



FLORE / Catalogo dei Prodotti della Ricerca / 1 - Contributo su rivista
/ 1a - Articolo su rivista

[cambia resp. scheda](#)[pagina pubblica](#)[Riapri](#)[Disconosci](#)[miur ▼](#)[storico](#)

Partitives and indefinites: Phenomena in Italian varieties

[Benedetta Baldi](#); [Leonardo M. Savoia](#)

2022

Abstract

This contribution examines the relation between genitives/ partitives and indefinites in some Italian varieties. A central question concerns the nature of the preposition *de/di* (DE) 'of' (< Latin *de*), specifically investigated in contexts where it does not introduce the usual possessive or partitive reading: bare partitives/Partitive articles of Italian varieties, negative contexts in which a negative marker select a partitive occurrence of DE of the type *mia*+DE in Northern Italian dialects and the linker-like element in Southern Italian dialects. We propose that these structures rely on the lexical content of DE, corresponding to the elementary relation part-whole and that their particular behaviour can be treated in the terms of pair-merge in the sense of Chomsky (2020). The indefinites in varieties devoid of the partitive article will be treated in the final section.

[Scheda breve](#)[Scheda completa](#)[Scheda completa \(DC\)](#)

Data di pubblicazione

2022

Formato

ELETTRONICO

Area

SCIENZE DELL'ANTICHITÀ, FILOLOGICO-LETTERARIE E STORICO-ARTISTICHE

Parole Chiave

indefinites, partitives, partitive articles, bare partitives, negation, negative markers, minimizers, syntactic variation in Romance varieties

Tipo Prodotto

Contributo di ricerca

Lingua

Inglese

Inglese

Pubblicazione con Impact Factor

Sì

Codice Scopus

[2-s2.0-85120637917](#)

DOI

<https://dx.doi.org/10.1111/stul.12181>

Rilevanza

Internazionale

Revisione (peer review)

Esperti anonimi

Rivista

[STUDIA LINGUISTICA](#)

Volume

76

Numero dell'articolo

3

Numero di pagine

45

Pagina iniziale

56

Pagina finale

100

Indirizzo Web Pubblicazione

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/stul.12181>

Codice ONU Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)

Goal 4: Quality education

Fulltext

[open](#)

Numero autori

2

Tutti gli autori

Benedetta Baldi; Leonardo M. Savoia

Tipologia

1 - Contributo su rivista::1a - Articolo su rivista

Tipologia

<info:eu-repo/semantics/article>

Tipologia sito docente

262

Citazione

Partitives and indefinites: Phenomena in Italian varieties / Benedetta Baldi; Leonardo M. Savoia. - In: *STUDIA LINGUISTICA*. - ISSN 0039-3193. - ELETTRONICO. - 76:(2022), pp. 3.56-3.100. [[10.1111/stul.12181](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/stul.12181)]

Appare nelle tipologie:

[1a - Articolo su rivista](#)

File in questo prodotto:

File	Dimensione	Formato
Studia Linguistica 2022 Baldi Savoia.pdf accesso aperto	786.28 kB	Adobe PDF
Descrizione: articolo completo		
Trasferimento sito docente: Sì		
Tipologia: Pdf editoriale (Version of record)		

Publisher e copyright: Conformità alle politiche dell'editore /
Compliance to publisher's policies - Questa versione della
pubblicazione è conforme a quanto richiesto dalle politiche
dell'editore in materia di copyright. This version of the
publication conforms to the publisher's copyright policies.

Note: articolo completo

Licenza: DRM non definito

I documenti in FLORE sono protetti da copyright e tutti i diritti sono riservati, salvo diversa indicazione.

Utilizza questo identificatore per citare o creare un link a questa risorsa:

<https://hdl.handle.net/2158/1249747>

Informazioni generali

Resp. del dato: BENEDETTA BALDI [benedetta.baldi@unifi.it]

Status: **Definitivo**

Identificativo: e398c390-cfb9-179a-e053-3705fe0a4cff

Tipologia: 1a - Articolo su rivista

Ricercabile si

Data ultima
modifica metadati
DC 13/09/2023 18:53

Sincronizzazione

Sito Docente: **successo** ⓘ

Citazioni



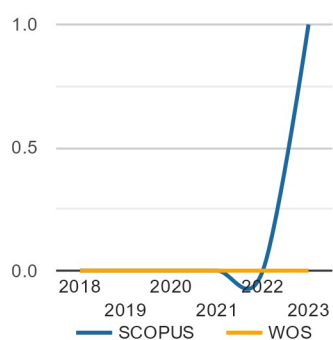
ND



1

WEB OF SCIENCE™

ND



Percentili SCOPUS

miglior percentile per citazioni	15
miglior percentile di rivista - metrica snip (pesata)	38
miglior percentile di rivista - metrica sjr (pesata)	36
miglior percentile di rivista - metrica Citescore (pesata)	39

social impact



Details

[Studia Linguistica](#)

[Volume 76, Issue 1: Partitive Articles and indefiniteness, micro and macrovariation](#)

Apr 2022

Pages i-iv, 1-274

ARTICLE

Partitives and Indefinites: Phenomena in Italian Varieties

[View article page](#)

Benedetta Baldi, Leonardo M. Savoia

© 2021 The Authors. *Studia Linguistica* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd on behalf of Editorial Board of Studia Linguistica

<https://doi.org/10.1111/stul.12181> [open in new](#)

ISSN0039-3193

eISSN1467-9582

Online 22 March 2022

Accepted 28 October 2021

Received 18 October 2021

Pages 56 - 100

PARTITIVES AND INDEFINITES: PHENOMENA IN ITALIAN VARIETIES

Benedetta Baldi & Leonardo M. Savoia 

Abstract. This contribution examines the relation between genitives/ partitives and indefinites in some Italian varieties. A central question concerns the nature of the preposition *de/di* (*DE*) ‘of’ (< Latin *de*), specifically investigated in contexts where it does not introduce the usual possessive or partitive reading: bare partitives/Partitive articles of Italian varieties, negative contexts in which a negative marker select a partitive occurrence of *DE* of the type *mia+DE* in Northern Italian dialects and the linker-like element in Southern Italian dialects. We propose that these structures rely on the lexical content of *DE*, corresponding to the elementary relation part-whole and that their particular behaviour can be treated in the terms of pair-merge in the sense of Chomsky (2020). The indefinites in varieties devoid of the *partitive article* will be treated in the final section.

1. Introduction: Bare partitives and *d(e/i)* ‘of’¹

There are cases of indefinite constructs introduced by *DE* ‘of’+*definite article* in the late thirteenth/ early fourteenth century in Florentine. For instance, in the collection of short stories traditionally called *Novellino*, we find bare partitives/ Partitive Articles (PA), at least attested in combination with mass nouns, as in (1).

- (1) un villano s’andò un giorno a confessare, e pigliò dell’acqua benedetta. . .
 ‘a peasant went to confess one day, and took (of the) holy water’
 (*Il Novellino*, XCIII, in Lo Nigro, ed., 1968:201)

‘dell’acqua’ in (1) means ‘some water’. This use of the partitive is in turn attested in (old) French, in Italian and in North and Central Italian dialects (Stark & Poletto 2017). The syntactic and interpretive status of the bare partitives is an issue addressed both in the historical and theoretical literature, whose crucial points are taken up in the Research Project *Distribution and function of ‘partitive articles’ in Romance (DiFuPaRo): a microvariation analysis* (Stark & Poletto 2017), to which this contribution is intended to offer some other elements of knowledge. The main topics we will consider are:

¹ The continuators of the original Latin form **de* have a partially different phonology in the different Romance varieties. Specifically, in this article we find, in addition to the form *di* of Italian, *de/ di/ ri* and, depending the context, *i/ e* in Southern Italian dialects, and *d/ ad/ da* in Northern Italian dialects (see also Rohlfs 1969 [1954], § 804). For the sake clarity we will conventionally refer to this preposition as *de* in the general discussion, except for the specific cases, where the real allomorph will be inserted.

- ✓ the nature of the genitive / partitive preposition *d(e)i* ‘of’
- ✓ the PA and bare-partitive constructions in North Italian dialects
- ✓ indefinite expressions in varieties lacking PAs.

We start by investigating *di* as a linker-like element in Southern Italian dialects, suggesting a crucial link with partitive interpretation. Next, data from some Northern Italian dialects, highlighting a subtle variation in the use of PAs and indefinites, will be examined: systems with PAs showing a distribution similar to the one of Italian (San Benedetto Po, South East Lombardy, section 4), systems devoid of PAs and alternating two negative elements (Casorezzo, North West Lombardy, section 4.1), systems with PAs and *negative minimizer-of-noun* construction (Trecate, North East Piedmont, section 4.2), systems lacking PAs (Friulian and Southern Italian varieties, section 5). Our fundamental assumption is that the morphosyntactic and interpretive properties of *de* remain unchanged in different occurrences.

Exploring variation allows us to have a more subtle and deeper understanding of the linguistic facts to the extent they manifest conceptual structure of language. In keeping with Chomsky et al. (2019:18) the mapping from syntax onto representations accessible to the interpretive systems C-I and SM involves morphophonological properties: it is ‘the locus of much, perhaps all variation between languages’. Then, language differentiation is connected to morphosyntactic properties associated with lexical items, as already stressed by Chomsky (2000:120), whereby ‘There is a reason to believe that the computational component is invariant, virtually... language variation appears to reside in the lexicon’.

In this spirit, linguistic variation may be characterized as the result of splits operating over a universal inventory of concepts, the space of categories. Thus, variation stems from the interplay between different lexical and morphological tools with the universal basic combinatory mechanism (Chomsky 2005; cf. Manzini & Savoia 2011).

1.1. *Part-whole relation (genitives and partitives) and indefinites*

The nature and specifically the common relational properties underlying genitive, dative and locative in many languages undergo various types of syncretism whereby the same exponent lexicalizes either all or a subset of them (Franco et al. 2015, Manzini & Savoia 2018, Baldi & Savoia 2019, 2020). By way of example, the Oblique can encompass dative and genitive, as in some Latin declensions, or in Albanian and in Romanian where the indirect case lexicalizes both the stative possession in the nominal domain (genitive) and the possession associated with the event domain (dative). This type of syncretism is illustrated by the Italo-Albanian examples in (2) from San Benedetto Ullano (North Calabria),

where Linker (Lkr) designates the prenominal article occurring in genitive contexts. Genitive in (2a) and dative in (2b) are characterized by the same Oblique inflection, here *-i-t*.²

- (2) a. ki libër æft i burr-i-t
 This.MSG book be.3SG.PRES Lkr.MSG man-OBL.MSG-DEF
 ‘This is of the man’
 b. j-a ðεV-a burr-i-t
 to.him-it give-PAST-1SG man-OBL-DEF
 ‘I gave it to the man’

San Benedetto Ullano

The key idea is that in all of these contexts the conceptual property of ‘inclusion’ is involved, in the sense initially discussed in Manzini & Savoia (2014) whereby all types of possession, including inalienable and psycho state possession, fall under the same basic relation. Their proposal as to the nature of this relation resumes that proposed by Belvin & den Dikken (1997:170) according to whom ‘entities have various zones associated with them, such that an object or eventuality may be included in a zone associated with an entity without being physically contained in that entity [...] The type of zones which may be associated with an entity will vary with the entity’. Hence, possession—on a par with location—can be understood as a type of ‘zonal’ inclusion (Manzini & Savoia 2011).

It is promising to follow the analysis of prepositions proposed in Franco et al. (2020:12), in which prepositions, specifically Italian ones *di*, *a*, *da*, are treated as instantiations of the elementary part-whole relation, i.e. inclusion [\subseteq] (cf. Manzini & Savoia 2011, Manzini et al. 2019, Savoia et al. 2020). Needless to say, the authors acknowledge that this analysis risks being too general, but observe that ‘the inclusion predicate, corresponding to a case inflection or to an adpositional head, does not have sufficient lexical content to characterize, say, specific (sub)types of possession or location.’ The specialized meaning, possessor, location, and others, arises from the nature of the embedded noun and the event. This is the case with Oblique in Albanian in (2a,b), where the same case encompasses genitive and dative interpretation. Italian *de* in turn encompasses different readings, ranging from possession to partitive and other types of ‘property of something’, further locative values such as in *viene di là* ‘(s)he comes from there’, *uscì di casa* ‘(s)he went out of the house’, etc. that we can refer to the elementary relator [\subseteq], as in (3).

² The following abbreviations are used: = lexical root, ABS = absolutive, ART = article, AUX = auxiliary, Class = Nominal class, DEF = definite, DP = Determiner Phrase, F = feminine, Gen = genitive, IMP = imperative, Lkr = Linker, M = masculine, NM = negative marker, NP = Noun Phrase, OCL = object clitic, OBL = oblique, PL = plural, PART = partitive, PAST = Past, Poss = possessive, PP = Prepositional Phrase, PRES = present, SCL = subject clitic, SG = singular, PS = person

(3) *of/ DE*: \subseteq

The lexical content in (3) accounts for the syncretism between partitive, corresponding to the set inclusion, and genitive, corresponding to the occasional or inalienable property.

