Some Initial Remarks on Non-Prepositional Genitives in the Apulian Variety of San Marco in Lamis

Angelapia Massaro
Università degli Studi di Firenze (<angelapia.massaro@unifi.it>)

Abstract:

This work aims at an initial description of prepositionless genitives in the Romance variety of San Marco in Lamis, spoken in the Southern Italian region of Apulia. The construction will be compared with other Romance, Semitic, Albanian, and Iranian varieties whereby the expression of possession is connected to the presence of D elements, or to morphology stemming from them. The paper deals, in particular, with the behaviour of the construction with elements such as definite and indefinite articles, demonstratives, proper names, and with how pre-nominal adjectival modification of genitives and post-nominal adjectival modification of heads can only occur in the prepositional kind of the construction. This is also the case with demonstratives preceding heads and genitives in the form raised nominals. It will be seen that genitives are only interpreted as such when they are non-raised, i.e. when they are articled. The pre-genitival article is thus understood to be a pivotal element in the interpretation of the second DP as genitival.

Keywords: *Apulian, D Elements, Prepositionless Genitives, Proper Names*

0. Outline of the present work

In this work we analyse an Apulian variety of Southern Italy spoken in the hinterland of the Gargano promontory, namely the type of San Marco in Lamis. We focus on a construction which is quite common throughout the Dialects of Southern Italy: non-prepositional genitives. Our aim is to draw a first sketch of the construction, with the intent of describing the contexts where P lacks. Additional data on non-genitival də-constructions indicate

that even though genitival constructions are the prototypical context where P may lack, they are indeed not an isolated instance of such a phenomenon, as shown by the *Qualitative Binominal Constructions* (as discussed in Den Dikken 2006, but see also Kayne 1994) found in this language, and comparatives. Our second objective is to observe the contribution of the pre-genitival article to the construction. The paper is structured as follows: part 1 presents the primary data for the construction and deals with definiteness features and determiners occurring in the construction, adjectival modification of heads and genitives, genitives in the form of raised Ns, coordination and isolation of the genitive DP, with a note on prepositionless comparatives, Qualitative Binominal Constructions, and container/contained constructions. It will be seen that morphologically unmarked genitives of the Apulian variety considered here are possible only with non-raised genitive nominals, i.e. they are interpreted as genitives only when articled. Part 2 deals with the correlation of determiners and the realization of possession relations in Semitic, Iranian languages, and Chinese. Part 3 focuses on Romance morphologically unmarked genitival constructions, such as the ones we find in Old French, Old Italian, and Old Sicilian, and their syntactic treatments, with a comparison with the Apulian data. Finally, part 4 concludes.

1. The data

1.1 Core elements: prepositions, determiners, and proper names

One of the first examples of a non-prepositional genitive in the dialects of Southern Italy quoted in the literature was Calabrian, going back to Rohlfs (1966 [1949]), which describes the phenomenon in the Calabrian dialect of Morano ascribing it to preposition absorption. More recent studies on Calabrian varieties like Silvestri (2012; 2016) challenge instead an account on the lack of the preposition on phonetic grounds such as the one Rohlfs puts forward. Simply put, a non-prepositional genitive is a genitival construction whose argument is not introduced by a preposition. Generally speaking, since we are moving within the realm of Romance languages, genitive prepositions are elements deriving from Latin *de* resulting in various forms. For instance, in Neapolitan this resulted in the preposition *e* when in its isolated form. If combined with definite articles, it yields *r-a* ('of-the.F.SG.'); *r-e* ('of.the.F.PL.'); *r-o* ('of. the.M.SG.'); *r-i* ('of.the.M.PL.') where the vocalic exponent corresponds to the definite article, while *r-* (>d-) corresponds to the prepositional element. In those cases where such prepositions do not introduce the possessor we speak of non-prepositional genitives. In the variety analyzed here *de* took the form of *də* ('of') when isolated; combined with definite articles it yielded *də-lla* ('of. the.F.SG.'); *də-llu* ('of.the.M.SG.'), *də-lli* ('of.the.PL.').

As for the present variety, the first and probably most evident constraint concerns the definiteness features of both the head and the genitive DP:

(1) a. la   koda   lu   kanə
         the   tail   the   dog
         'the tail of the dog'
     b. *la   koda   nu   kanə
         the   tail   a   dog
         '*the tail of a dog'
     c. la   koda   də nu kanə
         the   tail   of a   dog
         'the tail of a dog'
     d. *na rɔta   la makəna
         a   wheel   the car
         '*a wheel of the car'
     e. na rɔta   dəlla   makəna
         a wheel   of.the car
         'a wheel of the car'

It is easy to spot a resemblance with the definiteness feature requirement of Semitic Construct State nominals (Borer 1988; Dobrovie-Sorin 2000; Danon 2007; Borer 2012; Shlonsky 2012, among others) and especially its Hebrew type, except for the fact that in this Romance variety, the head of the genitival complex is not articleless – with the exception of those instances in which the head is in the vocative case.

(2) ah, servə   li padrunə
     oh servants   the masters
     'oh, servants of the masters'

As the Southern Italian under consideration does with *də*, Hebrew resorts to the lexicalization of the preposition *šel* in the case of indefinite Ns (examples from Danon 2008: 902):[1]

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[1] The presence of š*el* does not imply that Ns are interpreted as indefinite (Danon 2007, where the following data are taken from):
(i)   a. xulcat ha-yeled nirteva
           shirt   the-boy got.wet
           'the boy's shirt got wet'
       b. ha-xulca šel ha-yeled nirteva
           the-shirt of the-boy got.wet
           'the boy's shirt got wet'
As a general rule, though, we can say that the head noun inherits the definiteness features of the genitive noun, which led to the stipulation of a mechanism involving upwards percolation (on this particular point see Borer 1988; Shlonsky 2012) to account for the phenomenon of *definiteness spreading*. On the other hand, the indefiniteness features of the genitive noun do not seem to spread to the head noun (Borer 1988).

