Genitive DPs and Pronominal Possessors

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0. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the syntax of genitive-marked constituents. The main empirical generalizations regarding genitive DPs (including personal pronouns) also hold for possessive adjectives, which will therefore be treated parallelly. Their special properties will be signalled in the appropriate places.

The inflectional marking of the genitive-dative case ("the oblique case") is hosted by the determiner, including the suffixal definite article. The nouns themselves, as well as the adjectives agreeing with the nouns, show only a defective case morphology: a distinct oblique form appears only in the fem. sg., and only when the phrase is introduced by a determiner with an oblique form: in other words, Romanian nouns can be marked with morphological Case only if they are governed by a Det that is marked for that particular Case.

(1)   a.   Indef.art+Noun

	M.SG. 'a good boy'	M.PL.'good boys'	F.SG. 'a good girl'	F.PL. 'good girls'
NOMACC	un băiat bun	(nişte) băieţi buni	o fată bună	(nişte) fete bune
GENDAT	un**ui** băiat bun	un**or** băieţi buni	un**ei** fet**e** bun**e**	un**or** fete bune

        b.   Noun+def.art.

	M.SG 'the good boy'	M.PL. 'the good boys'	F.SG. 'the good girl'	F.PL. 'the good girls'
NOMACC	băiatul bun	băieţii buni	fata bună	fetele bune
GENDAT	băiatul**ui** bun	băieţil**or** buni	fet**ei** bun**e**	fetel**or** bune

Romanian is characterized by a remarkable alternation between simple/synthetic genitives (as in (2)) and analytic genitives, formed by a synthetic genitive preceded by a genitive particle (see (3)), the so-called "possessive article" (set in bold characters). In unmarked uses, both of these types of genitives occur postnominally:

(2)   a. casa   vecinului   /vecinilor
          house-the   neighbour(M)-the.GEN /neighbours(M)-the.GEN
          'the neighbour's/the neighbours' house'
        b. casa   unei   vecine   /unor   vecine
          house(F)-the a.F.GEN   neighbour(F) /some.F.GEN neighbours(F)
          'a neighbour's/some neighbours' house'

(3)   a. o casă   **a**   vecinului   /**a**   unei   vecine
          a house(F) *al*.FSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN /*al*.FSG a.F.GEN   neighbour(F)
          'a house of the neighbour's/of a neighbour's(fem)'
        b. acest obicei **al**   vecinului   /**al**   unei   vecine
          this   habit *al*.MSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN /*al*.MSG a.F.GEN neighbour(F)
          'this habit of the neighbour's/of a neighbour's'
        c. casele   de piatră **ale**   vecinului   /**ale** unei   vecine
          houses(F)-the in stone *al*.FPL neighbour(M)-the.GEN /*al*.FPL a.F.GEN   neighbour(F)
          'the houses in stone of the neighbour's/of a neighbour's'
        d. primii   studenţi   **ai**   mamei   mele
          first-the   students(M)   *al*.MPL mother(F)-the.GEN my
          'the first students of my mother's'

The pre-genitive particle is made up of an invariable part, *a-*, followed by the nominative forms of the definite article, which are inflected for number and gender: *al*(m.sg.)/*a*(f.sg.)/*ai*(m.pl)/*ale*(f.pl). This particle agrees with the head noun of the overall possessive DP (referring to the Possessee).

       In section 1 it will be shown that synthetic genitives governed by lexical nouns (see (2)) are best analyzed as *al*-genitives in which *al* was deleted via a rule comparable to haplology. The rest of the section will be devoted to the internal structure and distribution of *al*-genitives. Section 2 deals with various aspects of the semantic analysis of genitives: definite possessive DPs are remarkable insofar as they are interpreted as definite or indefinite depending on the (in)definite features of the genitive DP itself; the semantic relation between the head N and the genitive DP is extremely flexible, being largely determined by the context (the notions of Possessor and Possessee are currently used improperly as a cover term for various types of relations); we will formulate the various constraints that hold between the determiner of the genitive DP and the determiner of the overall possessive DP.

       Section 3 is devoted to the alternation between *al*-genitives, marked with morphological genitive marking and nominal projections that are preposition-marked. This alternation is clearly driven by the syntactic category of the adnominal constituent: full DPs headed by morphologically variable determiners, NPs (which can be modified) and DPs

headed by invariable quantitative determiners must respectively be realized as *al*-genitives, PPs headed by *de* and PPs headed by *a*:

(4)   a. uşa   **unei**   biserici
             door(F)-the a.F.GEN   church(F)
             'the door of a church'
      b. o uşă   **de** biserică veche
           a door *de* church old
           'an old church-door'
      c. uşile   **a** două biserici
             doors-the *a* two   churches
             'the doors of two churches'

Section 4 is concerned with yet another type of construction, the "partitive" genitive formed by an *al*-genitive preceded by the preposition *de* 'of' (*două studente de-ale Mariei* 'two students(F) of-*al*.FPL Mary (GEN)', 'two students of Mary's').

      The distribution of the pronominal possessors is comparable to that of nominal genitives, and therefore we will provide examples of either type. However, pronominal forms do have some specific properties, to which section 5 will be devoted. The main problem is that the paradigm is not uniform: personal pronouns marked with genitive-dative Case are used for the 3rd person, and possessive "adjectives" are used for the 1st and 2nd persons, and for the 3rd person singular built on a morphologically reflexive form. The label possessive "adjective" is due to the fact that the relevant elements agree in gender and number features with the Possessee, although they refer to the Possessor:

(5)   a. băieţii   mei
             boys(M)-the my.MPL
             'my boys'
      b. fetele   mele
             girls(F)-the my.FPL
             'my girls'
      c. celălalt   frate   al   meu
             the.MSG-other brother(M) *al*.MSG my.MSG
             'the other brother of mine'

The label "pronominal possessor" is convenient insofar as it covers both genitive-marked personal pronouns and possessive adjectives.

1. The Syntax of Genitives

1.1. Synthetic genitives and *al*-genitives

In the Introduction above we have signalled the alternation between synthetic genitives and *al*-genitives. Synthetic genitives are used when the genitive immediately follows the suffixal definite article. Otherwise, the analytic genitive is used. But since *al*-genitives embed a synthetic genitive, we may formulate the following disjunctive generalization concerning the distribution of synthetic genitives:

(6)   Synthetic genitives, including pronominal possessors, are immediately preceded either by the suffixal definite article attached to the possessee (ex. (2)), or by the so-called "possessive article" *al* (ex. (3)).

In examples (7)-(10) we have bold-faced the relevant elements. The feminine singular form *a*, which agrees with the Possessee, is glossed as *al*.FSG:

(7)   a. cas**a**   [DP-Genvecinului]   /[DP-Genunui   vecin]
            house(F)-the   neighbour(M)-the.GEN/   a.M.GEN   neighbour(M)
            'the neighbour's house/the house of a neighbour'
         b. cas**a**   [mea]   /[lui]
            house(F)-the   my.FSG / he.GEN
            'my/his house'
(8)   a. o casă   **a**   [DP-Genvecinului]   /[DP-Genunui   vecin]
            a house(F)   *al*.FSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN/   a.M.GEN   neighbour(M)
            'a house of the neighbour's/a neighbour's'
         b. o casă   **a**   [mea] /[lui]
            a house(F) *al*.FSG   my.FSG /he.GEN
            'a house of mine/his'
(9)   casa   frumoasă **a**   [DP-Genvecinului]   /[DP-Genunui   vecin]
            house(F)-the beautiful *al*.FSG   neighbour(M)-the.GEN /   a.M.GEN   neighbour(M)
            'the beautiful house of the neighbour/a neighbour'
(10)   a. Casa   este **a**   [DP-Genvecinului].
            house(F)-the   is   *al*.FSG   neighbour(M)-the.GEN
            'The house is the neighbour's.'
         b. Casa   mea este mai frumoasă decât **a**   [DP-Genvecinului].
            house(F)-the my is   more beautiful than *al*.FSG   neighbour(M)-the.GEN
            'My house is more beautiful than the neighbour's.'

Note now that the "possessive article" *al* is formed by an invariable element *a*-followed by the suffixal definite article, as the following table shows:

(11)

	Encl. def. art.	Poss. art.
M. SG.	-l, -le	al
F. SG.	-a	a
M. PL.	-i	ai
F. PL.	-le	ale

Given that the genitive particle contains a definite article, the data in (7)-(10) indicate that the empirical generalization formulated in (6) can be restated in a non-disjunctive way, as in (6´):

(6´)   Genitive-marked DPs (including pronominal genitives) must be immediately preceded by the definite article (which is suffixal).