A complementary question concerns the relation between cases and prepositions. Specifically, Fillmore (1968) treats cases as the inflectional equivalent of prepositions, so that the elementary introducers such as Italian *di/a* or English *of/to* would be equivalent to the genitive and the dative respectively. An Oblique case, on a par with a preposition, is a predicate introducing a relation between the argument it selects and another argument. This means that we assign a relational content to cases, with the effect that the Oblique case or prepositions are endowed with interpretable properties. This solution contrasts with the more traditional view that is prepositions like ‘of’ or ‘to’ are devoid of interpretive content, or, in minimalist terms, uninterpretable. Our conclusion is that Oblique case and prepositions like ‘of’ or ‘to’ may be thought of as elementary part/whole relators; in other words, a single property, namely inclusion/superset-of, formalized as $[\subseteq]$, is associated with the conceptual cluster underlying Oblique and/or of/to-like prepositions. Let us consider the Italian examples in (4a,b).

- (4) a. *il libro della ragazza*
the book of-the girl
b. *Ho dato il libro alla ragazza*
I.have given the book to-the girl

The preposition *di* in (4a) is taken to introduce the possession relation between ‘the girl’ and ‘the book’. If we adopt the insight of Belvin & den Dikken (1997), the possession relation can be understood as the lexicalization of an inclusion relation, in (5a). Following Manzini et al. (2019) and Franco et al. (2020) the dative (introduced by *a*) in (4b) is the possessor of the argument ‘libro’, essentially as in the genitive, although in this case the relation between possessor and possessum is introduced by an agentive *v*, i.e. is embedded in a verbal context, as in (5b).

- (5) a. ... $[\text{DP il libro} [\text{PP di} \subseteq [\text{DP la ragazza}]]]$ cf. (4a)
‘the book of the girl’
b. $[\text{CAUSE} [\subseteq [\text{DP il libro} [\text{PP a} \subseteq [\text{DP la ragazza}]]]]]$ cf. (4b)
‘(I have given) the book to the girl’

More precisely, dative can be assimilated to a possession relation introduced by an agentive predicate, where, again, the argument surfacing as the object of *give* is the external argument of the inclusion relation lexicalized by the dative preposition *a*. The semantic proximity between the Romance prepositions *de/di* and *a* is manifested by the possessive uses of *a* (for French cf. Kayne 1977, Cardinaletti 1998), for

instance in some Southern Italian dialects, where *a* can introduce the possessor, as in (6), for the North-Apulian variety of Castelluccio Vallemaggiore (Foggia):

- (6) ε ffiggə a mme/ essə
 be.3SG.PRES son to me / her
 ‘(S)he is my/ her son’

Castelluccio

Hence, we conclude that *DE/of/ Oblique* case are the externalization of the elementary predicate connecting two arguments, of which the possessum is a part of the possessor, selected by the preposition/ Oblique case, as in (7):

- (7) *DE/of/Oblique*: [*possessum*] [_{P/Oblique}] \subseteq [*possessor*]

The lexical content of *DE* in (7) allows us to account for the usual syncretism between partitive and genitive interpretation, whereby the same preposition or case expresses different types of part-whole relation. The conceptualization of the possession relation as being a relation introduced by an operator/ predicate with two arguments is formalized in Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011) by assuming a prepositional small clause of which the possessum and possessor are the arguments. The small clause is headed by the abstract predicate [BELONG], lexicalized by an overt preposition or the morphology of case.

As to the theoretical status of morphological phenomena, we assume that morphology implies the same operations of syntax and there are no separate morphological and syntactic components³. This holds, obviously, also for the inflectional structure, in turn based on the same computational mechanisms underlying syntax. In the literature (Picallo 2008, Kramer 2015) at least two functional projections are required – roughly gender and number. Following Manzini & Savoia (2018), Savoia et al. (2019), the internal organization of noun includes a category-less lexical root *R* ($\sqrt{\text{ }}$ in Marantz 1997), that, in keeping with Higginbotham (1985), is a predicate. The root merges with the inflectional elements, substantially ϕ -features endowed with interpretive content (gender, number, etc.), that restrict the properties associated with the argument *x* open at the predicate. Inflected nouns are analysed as the result of a Merge operation that combines a lexical root with Class (gender feminine/masculine) and other classificatory

³ This model, long supported and motivated (see in particular Manzini & Savoia 2007, 2018), obviously questions the syntax-semantics interface uniformity criterion (cf. Culicover & Jackendoff 2006) inspiring the Cartographic model. Specifically, syncretism and other kinds of ambiguity, as in the case of the occurrence of *di/de* and the corresponding cases, imply a treatment based on the interpretive properties of the items/inflectional exponents and not on different syntactic structures. Similar conclusions are now supported by Wood & Marantz (2017), and specifically for morphology/ syntax relation in Collins & Kayne (online).

properties, including and case. This model is illustrated in (7) for Albanian *burrít* ‘of the man’ in (2a), where number and case specifications add to Class. The case paradigm of Albanian shows some types of syncretism discussed in Manzini & Savoia (2011). In (8) the morpheme *i*, associated with the masculine singular Oblique, lexicalizes the relation \subseteq between a singleton and a set including it, in the sense of the analysis of determiners in Chierchia (1997).

(8) [[[[burr_R] masc_{Class}] i_{Oblique}] t_{Def}] *burr-i-t* ‘of/to the man’

In the model we adopt, the morphological properties of lexical elements are understood as privative ϕ -feature sets endowed with interpretable and valued nature. This means that the rule of Agree is not triggered by the need for a probe to interpret/value its features (cf. Chomsky et al. 2019). Rather, it creates an identity relation between two or more referential feature sets lexicalizing the same argument, (Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2011, 2018, Savoia et al. 2019) and all lexical material is interpreted at the Conceptual-Intentional (C-I) interface.

Summarizing:

- ✓ The relational properties underlying genitive, dative and locative in many languages undergo various types of morphosyntactic syncretism
- ✓ The key idea is that in all of these contexts the conceptual property of ‘inclusion’, part-whole \subseteq , is involved
- ✓ Our proposal is that *DE/ of/ Oblique case* are the externalization of the elementary predicate \subseteq connecting two arguments, of which the possessum is a part of the possessor, selected by the preposition/Oblique case
- ✓ Inflected nouns are analysed as the result of a Merge operation that combines a lexical root with Class (gender feminine/masculine) and other classificatory properties, including number and case.

2. Possessives in Southern Italian dialects

In most South Italian dialects possessives follow the noun preceded by the definite article, both in predicative contexts and within the DP (except Sicilian and South Calabrian ones), agreeing with the possessum. What is relevant here is a type of construct in which the preposition *di/de* ‘of’ precedes the determiner and the possessive is attested (Rohlf's 1968 [1949]), i.e. *of+D+possessive* inside DPs and in predicative contexts (cf. Baldi & Savoia 2019, 2020). The following data, from North (Albidona) and Central (Iacurso) Calabrian dialects, illustrate the structures introduced by *di/de*, in indefinite DPs, in (9a)–(10a), where the introducer followed by the definite article is usually lexicalized. In definite DPs, in (10a), the introducer and the article is only marginally lexicalized. (9b') illustrates pronominal possessives while suggesting a

sort of local belonging reading. In all cases article and possessive agree with the subject position, as illustrated in (9b) and (10b) or the nominal head, in (9a) and (10a).

- (9) a. n-a kammiṣə d a mɛjə
a-FSG shirt.FSG of FSG my.FSG
'A shirt of mine'
b. st-a kammiṣə jɛ (dd) a mɛjə
this-FSG shirt.FSG be.3SG.PRES of FSG my.FSG
'This shirt is of mine'
b'. ddʒə pəʎʎatə (d) u miəjə
have.1SG.PRES taken of MSG my.MSG
'I have taken mine'

Albidona

- (10) a. duna-mi l-a kammiṣ-a mi-a / dɛ l-a mi-a
give.IMP-me Def-FSG shirt-FSG my-FSG / of Def-FSG my-FSG
n-a kammiṣ-a dɛ l-a mi-a
a-FSG shirt-FSG of Def-FSG my-FSG
'Give me my shirt/ a shirt of mine'
b. st-a kammiṣ-a ɛ (ddɛ) l-a mi-a / nɔstr-a
this-FSG shirt-FSG be. 3SG.PRES of Def-FSG my-FSG / our.FSG
'This shirt is of mine/ ours'

Iacurso

Ledgeway (2009) relates this construction in old Neapolitan to an original partitive. Nevertheless, the article and the inflection of possessives agree with the possessum, subject or head of the DP, whereas in the real partitives the possessum specifies a set (belonging to the possessor) expressed by the plural of the possessive, as in (11).

- (11) n-u fɪj-u dɛ l-i tu-ɛ
one-MSG son-MSG of def.MPL your-MPL
'One son of yours'

Iacurso

Independently of their origin, the structures in (9)–(10) raise the issue concerning the nature of the preposition *di*, i.e. what its interpretation is in these contexts, and, how its lexical properties allow it to occur as the introducer of possessive.

2.1. The Linker in possessive structures

A useful step can be the comparison with the possessive constructions of languages where a Linker, ultimately a D element or a preposition, introduces the possessive element inside DPs and in predicative contexts

(Manzini et al. 2014a,b, Franco et al. 2015). Consider two Balkan languages. Albanian, represented here by the data from the Arbëresh variety of San Benedetto Ullano in (12) (North Calabria) has an introducer of genitive and possessives coinciding with a D element agreeing with the possessum noun. (12a) illustrates the predicative context and (12b) the DP internal one.

- (12) a. *kəta kumiʃ-a-t jam t i-m-ε-t*
 these.PL shirt-PL-DEF be. 1SG.PRES Lkr. PL OBL-1PS-PL-DEF
 ‘These shirts are mine’
 b. *kumiʃ-a-t t i-m-ε*
 shirt-PL-DEF Lkr.PL OBL-1PS-PL
 ‘My shirts’

San Benedetto Ullano

In the Aromanian variety of Libofshë, South Albania, 1st/ 2nd person possessors are lexicalized by possessive pronouns agreeing with the head noun and are preceded by the invariable element *a*, the Possessive Introducer (PI), in (13a) (cf. Pană Dindelegane 2016, Poçi 2009). The occurrence in predicative contexts is illustrated in (13b).

- (13) a. *kən-li a ɲeu/tou/nəstər*
 dog-DEF.M PI my.MSG/your.MSG/our.MSG
 ‘My/your/our dog’
 b. *atseu esti a ɲeu/tou / nəstər*
 that.MSG be. 3SG.PRES PI my.MSG/your.MSG/our.MSG
 ‘It is mine/yours’

Libofshë

The PI precedes also the recipient in dative in (14a) and the possessor in genitival constructions in (14b,c), including the Oblique forms of 3rd person pronouns realizing the possessors, in (14c). Genitives may be introduced also by *di*, in (14b), which is the prepositional introducer of partitives in (14d). In these contexts the introducer takes the form *o* before the masculine and the plural forms, in (14c), whereas *a* is selected before feminine singular pronouns, and *a-li* before feminine definite nouns, as in (14b).

- (14) a. *ɲ/ts u ar datə a ɲ-ia/ts-ea*
 to.me/you it have.3PLPRES given PI me-OBL/you- OBL
 ‘They gave it to me/you/her’
 b. *bəts-a a-li mujer-i / di mujer-i*
 voice-FSGDEF PI-DEF woman-FSGDEF / of woman-FSGDEF
 ‘The voice of the woman’
 c. *sər-a o ɲu-i /ɣ-ɔrə*
 sister.FDEF PI him-OBL /them-PL.OBL
 ‘His/their sister’

- d. un di atsei bərbats
 one of those man-PL
 'One of those men'

Libofshë

The distribution in (13)–(14) supports the conclusion that *a* has a prepositional nature, as assumed in Baldi & Savoia (forthcoming). Actually, at a careful examination, we see that the structures in (14) can be considered prepositional contexts where the introducer behaves like a usual preposition selecting an inflected noun; on the contrary in (13) the PI combines with an element agreeing with the head noun, the possessum, resembling the contexts already considered in (9).

In short, in all of the preceding cases we find that the part-whole relation is externalized by specialized morphemes: In Albanian by means of genitive combined with a D element agreeing with the possessum, in Calabrian and Aromanian by means of *di/de* and *a* respectively, i.e. independent lexicalization of the lexical item corresponding to the part-whole relation, whereas the possessive agrees with the possessum. Prepositional elements, on a par with genitive case, are endowed with an interpretable content able to provide a specialized lexicalization of this relation in particular contexts.

2.2. *A proposal for the analysis of possessive constructs*

In the cartographic literature the connection between possession introduced by a preposition or a case specification and possessives remains unclear, despite the obvious interpretive relation. Consistently with the idea that prenominal and postnominal (or thematic) position of possessives can be transformationally related (Kayne 1977), in Cardinaletti (1998:18) the same basic structure underlies pre- and post-nominal possessives, whereby the movement of N to a functional head 'between N and D' leads to the postnominal order, $[_{DP} la [_{XP} \dots [_{YP} casa_k [_{NP} sua [t_k \dots$ 'his/her house', while the movement of the possessive element to the inflectional domain of the DP gives the prenominal order, $[_{DP} la [_{XP} sua_i \dots [_{YP} casa_k [_{NP} t_i [t_k \dots$ Taking up the model of Cardinaletti & Starke (1994), Cardinaletti (1998:20) assumes that prenominal possessives are devoid of the functional layer, so that they need to be licensed in a functional domain, namely by the Agreement head of the DP. However, descriptively, what is crucial in possessives is their inherent interpretive property able to introduce the relation part-whole between two DPs. For instance, Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011) analyse possessives as a sort of genitive structure, defective for the features referring to the possessor, except the person.