(3)   a. tmunat   ha-yeled
            picture   the-boy
            'the picture of the boy'
         b. tmuna šel ha-yeled
            picture of the-boy
            'a picture of the boy'

Furthermore, in the variety of San Marco in Lamis, proper names as genitive arguments are allowed only when introduced by a preposition.

(4)   a. *lu   rətrattə Lelina
            the portrait Lelina
            '*Lelina's photo'
         b. lu   rətrattə də Lelina
            the portrait of   Lelina
            'Lelina's photo'

One of the hypotheses being made in the literature on proper names is that they rise from N to D (Longobardi 1994). The obligatory lexicalization of the preposition in front of arguments which are proper names is directly correlated to the lack of an overt definite article. The fact that the preposition is needed where a definite article is not present suggests that the definite article preceding the genitive might be a pivotal element in the interpretation of the latter as a possessor.

An exception to (4) involves a group of proper names which do not seem to undergo N to D raising, i.e. *la partita la Juventus* 'Juventus match', *lu koncertə li Metallica* 'Metallica's concert'. Apart from being an exception when it comes to the lexicalization of the prepositional element, these examples show that the construction is quite productive, and used by young speakers as well, as the nouns entering in the construction show, which include modern referents, i.e.: *la crack lu jokə* 'the code to crack the videogame'. With regards to other Dialects of Southern Italy, Silvestri (2016) reports instead on prepositionless genitives in the Calabrian variety of Verbicaro, which are perceived as archaic.

Going back to the Apulian construction, a first feature allowing its realization is, as previously said, definiteness. Yet definiteness alone is not enough. It is clear that it is a combination of features we are dealing with. Consider the following data from the type of San Marco in Lamis:

(5)   a. la   rɔta   la makəna
            the wheel   the car
            'the wheel of the car'
         b. *na rɔta   la makəna
            a   wheel   the car
            'a wheel of the car'

c. na rɔta   dəlla makəna
   a   wheel   of.the car
   'a wheel of the car'

d. l   oɲɲa   li   pedə
   the nails   the   feet
   'the feet's toenails'

e. li   tsuntsə   lu   balləkettə
   the icicles   the   balcony
   'the icicles on (*of*) the balcony'

First, both the head and the argument noun can be singular and plural. So, no constraint is placed on number features. Indefinite nouns, as stated, are not allowed in the construction. Definite nouns, on the other hand, are allowed, provided that the determiner they are preceded by is not a demonstrative, neither a distal (6b), nor a proximal one (6d):

(6)   a. kwedda rɔta   dəlla makəna
           that   wheel   of.the car
           'that wheel of the car'
        b. *kwedda rɔta   la   makəna
           that   wheel   the   car
           '*that wheel of the car'
        c. kwesta rɔta   dəlla makəna
           this   wheel   of.the car
           'this wheel of the car'
        d. *kwesta rɔta   la   makəna
           this   wheel   the   car
           '*this wheel of the car'

Both demonstratives and definite articles are generally definite elements, but as (6) shows, a definiteness feature is not enough to allow a non-prepositional genitive. The nouns in the construction require a definite article to head them.

While it is quite rare for the Apulian variety considered here to employ deverbal nouns, they can still function as heads of the construction (7b, c):

(7)   a. la   bbotta   lu   stɔmməkə
           the blow   the   stomach
           'the blow to the stomach' (a state of shock and perturbation)
        b. lu   skavamentə   la   muntaɲɲa
           the   digging   the   mountain
           'the digging of the mountain'
        c. lu   spustamentə   lu   mɔbbələ
           the   moving   the   piece.of.furniture
           'the repositioning of the wardrobe'

1.2 Container vs. part-whole

Consider now the data in (8). In (8a) the preposition may not appear. However, the same nouns that in (8a) appear within a non-prepositional genitival complex, in (8b, d) must occur with a preposition. This distinction shows that the two examples must correspond to different types of genitival modification. *A cup of coffee* may refer either to a quantity of drinkable coffee inside the cup, or to the cup that contains it. In order to distinguish between the two, we embedded the genitival complex in the argumental slot of verbs that take *contained* or *container* as their object. Speakers judged as ungrammatical sentences with *clean* when the genitival complex did not include a preposition (8b, d), whereas *drink* yields a different pattern(8a):

(8)   a. ˈvivǝtǝ   la   tatstsa   lu   kaˈfe
          drink.CL.2sg the   cup   the   coffee
          'drink the cup of coffee'

       b. *lava   la   tatstsa   lu   kaˈfe
          clean   the   cup   the   coffee
          '*clean the cup of coffee'

       c. lava   la   tatstsa   dǝllu   kaˈfe
          clean   the   cup   of.the   coffee
          'clean the coffee cup'

       d. *lava   la   buttiggia   l   ˈoggiǝ
          clean   the   bottle   the   oil
          '*clean the bottle of the oil'

       e. lava   la   buttiggia   dǝll   ˈoggiǝ
          clean   the   bottle   the   oil
          '*clean the bottle of the oil'

The preposition can occur in any type of genitival complex. It is its lack, that is constrained. For the time being, however, I will limit myself to simply describing such a distinction and leave the contrast in (8) as an open question.