Romanian genitives may also occur in prenominal DP-initial positions. Most DP-initial genitives are stylistically marked, being used only in poetry (see (12)b-c). The prenominal position is nevertheless productively used for genitive *wh*-phrases (see (12)a):

(12) a. a   cărui   casă   Standard
        al.FSG whose.MSG house(F)
        'whose house'
      b. ale   tale   doruri   toate   Poetic
        al.FPL your(SG).GEN desires all   (Eminescu, *O, rămâi*)
        'all of your desires'
      c. al   nopţii   mele   domn   Poetic
        al.MSG night(F)-the.GEN my.GEN lord(M)   (Eminescu, *Luceafărul*)
        'my night's lord'

The examples in (12) must be distinguished from those in (13), which are also built with a prenominal genitive, which is however not DP-initial, being preceded by an adjective. In this case, the suffixal definite article appears on the adjective (see section 1.8 of Chapter 3) and *al* does not appear:

(13)   prima   noastră întâlnire
        first-the our   meeting
         'our first meeting'

It should be observed that only pronominal possessors can occur in between DP-initial adjectives and head Ns, as shown in (13).

Constructions of the type Adj-def.art.+DPGen+N, where the Genitive DP is headed by a noun (e.g. *mişcătoarea mărilor singurătate* 'restless-the seas-the.GEN solitude' meaning 'the restless solitude of the seas') are very marginal, being found only in poetry. Such examples are even more marginal than those of the type *a împăratului fată* '*al*.FSG emperor-the.GEN daughter(F)' (meaning 'the emperor's daughter')*,* where the prenominal genitive is DP initial.

In abstract terms, the two distinct types of configurations that allow prenominal genitives are given in (14)a-b. The label DPGen covers both nominal genitives and their pronominal counterparts:

(14)   a. *al* + DPGen + N
        b. Adj.-def.art. + pronominal possessor + N

Note that possessive DPs built with prenominal *al*-genitives have a definite meaning, which clearly sets them apart from postnominal *al*-genitives (see examples such as (8)a-b, which are headed by indefinite determiners).

1.2. Synthetic genitives following definite nouns are disguised *al*-genitives

Let us now examine more closely the adjacency constraint stated in (6`), and illustrated again below :

(15) a. casa   (*a)   vecinului
         house(F)-the *al*.FSG   neighbour-the.GEN
          'the neighbour's house'
      b. casa   frumoasă *(a)   vecinului
         house(F)-the   beautiful *al*.FSG neighbour-the.GEN
          'the neighbour's beautiful house'
      c. o casă   *(a)   vecinului
         a house(F) *al*.FSG   neighbour-the.GEN
          'a house of the neighbour's'

In what follows, we will provide evidence in favor of the hypothesis that synthetic genitives ((15)a) are to be analyzed as *al*-genitives in which *al* is deleted via a morpho-phonological rule comparable to haplology.

In order for the reader to be immediately convinced by this line of analysis, let us restate the empirical generalization. Instead of saying that the genitive must be adjacent to the definite article (contained in *al* or in a lexical noun suffixed with the definite article), let us say that:

(6´´) All Romanian genitives contain *al*, except when they are preceded by a definite N or by a definite Adj (in other words, the strings *N-**def** *al* DPGen and *A-**def** *al* DPGen N are illegitimate).

Note now that the ungrammatical sequences contain two partially identical adjacent elements: the suffixal definite article and *al*, which itself contains the definite article (see (11) above). This sequence may be assumed to be the input of a rule that deletes an element that is adjacent to a (partially) identical one (Haplology):

(16)   *Al* is deleted in the context [-L ___].

More concretely, an example such as (15)a would be derived as shown below :

(15´) a. cas**a**   **a**   vecinului   →   cas**a**   vecinului
         house(F)-the *al*.FSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN   house(F)-the neighbour(M)-the.GEN

The decisive evidence supporting the rule in (16) relates to the coordination of postnominal genitives. The following example shows that a "synthetic" post-nominal genitive can be coordinated with an *al*-genitive

(17) apartamentul   **mamei**   **mele**   şi   **al**   **Mariei**   a   fost vândut
      apartment(M)-the   mother-the.GEN my.GEN   and *al*.MSG Mary.GEN   has   been sold
       'my mother's and Maria's apartment has been sold'

As shown by the singular agreement on the verb, (17) involves one possessee, which means that the phrase *al Mariei* is not a DP coordinated to [*apartamentul mamei mele*]. Instead, it is the two genitives that are coordinated.

Since conjuncts must occupy the same structural position, we conclude that [mamei mele] in the example above is an instance of "analytic" genitive, on a par with [al Mariei]. The deletion of *al* is due to the rule stated in (16), which can affect the first, but not the second conjunct (because only the first conjunct satisfies the description of the rule, i.e. is adjacent to a preceding definite article) :

(17´) apartamentu**l**   **al**   mamei   mele   şi   **al**   Mariei
       apartment(M)-the   *al*.MSG mother-the.GEN my.GEN   and *al*.MSG Mary.GEN
       → apartamentul   mamei   mele   şi   **al**   Mariei
          apartment(M)-the mother-the.GEN my.GEN and *al*.MSG Mary.GEN

Data from the history of the language support the analysis adopted here. In the most ancient texts, dating from the 16th century, we find side by side *al* immediately following *-L* and the present-day distribution – as if the haplology rule was optional. We present here these cases, impossible in the contemporary language:

(18)   a. **păcatele ale**   tuturor
            sins(F)-the *al*.FPL all.GEN
         b. **duhul**   **al**   Domnului   nostru
            spirit(M)-the *al*.MSG Lord-the.GEN our
         c. **urdzirea   a**   lumiei
            creation-the *al*.FSG world-the.GEN
         d. **înaintea   a**   tuturor oamenilor
            before-the *al*.FSG all.GEN humans-the.GEN

   ❖ The argument in favour of haplology made here depends on the *possibility* of coordinating a synthetic with an analytic genitive. This is however not the only option, as shown in (i), where two synthetic genitives are coordinated:

   (i)   parfumul   crinilor   şi trandafirilor
             perfume-the lilies-the.GEN and roses-the.GEN

   Examples of this type are predictible, because coordinated DPs may form the complement of a single underlying *al*, which gets deleted via haplology:

   (i')   parfumu**l**   **al**   [crinilor   şi   trandafirilor]
             perfume-the.MSG *al*.MSG lilies-the.GEN and roses-the.GEN
             → parfumul   crinilor   şi   trandafirilor
                perfume-the.MSG lilies-the.GEN and roses-the.GEN

   In fact, such coordination is obligatory if the head noun is a predicate that selects groups, so that the entire conjunction is its argument:

   (ii)   reuniunea   deputaţilor   şi   (*a)   senatorilor   în şedinţă comună
             reunion(F)-the deputies-the.GEN and   *al*.FSG senators-the.GEN in session joined

   For a presentation of the alternation between the two types of coordinations, and in particular of the properties of coordinated articles and short prepositions, see chapter 14.

The same behaviour with respect to coordination is shown by genitives subcategorized by those prepositions that end in *-l*, *-le* or *-a,* which are morphologically identical to the suffixal definite article (*-ul* with masculine nouns in consonant, *-le* with masculine nouns in *–e*, and *-a* with feminines). Such prepositions are followed by a "synthetic" genitive, including pronominal Possessors, but when their complements are coordinated, *al* may appear before the second conjunct:

(19) a. împotriva ţării   şi   (a)   poporului
         against   land-the.GEN and al.FSG people-the.GEN
         'against the land and the people'
      b. împotriva mea   şi   *(a)   ta
         against   my.FSG and al.FSG your.FSG
         'against me and you'

❖ Most of these prepositions come from nouns and are perhaps still analysable as such, which would explain the agreement of *al* and of the possessive adjective:

(i)   a. în faţa   Mariei   şi   a   mea
           in face(F)-the Maria.GEN and al.FSG my.FSG
           'in front of me, before me'
        b. în spatele   meu   şi   al   Mariei
           in back(M)-the my.MSG and al.MSG Maria.GEN
           'behind me and Maria'

But in some cases there is no nominal basis for the preposition: either the basis is an adverb, and a preposition was derived from it by adding an -*a*, by analogy with the prepositions derived from nominals, as in *înainte* (which comes from *în* 'in' and *ainte* 'before' < lat. *ab ante* 'from before'), or the preposition is a borrowing ending in -*a*, which was reinterpreted as an instance of the feminine singular definite article attached to prepositions, as in *contra* 'against' (a neological borrowing from lat. *contra,* it. *contra*):

(ii)   a. înainte
           'before'
        b. înainte**a**   mea
           before-the.FSG my.FSG
           'before me'
        c. îndărăt**ul**   său
           behind-the.MSG his/her
           'behind him/her'

For these cases, we need to assume a true reanalysis by which prepositions became capable of receiving a definite article, and correlatively capable of assigning genitive Case or of triggering agreement with 1st and 2nd person pronominal possessors (as in (ii)b-c; see also section 5 of this chapter). In fact, all genitive-assigning prepositions end in either -*l, -le* or –*a*, which are formally identical with definite articles. Since this affix and the f-features it carries are obviously non-interpretable (because prepositions are non-referential), we must acknowledge that the mecanism of copying of features under agreement is not constrained by the referential/interpretable nature of those features.