As to Calabrian structures, Silvestri (Forthcoming, § 6.3) proposes an analysis of genitives/ possessives in which the element *di* is identified with

a nominal element inserted in indefinites, i.e. in a DP lacking person features, where it licenses the genitive DP (only in the case of possessives). Her idea is that possessives need to move to the D layer where their uninterpretable features are checked and valued, in this case at the layer of the linker. In the framework we follow, according to Chomsky et al. (2019) there is no mechanism based on uninterpretable features activating agreement. So, Agreement works by the necessity to lexicalize equivalence classes of phi-feature bundles identifying the same argument, i.e. denoting a single referent, as, for instance, between the linker D and the inflection of the possessive (Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2018). Complementary to this is the assumption that all lexical material, including inflectional material, is associated with interpretable contents; this proposal is not substantially different from the conception of Agree in Chomsky (2001) insofar as it expresses the identity between features under locality (Minimal Search).

Interestingly these structures recall the phenomena of Suffixaufnahme (Plank 1995). The typical case is provided by a genitive noun that agrees with its head noun, as in Punjabi (Manzini et al. 2019, Franco et al. 2020). In this language genitives are introduced by the postpositional morpheme *-d-* preceded by the Oblique form of the possessor and followed by the inflectional element agreeing with the possessum, as in the example *mund-e-d-i kita:b* ‘the book of the boy’ in (15).

- (15) [mund-e- d- i] kita:b
 boy-OBL.MSG GEN- FSG book.ABS.FSG
 ‘The book of the boy’

The result is that the Oblique of the noun includes the inflection agreeing with the head noun. In this sense the similarity with Calabrian and Aromanian structures shows up: The Oblique interpretation is repeated inside the NP and the prepositional phrase. After all, this is what happens with linkers of Albanian. The special distribution of the agreement morphology in these constructs leads us to re-consider their organization in the light of the recent proposals of Chomsky (2020:50) concerning the modification contexts. Modification as in the case of an adnominal adjective expression such as *young man*, is the result of an operation of conjunction, where ‘We are forming a sequence which begins with some conjunction, and then contains elements, each of which is predicated of something. So we have a sequence of elements that looks like [16], with links L_i ’.

- (16) < CONJ, < S_1 , L_1 >, . . . , < S_n , L_n > >

Chomsky (2020:51) identifies the Link with the categorizers n and v : ‘What is the linking in those cases? Well, the assumption that comes to mind right away is that the link is the categorizer: n and v for NP and VP coordination’. Manzini (2021) applies this analysis to the Albanian

adjectival and genitival linkers by identifying them with the realization of the Link, as in (17). Drawing on Manzini et al. (2020) and their preceding work on nominal inflection, it seems natural to assume that *n* is a label for the class and number features of nominal agreement, as partially indicated in (17).

- (17) $[_N \text{ kumif-a-t}_{PL}] < [_n \text{ t}_{PL} [_{POSS} \text{ i-m-}\epsilon_{PL}]] >$ cf. (12b)
 ‘my shirts’

The pair-merge operation gives rise to the combination $[_n \text{ t}_{PL} [_{POSS} \text{ i-m-}\epsilon_{PL}]]$ where the Link *t* and the ϕ -features of the possessive agree. This structure is merged with the noun on the base of the agreement in the ϕ -features creating the *N Linker Adj* sequence. Thus, the analysis of Linkers as Ds in Manzini & Savoia (2018:175) and Manzini et al. (2019) comes to be confirmed as the result of a basic mechanism of composition available to natural languages. In the case of possessive constructs, in some languages the referential features of possessum/external argument of the elementary relator ‘of’ need to be instantiated also within the phase of the possessor, as in the generalization in (18):

- (18) Both arguments of the \subseteq predicate are instantiated within the $\subseteq P$.

As a consequence the external argument is introduced as a linker or a stacked affix, as, for example in (15), where the ϕ -features FSG of *kita:b* are duplicated in the relator’s maximal projection (phase). Analogously, Albanian Linkers satisfy the requirement in (18).

Let’s tentatively apply this analysis to the pseudopartitive possessive structures of the Southern Italian dialects, and to the parallel constructs of Aromanian in (13). A reasonable hypothesis is that prepositions *P* are predicates requiring to be saturated by arguments and that they work as probes over DPs. In the case of the elementary relator *di/of*, its external argument, saturates the referential features of *P* in correspondence of the usual structure part-whole *head noun - possessive/ partitive*. Other types of agreement show up depending on morphosyntactic restrictions. In the structures of Southern Italian dialects in (9)–(10), the requirement in (18) forces the preposition to include the agreement properties of the embedded argument. Substantially, the definiteness properties of *D* raise to *P* in a single element behaving as a sort of Link. Chomsky (2020:55) sees in pair-merge the way of treating head raising, whereby ‘It’s always described incorrectly. If a verb raises to inflection, say to *T*, it’s always described as if the *T-V* complex becomes a *T*; but it’s not, it’s a *V*-the outcome of the adjunction is really verbal, not inflectional’. In the present case, the intuition is that *de + Article* is a type of article, substantially a type of inflection, where part-whole relation/Oblique is associated with the nominal features. In keeping with Chomsky (2020:56) given the work-space of *P*, we can pair-merge *P* and *D* in $\langle P, D \rangle$, yielding the work space in (19a). Then, $\langle P, D \rangle$ is merged to $[D \text{ NP}]$ obtaining (19b).

- (19) a. $\langle [_{\subseteq} d\epsilon], [_{\text{FSG}} l-a] \rangle [[_{\text{FSG}} l-a] [_{\text{POSS}} \text{mi}_{\subseteq}-a_{\text{FSG}}]]$
 b. $[_{\text{FSG}/\subseteq} d\epsilon [l-a]] [[_{\text{POSS}} \text{mi}_{\subseteq}-a_{\text{FSG}}]]$

The amalgam $d\epsilon + la$ is formed by affixing the ϕ -features of D to $d\epsilon$. The structure $[_{\text{N}/\text{FSG}} [_{\subseteq} d\epsilon [_{\text{FSG}} la]]$ is created, whose label corresponds to *n*, i.e. the agreement features necessary for merging with $[_{\text{NP}} \text{kummis}-a_{\text{FSG}}]$, in (19'), thus instantiating the Link of modification.

- (19') $[_{\text{N}} \text{kummis}-a_{\text{FSG}}] \langle [_{\text{FSG}/\subseteq} d\epsilon [_{\text{FSG}} la]] [_{\text{POSS}} \text{mi}-a_{\text{FSG}}]] \rangle$ cf. (10b)
 'my shirt'

Aromanian linkers of possessives in (13) can be explained as responding to the same fundamental constraint. The Possessive Introducer *a*, on a par with *di/de* 'of' in South-Italian dialects, provides a duplicate of the genitive inflectional properties of the possessor/embedded noun. Again the amalgam is labelled by the ϕ -features of the possessee, as in (19'').

- (19'') $[_{\text{N}} \text{k}\epsilon\text{n}-\text{li}_{\text{MSG}}] \langle [_{\text{MSG}/\subseteq} a [_{\text{MSG}}]] [_{\text{POSS}} \text{p}\epsilon\text{u}_{\text{MSG}}]] \rangle$ cf. (13a)
 'my dog'

The analysis of *di* (Oblique case) as the externalization of the elementary predicate connecting two arguments (possessor and possessum) via a part/whole relation can be applied both to partitives and genitives, thus reflecting the similarity between them.

Summary:

- ✓ In Southern Italian dialects' possessives (cf. (9)–(10)), *di/de* 'of' can introduce the possessor in structures that, while recalling the partitive, nevertheless detach themselves from it. Common points emerge with genitive structures introduced by the Linker (cf. Albanian in (12) and Aromanian in (13)–(14))
- ✓ Linkers can be analysed as bundles of agreement features connecting the head noun to its complement (the including noun)
- ✓ In the Southern Italian dialects' constructs, *di/de* 'of' seems to subsume the linker function, as the introducer of the possessive/inclusion relation, in turn independently realized by the possessive item

3. Italian PAs

Referring to the preceding discussion, we start from the assumption that the 'part-whole' relation is a conceptual primitive underlying possession and other types of relations based on the inclusion. The point, now, is how this analysis could be able to account for indefinite bare partitives, i.e. the partitive structures with indefinite reading introduced by *di/de* in French, Italian and Italian varieties. One useful way to approach this issue is briefly considered: the properties of the PA constructions in

(Tuscan Regional) Italian, that we illustrate in (20), where *di* introduces the definite DP, with count nouns in (20a), mass nouns in (20b). (20a') and (20b') provide the corresponding negatives (we utilize a simplified transcription). We note that *PA+mass nouns* in the scope of negation is not natural for some speakers, as is also observed for Anconetano in Cardinaletti & Giusti (2016):

- (20) a. hanno visto dei ragazzi
'They.have seen (some) boys'
b. hanno comprato del vino
'They.have bought some wine'
a'. non hanno visto dei ragazzi
Neg they.have seen (some) boys
'They did not see boys'
b'. non hanno comprato del vino
Neg they.have bought (some) wine
'They did not buy wine'

In negative contexts, Italian PAs, as noticed by Chierchia (1998), Storto (2003), Cardinaletti and Giusti (2016), admit two possible interpretations, (21) and (22). In (21) the indefinite quantifier *dei* is out of the scope of negation, while in (22) *dei* is in the scope of negation.

- (21) $\exists x$ [\neg I hanno visto]_{PP} [_{DP} x
Non hanno visto dei ragazzi
there are some boys that they have not seen
(22) [\neg $\exists x$ I hanno visto]_{PP} [_{DP} x
Non hanno visto dei ragazzi
they haven't seen any boys

This double possibility does not hold in the case of mass nouns, as in (20b'), that systematically trigger the narrow scope reading. Actually this reading is the most intuitive for many speakers also in the case of count noun plurals, as in (20a'). Nevertheless, the insertion of a coda, as in (23a,b), specifying the relevant referential properties, introduces an existential presupposition. The wide scope interpretation is triggered with count nouns in (23a) and, marginally, with mass nouns.

- (23) a. non hanno visto dei ragazzi che conoscevano
Neg they.have seen (some) boys that they.knew
'They did not see any boys they knew'
b. ? Non beve del vino (che è) troppo forte
Neg (s)he.drinks some wine (that is) too strong
'(S)he doesn't drink too strong wine'

On the contrary, bare nouns in Italian, trigger the narrow scope reading, as in (24a,b).

- (24) a. non hanno visto ragazzi [¬ [∃x ...
 ‘They didn’t see boys’
 b. non ha bevuto vino
 ‘(S)he didn’t drink wine’

The parallel between the Italian and French PAs, as well known, is far from complete, so much so Storto (2003:317–8) concludes that French PAs are not partitives, but ‘weak non-presuppositional indefinites’ behaving like bare plurals, otherwise excluded in French. This conclusion, however, does not seem resist a more extensive survey on the PAs in French, as highlighted by Ihsane (2008:140 ff.), which provides interesting evidence that the French PAs, like other quantificational noun phrases, admit speaker-referentiality, presuppositional and partitive readings. It remains true that in French, differently from Italian, PAs do not occur in the scope of a negative operator, where the structure *de-NP* appears. Ihsane (2008:146) connects *de-NPs* with the fact that ‘in negative contexts, the property reading is obtained’, whereby *de-NPs* are property denoting arguments in the scope of the negative operator. In other words, negative contexts select the narrow scope reading excluding the existential interpretation possible in Italian PAs. In this respect, the distribution shown by French is very similar to what we will examine for Trecate in Section 5.

Definite plurals with generic or kind content are largely used in spoken Italian and in dialects alternating with lexical indefinite like *alcuni* and *qualche*; however, they trigger the wide scope reading over negation (Beghelli & Stowell 1997), as in (25):

- (25) non ho visto i ragazzi / alcuni ragazzi [∃x [¬ ...
 ‘I didn’t see the boys / some boys’
 Non ho bevuto il vino/ un po’ di vino
 ‘I didn’t drink the wine/ some wine’

As discussed in the literature, a point raised by PA constructions is the relation with true partitives, i.e. *due/alcuni dei ragazzi* ‘two/ some if the boys’, and with the lexical quantifiers, *alcuni ragazzi* ‘some boys’, *un po’ di vino* ‘some wine. The characterization of partitive *di* ‘of’ is provided in Zamparelli (2008:319), where *di* is identified with an operator called ‘residue’ selecting two arguments, the specifier [a copy of NP inside DP] and the complement [a full DP]. The partitive ‘returns the denotation of its specifier minus the denotation of its complement’. Substantially, *di/of* identifies the residue from the whole *specifier+complement*. The relation between possession and partitive – one element of a set – is intuitive; it is not by chance that in many languages both relations are lexicalized by the same morphological tool *di/of*. We simply observe that a conceptual continuum relates an occasional zonal possession to an inalienable possession, to a part of a whole or to a unit belonging to a set.

As to the partitives, Chierchia (1998:88) proposes an analysis whereby partitives are DPs in which the quantifier in D combine with a silent N [parts] selecting the PP introduced by *di* 'of', as in (26).

(26) [DP three [NP [parts] [PP of [DP the boys]]]. . .

In the bare partitives, such as '...dei ragazzi', *dei* absorbs the silent specification of the part-whole relation and moves to D position of the DP. In other words, in these second contexts *dei* ends by lexicalizing D, as in (27) (Chierchia 1998:90).

(27) [DP dei [parts][NP [parts] [PP de [DP i ragazzi]]]. . .