1.3 Modification, head-argument adjacency, coordination of the genitive noun, and constituent isolation

When it comes to adjectival modifiers, with the exception of a handful of cases like *bonǝ/bɔna* ('good.m.sg.'/'good.f.sg.'), *bellǝ/bɛlla* ('beautiful.m.sg.'/'beautiful.f.sg.'), and *bruttǝ/brutta* ('ugly.m.sg.'/'ugly.f.sg.'), which can be pre-nominal, as it is common through the Dialects of Southern Italy, the rest obeys a strict post-nominal restriction, including adjectives expressing size (*rossǝ/rɔssa*–'big', and *mǝninnǝ/mǝnenna* –'small'; Standard Contemporary Italian, instead, also includes such adjectives among those allowed to occur in pre-nominal position).

This premise on the positioning of adjectives is necessary in order to understand some core features of the construction considered here. In particular, the main point concerns modification of the head.

In prepositionless genitives, post-nominal adjectival modification of the head noun often triggers the realization of a second type of genitival construction. Consider Semitic, specifically Hebrew again, for example, with data from Dobrovie-Sorin (2000: 195):

(9)   a. beyt   ha-iš
           house   the-man
           'the man's house'
        b. ha-bayit   ha-gadol   *(šel)   ha-iš
           the-house   the-big   *(of)   the-man
           'the big man's house'

Hebrew Construct State nominals introduce the possessor with a definite article but also require the head and its argument to be adjacent. Once the head is followed by a modifying adjective, the argument must be preceded by a preposition (*šel*).

In the Apulian variety of San Marco in Lamis, modifiers interposed between the head and the argument of prepositionless genitives yield the realization of the preposition *də*, as in (10a). Post-nominal adjectives might only follow the argument (10c):

(10)   a. lu libbrə novə dəllu prəssorə
           the book   new   of.the professor
           'the new book of (assigned by) the professor'
        b. *lu libbrə novə lu   prəssorə
           the book   new   the   professor
           '*the new book of (assigned by) the professor'
        c. lu libbrə lu   prəssorə novə
           the book   the   professor new
           'the book of (assigned by) the new professor'

Alternatively, the head can undergo adjectival modification, provided that the adjective modifying the head belongs to the set of pre-nominal ones, so as not to break the adjacency between the head and the argument. Witness (11):

(11)   a. l   atu   figgiə lu   rre
           the   other son   the   king
           'the other son of the king'
        b. *lu   figgiə l   atu   rre
           the   son   the   other   king
           '*the son of the other king'
        c. lu   figgiə dəll   atu   rre
           the   son   of.the   other   king
           'the son of the other king'

Heads in Italian N+N genitival compounds like *casa Rossi* also tend to resist modifiers interposed between the head and the argument (12a), like Construct State nominals. This was noted in Longobardi (2001) which shows that the adjective can modify the head, but only when occurring on the right of the genitival complex (Longobardi 2001: 572):

(12)   a. *casa   nuova   Rossi
              house   new.f   Rossi
              '*the new house of the Rossis'
          b. casa   Rossi   nuova
              house   Rossi   new.f
              'the new house of the Rossis'

Like the Italian examples in (12), in the variety of San Marco in Lamis adjectives might appear to the right of the genitival complex, but unlike in Italian (12b), they do not modify the head, but rather the genitive. This is exemplified in (13) by gender features appearing on the modifying adjective. On the other hand, adjectival modifiers appearing after the genitive noun of Hebrew Construct State nominals might be understood as modifying either the head noun or the genitive, as reported in Borer (1988). Adjacency requirements between the head and the genitive noun led to a proposal put forward in Siloni (2003) where genitive case is checked at PF in prosodic terms.

(13)   a. *la   ponta   rotta   lu   ditə
              the.f   tip.f   broken.f the.m   finger.m
              '*the broken tip of the finger'
          b. la   ponta   lu   ditə   ruttə
              the.f   tip.f   the.m   finger.m broken.m
              'the tip of the broken finger'

Modification is also what determines the choice of the genitival construction to be employed in Romanian. In this language two kinds of genitives might be distinguished. The first involves an N-D N-D string, with genitive case marked on the enclitic definite article of the genitive, e.g. *vecinului* in (14). The second involves the *al* series of linker elements (*a*, in the feminine singular) preceding the genitive, cf. (14 b, c). So unlike in prepositionless genitives, both in *al* and *non-al* genitives case is morphologically expressed. Examples are from Dobrovie-Sorin *et al.* (2013: 314):

(14)   a. casa   vecinului
              house(f)-the   neighbor-the.gen
              'the neighbor's house'
          b. casa   a   vecinului
   house(f)-the   LKR.fsg   neighbor-the.gen
              'the neighbor's house'

c. casa   frumoasă   a   vecin-ului
   house(f)-the   beautiful   LKR.fsg   neighbor-the.gen
   'the neighbor's beautiful house'
d. *casa   frumoasă   vecin-ului
   house(f)-the   beautiful   neighbor-the.gen
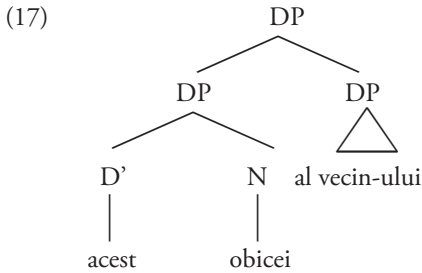   '*the neighbor's beautiful house'

Incidentally, Romanian *non-al* genitives are not compatible with demonstratives as in (15d-e) (remember (6)), and rely on linker elements whenever the head is introduced by a demonstrative (Dobrovie-Sorin 2000: 185):