Summarizing, Romanian genitives following definite nouns are to be analyzed as *al*-genitives at the syntactic level of representation. The absence of *al* is due to the application of a morpho-phonological rule comparable to Haplology. We are thus led to conclude that all Romanian genitives governed by lexical nouns are to be uniformly analyzed as containing a specialized element, *al*. As we will show in subsequent sections, this does not mean that *al* is some kind of genitive marker, but rather a pronominal element corresponding to a fused syntactic category, [D+N]. Romanian synthetic genitives thus appear to be analysable as full possessive DPs governed by a specified pronominal head.

Despite their identical morphological form, Romanian genitives can be grouped into at least three classes, from the point of view of their external distribution: free-standing (i.e. non-adnominal) genitive DPs, prenominal genitives, and postnominal genitives. In what follows we will analyse each of these types in turn.

1.3. Free-standing genitive DPs

Let us first consider examples such as (20), in which *al*-genitives occur as arguments of verbs or prepositions:

(20) a. **A   vecinului**   a   fost   distrusă ieri.
        al.FSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN has been destroyed yesterday
        'The neighbour's was destroyed yesterday.'
    b. Casa   mea este mai frumoasă decât **a   vecinului**.
        house(F)-the my is   more beautiful than *al*.FSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN
        'My house is more beautiful than the neighbour's.'

Quite obviously, the *al*-genitives occurring in these examples cannot be "bare" genitives, but must instead be analyzed as full possessive DPs. This analysis can be further refined by choosing between the two possible analyses shown below:

(21) DP
├── D⁰ — al
└── NP
    ├── DP$_{Gen}$ — vecinului
    └── N — [e]

(22) DP
├── N+D — al
└── DP$_{Gen}$ — vecinului
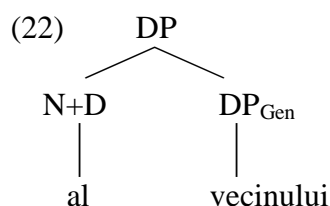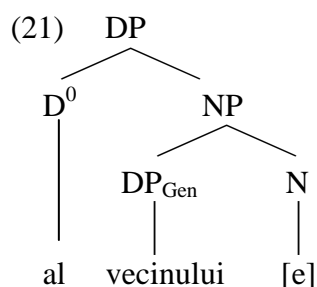
    In (21), the genitive DP is analyzed as occupying a prenominal Specifier position, *al* is inserted under D°, as a special form of the definite article and the N-head is empty (possibly filled by an empty pro-[N]). This structure may also be assumed for examples with prenominal genitives, of the type *a împăratului fată* '*al*.FSG emperor-the.GEN daughter'. In (22), on the other hand, *al* is analyzed as a pro-[N+D] form and the genitive DP occupies a postnominal Specifier position.
    Although we do not want to choose between these two possible analyses, it is worth mentioning that (21) is problematic: if prenominal genitives had the structure shown in (21), they would be simpler than postnominal genitives, which, as we have seen (see section 1.2. above), are DPs embedding an entire *al*-phrase. So, we would expect prenominal genitives to be an unmarked, productive form. However, prenominal genitives are highly restricted: recall that only *al cărui* 'whose' can be found in standard speech, other forms being poetic. This then is problematic for the analysis at hand, since we wouldn't expect a language to choose more elaborate structures when it has simpler ones available. In view of this fact, we suggest that the structure (21) is not adequate: *al* should not be analyzed as a definite determiner taking an NP complement. Instead, *al* directly enters the derivation with the label N+D, as shown in (22).
    Let us now consider examples such as (23), where an *al*-phrase occurs in a predicate position:

(23) Casa   este **a**   **vecinului**.
      house(F)-the is   *al*.FSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN
      'The house is the neighbour's.'

The question is whether *al*-phrases occurring in post-copular positions can be analyzed as full possessive DPs, on a par with *al*-phrases occurring in argumental positions. Such an analysis is strongly suggested by the following crosslinguistic generalization:

(24)   A genitive form can appear in predicate position only if it can also appear 'free standing' in argument positions.

❖ This generalization does not take into account those genitive forms which in certain languages are not governed by a head N but instead are instances of 'inherent Case', i.e., Case forms that are directly correlated with particular th-roles, e.g., Latin *Haec domus est patris mei* 'this house is father.GEN my.GEN' vs. **Amo patris mei.* 'love.1SG father.GEN my.GEN'. A noteworthy exception to the generalization in (24) is *mio* in Italian: *questo è mio* 'this is mine' vs. **mi piace mio* 'I like mine'

The examples in (25)-(26) illustrate the generalization stated in (24). Thus, the Saxon genitive forms, as well as the pronominal forms *mine* and *yours* in English or *celui de DP* and *le mien/le tien* in French occur in both argument and predicate positions, whereas English *of*-genitives, French *de*-Genitives and possessive adjectives (*my, your, our*, *their* in English; *mon, ton, son,* etc. in French)* are disallowed in both positions:

(25)   a. I like John's/mine/*of John/*my.
       b. This carpet is John's/ mine/*of John('s)/*my.

(26)   a. J'aime celui de Jean /le mien/*de Jean/*de moi.
       b. Ce tapis est celui de Jean /le mien/*de Jean/ *de moi/.

The analysis suggested here, according to which post-copular genitives are in fact full possessive DPs may seem problematic on semantic grounds. For this issue see § 2.5 below.

❖ Free standing *al*-genitives built with nominal possessors cannot be marked with oblique Case:
  (i)   I-   am   scris   profesorului   Mariei   /meu.
         CL.3SG.DAT-have.1SG written   teacher(M).DAT   Mary.GEN   my.MSG
         'I have written to Mary's/my teacher.'
  (i')   *I-am   scris   **alui**   Mariei   /meu.
          CL.3SG.DAT-have.1SG written *al*.MSG.DAT Mary.GEN   my.MSG
  (ii)   Am   citit cartea   profesorului   Mariei   /meu.
         have.1SG read book-the teacher-the.GEN Mary.GEN   my.MSG
         'I have read Mary's/my teacher's book.'
  (ii') *Am   citit cartea   **alui**   Mariei   /meu.
          have.1SG read book-the *al*.MSG.GEN   Mary.GEN   my.MSG

  In certain regional varieties and registers, examples of the type in ((i)-(ii) can be rescued by the use of the prepositional Dative marked by *la* :
  (iii) Am   scris   **la al**   Mariei   /meu
         have.1SG written   to *al*. MSG Mary.GEN   my.MSG

❖ Oblique Case-marking can appear on a subset of the *al*-genitives built with *pronominal* possessors, namely on the forms made up of the plural form *ai (*correspondingly, the overall DP refers to a plural Possessee) followed by (agreeing) 1st or 2nd pronominal possessors, e.g., *alor mei / tăi / noştri* etc. '*al*.PL.OBL my.MPL/your(SG).MPL/our.MPL 'mine/yours/ours', which have an idiomatic meaning, paraphrasable by "my/your/our parents/relatives/friends/supporters", depending on the context (see (iv)):

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(iv)   Le-am   scris   **alor**   **mei**
        CL.3PL.DAT -have.1SG   written *al*.PL.DAT my.MPL
        'I wrote to my parents'

Some speakers can also use an oblique form for the feminine singular:

(v)   au   multe maşini în faţa **alei**   **mele**   (Internet)
        have.1PL many cars   before *al*.FSG.GEN my.FSG.GEN
        'They have many cars in front of mine'

1.4. Prenominal Genitives

Let us now examine prenominal genitives. The first possibility would be to assume that they occupy a prenominal Specifier position inside the NP constituent:

(27)
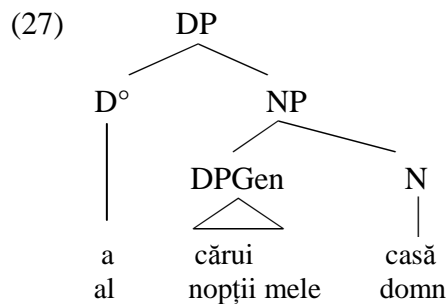
As already observed above, this analysis is problematic, given the discrepancy between its 'simplicity' and the marked character of Romanian prenominal genitives. We will therefore analyze prenominal genitives as full DPs sitting in Spec, DP, as shown below:

(28)
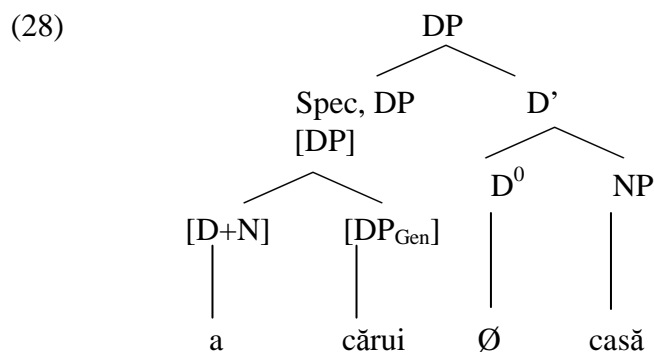
Let us now recall the descriptive generalization mentioned in previous sections, according to which in Romanian, prenominal genitives are marginal, poetic, except for pronominal wh-genitives, which are fully acceptable. The reason for the full acceptability of wh-genitives might be that Spec,DP is the only position which allows genitives to raise out of the DP in order to check (get acces to) the wh-feature of the Comp of the sentence in which they occur.

Note that there are two properties that distinguish prenominal *wh*-genitives from *wh*-genitives in postnominal and free-standing positions (where they are preceded by *al*):

(a) Although they are pronouns, prenominal wh-genitives don't have the "strong" forms characteristic of other instances of pronominal use, marked with the affix -*a*, but the "weak" form instead (without -*a*):
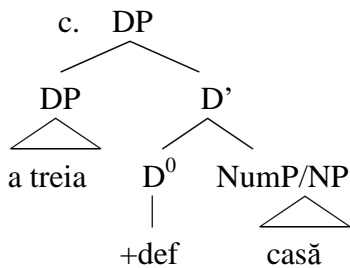
(29)   a. A   cărui casă   ai   văzut-o?
        al.FSG whose house(F) have.2SG seen-it
        'Whose house did you see?'
      b. Casa   cărui**a**   ai   văzut-o? (from 'cas**a**   **a**   căruia', by rule (16))
        house(F)-the whose-*a* have.2SG seen-it   house(F)-the *al*.FSG whose-*a*
        'Whose house did you see? Of whom did you see the house?'
      c. A   cărui**a**   îți   place?
        al.FSG whose-*a*   you.DAT likes
        'Whose (one) do you like?'

(b) They are always headed by an empty (pronominal) head, while *wh*-genitives in postnominal, as well as free-standing positions can also combine with an (overt) noun:

(30)   a. *[ale   cărui   om]   fete
          al.FPL whose.MSG man(M) girls(F)
      b. fetele   [cărui   om]
         girls(F)-the whose.MSG man
      c. ale   [cărui   om]
         al.FPL whose.MSG man(M)

For poetic genitives, there are two ways of explaining their marginal status: either they represent the structure (27), perhaps available at a previous stage of the language and surviving now in the poetic language as an archaism, or they are constituents in SpecDP (as depicted in (28)) carrying a Top(ic) feature. We could thus asume that the SpecDP position is accessible only to genitive DPs that are marked with an edge feature, either +wh or +Topic, but only the former is fully acceptable.

        The analysis adopted here for prenominal al-genitives is comparable to the analysis of prenominal superlatives and ordinals (the latter being formed with the same determiner *al*) adopted in chapter 3.1.8 :

(31)   a.   DP
           ╱   ╲
      GenP   D'
      ╱╲   ╱   ╲
  a cărui   D⁰   NumP/NP
            │   ╱╲
          +def   casă

      b.   DP
          ╱   ╲
      DP   D'
      ╱╲   ╱   ╲
 cea mai mare D⁰   NumP/NP
               │   ╱╲
             +def   casă

      c.   DP
          ╱   ╲
      DP   D'
      ╱╲   ╱   ╲
  a treia   D⁰   NumP/NP
             │   ╱╲
           +def   casă
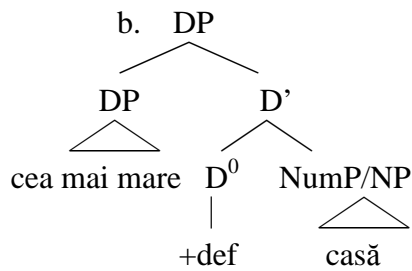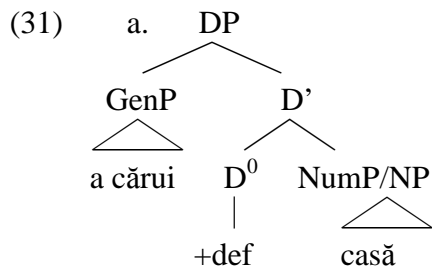
In all these configurations, definite DPs marked by either *al* (for genitives and ordinals) or *cel* (for superlatives) sit in Spec,DP and correlatively D° stays empty but is nevertheless interpreted as +def, possibly due to agreement with the definite DP in Spec,DP.

1.5. The syntactic position of postnominal genitives

Postnominal *al*-genitives can be analyzed either as N-complements (i.e., as sisters of N°) or as NP-adjuncts. The first option suits *al*-phrases that occur as complements of relational nouns:

(32)   un   prieten   al   vecinei
       a   friend(M)   *al*.MSG neighbour(F)-the.GEN
       'a friend of the neighbour's'

(32')   DP
                          ╱   ╲
                      D°   NP
                      │   ╱   ╲
                               N   DP₂
                               │   │
                      un   prieten al   vecinei
                      a   friend(M) *al*.MSG neighbour(F)-the.GEN

13
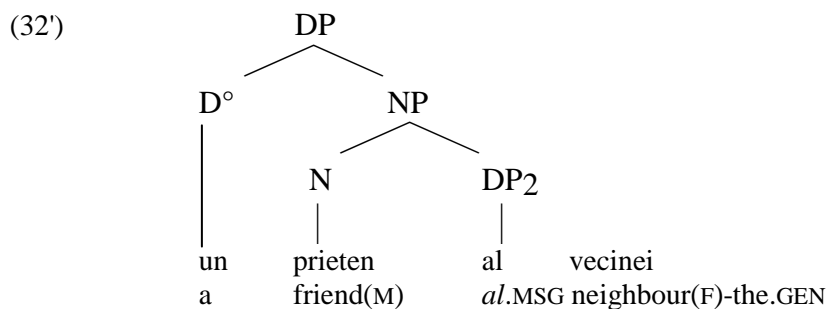
Compare those *al*-genitives that combine with object-denoting nouns (*cat, table*, etc.). Since this type of noun does not have arguments, it is currently assumed that they do not project a complement position. Consequently, the genitives associated with such nouns are taken to occupy an adjunction position.

(33)   o/această   pisică   a   vecinei
        a/this   cat(F)   *al*.FSG   neighbour(F)-the.GEN
        'A/this cat of the neighbour's'

(33')   DP
                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                   D°   NP
                    │   ┌───────┴───────┐
                    │   NP   DP₂
                    │   │   │
            o/ această   pisică   a   vecinei
            a/ this   cat(F)   *al*.FSG neighbour(F)-the.GEN
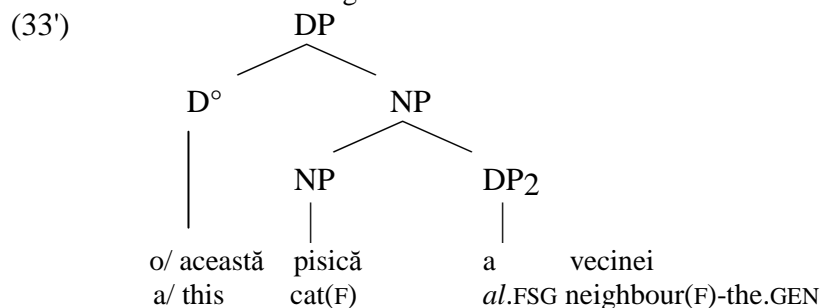
Another possibility would be to assume that postnominal Genitives are DP-adjuncts. This option seems to be inadequate given that postnominal genitives cannot attach to personal pronouns, e.g., **ei ai vecinei...*'they *al*.MPL neighbour(F)-the.GEN'. For further evidence supporting the same conclusion, see section 4 of this chapter.