Storto (2003) stresses that this analysis substantially preserves the partitive nature of bare partitives. However, a silent syntactic category is involved that provides *dei* with a derived interpretation, to the effect that *dei* is no longer the usual preposition *of+article* as in (4a), but a different syntactic object. A clearer choice in this sense based on the Cartographic model, is supported by Cardinaletti & Giusti (2016) that propose that PA is to be treated as neither a partitive preposition nor a quantifier, but as a plural indefinite determiner⁴. Cardinaletti & Giusti (2016:59) differentiate bare nouns, quantifiers, partitives and PA in structural terms, so contrasting (28a) and (28b):

(28) a. ho visto [DP dei [NP ragazzi]]
I.have seen de.art boys
b. ho visto [[QP alcuni [DP pro]] [PP de [DP [D i] [NP ragazzi]]]
I.have seen some of the boys

The conclusion is that the indefinite *dei* subsumes quantificational properties occurring in complementary distribution with quantifiers. This distributional property, according to Cardinaletti and Giusti, is a crucial proof in favour of their analysis, so that the true partitives can only follow the quantifier. Cardinaletti and Giusti provide elements of evidence suggesting a structural difference between the indefinite *dei*, treated as the PA, and the genitive/ partitive *dei*, treated as a true PP. Among others, PAs may be embedded by another preposition, as in *con dei libri/ con del vino* 'with some books/ with some wine', excluded for the occurrence of genitives and partitives⁵.

⁴ Separate lexical items for the indefinite *des/du/de* and partitive/genitive *de* are assumed in Ihsane (2008), in turn based on the Cartographic model. Ihsane identifies PAs as functional heads in the structure of the DP while the genitive/partitive *de* is the preposition. As you can see, apart from descriptive differences concerning the nature of the categories hypothesized, the conceptual path is the same as that followed in Cardinaletti & Giusti (2016) : different interpretations are translated into different syntactic structures and categories.

⁵ We note that the combination of *di* (and other prepositions) with another preposition is well attested, for instance in locative specifications such as *su di lui, sotto di lui* 'on him, below him', *in sulla cima* 'on the top', etc. generally involving lexical/ interpretive constraints (Franco et al. 2021, Savoia et al. 2020).

In this regard, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2016:65) notice that in Anconetano a morphophonological difference between PA and genitive/ partitive *dei* emerges, whereby only the PA *dei* admits deleting final *-i* before an initial consonant, as in ... *de(i) libri* ‘some books’, contrary to genitive and partitive *dei*, that excludes this deletion. This phenomenon would provide evidence for the different syntactic status of PAs with respect to genitive/ partitive *di/de+article*. We intend only to provide comparative data from Tuscan Regional Italian where the deletion of *-i* is generally admitted and productive as a regular sandhi phenomenon, in (29a), as illustrated in (29b) for PA, (29c) for genitive, (29d) for partitive.

- (29) a. deletion of *-i*: final *-i* is deleted in the context between the word stressed vowel and the initial C of the following word. The stressed vowel is slightly lengthened.

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} x & & x \# & & x \\ | & / & \neq & | & \\ V & & i & & C \end{array}$$

[stress]

- b. ho letto de Ø libri
I.have read of Ø books
‘I hve read some books’
- c. i libri de Ø su amifi
the books of Ø his friends
‘The books of his friends’
- d. tre dde Ø libri ... / un po’ de Ø libri ...
three of Ø books / few of Ø books
‘Three / few of the books’

Independently from the analysis, it seems reasonable to think that PA in Florentine Regional Italian does not have a different syntax from Anconetano Italian. Another question concerns the distribution of *di* in Florence Italian, where *di* can combine with a quantifier, like *molto/molti*, in (30a), and *più/meno*, in (30b). Exactly as indefinite *dei/ del*, *di* of *di molti/più/meno* can also be preceded by a preposition, as in (30c).

- (30) a. ho visto di molti ragazzi
I.have seen of many boys
‘I have seen many boys’
- b. ne ho visti di meno / di più
of.them I.have seen.MPL of fewer / of more
‘I have seen less / more’

An anonymous reviewer suggests that ‘in the present day variety *dimolt-* [could be considered] the lexeme corresponding to Italian *molt-*. The discussion should take a diachronic perspective in this case’. Indeed, the quantifier *di molti* ‘many’ and the adverbial occurrence *di*

molto ‘very’ appear in ancient Florentine texts, as in the example from *Il Novellino* in (31):

- (31) a. E innanzi a lui fece mettere molte belle gioie e di molto belle
donzelle...
And he set before him many beautiful joys and many beautiful
girls...

(*Il Novellino*, XIV, in Lo Nigro, ed. 1968:84, footnote 7–8, reported in some textual variants)

This distribution could suggest that *di* does not subsume the quantification category, but combines with it, always according to the idea that syncretism is preferably analysed by assuming one category⁶.

A second question raised by the anonymous reviewer concerns the deletion of *-i* in Florentine in (29), in the sense that it cannot bring a conclusive evidence against the distinction posed by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2016). According to the reviewer ‘A possibility is to admit a different syntactic configurations between PAs and “real” genitives, involving however the same Oblique marker, and different phonotactics in Florentine Italian and Anconetano’. This is, indeed, the solution adopted by Chierchia in (27), where *di* moves to the D position where it lexicalizes D. Also Manzini (2019), while preserving the prepositional nature of *di/de* ‘of’, concludes that pseudopartitives and PAs the preposition does not embed the DP, as in usual PPs, but is inserted inside the DP, where the case feature K of DP ‘probes for P’ and the label is DP.

In section 2, we have hypothesized that prepositions P require to be saturated by arguments, generally its external argument, the head noun. If the latter is absent, as in PAs, either the structure is deviant and then excluded, or the internal argument of partitive licenses the sequence by virtue of its referential features. In the case of PAs, the reading of *DE+article* comes to coincide with that of generic plurals. Resuming the discussion around (19), based on pair-merge as the operation concerning ‘head raising’ (Chomsky 2020:55–56), we can treat PAs as the result of labelling following the operation of internal merge between the preposition allomorph *de* and $[i_{\varphi}]$, as in the example discussed in (19). In (32a) the preposition is pair-merged with $[i_{\varphi}]$ and the amalgam is formed by affixation of *i* to *de*, as in (19), whose label is fixed by the agreement features, i.e. *n*, yielding the structure in (32b)

- (32) a. $\langle [\text{de}]_{\text{MPL}} i \rangle$
b. ... $[\text{N/MPL} [\text{de} [\text{MPL} i]]]_{\text{R}} \text{ragazz-i}_{\text{MPL}}$
‘... some boy

⁶ In fact, the occurrence of *di* ‘of’ as the introducer of phrases is much wider. It introduces temporal expressions, such as *di sera* ‘at night/ in the evening’, *di lunedì* ‘on Monday’, and locatives, such as *di sopra* ‘upstairs’, etc.

In other words, the labeling saves the structure by assigning to the amalgam $[[de] i]$ the interpretive content of the definite article and is labeled accordingly, as in (32). So, the resulting amalgam realizes the nominal properties of the article and its label, behaving as the Link involved in agreeing with the verb. The Obligatory indefinite reading seems to be a reflex of the absence of a head introducing the part-whole interpretation. This can explain also the fact that in PA contexts the wide scope reading in negative environment is available on a par with definite plurals, giving rise to a double possibility: the interpretation associated with the definite plural or the one associated with a part of whole (partitive), depending on the lexical properties of *di* and of the other elements it combines with. Of course, in the presence of the noun selecting the partitive there is no need to save the structure and the usual part-whole reading is fixed by the definite plural, as in (32').

(32') $uno < [_{C}de], [[_{MPL} i] [_{Art} ragazz-i_{MPL}]] >$
 'one of the boys'

The gist is that plural content (or mass content) in combination with the plural determiner is sufficient to introduce a generic interpretation (Chierchia 1998) with respect to which PA adds the inclusion property. In Standard Italian and many other varieties this structure is preferred to bare nouns. However, we have seen that the mass content and the presence of negation favour the latter.

Summary:

- ✓ Italian PAs admit both the narrow and the wide scope reading (Section 3)
- ✓ The different analyses proposed in the literature address the question concerning their categorical nature, DPs or PPs.
- ✓ We keep the idea that treating syncretism by assigning the same element to two different lexical entries not only is costly, but conceals the conceptual basis shared by the different occurrences.
- ✓ Also PAs are introduced by the true preposition *DE* 'of'; the merge operation and the externalization procedure are able to explain the surface behaviour

4. PAs in Northern dialects

The PAs characterize many of Northern Italian dialects, although with interesting differences. Typically Lombard and Emilian varieties behave in a similar way as standard Italian, while Piedmontese varieties introduce a particular use of the negative minimizer. Let us start from the Southern Lombard variety of San Benedetto Po (Mantua). (33a,a') illustrates PAs with count nouns in positive sentences, in object and subject position respectively; (34) illustrates mass nouns. Negative

sentences are presented in (35a,a'). In these varieties negation is externalized by two elements, the preverbal negative marker, *(a)n/ na*, corresponding to Italian *non*, Neg, and the postverbal negative marker *mia*, NM (Zanuttini 1997, Manzini & Savoia 2005: §6.2, 2012), which is inserted before the participle in auxiliary contexts. In these dialects bare plurals are not admitted and PAs introduce the narrow-scope corresponding reading. Informants usually exclude wide-scope interpretations of PAs, systematically suggesting the association of these indefinites with *nisyŋ* (nobody). The wide-scope reading requires an argument introduced by a plural definite determiner, *i ragas/ ki ragas* 'the boys/ those boys' as in (35b), or a strong quantifier like *aŋkwəl* 'some' in (35c). Mass nouns also admit PA in negative contexts with narrow scope reading in (36a), although the bare noun is not excluded, as in (36b)

- b. a map-i mia (d-al) paŋ
 SCl eat.-1SG.PRES NM (of-ART.MSG) bread
 'I don't eat bread'

San Benedetto Po

An interesting point is that the partitive clitic (*a*)*n* 'of it/ them' is possible in contexts where it resumes a topical PA, as in (37a) and, for negative context, in (37a').

- (37) a. a n ɔ by d-al viŋ
 SCl of.it have.1SG.PRES drunk of-ART.MSG wine
 'I have drunk wine'
 a'. d-al viŋ a n n ɔ mia by
 of-ART.MSG wine SCl Neg of.it have.1SG.PRES NM drunk
 'I didn't drink wine'

San Benedetto Po

For the sake of completeness in (38) partitive and genitive contexts are given, confirming the identity of the preposition introducing PAs, partitives and genitives. More precisely, two morphophonological alternants are attested, i.e. *d* before a vowel and *ad* before a consonant.

- (38) a. yŋ d-i tɔ fiø-i / øn-a ad-l-i tu fiøl-i
 one.MSG of-PL your son-PL / one-FSG of-ART-PL your daughter-PL
 'One of your sons/ one of your daughters'
 b. yŋ bitʃer ad viŋ
 a glass of wine
 'A glass of wine'
 c. al lɪbər d-i pytlɛt / ad l-i pytlɛt-i
 ART.MSG book of-PL boys / of-ART-PL girl-PL
 'The book of the boys/ girls'

San Benedetto Po

The first generalization we can draw from these distributions is that, in a comparative framework, these dialects reflect the situation of French in excluding bare plurals and showing only the wide-scope of PAs with respect to Negation. However, the role of Negative Marker *mia* is apparently irrelevant to the syntax of PAs. In the following section we will examine how PAs and other indefinites interface with negation and n-words.

4.1. Negative markers as introducers of partitive constructs

According to the literature, negation is an operator that takes in its scope the arguments or the event introduced by the verb. Drawing on analysis

of Acquaviva (1994:114), negation is *the closure of the event variable or the variable associated with the indefinite by a negated existential operator*. The idea we will pursue here is that negative words are indefinites introducing a variable 'x' and its lexical restriction, requiring the existential closure in the scope of the negative operator (Acquaviva 1994, Roberts & Roussou 2003). This solution seems to agree better with a line of research concerning the variation in negative contexts shown by Romance varieties, Italian dialects included. As discussed in Manzini & Savoia (2011:81, 130), this analysis can be applied not only to the so-called negative adverbs or negative polarity items but also to the negative clitics, like Italian *non* or French *ne*, which, on the contrary, a part of the literature identifies with the logical operator of negation (Rizzi 1982, Longobardi 1992).

In the traditional syntactic approach to negation, a crucial role is played by the idea that n-words occupy different structural positions in correspondence of different syntactic properties. In this line, Pollock (1989) proposed that negation adverbs such as *pas* in French fill the Spec position of a NegP projection generated below the I position targeted by the verb, whose head is in turn filled by a negative clitic, like *ne* in French. In other languages, which include colloquial French, no negative head is present. Belletti (1990) applies the same theory to Italian, which has only a negative head, originating in the Neg position and moving higher as a clitic. Most Northern Italian dialects present a postverbal negative marker that in many varieties combines with the preverbal negative clitic. Zanuttini (1997), in considering data of this type, proposes several Neg positions in the structure of the sentence. Specifically, a Neg position is generated above I, while below I there are three Neg positions, interacting with the aspectual adverbial positions. The inflectional Neg position hosts negative clitics in languages like Italian which do not require a negation adverb. On the contrary, negation adverbs are generated in one of the lower Neg positions; if a clitic combines with the adverb, it is generated in the head of the relevant Neg position and moves to the inflectional domain by cliticization. The link between negative elements and argumental structure of vP is assumed in Poletto (2017:82), whereby 'all negative markers occurring in languages with discontinuous negation start out as a unit, [...] first merged inside the vP, [...] definitely in an argumental one.', the category NegP. The Movement from this position is related to the different distribution with respect to other adverbials.

