to the prediction that a non-adpositional genitive, that is postadjectival in the structure and does not bear any other Case mark, must be selected by a closed list of lexical items functioning as head nouns.
From the diachronic perspective of the evolution of Latin into Romance, the occurrence of a markless type of genitive in modern Romance varieties is fully explained in terms of parametric resettings.

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Appendix

The salient data discussed in this work are here listed. The last two pages show the 'Table A' of parametric values of DP in Indoeuropean languages as found in Longobardi *et al.* (to appear) and the page 90r of *Liber Natorum* of the Parrish 'S. Maria del Piano' in Verbicaro (Cosenza).

Colloquial Castilian

1. *el hijo el ministro*, *el hijo un ministro*, *el hijo los ministros*;
2. ??/* *el hijo ministro*, *el hijo ministros*[17];
3. ?? *Los hijos el ministro*[18];
4. * *Los hijos un ministro*
5. *Los hijos los ministros*
6. * *Los hijos ministro(s)*[19];
7. *un hijo el ministro*, *un hijo un ministro*, *un hijo los ministros*;
8. * *Un hijo ministro(s)*
9. * *Hijos (los) ministros*[20]
10. * *Hijos (el) ministro*[21];
11. (?) *Hijos (un) ministro* is better or much better than the others.

[17] This may be due to the fact that *el hijo de ministro* is already poor.
[18] But with the second DP in the feminine, *los hijos la ministra* this improves a lot .
[19] Here, the feminine is also very bad **los hijos ministra*.
[20] But *He visto a hijos de ministros pedir en la calle* is ok.
[21] But there is a definiteness problem already with *hijos del ministro*; moreover *He visto a hijos de ministro pedir en la calle* is ok.

Old Italian

di/de-phrases

- Confessione Umbra, 1037
  - *e la i(n)t(er)cessione deli soi s(an)c(t)i*
  - *dala pa(r)te de mesenio(r) D(omi)nideu ... et de ...*
- Iscrizione di San Clemente, end of 11th c.
  fili dele pute traite
- Conto navale pisano, 1080-1130
  serratura di matieia
  serratura di cora
  adesatura di serra
  serratura di timone
  pisone di boteghe
  aductura di remora (x2)
  a maestro di mannaia
  serratura e dela pianeta
  dispennatura di timone
  discaricatura di quatrati
  salvamento di taule
- Carta Osimana, 1151
  sì li d(on)o per alima sua (e) delu ienitore (e) dela ienetrice sua
- Testimonianze di Travale, 1158
  de la curte di Travale (x4)
  de la Montanina
  de le Castagneta
  de la curte de Travale (x2)
- Memoratorio del monte Capraro del Molise, 1171
  de Sancti Iohannis (x3)

- Dichiarazione di Paxia, end of 12th c.
  (et) paria de bragues
  (et) paria duo de çoculi
  (et) paria duo de calce
  debeo dare pixo(n) de casa

- Carta Fabrianese, 1186
  filio de Martino
  Berta uxoe(m) de Rutgeri
  et tibi Rotlando de Bernardo
  Corte de Riscano et de Roti et de Clavi et de Colcinlu
  e p(er) fosatu de Ufa(n)gno
  Colle de Preta
  Setra de tretlio
  filii de co(n)te Martino et de co(n)te Actolino
  ad dictu de set Rigo
  Rigo de Su(n)pu et Petri de Ioh(ann)es: et Baronzo de Gozo et Albrico
  et Lorenzo filii de Acto de Ioh(ann)es

- Carta Picena, 1193
  (et) la mitade delo prode
  ke la mitade se ne fose ad resicu de Ioh(ann)i de tuctu, (et) la mitade
  de Planindeo

- Ritmo Bellunese, end of 12th c. (in a copy of 1577)
  De Castel d'Ard avi li nostri bona part
  E sex cavaler d(e) Tarvis li plui fer

- Declaratoria Pistoiese
  cognato eiusdem Lotteringi de Capraria
  Melanesi filio Guidonis de Tignoso
  filio Menelai de Mo(n)te Murlo
  Rusticello de Vesconte
  Belliotto de Gangalandi
  aguale episcopus de Pistoria

- Placito di Capua, 960
  parte sancti Benedicti

- Placito di Sessa, 963
  Pergoaldi foro

- "Memoratorium" di Teano, July 963
  S(an)c(t)e Marie è, et trenta anni la posset parte S(an)c(t)e Marie

- "Iudicatum" (placito) di Teano, October 963
  trenta anni la possette parte S(an)c(t)e Marie

- Confessione Umbra, 1037
  - *ad o(mne)s s(an)c(t)i (et) s(an)c(t)e D(e)i*
  - *Acc(usome) de .V. sensus co(r)p(or)i mei*
  - *an(te) c(on)spectu D(e)i*
  - *Per i(n)t(er)cessione(m) beatissime D(e)i ginitrici(s) se(m)per v(ir)gini(s) M(ari)e (et) o(mn)iu(m) s(an)c(t)orum atq(ue) s(an)c(t)a(rum)*
  - *absolutio(n)e(s) o(mn)iu(m) pecc(at)o(rum) tuo(rum) (et) spatiu(m) v(er)e pen(i)t(entie)*