    The distinction between genitives sitting in the complement and adjunction positions is overtly marked in certain languages, e.g., in English: *a friend of the neighbour, the leg of the table* vs *this cat of the neighbour's, a house of Mary's*. Since no similar distinction exists in Romanian, we may wonder whether *al*-genitives should be assumed to occupy distinct positions depending on the nature of the head N or should instead be taken to sit in one and the same position. Should we then choose the adjunction position, or rather the complement position to uniformly host all *al*-genitives?

1.6. The status of the genitive "article" *al* occurring in postnominal genitives

Romanian genitives exhibit a remarkably uniform internal make-up (*al* followed by a genitive-marked DP or by a genitive pronoun), although they show up in at least four very different syntactic contexts: argument (i.e., non-adnominal) positions, prenominal positions, postnominal complement position, postnominal adjunct position. The question that arises is whether a uniform *syntactic* analysis (matching their uniform *morphological* form) is compatible with their various syntactic positions.

    In section 3 above, *al*-genitives occurring in argument positions were analyzed as shown in (34'):

(34)   a. **Al   Mariei**   nu mi-a   plăcut.
           al.MSG Mary.GEN   not me.DAT-has pleased
           'Mary's, I didn't like.'
        b. N-am   văzut-o încă pe   **a   vecinului.**
           not-have.1SG   seen-it yet DOM *al*.FSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN
           'I/we haven't yet seen the neighbour's.'

For concreteness we will assume that *al/a/..* is a fused D+N form listed as such in the Lexicon:

(34')
                            Nmax/DP
                          ╱   ╲
              D+N   Spec, Nmax/Spec,DP
   │   (DP_Gen)
               │   │
a.   [N°a]+[D°l]   vecinei
          a   + the.MSG   neighbour(F)-the.GEN
b.   [N°a]+[D°a]   vecinului
          a   +the.FSG   neighbour(M)-the.GEN
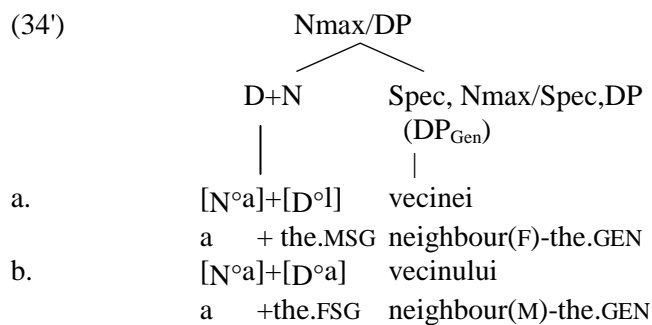
This analysis can be extended to postnominal genitives. Thus, the representation given in (34') can be made more explicit by indicating the internal structure of the postnominal *al*-genitive, as shown below:

(35)   a. un câine   al   vecinului
           a dog(M)   *al*.MSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN
        b. o casă   a   vecinului
           a house(F)   *al*.FSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN

(35')   DP_1
                  ╱   ╲
        D_1°   NP
         │   ╱   ╲
         │   NP_1   DP_2
         │   │   ╱   ╲
         │   NP_1 D_2'   Spec, DP
         │   │   │   │
         │   │   │   DP_Gen
a.   un   câine [N°**a**]+[D°l]   vecinului
          a   dog(M) *al*.MSG   neighbour(M)-the.GEN

b.   o   casă   [N°**a**]+[D°**a**] vecinului
          a   house(F) *al*.FSG   neighbour(M)-the.GEN
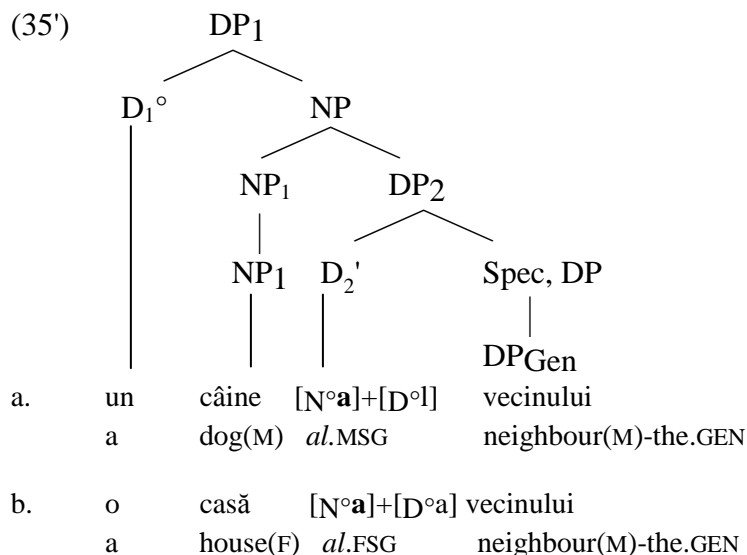
Postnominal genitives could thus be analyzed as pertaining to some kind of relativizing mechanism. This does not necessarily mean that *al* itself is to be analyzed as some kind of relative pronoun; it may also be analyzed as part of the nominal predicate of a reduced relative clause, where the relative pronoun, as well as the copula, are empty: the gloss of the overall DP would be 'a dog [that is] the one of the neighbour's'.

Other analyses of adnominal *al*-genitives are possible, provided that we assume that the internal syntactic structure of adnominal genitives is different from that of argumental genitives, e.g. *al* would be a preposition or some kind of Genitive marker. This analysis is problematic given the fact that this element carries phi-features that agree with the head N. One might still want to argue that prepositions (and possibly Case markers) may carry phi-features that agree with the element that governs them. This suggestion is problematic for at least two reasons : (i) Romanian has no other agreeing prepositions ; (ii) in all the cases that are well-understood, concord agreement (e.g., between lexical adjectives and N or between possessive adjectives and N) holds not only for gender and number but also for Case :

(36)   a. fata   frumoasă
          girl-the.FSG.NOM/ACC beautiful.FSG.NOM/ACC
        b.fetei   frumoase
          girl-the.FSG.GEN/DAT   beautiful.FSG.GEN/DAT

Note now that *al* agrees with the head N in gender and number, but not in Case :

(37)   a. I-am   scris   profesoarei   de franceză **a**   vecinului
          her.DAT-have.1SG written   teacher(F).SG.DAT of French   *al*.FSG neighbour(M)-the.GEN
        b. *I-am   scris   profesoarei   de franceză **ale**   vecinului
          her.DAT-have.1SG written   teacher(F).SG.DAT of French   *al*.FSG.GEN neighbour(M)-the.GEN

The ungrammaticality of (37)b follows from the general prohibition of oblique Case marking on *al* (see the end of § 1.3 above). The interesting fact, however, is the full grammaticality of (37a). It seems to support the view that the gender and number features of the genitive particle *a* in (37a) are not copied from the head N (if they had been copied, Case should have been copied also), but instead they are inherent features of *a*, the Case of which is Nominative. This is coherent with the relative-like analysis proposed in (35') above.

1.7.   Co-occurring genitives

The examples below show that two postnominal genitives cannot attach to the same N if both of them are theta-marked. Some of them are marginally acceptable (see the discussion around (43) below):

(38)   a. ??traducerea   Iliadei   a   lui Sluşanschi
          translation(F)-the Iliad.GEN *al*.FSG GEN Sluşanschi
          'Slusanschi's translation of Iliad'
        b. *descoperirea   Americii   a   lui Columb
          discovery(F)-the America.GEN *al*.FSG GEN Columbus
          'Columbus' discovery of America'
        c. ??portretul   lui Aristotel al   lui Rembrandt
          portrait(M)-the GEN Aristotle *al*.MSG GEN Rembrandt
          'Rembrandt's portrait of Aristotle'
        d. ??concepţia   libertăţii   a   lui Kant
          conception(F)-the freedom-the.GEN *al*.FSG GEN Kant
          'Kant's conception of freedom'

The examples in (39) show that the same constraint holds for the co-occurrence of a pronominal Possessor with a postnominal genitive. These examples are not only ungrammatical, but also uninterpretable (compare the examples in (38), which are 'meaningful', in the sense that the speaker may understand what the example would mean if it were grammatical):

(39)   a. *traducerea   ei   a   lui Sluşanschi
          translation(F)-the she.GEN *al*.FSG GEN Sluşanschi
        b. *descoperirea   ei   a   lui Columb
          discovery(F)-the she.GEN *al*.FSG GEN Columbus
        c. *portretul   lui   al   lui Rembrandt
          portrait(M)-the he.GEN *al*.MSG GEN Rembrandt
        d. *concepţia   ei   a   lui Kant
          conception(F)-the she.GEN *al*.FSG GEN Kant

These ungrammaticalities can be understood by assuming that there is only one syntactic position for DP-internal postnominal genitives (it will be shown below that a DP-internal postnominal genitive can co-occur with a DP-adjoined genitive).