In Italian, on a par with Northern Italian dialects, the negative clitic combines with a negative argument or adverb (*niente* 'nothing', *mai* 'never', etc.) to yield a single logical negation. Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991) explain this phenomenon on the basis of the Neg Criterion, whereby the negative clitic in the head position of a NegP requires a Neg operator in its Spec and vice versa. The head-Spec configuration is in turn read as an agreement relation, yielding a single negation interpretation. This analysis presupposes that *niente*,

mai and the other *n*-words are negative quantifiers. However, a consistent body of literature on Romance languages argues for a different conclusion, namely that Romance *n*-words are negative polarity items (Rizzi 1982, Laka 1990, Longobardi 1992, Acquaviva 1994, Garzonio & Poletto 2008).

Indeed, what we see is that a satisfactory distinction between negative clitics and negation adverbs is far from reaching, considering that both clitics and negation adverbs are able to negate alone (Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2011, cf. Zanuttini 1997). This leads us to adopt a uniform treatment, identifying all of them as indefinite (existential) elements in the eventive domain of the sentence, construable, according to Manzini & Savoia (2011:129) as nominal elements, ‘anchored at the argumental structure of the verb and specifically at the (nominal or eventive) internal argument’. The fact that in Romance languages *n*-words can be interpreted in the scope of modal operators such as questions, exclamatives and counterfactuals, confirms their existential content (Manzini & Savoia 2011). In other words, *n*-words are devoid of intrinsically negative properties but are simply existentials, or free variables in the terms of Heim (1982), interpreted in the scope of the negation or other polarity operators (cf. for a comparable conclusion Roberts & Roussou 2003:141 and ff.).

Note that in the case of a transitive predicate some ambiguity is predictable depending on whether it is the internal argument or the elementary event in the scope of negation. This type of ambiguity characterizes in general quantificational adverbs and it seems to be connected to the focus structure of the sentence. It is no accident that the wide-scope reading associated to an argument introduced by a plural definite determiner, *i ragas/ ki ragas* ‘the boys/ those boys’ as in (35b), generally implies an informational focus reading.

The different distribution of *n*-words will be treated as the effect of the different lexical properties of the elements involved, within the strong minimalist model already presented in the first section. This analysis allows us to trace the co-occurrence of more *n*-words, i.e. the ‘negative concord’, back to the closure by the same logical negation (or by the same existential quantifier in the scope of the logical negation). So-called negative concord is in fact what we expect in view of a non-deviant expression, whereby the variables introduced by the negative words are interpreted in the scope of the same negation and existential closure operators. Thus there is a single instance of negation at the interpretive level.

4.2. ‘Nothing’ NMs, minimizers and indefinites

In some Northern Italian dialects, notably Piedmontese ones (cf. Zanuttini 1997), the sentential negation adverb coincides with the negative argument for ‘nothing’. The comparison between negative marker (NM) and negative argument is shown in (39a) vs (39b) for *neint(a)*, (40a) vs (40b) for *nota* (< *no+gutta* ‘no drop’, Rohlf 1968 [1949]), (41a) vs (41b) for *renj*. It is of note

that in a subset of dialects it combines with the preverbal negative clitic (*a*) *n*, as in (39) and (42). Since the verb can be construed both transitively and intransitively, at least descriptively the negative item can fill the internal argument slot, or can have a reading equivalent to a sentential negation.

- (39) a. a n el vig neinta
 SCI Neg OCl.3SG see.1SG.PRES NM
 'I don't see him'
 b. u n mandʒ-a neinta
 he Neg eat-3SG.PRES nothing/NM
 'He doesn't eat (anything)'

Oviglio

- (40) a. tʃam-u not -et
 call.1SG.PRES NM you
 'I am not calling you'
 b. jə vɔg nota
 SCI see.1SG.PRES nothing/NM
 'I don't see (anything)'

Quarna Sotto

- (41) a. lu tʃam-u rɛŋ
 OCl-3MSG call.1SG.PRES NM
 'I don't call him'
 b. al fa-i rɛŋ
 SCI do.3SG.PRES nothing
 'He does nothing'

Stroppio (Macra Valley) (Occitan, Piedmont)

Positing two lexical entries (or a disjunctive single one), distinguishing the negative marker and the N/Q, is, obviously, costly and unable to explain the syncretism – for the opposite perspective cf. Garzonio & Poletto (2008) and especially Garzonio & Poletto (2009) which identify negative quantifiers with negative markers void of lexical restrictor. Based on the set of assumptions introduced in this section, also in the case of discontinuous lexicalization, a single instance of the negation is present at the interpretive level, as in (42) for Oviglio in (39b), where *neinta* works as the restriction on the variable.

- (42) $\lceil \neg \exists x [_{Cl} u [_{Neg} n (x) [_{I} mandʒa [_{N} neinta (x) \text{ 'he does not eat'}$

Moreover, bare nouns are another major class of non-*n* sentential negations, including minimizers: *mi(g)a* or *briza* 'crumb', *buka* 'piece', *pa* 'step', as in (43), the form *mia* of San Benedetto Po in (35)–(36) included:

- (43) a. elts dɔrm-ɐŋ buk(a)
 they sleep-3PL.PRES NM
 'They don't sleep'

Trun (Sursilvan, Grisons)

- b. a drøm pa
 SCl sleep.3SG.PRES NM
 'He doesn't sleep'

Pramollo (Occitan, Piedmont)

- c. a n dørn-i mia
 SCl Neg sleep.1SG.PRES NM
 'I don't sleep'

San Benedetto Po

The change from a noun into a negation word is treated in the historical literature as a 'grammaticalization' process whereby an argument becomes a functional category (cf. Roberts & Roussou 2004). This phenomenon typically affects nouns denoting the smallest units of something, i.e. minimizers. Meyer-Lübke (1899: §693–694) proposes that what is traditionally described as sentential negation adverb originates in a partitive construction: Old French examples such as (44) show the negative adverb *mie*, a bare Noun 'minimizer', overtly co-occurring with the partitive. Similar data are documented for Old North Italian varieties (Garzonio & Poletto 2009).

- (44) de s'espee ne volt mie guerpir
 his sword not he.wanted NM abandon
 'He didn't want to abandon his sword'
 (Chanson de Roland 465)

Roberts & Roussou (2003:140 and ff.) assume that in Old French these elements were indefinites supplying the variable to the negative operator, and changed to indefinites Obligatory Agreeing with clausal negation. Garzonio & Poletto (2008:63) explain the change of minimizers into functional elements 'classifier-like quantifier governing the DP', as the consequence of the fact that minimizers lost their nominal properties, becoming a type of negative quantifier as in (45), where the initial value of *miga* 'crumb' is replaced by a quantified interpretation of 'nothing' in the domain of negation.

- (45) [QP [Q miga] [DP [_{KP} de [_{NP} vin]]]] '... no wine'

Partitives introduced by minimizers in negative constructions are attested in many Northern Italian dialects: we will explore this special externalization of the internal argument. (44)–(45) refer to a well-known phenomenon of French, in which, in negative environments, indefinites are realized as bare plurals or bare mass singulars introduced by *de*. These same forms are not allowed in the absence of negation, as discussed by Kayne (1984), in (46).

- (46) Je *(ne) veux pas de cadeaux
 I not want not of gifts
 'I (don't) want gifts'

Kayne (1984) proposes a structure including a non-lexicalized negative quantifier Q followed by the partitive *de cadeaux*, yielding a structure of the type in (47).

(47) *je ne veux pas* [Q [*de cadeaux*]].

The presence of the empty Q quantifier means that the noun phrase as whole is subject to the Empty Category Principle of Chomsky (1981), i.e. it needs to be properly governed, so that noun phrases of the type under consideration are restricted to the object position. Independently of the specific solution, the crucial point is the fact that the prepositional phrase has to be related to a nominal category.

The same phenomenon is widespread in Northern Italian, emerging not only in Piedmontese and Occitan but also in Lombard varieties, as shown in (48a) and (48b) respectively.

(48) a. al beu reŋ de viŋ
 SCl drink.3SG.PRES not of wine
 'He doesn't drink wine'

Stroppio (Macra Valley)

b. al mandʒ-a minga da biskoti
 SCl eat.3SG.PRES NM of biscuits
 'He does not eat biscuits'

Casorezzo (Lombardy)

In (48b) for Stroppio the sentential negation word *reŋ* coincides with the negative argument (cf. (41a,b)). We take the coincidence of 'not' and 'nothing' in languages like Stroppio not just as a matter of homophony but as suggesting that a single lexical entry is involved. We could treat *reŋ* as a specialized minimizer co-occurring with the negative operator, whose lexical entry has the Logical Form in (49a) for (48a), where the noun [*reŋ*] is the lexical restriction of the variable existentially closed within the scope of the negation, giving rise to (49b)⁷.

(49) a. [_N *reŋ* (x)]]
 b. [¬ [∃x [_D al [_I beu ... [_{VP} [_N *reŋ* (x) [*de viŋ*]]]] ... cf. (48a)
 'he does not drink wine'

Stroppio/ Macra

Thus, *reŋ* (< Latin *rem* 'thing'), behaves as an evaluative element (Crisma 2012) that takes in its scope the following bare noun, the partitive in (49b). NMs of the type of *mia*, *briza*, *reŋ* etc. deriving from evaluatives can work as argumental elements able to imply the negative operator (Manzini &

⁷ Roberts & Roussou (2004: 151) analyse n-words of French as including a restriction on that quantifier in the scope of negation, as in (i):

(i) Jean n'a pas mangé [e de pommes] 'John has not eaten (any) apples.'

Savoia 2011). More precisely, they are indefinites Obligatory triggering the negative reading. Nevertheless, there are many languages, as much as French and many of Northern Italian dialects, in which the negative marker is however introduced, either an autonomous element or the negative morpheme *n-*, duplicating or replacing the negative clitic in *n-*words such as *neinta o nota* in (39) and (40).

The negative markers that enter into the partitive construction such as (49b) seem sensitive to the same constraints that generally restrict the occurrence of (object) bare nouns in Romance to plurals and mass singulars. We saw that bare nouns in Romance introduce existential readings in the scope of the negative operator, associated with a kind-level denotation (Chierchia 1998). The bare count singulars need to fulfil these requirements: kind reading and negative contexts, as in literary expressions in (50).

- (50) *(Non) proferì parola
not he.said word
'He didn't say a word'

Thus, minimizers, like bare nouns, imply an indefinite reading in the scope of negation or other modality operators. A small subset of count singulars, as parts of imaginable wholes or aggregates, for instance *leaf* and *word*, may work as lexical restrictions on the variable introducing a kind interpretation in the scope of negation, as in (51).

- (51) $\lceil \lceil \exists x \lceil_{\text{Neg}} \text{non} \lceil_1 \text{proferì} \lceil_N \text{parola} (x) \rceil \rceil$ cf. (50)

In current language the expressions in (50) would include the indefinite quantifier *un*, as in *non proferì una parola* 'He didn't say a word' with the same interpretation.

5. PAs and partitives in negative sentences

In this section we consider some varieties spoken in North-Western Piedmont characterized by the enclisis of pronominal clitics on the verb/participle (Manzini & Savoia 2005), as exemplified by the dialects of Trecate, Cerano and Quarna Sotto investigated here. Enclitics may also occur on the locative expressions and other nominal elements, including negative minimizers, as in the case of Quarna di Sotto in (62). In these dialects,

- ✓ in positive contexts the indefinites are mandatorily introduced by PAs
- ✓ in negative contexts the indefinites are bare nouns selected by the NM+of (for instance *mia* in the dialect of Trecate in (54)) in the scope of the negation
- ✓ the NM occurs both as the sentential negation and the head of partitive constructs

In the dialect of Trecate in (52) and fl., (52a) illustrates count plural objects in positive sentences while (52b) and (52b') illustrate subjects. Mass nouns are exemplified in (53). Negative sentences show the partitive construction *mia+ d+ bare noun* as in (54a,b,b') for count nouns and (55a, a',a''),b) for mass nouns. Note that these partitive constructs can be introduced also by other negative markers, as, for instance, *py* 'no longer'.

In this type of varieties, we find a distribution substantially comparable with that of French, since bare nouns are excluded in positive sentences and in negative sentences they occur only in NM *di* contexts. In other words, PAs introduce the indefinites in positive contexts, whereas in negative contexts the indefinites are bare nouns selected by a partitive construction. The other possibility is using definite articles with generic reading or other types of quantifiers, as in (56a) for positive contexts and (56b,b',b'') for negative contexts. Of course, the occurrence of the partitive clitic *na* is regularly attested, as in (57a) for count nouns and (57b) for mass nouns, where the object is a topic. For the sake of clarity, we note that in the examples with the existential in (52b), (54b), (55b) the locative clitic *-j-* is inserted in mesoclitisis between the stem and the inflection (Manzini & Savoia 2005). The masculine singular article before a consonant is *a*, causing the strengthening of the following consonant. The preposition 'of' shows two alternants, *d* before a vowel and *ad* before a consonant (cf. section 4.3).