(15)   a. casa   vecin-ului
          house   neighbor-the.gen
          'the neighbor's house'
       b. o   casa   a   vecin-ului
          a   house   LKR   neighbor-the.gen
          'a house of the neighbor's'
       c. *o   casa   vecin-ului
          a   house   neighbor-the.gen
          '*a house of the neighbor's'
       d. acest   obicei   al   vecin-ului
          this   habit   LKR   neighbor-the.gen
          'this habit of the neighbor's/of a neighbor's'
       e. *acest   obicei   vecin-ului
          this   habit   neighbor-the.gen
          'this habit of the neighbor's/of a neighbor's'

Dobrovie-Sorin (2000) considers genitives to occupy the SpecDP position – which is rightwards-oriented. Thus in (16), *fata vecin-ului*, 'the neighbor's daughter' the head noun, *fata*, is thought by Dobrovie-Sorin to be hosted by D alongside the definite article, with the genitive occupying the SpecDP position. Genitive case is assigned only if N carries a definite article (and not a demonstrative), so it follows that the definite article is necessary, in her view, to assign case.

(16)   DP
                    ⟋   ⟍
            D'   SpecDP
            │   │
           fata   vecin-ului
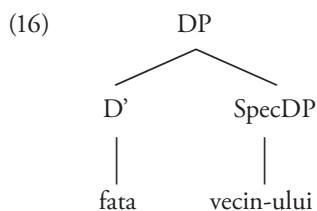
For (17), *acest obicei al vein-ului* 'this habit of the neighbor' an *al* genitive, she envisages a structure in which D is occupied by a demonstrative or an indefinite article. The argument is thus generated as an adjunct to DP, comprising the linker *al*:

(17)

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                          DP
                  ┌────────┴────────┐
                 DP                 DP
            ┌────┴────┐             △
           D'         N      al vecin-ului
           │          │
          acest     obicei
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The adjunction is justified by Dobrovie Sorin also on the grounds that *al genitives* can appear in isolation. What she calls *purely synthetic* (*al-less*) genitives, on the other hand, cannot (see also Cornilescu 1995: 18):

(18)   a. carte-a   baiat-ului
           book-the   boy-the.gen
           'the boy's book'
        b. carte-a   cui?
           book-the   whose
           'whose book?'
        c. a   baiat-ului
           LKR   boy-the.gen
           'of the boy's'

Genitival arguments of the type of San Marco in Lamis are always prepositional whenever they occur in isolation:[2]

(19)   a. la   muggiera   lu   figgiə
           the   wife   the son
           'the son's wife'
        b. la   muggiera   də ki?
           the wife   of who
           'whose wife?'

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[2] Silvestri (2012: 566) contains examples on prepositionless genitives from Verbicaro Calabrian which show, instead, that in the Calabrian variety she discusses the isolation of the prepositionless genitival complex is perfectly admissible:

(i)   a.   a   kasa   i   kujə?
             the house of who
             'whose house?'
        b.   u   sinnəkə
             the   mayor
             'the Mayor's'

c. *lu figgiə
   the son
   '*his son's'

Non-prepositional genitival arguments are only allowed when they are pronounced along with their head. Failure to do so will trigger a non-oblique interpretation of the DP, either as nominative or accusative.

Prepositionless genitives cannot undergo coordination. The coordinated possessor must thus be preceded by a preposition (20b), suggesting once more the strict adjacency requirements of the construction:

(20)   a. *l   oɲɲa li   manə e   li   pedə
           the   nails the hands and the   feet
           ' *the nails of the fingers and the toes'
        b. l   oɲɲa li   manə e   dəlli pedə
           the nails the hand   and of.the feet
           'the nails of the fingers and of the toes'

1.4 Lack of P in non-genitival constructions: comparatives and Qualitative Binominal Noun Phrases

In the preceding section, we have seen that genitives not introduced by a preposition may never occur in isolation. In fact, this turns out to be possible in one case only, which concerns possessives. In the variety of San Marco in Lamis, possessives are always articled, when occurring with the noun (21, a), after a copular expression (21 a, b, c), and when in isolation (21, d):

(21)   a. jɛ la   karta mia
           is the letter my
           'it's my letter'
        b. la   karta jɛ   *(la)   mia
           the letter is   *(the) my
           'the letter is mine'
        c. jɛ *(la)   mia
           is *(the) my
           'it's mine'
        d. *(la)   mia
           the   my
           'mine'

Consider next the following examples involving comparatives and superlatives.

(22)   a. la   makəna   ˈjɛ   kˈkiu   rɔssa   la mia
             the   car   is   more   big   the my
             'the car is bigger than mine'
         b. ˈjɛ   la   kˈkiu   rɔssa   li   sɔrə
             is   the   more   big   the   sisters
             'she is the eldest among her sisters'

As we said earlier this variety does have the possibility of using a preposition. The example in (22) can also be uttered with the preposition *də*. The lack of the preposition in (22) is as not constrained as in the cases of prepositionless genitives reviewed so far, but it is relatively free and occurs with possessives (22a) and articled nouns (22b) alike. Clearly this is a different phenomenon from possessors. However, we also find that a lack of the preposition occurs in a number of non-genitival contexts where the preposition *də* can also be used. In particular, in comparison constructions where a noun can be compared against a set comprising one (22a) or several elements (22b) through a preposition relating the two.