- Conto navale pisano, 1080-1130
  col filio Orselli

- Carta Osimana, 1151
  In nomine sancte (et) i(n)dividue Trinitatis
  ab i(n)carnatione d(omi)ni n(ost)ri Iesu Christi

- Testimonianze di Travale, 1158
  de Casa Magii (x3)
  Casa Magii

- Memoratorio del monte Capraro del Molise, 1171
  Fr(ater) Ruele prior heremitus S(an)c(t)i Ioh(ann)is de Monte Caprarum
  sanctorum apostolorum Symonis

- Dichiarazione di Paxia, end of 12th c.
  In no(m)i(n)e D(omi)ni
  uxor Joh(ann)es

- Carta Fabrianese, 1186
  In no(m)i(n)e D(omi)ni

- Declaratoria Pistoiese
  Lotteringo filio Paganelli
  cognato eiusdem Lotteringi de Capraria
  Melanesi filio Guidonis de Tignoso
  filio Menelai de Mo(n)te Murlo
  Guido Aliccionis
  ad ma(n)datum eccl(esi)e
  aguale episcopus de Pistoria

Cases of prepositionless genitive in the AIS [22]

1. Body part names

(a) *a kjanda a manə* (Saracena, Cosenza; I,152)

(b) *a kjønt a mønu* (Mengone, Cosenza; I,152)

(c) *a kjanta a manu* (Giarratana, Ragusa; I,152) the palm the hand

(d) *la palma moŋ* (Brigels, Switzerland; I, 152)

(e) *la palma mewn* (Pitasch, Switzerland; I, 152)

(f) *la palma moeN* (Dalin, Switzerland; I, 152)

(g) *la palma mawn* (Vin, Switzerland; I, 152)
the palm hand

(h) *u pum Adømu* (Mengone, Cosenza; I,120)
the apple Adam

(i) *a gall u pɛðe* (Mengone, Cosenza; AIS I,164)
the nut the foot

(j) *la nočə lu koddə* (Morrone del Sannio, Foggia; I, 119)
the nut the neck

(k) *ɛl butón la pansa* (Pescarolo, Cremona; I, 130)

(l) *butún la trüpa* (Limone, Cuneo; I, 130)
the botton the belly

(m) *a kručі i spaddi* (Catenanuona, Enna; I, 131)
the cross the shoulders

(n) *ɛl filón la vita* (Castiglione d'Adda, Cremona; I, 132)

(o) *lu fil la šćena* (Chironico, Switzerland; I, 132)

(p) *al filúm la šćéna* (Cimalmetto, Switzerland; I, 132)

(q) *al filúm la šćina* (Aurigeno, Switzerland; I, 132)

[22] After the example itself, the name of the place of the dialect investigated, its province, and the indication of the AIS volume and chart follow.

(r) *ul fir la šćene* (Prestone, Sondrio; I, 132)
the thread the back

2. (a) *nu sp'ekkjə arangiu* (Saracena, Cosenza; VII, 1273)

(b) *na sculita arangi* (Corigliano d'O., Lecce; VII, 1273)
a slice orange

(c) *in sak grέwn* (Brigels, Switzerland; VII, 1441)

(d) *in sak gróen* (Domat, Switzerland; VII, 1441)

(e) *in sak krέwn* (Pitasch, Switzerland; VII, 1441)

(f) *en sa krawn* (Scharanz, Switzerland; VII, 1441)

(g) *ün sać grawn* (Zernez, Switzerland; VII, 1441)

(h) *un sa kran* (Bivio, Switzerland; VII, 1441)

(i) *un sak gran* (Coltura, Switzerland; VII, 1441)

(j) *un sag graŋ* (Villafaletto, Switzerland; VII, 1441)
a sack the wheat

(k) *in toc pawn* (Camischollas, Switzerland; V, 986)

(l) *iŋ toc pón* (Präz, Switzerland; V, 986)

(m) *ün toc pawn* (Santamaria, Switzerland; V, 986)

(n) *un toc pan* (Albogno/Premia, Switzerland; V, 986)

(o) *toc pan* (Bruzolo, Switzerland?; V, 986)

(p) *ma stozzo ftzomí* (Corigliano d'O, Lecce; V, 986)
(a) piece bread

3. (a) *u yurnə a Palma* (Saracena, Cosenza; IV, 776)

(b) *a duminica i Parmi* (Sperlinga, Enna; IV, 776)
the Sunday the Palm/s

Possessives with kinship Ns and 'casa' in the Dialect of Verbicaro: full paradigm.

1stPers Poss	2ndPers Poss	3rdPers Poss	
ˈpatərta	ˈpatrəma		father-Poss
papajə tʊa	papajə mwɪja / papajə		father Poss
		ʊ papajə / ʊ pwatrə	the father
papajə			father
mammətа			mother-Poss
mamma tʊa	mamma mɪja		mother Poss
		a mamma	the mother
	mamma		mother
sʊərta	sʊər(ə)ma		sister-Poss
		a sʊəra	the sister
fratta	ˈfratəma		brother-Poss
		ʊ frwatə	the brother
a kasa tʊa	a kasa mɪja	a kasa sʊa	the house Poss