The examples in (40) show that pre-nominal genitives can co-occur with postnominal genitives :

(40) a. prima   lui   traducere   a   Iliadei
         first-the.FSG he.GEN   translation(F) al.FSG Iliad.GEN
         'his first translation of Iliad'
      b. Columb, a   cărui   descoperire   a   Americii
         Columbus, al.FSG whose.MSG discovery(F)   al.FSG America.GEN
         'Columbus, whose discovery of America'
      c. Kant, a   cărui   concepție   a   libertății   mă   intrigă
         Kant   al.FSG whose.MSG conception(F) al.FSG freedom.GEN me.ACC intrigue.3SG
         'Kant, whose conception of freedom intrigues me'

It should be observed that postnominal *wh*-possessors cannot co-occur with another genitive (note that the examples in (41)b'-c' are grammatical if the second genitive is suppressed):

(41) b'. *Columb, descoperirea   căruia   a   Americii
          Columbus discovery(F)-the   whose.MSG-a al.FSG   America.GEN
      c'. *Kant, concepția   căruia   a   libertății   mă   intrigă
          Kant conception(F)-the   whose.MSG-a   al.FSG freedom.GEN me.ACC intrigue.3SG

The grammaticality of the examples in (40) can be explained by assuming that pre-nominal genitives and post-nominal genitives occupy two distinct syntactic positions, which are base-generated independent of each other. Identical morphological marking thus appears to be allowed inside the same syntactic domain, provided that two distinct positions are available. We must conclude that identical morphological marking cannot be taken to indicate identical syntactic position. Which means that when they occur on their own, postnominal genitives should not be assumed to originate in the prenominal position; and conversely, pre-nominal genitives should not be assumed to originate in the post-nominal position. The analysis proposed in the preceding sections satisfies these desiderata.

The examples in (40) obey the well-known thematic hierarchy, which requires that Themes and Agents respectively occupy the complement and the Specifier positions (which in Romanian are post-nominal and pre-nominal, respectively). Indeed, if we reverse the positions, the examples in (42) become ungrammatical:

(42) a. *prima   ei   traducere   a   lui   Slușanschi
          first-the.FSG her.GEN translation(F) al.FSG GEN Slușanschi
      b. *America, a   cărei   descoperire   a   lui   Columb
          America al.FSG whose.FSG discovery(F)   al.FSG GEN Columbus
      c. *libertatea,   a   cărei   concepție   a   lui   Kant
          freedom(F)-the al.FSG whose.FSG conception(F) al.FSG GEN Kant

Let us finally observe that examples such as (43) are marginally possible, provided that the second genitive is interpreted as a possessor:

(43) a. ?tabloul   lui Rembrandt al   bunicii   mele
         painting(M)-the GEN Rembrandt *al*.MSG grandmother-the.GEN my.FSG.GEN
         'my grandmother's painting of Rembrandt'
      b. ?bustul   lui Beethoven al   bunicii   mele
         bust(M)-the GEN Beethoven *al*.MSG grandmother-the.GEN my.FSG.GEN
         'my grandmother's bust of Beethoven'
      c. dicționarul   lui Duțescu al   mamei
         dictionary(M)-the GEN Duțescu *al*.MSG mother-the.GEN
         'my mother's dictionary of Duțescu'

The second genitive cannot be interpreted as a Theme or an Agent:

(44) a. *tabloul   bunicii   mele al   lui Rembrandt
         painting(M)-the grandmother-the.GEN my   *al*.MSG GEN Rembrandt
      b. *bustul   bunicii   mele al   lui Beethoven
         bust(M)-the grandmother-the.GEN my   *al*.MSG GEN Beethoven
      c. *dicționarul   mamei   al   lui Duțescu
         dictionary(M)-the   mother-the.GEN *al*.MSG GEN Duțescu

The constraints on co-occurring postnominal genitives are expected given the general view that structural genitive Case can be assigned in only one postnominal position to a DP that is th-marked by the head N. The second postnominal genitive is an adjunct (which may attach to either NP or DP) that is assigned inherent Case, which is directly related to the possessive interpretation.

1.8. Conclusions : types of genitives, types of nominal projections and determiners

To conclude this section, let us briefly comment on the strict constraint to which morphologically-marked synthetic genitives are subject in Romanian: they can appear only on DPs that are governed by the fused N+D form *al/a/ai/ale*. This highly restricted distribution of synthetic genitives brings to mind comparable restrictions in other languages, e.g., prenominal Saxon genitives in English or associates of construct state nominals in Hebrew. Although the restrictions are obviously not the same, they are comparable: (i) in languages with different realizations for genitive constituents, synthetic forms are more constrained than analytic forms; (ii) the occurrence of synthetic genitives is constrained by the type of determiner of the overall possessive DP: they are allowed only if the determiner is either a definite article (in Romanian) or empty (in English or Hebrew). Note that Romanian synthetic genitives are even more constrained, insofar as they can occur only if the head of the possessive DP is pronominal (a fused form of an empty noun and a definite determiner).

Our presentation leaves open the choice between several possible analyses of synthetic genitives occurring inside free-standing (i.e. non-adnominal) genitives: they may be assumed to occupy either a (prenominal) Spec,NP position or a (postnominal) Spec,DP position, and correlatively *al* would be a special Det element or a fused pronominal form labelled [N+D]. A unifying analysis forces us to assume that adnominal *al*-phrases are not mere genitive DPs, but rather full possessive DPs, as when they occur free-standing, in argument positions of verbs or prepositions. The difference between free-standing and adnominal al-genitives would be that in the former case *al* is coreferent with a DP-external constituent, whereas in the latter case *al* is coreferent with the head of the overall possessive DP. The alternative analysis is to assume that adnominal *al*-phrases are mere genitive DPs (rather than possessive DPs), in which case *al* would be some kind of genitive-marker.

2. The Interpretation of Genitives

The semantic analysis of *definite* possessive DPs is interesting for at least two reasons: (i) the definiteness or indefiniteness of the genitive DP is transferred to the possessive DP (although the overt determiner of the latter is definite); (ii) the interpretation of the head N is context-depedent. In sections 2.2. and 2.3. it will be shown that these two generalizations follow as a consequence of the rule of semantic composition that characterizes definite possessive DPs, which will be defined in section 2.1. Section 2.4 will present several constraints that the determiners of genitive DPs and the determiners of the overall possessive DP impose on each other. Finally, in section 2.5 we comment on the semantic analysis of genitive DPs (or rather possessive DPs) occurring in predicate positions.

2.1. The semantic composition

Let us consider the examples in (45). In order to simplify the presentation, we will ignore the fact that postnominal synthetic genitives are preceded by a deleted *al*. For our present purposes we may assume that the deleted *al* is expletive, i.e., does not participate to the semantic composition (but see the examples in (52) at the end of this subsection).

(45)   a. mama   Mariei
        mother(F)-the Mary.GEN
        'Mary's mother'
    b. sora   vecinei   mele
        sister(F)-the neighbour-the.GEN my
        'my neighbour's sister'
    c. bicicleta Mariei
        bike(F)-the Mary.GEN
        'Mary's bike'

Let us assume that definite possessive DPs rely on the rule of semantic composition stated in (46):

(46)   A definite noun built with a genitive DP is interpreted as a function from individuals to individuals (type <e,e>), which applies to the individual denoted by the genitive DP and yields the individual denoted by the overall possessive DP.

This analysis is straightforward for possessives such as (45)a, which are headed by nouns that are lexically specified as functional (*mother, capital, middle*, etc.). It should however be stressed that the functional analysis formulated in (46) is not triggered by the lexical properties of the noun, but should be viewed as *structure-dependent*, in the sense that it is triggered by a particular syntactic configuration, namely a definite noun built with a genitive DP. As such, the rule in (46) can apply regardless of whether the head noun is lexically specified as functional, relational or object-denoting. In case the head noun is not lexically specified as functional, it is coerced. For relational nouns such as *sister, friend*, etc. (see (45b)), uniqueness is triggered: to one referent of the genitive corresponds a unique referent for the overall possessive (see (47)a). As to object-denoting nouns, the function triggered by definite possessives is not named by the head noun, but remains underspecified (notated Rgen in (47)c); the role of the head noun is to restrict the co-domain of the function (constrains the value of the individual returned by the function).