Constructions such as *Qualitative Binominal Noun Phrases* (Den Dikken 2006; Kayne 1994) are yet another instance in which the preposition might not occur. Den Dikken (2006) proposes an account of Qualitative Binominal Noun Phrases in which they are derived from a copular construction whereby the predicate inverts with its subject. Thus, a sentence like *a jewel of a village* is thought to be deriving from *the village is a jewel*. The predicate, *jewel*, inverts its position with the subject, *village*. The preposition preceding the subject in the final linear order is then realized as a syntactic aid to the inversion of the predicate. In this sense, the preposition *of* is seen as a nominal copula. In the variety of San Marco in Lamis, binominal noun phrases occur as in (23):

(23)   a. mo   mmo   l   e   vistə allu   scemə   lu   medəkə
             now   now   CL   I.have   seen   to.the   idiot   the   doctor
             'I've just seen that idiot of a doctor'
         b. la   kaspəta   la   bulletta
             the   freaking   the   bill
             'that freaking thing of a bill'

Clearly what lacks in (23 a-b) is the preposition, the very element that in Den Dikken's predicate inversion is realized as an inversion-aiding 'device'. Den Dikken's proposal cannot be applied to (23), given the absence of the preposition, unless the inversion-aiding preposition is characterized as an empty element.

2. On determiners and genitival modification

Here we shall recapitulate some relevant findings in linguistic research on possession and its correlation with determiners, including both demonstratives and definite articles.

Starting with Afroasiatic, Pennacchietti (1968) shows how genitive morphological marking in Semitic is ultimately ascribable to ð/z determiners. In Neo-Syriac possession is in fact expressed with the genitive enclitic marking -*t* on the possessee and proclitic marking on the possessor (Pennacchietti 1968: 32):

(24) brūn-i-t   d-alāhā
      son- i-DEM DEM-god
      'God's son'

He also notes how in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic of Persian Azerbaijan *i-d* also came to introduce restrictive relatives, *ktab-i-d b-idew*, 'the book that (was) in his hand.' The same applies to Modern Hebrew, where the preposition *šel* ('of') contains the same D base, which also gave rise to relative pronouns, and possessives (Pennacchietti 1968: 10-11). This pattern is not restricted to Afroasiatic but is also present in the Dravidian family, with Telegu and Classical Tamil genitive case morphology being linked to D elements (Caldwell 2013 [1856]).

In Balkan languages such as Aromanian and Albanian (and in varieties of the latter) possessive constructions make use of an element known as *linker* (Den Dikken and Singhapreecha 2004, Manzini *et al.* 2014, Franco *et al.* 2015, among others) in linguistic literature. The morphological make up of linker elements often includes a D base, coincides with it, or it is an allomorph of it. Here we can see an example from the Arbëresh variety of Vena di Maida, spoken in the Italian region of Calabria, with data from Franco *et al.* (2015: 280):

(25) biʃt-i   i   matʃɛ-sə
      tail-NOM.M.def   LKR.M   cat-OBL.F.def
      'the tail of the cat'

The linker *i* in (25) agrees in gender with the head noun *biʃt-*, 'tail', and this can be seen from definite morphology -*i* attached to 'tail', identical to the linker, which is therefore a D element,[3] as generally in Balkan linkers, including those found in Eastern Romance varieties such as Aromanian (Manzini *et al.* 2014: 248):[4]

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[3] For further discussion on the nature of linkers see Franco *et al.* 2015.

[4] This also includes the Romanian pre-genitival linker, stemming from the Latin *ille* (cf. Giurgea 2012).

(26)   a. libr-a   o   fitʃor-u
           book-the   LKR   boy-the
           'the boy's book'
        b. libr-a   al-i   fet-i
           book-the   LKR   girl-the
           'the girl's book'

Unlike the Albanian linker in (25), the Aromanian linker (26) agrees with the genitive, rather than with the head, and does so in case and φ-features.

Indo-Iranian linkers, in languages such as Farsi and Kurdish, agree with the head noun when morphological agreement is present (as in Kurdish). Still in Kurdish (Kurmanji) the ezafe morpheme which is employed in genitival contexts can also have an anaphoric function, akin to that of a determiner (in Meillet 1931 it is also hypothesized that the ezafe morpheme might be traced back to *hya*, the Old Persian demonstrative pronoun). This is exemplified in (27) for Kurmanji Kurdish (Mackenzie 1961: 163; Manzini *et al.* 2014: 240):

(27)   a. yê   Soro   /min/te
           EZ.m.   of Soros   /me/you
           'the one of Soros/of mine/of yours'
        b. yê   dwê…   yê   sêye
           EZ.m.   second…   EZ.M.   third
           'the second one… the third one'

On the basis of such data (and data on patterning with Romance clitic pronouns), in the latter work the Iranian ezafe too is considered to be a D element and part of a construction denoting inclusion of the possessee within the possessor in a part-whole type of relation.

Let us now consider a couple of examples of the Chinese linker *de* from Simpson (2002: 12)

(28)   a. wo   zuotian   mai   de   nei-ben shu
           I   yesterday   buy   LKR   that-CL book
           'the book I bought yesterday'
        b. wo   de   nei-ben-shu
           I   LKR   that-CL-book
           'that book of mine'

As (28) shows, *de* appears after a pre-nominal relative clause (28a) and after a possessor (28b). Basing himself on cross-linguistic evidence on modifying phrases appearing with their own determiners (such as Balkan and Hebrew pre-genitival and adjectival linkers), Simpson suggests that such a linker might actually be a definite determiner. More precisely, he states that

the linker is actually an element that is similar to the Romanian enclitic article, in that in possessive constructions the possessor is in a pre-*de* position (the same happens for relative clauses), the same position in which Romanian lexicalizes the noun with respect to its definite article. He then proposes the following structure for *de* constructions (*ibidem*):

(29)   a. [wo   zuotian   mai]$_i$-de   nei-ben [$_{CP}$ shu[t$_i$]]
            I   yesterday   buy LKR   that-CL   book
            'the book I bought yesterday'
    b. [wo]$_i$ de   t$_i$ nei-ben-shu
            I   LKR   that-CL-book
            'that book of mine'

Diachronically, *de* can be traced back to the Classical Chinese determiner *zhi*, which Simpson describes as an element having a parallel distribution to that of Modern Chinese *de*, except that it could also be used as a demonstrative (Modern Chinese *de* is reported instead as an element having lost such deictic function), as in (30) from Simpson (2002: 17):

(30)   zhi   er   chong you   he   zhi
            these   two   worm again   what   know
            'what do these two worms know?'