- (52) a. ɔ vist d-i dɔn / d-i ɔm
 have.1SG.PRES seen of-ART.PL women / of-ART.PL men
 'I have seen (some) women/ men'
- b. in-j-u d-i dɔn / d-i ɔm
 AUX.PRES-there-3PL of-ART.PL women / of-ART.PL men
 'There are (some) women/ men'
- b'. in-u ɲy d-i dɔn / d-i ɔm
 AUX. PRES-3PL come of-ART.PL women / of-ART.PL men
 'Women/ men have come'
- (53) ɔ bi'vy d a vvik
 have.1SG.PRES drunk of-ART.SG wine
 'I have drunk (some) wine'
- (54) a. ɔ vist mia ad dɔn / d ɔm
 have.1SG.PRES seen NM of women / of men
 'I didn't see women / men'
- b. in-j-u mia ad dɔn / d ɔm
 AUX. PRES-there-3PL NM of women / of men
 'There are no women/ men'
- b'. in-u ɲy mia d dɔn / ad ɔm
 AUX.PRES -3PL come NM of women / of men
 'No women/ men have come'

- (55) a. mi bev-a mia ad vik
I drink-1SG.PRES NM of wine
'I don't drink wine'
a'. o bi'vy mia ad vik
have.1SG.PRES drunk NM of wine
'I didn't drink wine'
a''. i bev-a py ad vik / a vvik
SCI drink-3SG.PRES no longer of wine/ the.MSG wine
'He no longer drinks wine'
b. l ε-j-a mia ad vik
SCI be.PRES-here-3SG NM of wine
'There is no wine'
- (56) a. o bi'vy *(a) vvik / um pō d vik
have.1SG.PRES drunk the.MSG wine / some wine
'I have drunk the/some wine'
b. mi bev-a mia a vvik
I drink.1SG.PRES NM the.MSG wine
'I don't drink the wine'
b'. o mia vist i om
have.1SG.PRES NM seen the.MPL men
'I have not seen the men'
b''. o mia bi'vy a vvik
have.1SG.PRES NM drunk the.MSG wine
'I have not drunk the wine'
- (57) a. o mia tʃa'ma-na ad matalit
have.1SG.PRES NM called-of.them of children
'I didn't call children'
b. ad vik o bi'vy-na mia
of wine have.1SG.PRES drunk-PARTCL NM
'I didn't drink (of) wine'

Trecate

As shown by the comparison between (54)–(55) and (56ii,iii), the occurrence of (a)d+*bare noun* is introduced by *mia*. Hence, the minimizer, on a par with *reŋ* in (49b), is the restriction of a variable in the scope of the negation, and selects the whole of which it is represented as a part, in turn realized by a bare noun, i.e. a plural count noun or a mass noun; the result is a negated indefinite interpretation, as in (58).

- (58) [¬ [∃x [I beva [VP [VP [N mia (x) [CP ad [NP vik]]]]
'I do not drink wine'

Trecate

More precisely, the partitive structure is admitted only if *mia* is adjacent to the DP, where *mia* licenses the genitive structure, exactly as in the case

© 2021 The Authors. *Studia Linguistica* published by John Wiley & Sons Ltd on behalf of Editorial Board of *Studia Linguistica*

nothing-type word, i.e. *nota* ‘not/ nothing’ combines with 1st and 2nd person enclitics, as in (61a), while the minimizer-like word, *mia*, combines with 3rd person, i.e. the partitive enclitic *n* ‘of it/them’ in (61b), and lexical arguments, introduced by ‘of’, in (61c). In both cases the 3rd person is expressed as a partitive.

- (61) a. $\varnothing y$ $v\varnothing g$ $not\varnothing$ -m/ -t/ -u
 SCl see.3SG.PRES NM OCl.1SG/ 2SG/ 2PL
 ‘He doesn’t see me/you’
 b. $\varnothing y$ $v\varnothing g$ $mi\varnothing$ -n
 SCl see.3SG.PRES NM-of.it/them
 ‘He doesn’t see it/ them’
 c. $\varnothing y$ beu $mi\varnothing$ d $vi\varnothing$
 he drink.3SG.PRES NM of wine
 ‘He doesn’t drink wine’

Quarna Sotto

The split between 1st/ 2nd and 3rd person in (61) gives rise to a DOM distribution based on the different types of referents. In particular, 1st and 2nd person arguments are ‘discourse-anchored’ elements generally inducing a specialized morphosyntactic implementation (Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2007). We may suppose that negation is realized taking into account these interpretive differences. In (61a) 1st/2nd person clitics combine with a negative element, i.e. *nota*, in which the negative morpheme *n(o)* combines with a minimizer, from the original form *no-gutta* ‘no drop’. *nota* is able to provide the restriction for the variable *x* introduced by the negation, as suggested in (61’a), in contexts where 1st and 2nd person clitics are independently interpreted by virtue their deictic properties. More precisely, our hypothesis is that in the contexts of *nota* the 1st/2nd person clitics, as *-m* in (61’), are not selected by the *n*-word. Differently, 3rd person expressions, clitic or DPs, are introduced, as in Trecate and other Piedmontese dialects, by means of a minimizer, i.e. *mi\varnothing*, licensing a partitive/genitive structure that contributes to specifying the content of the variable *x*, as in (61’b), where *-n* is the Oblique included in the DP object.

(61’) Quarna Sotto

- a. $\lceil \lceil \exists x [D \varnothing y [I v\varnothing g [N n- [ot\varnothing x]] [IP m]] \rceil \rceil$ cf. (61a)
 ‘he does not see me’
 b. $\lceil \lceil \exists x [D \varnothing y [I v\varnothing g [DP [N mi\varnothing x [Obl/Partitive n]]] \rceil \rceil$ cf. (61b)
 ‘he does not see her/ him/them’

It should be stressed that the interaction of the negation element with the person split is hardly expected if the NM corresponds to a functional category Neg – whose content presumably is that of logical connective negation. It would be hard to find a reason why the NM would be lexicalized in two different ways according to the argument structure of the verb. The comparison between (56) and (54)–(55) concerning the

distribution of partitive structures, the data in (59) and, especially in (61) provide evidence confirming the analysis we have proposed, whereby the negative marker/ minimizer is the head governing the partitive structure. On the interpretive level these structures correspond to sentences in which the indefinite is in the scope of negation. In other terms, we find a distribution comparable with that of French, since bare nouns are excluded in positive sentences and in negative sentences they occur only when introduced by *mia d.* As a consequence, in positive contexts the indefinites are mandatorily introduced by PAs, while in negative contexts the indefinites are bare nouns introduced by a partitive construction. Otherwise, definite articles with generic reading or other types of quantifiers are used, as in (56a,b)⁸.

At this point, we can return to the question raised by an anonymous reviewer about the example in (48a) from the dialect of Casorezzo, in Western Lombardy area. In fact, differently from San Benedetto in (33)–(36) and Treccate in (55)–(60), this variety shows a system in which the negative element is *no*, occurring in postverbal position, as in (64a,a')

⁸ It is interesting to note that there are Piedmontese Franco-Provençal varieties, such as the one of Cantoira (Lanzo Great Valley) that realize the indefinite (non-presuppositional) by means of the sequence *d+bare nouns* in any context. Thus, the dialect of Cantoira, like French and Treccate, selects the partitive with bare noun in contexts of the negative marker, here *nij*, as in (i.a) and (i.b), but unlike French it uses *d+bare noun* also in positive contexts, as in (ii) for objects and (iii) for subjects. In other words, this dialect excludes PAs including the definite article, occurring instead in French, Italian and several Northern Italian dialects (e.g. San Benedetto in (33)–(34)), and uses bare plural or mass nouns introduced by *of* in all contexts.

- (i) a. d₃ e nij vy'u ət fyməll-əs / d əm
 SCI have.1SG NM seen of woman-FPL / of men
 'I did not see women/ men'
- b. d₃ e nij by ət viŋ
 SCI have.1SG NM drunk of wine
 'I did not drink wine'
- (ii) a. d₃ e vy'u ət fyməll-əs / d əm
 SCI have.1SG seen of woman-FPL / of men
 'I have seen women/ men'
- b. d₃ e by ət viŋ
 SCI have.1SG drunk of wine
 'I have drunk wine'
- (iii) ət fyməll-əs u dyərm-unt
 of woman-FPL SCI.PL sleep-3PL
 'women are sleeping'

We can wonder how to treat these sequences. Taking in consideration the analysis in (32), the fact they can determine the agreement of the verb, as in (iii) could suggest that the plural inflection of the noun is sufficient to yield the kind of amalgam seen in (32), where *di+art* gives rise to the indefinite reading, as in (iv).

- (iv) ... [_{FPL} [_{CD} [_{FPL}]] [_R fyməll-əs _{FPL}]]

In (iv) the inflection -əs, merged to the noun, introduces the agreement interpreted in [d/ ət].

(cf. Manzini & Savoia 2005 §6.2). PAs and bare nouns with indefinite reading are excluded, while the indefinite interpretation is possible only with DPs introduced by definite articles, as in (62a,b). The indefinite reading of plural count and mass nouns in the scope of the negation requires the negative minimizer *minga* ‘nothing’ selecting *da*+bare nouns partitive structures as in (63a,a’).

- (62) a. \circ vist-u i d \acute{o} n
have.1SG.PRES seen-MSG Art.PL women
‘I have seen the/some women’
b. \circ be’vy ul viŋ
have.1SG.PRES drunk Art.MSG wine
‘I have drunk the/ some wine’
- (63) a. \circ duman’da minga da fi’ \acute{o}
have.1SG.PRES called NM of boys
‘I have not called boys’
a’. al be: minga / py da viŋ
SCI drink.3SG.PRES NM / no longer of wine
‘he no longer drinks wine’
b. \circ duman’da n \acute{o} i fi’ \acute{o}
have.1SG.PRES called Neg the boys
‘I have not called boys’
b’. \circ be’vy n \acute{o} ul viŋ
have.1SG.PRES drunk Neg Art.MSG wine
‘I didn’t drink the/ some wine’
- (64) a. al mand \acute{z} -a n \acute{o}
SCI eat.3SG.PRES Neg
‘he does not eat’
a’. eŋ man’d \acute{z} a n \acute{o}
have.3PL.PRES eaten Neg
‘They have not eaten’

Casorezzo

As pointed out by Manzini & Savoia (2005, § 6.2, 6.3.1) the complementary distribution between *n \acute{o}* and *minga* is a clear evidence of their different interpretive and syntactic natures: The negation *n \acute{o}* is devoid of this ability notwithstanding its postverbal position. In other words, the ability of selecting bare indefinites is a property of NMs, preserving the original lexical nature of measure elements (minimizers) introducing a mereological relation with a whole. Zanuttini (1997) connects the postverbal *n \acute{o}* to a low position in its structural schema of adverbials (cf. the discussion in Manzini & Savoia 2005); of course, the crucial point is its lexical properties, devoid of any evaluative content, as suggested in (65a,b). The narrow scope reading is systematically associated with the partitive construct, in (65b).

- (65) a. $[(\neg) [\exists x \dots [_I \text{ duman'da } [_{\text{Neg}} \text{ n} \circ \text{ x}]] [_{\text{DP}} \text{ i fi} \emptyset]]$ cf. (63b)
 '... not called the boys'
 b. $[\neg [\exists x \dots [_I \text{ duman'da } [_{\text{DP}} [_{\text{N}} \text{ minga } x] [_{\text{PP}} \text{ di fi} \emptyset]]]$ cf. (63a)
 '... not called boys'

Bare noun partitives (BPs) and PAs appear to be independent phenomena, insofar as there are varieties endowed with NMs which show PAs but not BPs (San Benedetto in (33)–(36)) and varieties which show BPs but not PAs (Casorezzo in (52)–(54)); this latter distribution is also reported and discussed in Pinzin & Poletto, accepted (this volume).

The main points which have been discussed are the following:

- ✓ *n*-words are negated indefinites and not negative quantifiers;
- ✓ Sentential negative markers either coincide with negative arguments such as 'nothing' or are bare nouns;
- ✓ Treating them as nominal elements, connected to the internal argument, accounts for the fact that they introduce the partitive and are sensitive to the person (1st/2nd vs. 3rd) of IA itself;
- ✓ Specifically, negation can be treated as an operator introducing a quantification over the internal argument. Sentential negation clitic introduces a variable within the scope of the negative (or other modal) operator event (Manzini & Savoia 2005, 2011, 2017:92);
- ✓ This hypothesis differs from much literature which takes the clitic to instantiate the negative operator (Rizzi 1982, Longobardi 1992).

5.1. The preposition 'of'

Before ending this section, let us briefly consider the morphology of *DE* 'of' in Northern dialects, here focusing on that of Trecate, and specifically the overlap of *de/di* and *da* (Rohlf's 1969 [1954]: 220). We see that the elementary relator 'of' has three forms *ad*, *da* and *d* in genitive and partitive contexts, alternating as follows:

- ✓ *da* occurs in partitive and genitive contexts where the embedded noun is definite (plural count or mass), (66a) and (66b)
- ✓ *d* in the same contexts, when followed by a vocalic initial, in (66a') and (66b')
- ✓ *ad* occurs in the contexts where it follows a lexical classifier or measure element, such as 'glass', including NMs, and selects a substance or a temporal span or a local specification, in (67a,b,c)

Moreover, *da* and *d* occur in complex locatives, as in (66c,c'), and introduce the agent in passive, in (66d,d'). Taking this distribution into account, we can treat the form *d* as the morphophonological alternant of *da* in vocalic contexts; in other words, the alternants in (66) can be assigned to the same lexical entry *da*. Its occurrence in locative contexts is

further evidence in favour of this conclusion. As to *ad*, we can identify it with the preposition **de* 'of', which in these dialects has a reduced distribution. The preposition *a* introduces the dative, in (68a), and, like in Italian, occurs in complex locative prepositions, in (68b).