(47)   a. mother (x) = λx ιy [mother (x,y)]
        b. sister (x) = λx ιy [sister (x,y)]
        c. fbike (x) = λx ιy [R$_{gen}$(x,y) and bike (y)].

By applying these functions (denoted by the head noun of a definite DP$_{poss}$) to the individual denoted by the genitive DP, we obtain the individual denotated by DP$_{poss}$:

(45")   a. [[mama Mariei]]   =   λx ιy [mother (x,y)] (m)
                                    =>   ιy [mother (m,y)]
        b. [[sora vecinei mele]]   =   λx ιy [sister (x,y)] ([[my neighbour]])
                                    =>   ιy [sister ([[my neighbour]],y)]
        c. [[bicicleta Mariei]]   =   λx ιy [R$_{gen}$(x,y) and bike (y)] (m)
                                    =>   ιy [R$_{gen}$(m,y) and bike (y)]

Genitive specifiers governed by plural head nouns can also be analyzed as relying on the rule in (46). In this case, the value of the function is a plural individual (group) notated by a capital letter in (48") below:

(48)   casele   vecinului
        houses-the neighbour-the.GEN
        'the neighbour's houses'

(48")   [[casele vecinului]]   =   λx ιY [R$_{gen}$(x,Y) and houses (Y)] (j)
                                    =>   ιY [R$_{gen}$ (j,Y) and houses (Y)].

The overall Nmax denotes the maximal group of houses that is associated to John by the underspecified R$_{gen}$.

We still need to make precise the analysis of QPs occurring as genitives embedded in definite possessive DPs :

(49)   Maşina   fiecărui   student   va fi controlată.
        car(F)-the   every.MSG.GEN student(M) will be checked
        'Every student's car will be checked.'

For examples of this type, Quantifier Raising can be assumed. An LF such as the one shown in (49') can be obtained in three steps, by (1) adjoining *maşina fiecărui student* 'every student's car' to the whole sentence, (2) raising *fiecare student* 'every student' out of the preposed constituent, (3) raising and adjoining the quantifier itself, i.e., *fiecare* 'every' (translated as the universal quantifier) to the whole formula:

(49')   ∀x (x is a student) [ιy (Rgen (x,y) ∧ car (y)) will be checked]

Note finally that adjectives such as *fostul* 'former' allow different scopal interpretations: *fostul meu restaurant* 'former my restaurant, my former restaurant' may mean either 'the restaurant, which is no longer mine' (in this case *fostul* 'former' is interpreted above *meu* 'my') or 'my belonging, e.g. house, which is no longer a restaurant'. These interpretations are both possible, and they do not seem to be subject to distributional constraints.

The semantic analysis presented here for definite possessive DPs can be extended to cover free standing *al*-phrases:

(50) a. A   Mariei   a   plecat azi.
        *al.*FSG Mary.GEN has left   today
     b. Al   vecinei   e avocat.
        *al.*MSG neighbour-the.GEN is lawyer(M)
     c. Le-   am   dat   la reparat pe   ale   copiilor.
        them.FPL.ACC-have.1SG given to repairing DOM *al.*FPL children.GEN

(51)   [[al]] = λx ιy [R$_{gen}$(x,y) and N (y)]
        (where N is the antecedent of *al*, e.g., mother, neighbour, bicycle(s), etc.)

(51') a. [[al Mariei]] = ιy [R$_{gen}$(Maria,y) and N (y)]   (where N is the antecedent of *al*)

According to this representation, *al*-phrases are interpreted as : 'the only individual y that is related to DP$_{gen}$ (Mary, the neighbour, the children) and is N (father, cousin, bicycle(s), etc.).
      Coming back to definite possessives headed by lexical Ns, recall that they embed an *al*, which appears overtly in those contexts in which the genitive is not adjacent to the noun:

(52) a. gardul   roşu **al**   vecinei
        fence(M)-the red *al.*MSG neighbour-the.GEN
     b. gardul   ~~al~~   vecinului   şi **al**   vecinei
        fence(M)-the *al.*MSG neighbour-the.GEN and *al.*MSG neighbour-the.GEN
     c. gardul   ~~al~~   vecinei.
        fence(M)-the *al.*MSG neighbour-the.GEN
   ❖ ~~al~~ indicates that *al* is present in the syntax but deleted in the morpho-phonological component

If we analyze postnominal *al*–genitives as part of some kind of relativization strategy, these examples can be paraphrased as follows: 'the red fence such that it is the only fence related to the neighbour'.
      In a comparable manner, examples such as *o carte a Mariei* and *fiecare bicicletă a lui Dumitru* are analyzable as being built by combining a Det, here the indefinite article *o* or the quantificational Det *fiecare* 'each' with a complex property obtained by intersecting the nominal property, e.g., *carte* 'book' and *bicicletă* 'bicycle', with the property corresponding to the adnominal Genitive, obtained by abstracting over the position of the Possessee, thus yielding 'the set of entities x such that x is related to Mary' and 'the set of entities x such that x is related to Dumitru', respectively.

2.2. (In)definiteness Spread

Definite possessive DPs are interpreted as definite or indefinite depending on whether the genitive itself is definite or indefinite:

(53)   a. Pe   acest student/??Pe un student înalt îl   cunoaşte toată lumea.
           DOM this student/ DOM a student tall him knows   all   people
           'This student/a tall student everybody knows'
        b. Pe   fratele   acestui student/??Pe fratele   unui   student îl cunoaşte toată lumea.
           DOM brother-the this.GEN student/DOM brother-the a.GEN student him knows   all   people
           'This student's brother/A student's brother everybody knows.'

The examples in (53a) show a contrast in acceptability between DPs headed by a demonstrative and indefinite DPs: in a left-dislocated position (which correlates with obligatory clitic-doubling), the former are fully grammatical, whereas the latter are marginal. The same contrast shows up in (53b), where both examples are definite possessive DPs, which

differ only insofar as the genitive DP is a demonstrative and an indefinite, respectively. The conclusion is that (in)definiteness is transmitted from the genitive DP to the overall possessive DP.

The transmission of (in)definiteness can be analyzed as a consequence of the functional analysis adopted above for definite possessive DPs:

(54) a. ferma   Mariei   => y = f(x), where farm (f(x)) and //x// = Mary
          farm-the Mary.GEN   'Mary's farm'
       b. ferma   unui   vecin   => y = f(x), where farm (f(x)) and a neighbour (x)
          farm-the a.GEN   neighbour 'a neighbour's farm'

In (54)a the function f applies to the constant individual denoted by *Mary*, and therefore the value of the function is itself a constant individual, hence the definite-like interpretation. In (54)b, on the other hand, the denotation of *ferma unui vecin* 'a neighbour's farm' is obtained by applying the function f to the individual variable x introduced by *a neighbour*. The denotation of the overall possessive varies with the values of the genitive specifier itself.

By definition, the rule of semantic composition that characterizes definite possessive DPs (see (46)) triggers uniqueness: for each value of the genitive there is only one value for the function. However, the problem of uniqueness is complicated by pragmatic factors, which will not be addressed here. For some further observations on this issue see § 2.4. below.

2.3. Interpretive variability

It has often been observed that the interpretation of definite possessives is context-dependent. A DP such as (55)a may take, depending on the context, the various interpretations given in (55)b:

(55) a. cartea   lui Ion
          book-the GEN Ion
          'John's book'
       b. the book possessed by/about which talks/of which takes care/that edits/written by John.

Within the analysis adopted in § 2.1. above, the interpretive flexibility characteristic of definite possessive DPs is due to the underspecified nature of the function that underlies the semantic composition of genitive specifiers. This function is contextually determined, hence the various interpretations given in (55)b.

The examples in (56)a show that definite possessives[1] take truly "free" interpretations, whereas all the other possessives, headed by determiners other than the definite article (see (56)b) are more constrained:

(56) Ieri,   Ion şi Paul au   fost atacaţi de două haite   de câini
      Yesterday, Ion and Paul have been attacked by two groups of dogs
      'Yesterday John and Paul were attacked by two groups of dogs'
      a. ... din nefericire, **câinii   lui Ion** erau turbaţi.
             by unfortune   dogs-the GEN Ion were rabid
        '...unfortunately, John's dogs were rabid.'
      b. ... # din nefericire, **câţiva/doi/mulţi/aceşti câini ai   lui Ion** erau turbaţi.
              by unfortune some /two/many/these dogs al.MPL GEN Ion were rabid
          '# unfortunately, some/two/many/these dogs of John's were rabid.'