Simpson thus suggests that the nature of determiners themselves might allow them to instantiate syntactic variables permitting a number of elements (whether adjectival or genitival, but this also extends to relative clauses) to enter in a modifying relation with a nominal. The hypothesis is also based on crosslinguistic data showing that a further determiner is often needed only in cases where a modifying element appears. This includes, as we said, adjectival and genitival linker constructions of the types previously discussed, but also Hungarian data he considers from Szabolcsi (1994) in (30) and English ones in (31) with relative clauses (30, b) and possessor phrases (30 c-d, 31 a-b) (Simpson 2002: 15, 19):

(30)   a. *a   valemennyi level
            the   each   letter
            '*each letter'
    b. a   [tol-ed kapott]   valemennyi level
            the   from-2sg received   each   letter
            'the letter I/we received from you'
    c. *az   minden   allitas-om
            the   every   book
            '*my every book'
    d. az [en]   minden   allitas-om
            the I   every   book
            'my every book'

The observation made for Hungarian is that the definite article might additionally co-occur with an element quantifying a noun only if the noun is further restricted by a modifying element. This is shown in (30 a, b) for relative clauses and in (30 c, d) for possession. In (30 a, b) we can see that the phrase-initial definite article appears only if a relative clause is present between the article and the quantifier. (30 c, d) are the possessive counterparts. *Az* might appear only if a possessor phrase is present as well, which like in (30 a, b) for the relative clause, is again interposed between the definite article *az* 'the', and the quantifier *minden* 'every'. In a parallel fashion, except for the position of the modifier, in English a definite article must co-occur with a quantifier only if the noun is modified by a possessor phrase (*ibidem*: 19):

(31)   a. *the   every   whim
          b. the   every   whim [of Margaret Tatcher]

3. Forerunners of modern Romance non-prepositional genitives

3.1 Old French, Old Sicilian and Old Italian

To the best of my knowledge, we have no texts attesting early uses of Apulian prepositionless genitives of the type of San Marco in Lamis, but we can look at other old Romance varieties employing such constructions found in works such as Jensen (2012 [1990]) and Delfitto and Paradisi (2009). In the latter work prepositionless genitives of Southern Italy are actually seen as a surviving instance of juxtaposed genitives of the Medieval Romance varieties they discuss.

Old French is a notable case. In Old French, in fact, possession could be expressed through the juxtaposition of two nouns, with genitives often being proper names. The genitive followed his head, as in (32) (data from Jensen 2012 [1990]: 19):

(32)   a. le   cheval Kex
             the   horse   Keu
             'Keu's horse'
          b. el   lit   Kex
             in.the   bed   Keu
             'in Keu's bed'

Hence a first difference between the Apulian type of San Marco in Lamis and Old French is the possibility for proper names to appear as genitives in the relevant construction, contrary to what we have seen in (4). Jensen (2012) states in fact that the construction was mostly characterized by proper names, kinship terms, and

high rank referents. It thus was a construction mostly dedicated to highly ranked referents, even though it was employed to express general ownership, too.

Proper nouns, which are articleless, were the ones mostly occurring in the construction, but articled ones were allowed too, as in (33) from Jensen (*ibidem*: 19):

(33)   dou   pouoir   l'Anemi   gité
          from.the   power   the enemy   freed
          'freed from the power of the enemy'

Thus we also find instances nearly identical to those of the Apulian prepositionless genitives we discuss here, as in *la corz lo roi*, 'the King's court'. The construction was "used widely with nouns denoting human beings provided that the reference is to specific individuals and not to a class or category of people" (*ibidem*). So the nouns entering in the construction had to be [+specific] and [+human]. The Apulian construction does not place any constraint on the [human] features of the two nouns even though it is dedicated to specific ones. Sometimes in Old French the order possessee-possessor would be reversed, yielding a genitival construction of the type *selonc la Dieu benivolance*, 'according to God's benevolence'; *a la rei curt*, 'to the King's court' (*ibidem*: 20), like the Old Italian *la Dio mercé* 'God's mercy'.
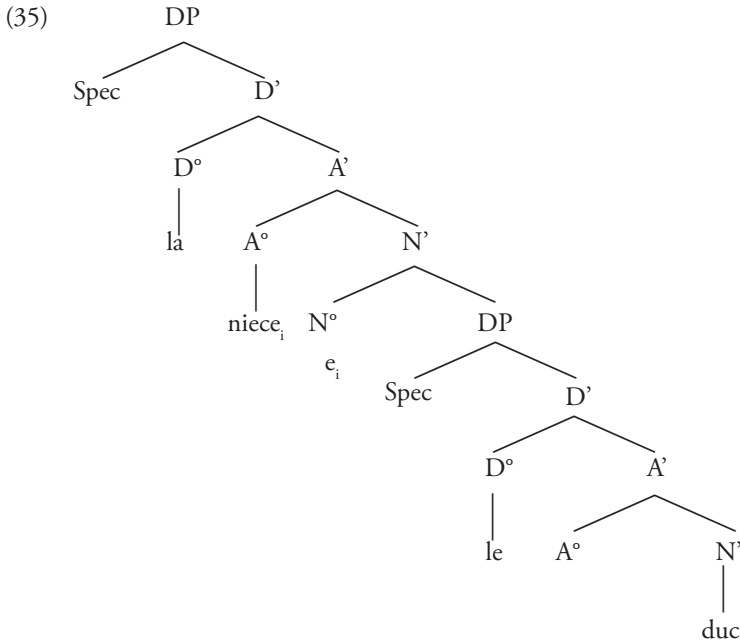
Prepositional genitives of the *a* type were instead usual with plural or generic possessors, *se por le pechié as gens ne fust* 'if it wasn't for people's sins'; *ja mes n'entrera puis hui en chamber a dame n'a pucele* 'never again from today will somebody enter a lady or a maiden's room' (*ibidem*). Prepositional genitives were thus dedicated to non-specific nouns, and to nouns headed by indefinite articles, and this extended to both the head and the argument noun (*ibidem*: 25):