(66) *partitive*

- a. ɔ vist vyn-a da ky dɔn / vyk da lo
I.have seen one-FSG of those women / one.MPL of them
'I have seen one of those women/ one of them'
- a'. ɔ vist vyk d i tɔ fiø
I.have seen one-MSG of ART.PL your sons
'I have seen one of those women/ one of them / of your sons'

possession

- b. l ε da ly mia da le
SCI is of he.MSG NM of she.FSG
'It is his not hers'
- b'. is libr-u l ε d i dɔn
this book SCI is of ART.PL women
'This book is of the women'

locative

- c. suta da mi
under of me
'Under me'
- c'. i vɔ fɔra da li / d iŋ ka
SCI I.go out of there / of in house
'I go out of there/ of the house'

agent of passives

- d. l ε stai fai da ly
SCI is been made of he.MSG
'It has been made by him'
- d'. l ε stai fai d i dɔn
SCI is been made of ART.PL women
'It has been made by the women'

(67) *part of a whole*

- a. um bitʃer ad vik
a glass of wine
'A glass of wine'

part of a material

- b. um bitʃer ad vedru
a beaker of glass
'A glass beaker'

part of time

- c. ad sir-a
of evening
'In the evening'

- (68) *dative*
 a. i dɔ-v-r-u a lo
 SCl give.1SG.PRES-to.them-it to them
 'I give it to them'
locative
 b. suta a ttavru / ar-a karega
 under ART.MSG table / ART-FSG chair
 'Under the table/ the chair'

Trecate

As pointed out by Franco et al. (2020), frequently, location in natural languages is externalized by the same cases or adpositions which introduce genitive, dative, instrumental, i.e. non-spatial Obliques, or in more traditional terms the two are syncretic. For instance, the distribution of *da/ d* in (66) illustrates the overlap between possessive/ partitive and locative contexts. The simplest assumption is that the Oblique preposition involved in the encoding of locative events do not contribute a specific, fixed spatial meaning to the sentence (Franco et al. 2020, Manzini et al. 2019). On the contrary, prepositions relate a complement to a motion event as general relators, by establishing an inclusion/possession or part-whole relation between them.

It is natural to ask oneself how different readings can be explained. The idea is that 'the inclusion predicate, corresponding to a case inflection or to an adpositional head, does not have sufficient lexical content to characterize, say, specific (sub)types of possession or location.' (Franco et al. 2020:12). As a consequence, the specialized meanings, possessor, location, and others, arise from the lexical content of the embedded noun, the semantic properties of the verb or of the adverbial/axial expansion in complex prepositions. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that prepositions are sensitive to the lexical content of the place noun, specifically animacy properties, as highlighted by the comparison between (66c) *suta da mi* 'under of me' and *suta a ttavru* 'under the table', a well-attested contrast in Italian and other Romance languages. We can think that the elementary relator *da* selects the 'zonal inclusion' according the interpretive properties of the verb or the head noun. For instance, in the case of complex prepositions, the element specifying the Axial part (in the sense of Svenonius 2010) is merged to the location NP by *da*, as in (69a). This analysis also applies to the other occurrences, as in (6ab).

- (69) a. [_{NP} suta] [_{CP} da [_{NP} mi]] 'under of me' cf. (66c)
 b. (l ε) [_{CP} da [_{NP} ly]] 'it is his' cf. (66b)

An interesting split separates *da* from *ad*, regularly associated with bare nouns of substances and temporal spans, as *ad sira* 'in the evening/ at night', and, as seen in the preceding section, with bare plurals introduced

by the NM *mia*. Thus, this form is restricted to indefinite nouns of which the classifier/ NM/ measure noun contributes to fixing the reference. What comes to mind is that in these sequence the amalgam <P, N> is created, substantially referring to the material in the case of mass nouns or the set of individuals in plurals contexts. In other words, a sort of Oblique nouns including the part-whole relator emerge.

6. Indefinites in varieties without bare partitives

There are Romance varieties that are devoid of partitive articles. This typology encompasses Southern Italian dialects and other Romance languages, such as Friulian, Romanian and Spanish. In what follows, we will compare the data of the Friulian dialect of San Giorgio della Richinvelda (Central Friuli) with the indefinite forms attested in some Southern Italian dialects. In Friulian indefinite expressions are introduced as bare count plurals or bare mass singulars, as in (70a,b), and (70a') for plural subjects. In negative sentences, introduced by the negative clitic *no* 'not', the only admitted reading is in the scope of negative operator, as in (71a,b) and (71a') for plural subjects. The insertion of *sert* 'a certain' triggers the wide scope interpretation in negative contexts, in (72a). The recourse to definite plurals with generic reading is however available, as in (72b).

- (70) a. i ai judu:t (*da l-i) 'femin-is / fan'ta-s
 SCI have.1SG.PRES seen *of-ART.FPL woman-FPL / boys-PL
 'I have seen women/ boys'
 a'. i soŋ vɪnʉd-is 'femin-is
 SCI be.1SG.PRES come-FPL woman-FPL
 'Women have come'
 b. i ai bevu:t vɪŋ / aga
 SCI have.1SG.PRES drunk wine / water
 'I have drunk wine / water'
- (71) a. no ai judu:t 'femin-is
 Neg have.1SG.PRES seen woman-FPL
 'I didn't see women'
 a'. a no soŋ vɪnʉd-is 'femin-is
 SCI Neg be.3PLPRES come-FPL woman-FPL
 'Women didn't come'
 b. no ai bevu:t vɪŋ
 Neg have.1SG.PRES drunk wine
 'I have not drunk wine'
- (72) a. a no soŋ vɪnʉd-is sert-is 'femin-is
 SCI Neg be.3PLPRES come-PL certain-FPL women-FPL
 'Certain women didn't come'

- b. no ai judu:t l-i 'femin-is
 Neg have.1SG.PRES seen ART-PL women-FPL
 'I have not seen the women'

San Giorgio della R.

As shown by the data, indefinite interpretation is systematically introduced by using bare nouns both in positive and negative contexts. In the latter only the narrow-scope interpretation is admitted. However, wide scope reading is obtained by means of the insertion of quantifiers like *certi* selecting a specific value.

Southern dialects, here exemplified by Cirigliano (Basilicata) in (73), Morano (Northern Calabria) in (74) and Iacurso (Central Calabria) in (75), lack PAs. In positive sentences generally they show plurals introduced by definite articles triggering generic interpretation or quantified nominal expressions, typically introduced by *tfertu*/ *tferti* 'some specific', as in count (73a)–(75a) and mass nouns, (75a'). However, some informants admit also bare nouns. In negative sentences, introduced by the clitic negation, bare nouns with indefinite interpretation occur, both with count in (73b) and mass nouns in (73b')–(75b'). (73c) and (75c) illustrate the existential *ḡkunu*, excluding negation. It is of note that with the indefinite object introduced by *tferti* we find the prepositional accusative, as usually in many Southern Italian dialects with definite human objects. More precisely, the preposition *a* 'to' may precede these types of indefinites, confirming the specific reading introduced by the evaluative *tfertu*/ *tferti*, as in (70a.). Indefinite elements like *ḡkunu* are in turn preceded by *a*, (73c) and (75c). This seems to confirm that these elements also imply a presupposed specific reference.

- (73) a. addʒə vestə tfertə / lə 'femməno
 have.1SG.PRES seen some specific / the women
 'I have seen some women'
- a'. m addʒə 'veppətə u veinə
 to.me have.1SG.PRES drunk the wine
 'I have drunk the wine'
- b. n addʒə vestə 'femməno
 Neg have.1SG.PRES seen women
 'I did not see women'
- b'. nom m addʒə 'veppətə veinə
 Neg to.me have.1SG.PRES drunk wine
 'I didn't drink wine'
- c. (*n) addʒə vestə a ḡgun 'omməno
 Neg have.1SG.PRES seen to some man
 'I have seen some man'

Cirigliano

- (74) a. *ajju vist-u tfertə ywaʎʎonə (ki fujiənu)*
 have.1SG.PRES seen-MSG some.Specific boys who ran
 'I have seen some boys who ran'
- a'. *m ajj-u 'vippət-u n-a pikk-a i vin-u*
 to.me have.1SG.PRES drunk-MSG a-FSG little-FSG of wine-MSG
 'I have drunk some wine'
- b. *n ajj-u vistə i / tfertə ywaʎʎonə*
 Neg have.1SG.PRES seen the / some boys.PL
 'I have seen certain/ some boys'
- b'. *nunn ajj-u 'vippət-u vin-u*
 Neg have.1SG.PRES drunk-MSG wine-MSG
 'I didn't drink wine'

Morano

- (75) a. *vitt-i ((a) tfert-i) 'himmin-i* / *a f'fimmin-i*
 saw.1SG.PAST to certain/some-PL women-PL / to woman-PL
 'I saw some women'
arriva-ru (tfert-i) 'himmin-i
 arrived-3PL.PAST some-PL woman-PL
 '(Some) women arrived'
- a'. *mi vipp-i vin-u / tfert-u vin-u*
 to.me drink-1SG.PAST wine-MSG / some specific-MSG wine-MSG
 'I drank wine'
- b. *nən vitt-i 'himmin-i*
 Neg drink-1SG.PAST woman-PL
 'I didn't see women'
- b'. *nən mi vipp-i vin-u*
 Neg to.me drink-1SG.PAST wine-MSG
 'I didn't drink wine'
- c. *nən vitt-i tfert-i 'oman-i*
 Neg see-1SG.PAST some-PL (known) man-PL
 'I didn't see some men'
- d. *vitt-i a ŋkun-a 'himmin-a*
 see-1SG.PAST to some-FSG (known) woman-FSG
 I saw some woman'

Iacurso

Summarizing, in these systems, narrow-scope readings of a negative operator are possible only with bare nouns; other possibilities are associated with wide scope interpretations. The same distribution characterizes some Balkan languages, for example Albanian and Aromanian, already examined in section 2.1. The examples again concern the Arbëresh variety of San Benedetto Ullano (Northern Calabria) in (76) and the Aromanian variety of Libofshë in (77). In Albanian the indefinite quantifier (*di*) *tsa* is necessary to introduce indefinite nouns, in (76a,b); in negative sentences, introduced by the negative clitic *ngə* 'not', this

element eventually introduces a reading out of the scope of negation, as Italian *alcuni*, and the indefinite reading is obtained by introducing bare nouns, as in (76a',b'). The partitive is obtained by means of the preposition *nga* 'from' introducing locatives and the agent of passives, as in (76d).

- (76) a. pev-a (di) tsa dial-ër-a
see-1SG.PAST some boy-PL
'I saw some boys'
- b. pit-a (di) tsa ver / jë tsik ver
drink-1SG.PAST some wine / a little wine
'I drank some wine'
- a'. ngə pev-a (*di tsa) dial-ër-a
not see-1SG.PAST some boy-PL
'I did not see boys'
- b'. ngə pit-a (*di tsa) ver
not drink-1SG.PAST some wine
'I did not drink wine / that wine'
- c. pev-a jə nga atə
see-1SG.PAST one of them
- d. vɨn nga ʃpi-a
come-1SG.PRES from house-FSGDEF
'I come from the house'

San Benedetto Ullano

In Aromanian, bare nouns introduce the indefinite reading for count plural and mass nouns, as in (77a,a'); the quantifier *çam* refuses to appear in negative sentences, as in (77b,b'), like South Italian *γκunu* in (73c), (75c). Negation is realized by the negative clitic *nu* 'not'.

- (77) a. am və'dzut ɔmɲə / (çam) ɔmɲə
have.1SG.PRES seen men.PL / (some) men.PL
'I saw (the) men'
- a'. am bit (çam) jinə
have.1SG.PRES drunk (some) wine
'I have drunk (some) wine'
- b. nu have.1SG.PRES vədzut (*çam) tʃəl'mɛɲ.PL
Neg I.have seen boys
'I have not seen boys'
- b'. nu bɛu (*çam) jinə
Neg drink.1SG.PRES wine
'I do not drink wine'

Libofshë

Synthesizing the preceding discussion, Southern Italian dialects, similarly to other Romance languages, here Aromanian, do not present partitive articles:

- ✓ Generic existentials are introduced by quantifiers, mostly an evaluative, e.g. *certi*, combining with the plural of count nouns or the singular of mass nouns. +
- ✓ presuppositional Southern Italian *ngunu*, Aromanian *çam* and Albanian *tsa/ di tsa* do not combine with negation;
- ✓ In negative contexts negation licenses bare nouns both in plural and in mass nouns;
- ✓ In some dialects bare forms are admitted only or preferentially for mass nouns;
- ✓ Definite articles admit the generic interpretation (cf. Cardinaletti & Giusti 2016);
- ✓ The negation of quantifiers like *certi* gives rise to a wide scope interpretation \exists .

Interestingly, Albanian does not apply the Oblique case, encompassing genitive and dative, to partitive, that is lexicalized by the preposition *nga*. As suggested by Franco et al. (2020) (see discussion around (3)), the elementary relation of part-whole is also included in specialized locative prepositions. Actually, Oblique in indefinite form appears in mereological contexts of part of a mass/ substance, as in (78), exactly like ‘of’ in (68).

- (78) *nə kafet drur-i*
a box wood-OBL
‘A wooden box’
San Benedetto Ullano

We conclude that Albanian genitive/ dative is selected by possession contexts, including mereological ones, to the exclusion of others.