(34)   a. la maison a une veve   femme
         the house to a   widow woman
         'the house of a widow'
    b. une maison   a un   hermite trova
         a   house   to a   hermit   found
         'he came upon the house of a hermit'

In (34), we see how Old French follows the pattern of the Apulian and Romanian data in the preceding sections.

Arteaga (1995) argues that the emergence of obligatory subject personal pronouns during the Middle French period and the disappearance of the juxtaposition genitive are linked to the loss of an Agr head, so that genitive case could not be assigned without an overt marker. This is suggested in Arteaga (1995: 87), whose syntactic representation of the construction is reported in (35):[5]
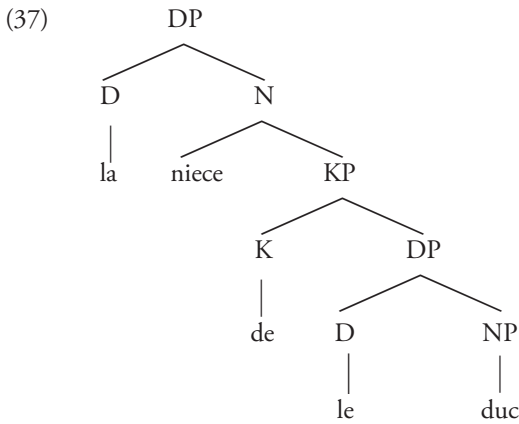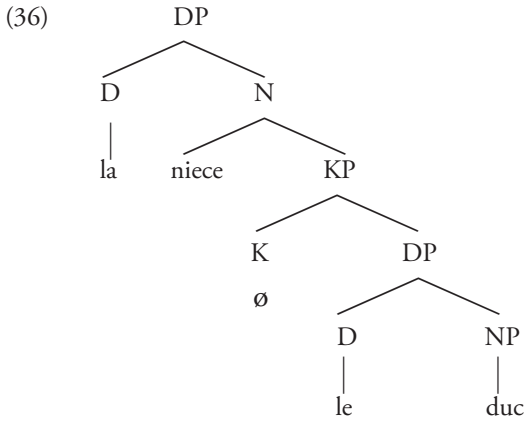
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[5] Arteaga takes the fact that Old French arguments of juxtaposed genitives occurred in

(35)

```
                          DP
                        /    \
                    Spec      D'
                            /    \
                          D°      A'
                          |      /   \
                          la   A°      N'
                               |     /    \
                           niece_i  N°      DP
                                    e_i    /    \
                                        Spec     D'
                                               /    \
                                             D°      A'
                                             |      /   \
                                             le   A°      N'
                                                          |
                                                         duc
```

As in general in the dialects of Southern Italy, we find that the Apulian variety of San Marco in Lamis is a pro-drop language. But prepositionless genitives still do not carry any genitival marker.

Other proposals suggesting null heads include Simonenko (2010: 9), where a treatment of genitival arguments as Kase projections occupying the complement position is envisaged, proposing a structure in which Kase is a silent head, occupied by the preposition in case of prepositional genitives. Given that modifiers must be human and specific, she considers the K head to be endowed with such features as well:

isolation as further support for the theory that the language had an AGR head, discharging case to the complement noun to its right.

(36)

```
              DP
           /      \
          D        N
          |       /  \
         la    niece  KP
                     /    \
                    K      DP
                    ø     /   \
                         D     NP
                         |     |
                         le    duc
```

(37)

```
              DP
           /      \
          D        N
          |       /  \
         la    niece  KP
                     /    \
                    K      DP
                    |     /   \
                    de   D     NP
                         |     |
                         le    duc
```

A definiteness feature is considered necessary in order to assign case in Old French juxtaposed genitives by Delfitto and Paradisi (2009) as well. They propose an analysis à la Kayne in which the Agr head inherits its definiteness features from the possessor via spec-head agreement, as in Delfitto and Paradisi (2009: 60):

(38) la [$_{\text{D/PP}}$ niece$_j$ [[AGR/K°$_k$ -D°] [$_{\text{IP}}$ le duc [e$_k$ [e]$_j$…

In their theory the incorporation of Agr into D is triggered through a +human feature which syntactically activates AGR/K°. In doing this, the authors are trying to account for the fact that the construction restricts modifiers to human referents.

Old French prepositionless genitives have also been shown not to be iterable (like Old Italian ones).