7. Conclusions

The starting point of this work has been the analysis of indefinite DPs in Italian dialects: PAs, the partitive prepositional constructs in negative contexts of the type *mia+d/ad* in Northern Italian dialects, bare nouns. The original question concerns the nature of PAs, more precisely the nature of *di/de* ‘of’ in these contexts, also by means of the comparison with different pseudopartitives contexts, such as the linker-like element in possessive of Southern Italian dialects. Treating these topics has implied addressing the analysis of negation and its interaction with indefinites.

According to the data we have analysed in this article, the behaviour of indefinites in object position in positive and negative sentences can be schematized as in the table (79), in which BN = Bare (Count/Mass) Noun, , PA = Partitive Article, NM+di+BN; in negative sentences, NS = narrow scope \exists , WS = wide scope, \exists .

(79)	Positive sentences		Negative sentences		
	BN	PA	BN	PA	NM+di+BN
Italian	+	+	+ NS	+ NS/WS	-
San Benedetto Po (33)–(36)	-	+	-	+ NS	-
Casorezzo (62)–(64)	-	-	-	-	+ NS
Trecale (52)–(57)	-	+	-	-	+ NS
Cantoira (fn. 8)	d+BN	-	d+BN	-	+NS
S. Giorgio della R. (70)–(72)	+	-	+NS	-	-
Southern Italian (73)–(75)	+	-	+ NS	-	-
Aromanian (77)	+	-	+ NS	-	-
Albanian (76)	+	(nga)	+NS	(nga)	

As we saw, some Romance varieties use the evaluative *certi* ‘certain/some’ as a quantifier with specific reference and selecting a wide scope interpretation in negative sentences. Analogously presuppositional quantifiers tend to exclude being read into the scope of negation. A possibility which is generally admitted is the use of definite plural count nouns and singular mass nouns with generic reading. The microvariation emerging from (79) shows that the systems endowed with PAs and pseudopartitives mostly exclude bare indefinites, except for Standard Italian, which presents both bare indefinites and PAs. Bare indefinites in the scope of negation characterize all other systems. We can relate the distribution in (79) to the generalizations in (80), understood as differences in the lexical properties of the dialects.

(80) Indefinites’ distributional parameters

- Indefinites are i. as PAs or BNs (in positive and externalized negative sentences)
 i’. d+BNs (fn. 8)
 ii. as NM+*of*+BN in the scope of negation

The different lexical solutions converge in favoring or requiring the reading in the scope of negation. It is possible to see in this an effect of the same original syntax in which indefinites expressions introduce a variable closed by a negated existential operator.

In developing the discussion we focused on the nature of *di* as the introducer of partitive, genitive and other kinds of mereological relations. We propose that these structures rely on the lexical content of *di*, as mapping the elementary relation part-whole. Our analysis is inspired by the idea that the lexical properties of the elements determine the way in which the syntax is externalized. In the case of PAs, the properties of *di*, combining with plurals and mass nouns introduced by definite articles with generic interpretation, give rise to an indefinite phrase available for the reading in the scope of negation, \exists .

⁹ The term ‘parameter’ does not imply special theoretical contents, but simply refers to some possibilities empirically observed, and, we can think, internalized by the speaker.

Acknowledgments

Open Access Funding provided by Universita degli Studi di Firenze within the CRUI-CARE Agreement.

References

- ACQUAVIVA, P. 1994. The representation of operator-variable dependencies in sentential negation. *Studia Linguistica* 48:91–132.
- BALDI, B. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2019. Possessives in North-Calabrian dialects. *Quaderni del Dipartimento di Linguistica dell'Università della Calabria* 27:19–40.
- BALDI, B. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2020. Parameters in possessives: the Franco-Provençal dialect of Celle di San Vito (Apulia) as a case study. *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali/Working Papers in Linguistics and Oriental Studies* 6:9–40.
- BALDI, B. & SAVOIA, L. M. Forthcoming. Possessives in Aromanian. A comparison with Albanian and North-Calabrian dialects. *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique*.
- BEGHELLI, F. & STOWELL, T. 1997. Distributivity and Negation: The Syntax of Each and Every. *Ways of Scope Taking*, ed. A. Szabolcsi, 71–107. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- BELLETTI, A. 1990. *Generalized Verb Movement*. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- BELVIN, R. & DEN DIKKEN, M. 1997. There, happens, to, be, have. *Lingua* 101:151–183.
- CARDINALETTI, A. 1998. On the deficient/strong opposition in possessive systems. *Possessors, predicates and movement in the Determiner Phrase*, eds. A. Alexiadou & Ch. Wilder, 17–53. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- CARDINALETTI, A. & GIUSTI, G. 2016. The syntax of the Italian indefinite determiner *dei*. *Lingua*. Online: <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0024384116300298>.
- CARDINALETTI, A. & STARKE, M. 1994. The Typology of Structural Deficiency: A Case Study of the Three Classes of Pronouns. *Clitics in the Languages of Europe, vol. 8 of Language Typology*, ed. H. van Riemsdijk, 145–233. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- CHIERCHIA, G. 1997. *Semantica*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- CHIERCHIA, G. 1998. Partitives, reference to kinds and semantic variation. *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory, VII*, ed. A. Lawson, 73–98. Ithaca: CLC Publications.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2000. *New horizons in the study of language and mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2001. Derivation by Phase. *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, ed. M. Kenstowicz, 1–54. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2005. Three Factors in Language Design. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36:1–22.
- CHOMSKY, N. 2005. The UCLA Lectures (April 29 – May 2, 2019). <https://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/005485>
- CHOMSKY, N., GALLEGÓ, Á. & OTT, D. 2019. Generative Grammar and the Faculty of Language: Insights, Questions, and Challenges. *Generative Syntax: Questions, Crossroads, and Challenges, Catalan Journal of Linguistics. Special issue*, eds. Á. Gallego & D. Ott, 229–261.
- COLLINS, C. & KAYNE, R. Online. *Towards a Theory of Morphology as Syntax*.
- CORNILESCU, A. & NICOLAE, A. 2011. Romanian possessives: adjectives or pronouns? A comparative perspective. *Studii de lingvistică. Omagiu doamnei profesoare Angela Bidu-Vranceanu*, eds. I. Nedelcu, A. Nicolae, A. Toma & R. Zafiu, 111–143. Bucharest: Editura Universitatii din Bucuresti.

- CRISMA, P. 2012. Quantifiers in Italian. *Handbook of quantifiers in natural language*, eds. E. L. Keenan & D. Paperno, 467–534. Dordrecht: Springer.
- CULICOVER, P. W. & JACKENDOFF, R. 2006. Turn over control to the semantics! *Syntax* 9(2):131–152.
- FILLMORE, CH. J. 1968. The case for case. *Universals in linguistic theory*, ed. E. Bach & R. Harms, 1–88. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- FRANCO, L., MANZINI, M. R. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2015. Linkers and Agreement. *The Linguistic Review* 32:277–332.
- FRANCO, L., MANZINI, M. R. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2021. Locative Ps as general relators: Location, direction, DOM in Romance. *Linguistic Variation* 21 (1):135–173.
- GARZONIO, J. & POLETO, C. 2008. Minimizers and quantifiers: a window on the development of negative marker. *STiL- Studies in Linguistics* 2, CISCL Working Papers, 59–80.
- GARZONIO, J. & POLETO, C. 2009. Quantifiers as negative markers in Italian dialects. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 19:81–109.
- HAEGEMAN, L. & ZANUTTINI, R. 1991. Negative Heads and the NEG Criterion. *The Linguistic Review* 8:233–251.
- HEIM, I. 1982. *The semantics of definite and indefinite Noun Phrases*. GSLA, Dept. of Linguistics, University of Massachusetts at Amherst.
- IHSANE, T. 2008. *The Layered DP. Form and meaning of French indefinites*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- KAYNE, R. S. 1977. *French Syntax. The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge Mass.: The MIT Press.
- KAYNE, R. 1984. *Connectedness and binary branching*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- KRAMER, R. 2015. *The Morphosyntax of Gender*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- LAKA, I. 1990. *Negation in Syntax: On the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections*. Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.
- LEDGEWAY, A. 2009. *Grammatica diacronica del Napoletano*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- LONGOBARDI, G. 1992. In defence of the correspondence hypothesis: island effects and parasitic constructions in Logical Form. *Logical Structure and Linguistic Theory*, eds. J. Huang & R. May, 149–196. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- LO NIGRO, S. 1968. *Novellino e Conti del Duecento*. Torino: UTET.
- MANZINI, M. R. 2019. The Agreement of Structural Obliques Parameter. Pseudopartitives, DOM and partitive articles in Romance. *Studies in Polish Linguistics* 1:35–51.
- MANZINI, M. R. 2021. Chomsky's (2020) Links and linker phenomena. *Quaderni di Linguistica e Studi Orientali* 7:89–102.
- MANZINI, M. R. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci*, 3 vv. Alessandria: Ed. dell'Orso.
- MANZINI, M. R. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2007. *A Unification of Morphology and Syntax. Investigations into Romance and Albanian dialects*. London: Routledge.
- MANZINI, M. R. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2011. *Grammatical Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MANZINI, M. R. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2012. On the lexical/functional divide: The case of negation. *Functional Heads*, eds. L. Brugè, A. Cardinaletti, G. Giusti, N. Munaro & C. Poletto, 338–350. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MANZINI, M. R. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2014. Linkers in Aromanian in comparison to Albanian and Romanian. *Rivista di Grammatica Generativa* 36:83–104.
- MANZINI, M. R. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2017. Enclisis/Proclisis Alternations in Romance: Allomorphies and (Re)Ordering. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 115:98–136.

- MANZINI, M. R. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2018. *The Morphosyntax of Albanian and Aromanian Varieties*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- MANZINI, M. R., FRANCO, L. & SAVOIA, L. M. 2019. Suffixaufnahme, Oblique case and Agree. *Agreement, case and locality in the nominal and verbal domains*, eds. L. Franco, M. Marchis Moreno & M. Reeve, 211–255. Berlin: Language Science Press.
- MANZINI, M. R., SAVOIA, L. M. & BALDI, B. 2020. Microvariation and macrocategories: Differential Plural Marking and Phase theory. *L'Italia Dialettale* 81:189–212.
- MARANTZ, A. 1997. No escape from syntax: Don't try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon. *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 4:201–25.
- MEYER-LÜBKE, W. 1899. *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*. Leipzig: Dritter Band: Syntax.
- PANĂ DINDELEGAN, G. 2016. *The Syntax of Old Romanian*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- PICALLO, C. 2008. Gender and number in Romance. *Lingue e Linguaggio* VII:47–66.
- PINZIN, F. & POLETO, C., accepted. Indefinite objects in micro-variation. A cross-linguistic analysis of the distribution of Partitives Articles, Bare Nominals and definite determiners in Northern Italy. *Studia Linguistica*.
- PLANK, F. ed. 1995. *Double case: agreement by Suffixaufnahme*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- POÇI, S. 2009. *Vllehtë. Historia dhe gjuha e tyre*. Tiranë: Botimet Toena.
- POLETO, C. 2017. Negative doubling: in favor of a “big negP” analysis. *Studies in Negation: Syntax, Semantics and Variation*, eds. S. Cruschina, K. Hartmann & E.-M. Remberger, 81–104. Vienna: Vienna University Press.
- POLLOCK, J.-Y. 1989. Verb movement, Universal Grammar and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:365–424.
- RIZZI, L. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- ROBERTS, I. 2010. *Agreement and Head Movement*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.
- ROBERTS, I. & ROUSSOU, A. 2003. *Syntactic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ROHLFS, G. 1968 [1949]. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Morfologia*. Torino: Einaudi.
- ROHLFS, G. 1969 [1954]. *Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. Sintassi e formazione delle parole*. Torino: Einaudi.
- SAVOIA, L. M., BALDI, B. & MANZINI, M. R. 2019. Asymmetries in Plural Agreement in DPs. *Language Use and Linguistic Structure Proceedings of the Olomouc Linguistics Colloquium*, eds. J. Emonds, M. Janebová & L. Veselovská, 204–224. Olomouc: Palacký University Olomouc.
- SAVOIA, L. M., BALDI, B. & MANZINI, M. R. 2020. Prepositions in Aromanian. *Studii și cercetări lingvistice* LXXI(1):149–160.
- SILVESTRI, G. Forthcoming. Possessives in indefinite noun phrases: a comparison across Romance. *Moderna Språk*.
- STARK, E. & POLETO, C. 2017. Distribution and Function of ‘Partitive articles’ in Romance (DiFuPaRo): a microvariation analysis. Research Project: SNSF /DFG research project (SNSF ID: 100012L_172751 and DFG ID: PO1642/8-1).
- STORTO, G. 2003. On the status of the partitive determiner in Italian. *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 2001*, eds. J. Quer, J. Schrotten,

- M. Scorretti, P. Sleeman & E. Verheugd-Daatzelaar, 315–330. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- WOOD, J. & MARANTZ, A. 2017. The interpretation of external arguments. *The Verbal Domain*, eds. R. D'Alessandro, I. Franco & Á. J. Gallego, 255–278. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ZAMPARELLI, R. 2008. Dei ex-machina: a note on plural/mass indefinite determiners. *Studia Linguistica* 63(3):301–327.
- ZANUTTINI, R. 1997. *Negation and clausal structure*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Received October 18, 2021

Accepted October 28, 2021

Benedetta Baldi
Department of Humanities and Philosophy
University of Florence
Via della Pergola 60
Firenze 50121
Italy
benedetta.baldi@unifi.it

Leonardo M. Savoia
Department of Humanities and Philosophy
University of Florence
Via della Pergola 60
Firenze 50121
Italy
leonardomaria.savoia@unifi.it