The Apulian construction of San Marco in Lamis does allow iteration. Despite the fact that it obeys a several number of constraints on its realization like other types of prepositionless genitives do, the one on multiple occurrences does not seem to be one of them:

(39)   la kasa   lu figgiə   lu skarparə
        the house   the son   the cobbler
        'the house of the cobbler's son'

As we said earlier we have no data on this variety from around the period of Old French, on when it emerged in this precise variety, regarding whether it obeyed similar constraints to those of Old French, or whether they changed over time. The first written records appear towards the end of the 19th century. On the other hand, Old Italian and Old Sicilian records containing a prepositionless genitive go back to at least the 14th century. Possessors were in the form of proper names (unlike this Apulian variety, which does not allow them), and both the head and the argument had to be definite, as in the following examples quoted in Delfitto and Paradisi (2009: 63) from 14th century Old Tuscan (40) and from 14th century Old Sicilian (41):

(40)   dale   rede Bertino d'Aiuolo
        from.the   heirs Bertino d'Aiuolo
        'from Bertino d'Aiuolo's heirs'
(41)   la   morti Dyonisiu   tyranpnu
        the   death Dyonisius   tyrant
        'the death of the tyrant Dyonisius'

Finally, Delfitto and Paradisi see the construction as the one breaking the ground for Contemporary Italian N+N compounds.

The syntactic treatments of prepositionless genitives seen until now either include an empty Kase position for assigning genitive case, or incorporation of Agr into D, following the insight that definiteness is a common feature of this genitival construction. As definiteness does not seem to suffice in order to license it (remember the +human feature of Old French, for example), some scholars have tried to map further features on the K head.

Syntactic treatments of morphologically unmarked genitives generally try to answer the question about what, exactly, is the syntactic cue that allows speakers to interpret the argument as genitival even though it has no such a marking. As we said, when it comes to Old French some scholars considered the cue to be an Agr head whose disappearance is caused by

the end of pro-drop subjects and of juxtaposed genitives (Arteaga 1995). Further research showed instead the lack of such a link (Delfitto and Paradisi 2009; Simonenko 2010), either because free and juxtaposed genitives coexisted, or because corpus studies showed that around the time juxtaposed genitives disappeared, 25% of the matrix clauses used in the dataset still had null subjects (Simonenko 2010: 5). Similarly, the Apulian variety under analysis here is a pro-drop language, has no morphological case, but allows morphologically unmarked genitives anyway.

Let us consider again that in Sammarchese the head of the construction might also be articleless as with vocatives, and heads as proper names (the latter pattern is also found in the Calabrian construction analyzed in Silvestri 2012). With this in mind and data such as (4), this means that it is possible to have a case of the type $[_{DP}$ ±raised] $[_{DP}$ -raised] but not of the type *$[_{DP}$ ±raised] $[_{DP}$ +raised]. *_la madrə Fabio_ or *_Anna Fabio_ are not possible sentences. Genitival constructions which in Italian are $[_{DP}$ +raised] $[_{DP}$ +raised] like _casa Rossi_ are instead $[_{DP}$ -raised]$[_{DP}$ -raised] in Sammarchese, _la kasa li Sərrətellə_, 'the house of the Serritellis' (speakers might employ the Italian $[_{DP}$ +raised] $[_{DP}$ +raised], but this pertains code mixing with Italian): the complex is interpreted as genitival only if the genitive DP is articled. We shall not draw a precise parallel with the cases we discussed in § 2 (remember genitive case in Afro-Asiatic, and Chinese, Balkan, and Indo-Iranian linkers), however given the role of the definite article which precedes the genitive in the interpretation of the latter as genitival, we conjecture that the pre-genitival article might be an obligatory element whose occurrence is necessary to allow the second DP to be interpreted as a genitive/possessor. In short, the inclusion relation is instantiated only when genitive nouns are headed by overt definite articles.

4. Conclusions

In the present work we have drawn a first sketch of prepositionless genitives in the Apulian variety of San Marco in Lamis. They have been compared with Modern Romance varieties (Romanian, Aromanian) and with Hebrew. Comparison with Old Romance varieties (Old French, Old Italian, and Old Sicilian) prepositionless genitives resulted in some similar patterns, but also in some discrepant ones, even though they all exhibit a constraint on the definiteness of the nouns entering the complex. In particular, for this Apulian variety we discussed a ban on heads followed by post-nominal adjectives, and on genitive nouns in the form of proper names (unlike Old French, Old Italian, and Old Sicilian, where genitives were mostly proper names). Post-nominal adjectives have been shown to be sitting only to the right of the genitival complex, never intervening between the head and the argument, and to be agreeing with the argument, rather than with the head.

The construction has shown to be iterable, and its arguments disallowed from appearing in isolation. Arguments may function as either subjects, or objects. Given its necessary presence, the article preceding the argument is understood as the element allowing the argument to be interpreted as the possessor in the inclusion relation. The following table recapitulates the patterns and the constraints which characterize the Apulian construction analyzed until now.

	YES	NO
Indefinite heads		x
Indefinite genitives		x
Demonstratives preceding the head		x
Intervening material between the head and the argument		x
Adjectival modification of heads	x (*iff* pre-nominal adjective. Adjectives following the complex modify the argument)	
Adjectival modification of genitives	x	
Genitives as proper names		x
Iteration	x	
Heads as deverbal nouns	x	
Genitives as subjects	x	
Coordination of genitives		x
Isolation of genitives		x
Articleless heads	x (*iff* vocative, or proper name)	
Complex referring to container		x
Binominal constructions	x	
Comparatives	x	

Table 1. Lack of P pattern

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