---

[1] In line with Partee (1983, 1994), Storto assumes that possessive expressions that embed Saxon genitives are headed by a null definite Det.

Possessive DPs other than definite allow interpretations that can be described as involving a "control" relation, which is a constant, context-independent relation, with a "bleached", underspecified meaning that can be contextually specified: the context determines the choice among various specific meanings of this underspecified constant relation (e.g. *be entrusted, take care of*):

(57) Ieri,   lui Ion şi Paul **li**   **s-au**   **încredinţat** două haite de câini.
      Yesterday, DAT Ion and Paul CL.3PL.DAT REFL-have entrusted   two groups of dogs
      'Yesterday, John and Paul were entrusted two (different) groups of dogs.'
      din nefericire, **câţiva/doi/mulţi/aceşti câini ai**   **lui** **Ion** erau turbaţi.
      by unfortune some /two/many/these dogs *al*.MPL GEN Ion were rabid
      'unfortunately, some/two/many/these dogs of John's were rabid.'

The unacceptability shown in (56b) arises because the relation *be attacked*, which is provided by the context, is not a sub-type of the control relation: an individual who is attacked cannot be said to control the individual who attacks him.

2.4. Mutual constraints between the determiners of genitives and the head N

In this section we will be concerned with some constraints that hold between the determiners of genitive DPs and the determiners of the overall possessive DPs that embed them. Let us first list the permissible cases : the determiner of N_1 is not constrained if the genitive DP is a proper name; if N_1 is governed by a definite or by a demonstrative, the determiner that heads the genitive DP is not constrained.

The restrictions mainly concern possessive DPs headed by indefinite determiners. The examples below show that in this context, the genitive DP can be a proper name, a demonstrative or a definite DP; an indefinite DP is dispreferred (see (58)b,c) :

(58) a. Ieri   am   spălat **o rochie a   Mariei /a   acestei fetiţe/a**
         Yesterday have.1SG washed a dress(F) *al*.FSG Maria.GEN/*al*.FSG this.GEN girl   /*al*.FSG
         vecinei.
         neighbour.GEN
         'Yesterday I washed Maria's/this girl's/the neighbour's dress.'
      b. # Ieri   am   spălat **o rochie a   unei   vecine**.
          Yesterday have.1SG washed a dress(F) *al*.FSG a.GEN   neighbour
          'Yesterday I washed a dress of a neighbour's.'
      c. #Am   aflat asta de la **un prieten al   unui coleg**.
          Have.1SG found this from a   friend *al*.MSG a.GEN colleague
          'I heard this from a friend of a colleague's.'

The examples in (59)a-b are not ungrammatical and they might even be acceptable in certain contexts. They are however rarely used, probably because their meaning can be more economically expressed by using the definite article on the head N:

(59)   a. Ieri   am   spălat **rochia   unei   vecine**.
          Yesterday have.1SG washed dress(F)-the a.GEN   neighbour
          'Yesterday I washed the dress of some neighbour/some neighbour's dress.'
       b. Am   aflat asta de la **prietenul unui coleg**.
          Have.1SG found this from friend-the a.GEN colleague
          'I heard this from the friend of some colleague/some colleague's friend.'

Although the functional interpretation related to the definiteness of the head N is by definition correlated with uniqueness (in (59)a *rochia unei vecine* 'some neighbour's dress' refers to the unique object that is related to a neighbour and is a dress), the examples in (58)a-b leave open the possibility that the neighbour has several dresses. This apparent contradiction can be solved by saying that uniqueness holds in a pragmatically restricted context.

A much stricter constraint is illustrated below:

(60)   a. ?*Am   mâncat **mere /brânzeturi ale lui Ion**.
             have.1SG eaten   apples(F)/cheese(F)-PL *al*.FPL GEN Ion
             'I ate some of John's apples/types of cheese.'
    b. ?*Am   ascultat **discuri ale lui Ion**.
             have.1SG listened disks   *al*.FPL GEN Ion
             'I listened to some of John's disks.'
    c. ?*Am   citit **poezii ale lui Ion**.
             have.1SG read poems *al*.FPL GEN Ion
     'I read some of John's poems.'

These examples show that *al*-genitives (regardless of their own determiner) cannot be built with bare plurals in the position of the head noun. The constraint seems to be even stricter with mass/abstract Ns:

(61)   a. ?*Am   mâncat **miere /brânză a lui Ion**.
             have.1SG eaten   honey(F)/cheese(F) *al*.FSG GEN Ion
             'I ate John's honey/cheese.'
    b. ?*Am   ascultat **muzică a lui Ion.**
             have.1SG listened music   *al*.FSG GEN Ion
             'I listened to John's music.'
    c. ?*Am   citit **poezie a lui Ion**.
             have.1SG read poetry *al*.FSG GEN Ion
             'I read a poem of John's.'

All these examples become grammatical with a *de-al* genitive (see section 4 below).

2.5. The Semantic Composition of genitives in predicate positions

The analysis presented in §1.3 above, according to which post-copular genitives are full possessive DPs, is confronted with semantic problems: whereas possessive DPs headed by empty nouns (or pronouns) presuppose uniqueness when they occur in argumental positions, they do not do so in predicative positions. Thus, in (62)a-b it is presupposed that John is related to only one object, e.g., he has only one carpet, whereas (63)a-b say nothing about the number of carpets that John has:

(62)   a. I like John's/mine.
       b. J'aime celui de Jean /le mien.
(63)   a. This carpet is John's/ mine.
       b. Ce tapis est celui de Jean/le mien.

This difference in interpretation might be argued to be induced by the difference between argument and predicate positions: the predicate position induces lambda-abstraction over the external argument of the head N, which yields the set of objects that are related to the individual denoted by the genitive DP.

Note that the suspension of uniqueness in the predicate position of presentational copular sentences can be observed not only for possessive DPs headed by an (overt or covert) pronoun, but also for possessive DPs headed by lexical Ns:

(64)   This is John's brother.

3. Genitive Case alternating with Prepositional Marking

In Romanian, morphological Genitive Case is tightly related to the syntax: it can only be realized on determiners. This is not a general constraint on the morphology of genitives : in most languages, e.g., German, morphological genitive Case appears on adnominal N-projections regardless of their internal syntax (whether they are 'bare' N°-constituents, nouns governed by cardinal numerals or DPs) and of their distribution (whether they are N-complements, Spec,DPs or DP-adjuncts). A comparable under-specification of overt marking regarding the syntax of adnominal N-projections can be observed in French, where the functional preposition *de* is used both for 'genitive'-Case marking (*la fille de mon ami)* and on adnominal N-modifiers (*une tasse de thé*) and in English, where prenominal *'s*-genitives can attach to both DPs and NPs ([[DPa friend's] [daughter]] vs [a [[NPmen's] [room]]). Inside Romanian itself, this constraint cannot be related to the realization of morphological Cases in general, since Vocative Case can be realized on the noun itself, e.g., *băiete, vino încoace or lasă-mă fato/fată în pace* (see Chapter 13).

In what follows we will examine in turn adnominal NPs and adnominal projections headed by cardinals (and other determiners that cannot be inflected for Case), which are marked by two distinct prepositions, respectively *de* 'of' and *a* 'of'.

3.1. Genitive Case alternating with *de*-Marking

Romanian displays a remarkable alternation between DPs that are morphologically marked for Genitive case and PPs headed by the preposition *de:*

(65)   a. fiul   regelui   vs.   fiul   de   rege
              son-the   king-the.GEN   son-the *de* king
         b. construirea caselor   vs.   construirea de   case
              building-the houses-the.GEN   building-the *de*   houses
         c. fotografia grupului   vs.   fotografia   de   grup
              picture-the group- the.GEN   picture-the *de* group
         d. uşa   bisericii   vs.   uşa   de   biserică
              door-the church-the.GEN   door-the   *de* church

As shown by these examples; the two types of construction can appear with any type of noun : relational nouns (65)a deverbal nouns (65)b, picture nouns (65)c, object-denoting nouns (65)d. Correlatively, the two constructions express similar semantic values : alienable possession (66)a, inalienable possession (66)b, human relationship (66)c, goal (66)d, content (66)e, location (66)f, time (66)g etc.:

(66) a. curtea   împăratului   vs.   curtea   de împărat
     court-the emperor-the.GEN   court-the *de* emperor

   b. gulerul   cămăşii   vs.   gulerul   de cămaşă
     collar-the shirt-the.GEN   collar-the *de* shirt

   c. nepotul   unchiului   vs.   nepotul   de unchi
     nephew-the uncle-the.GEN   nephew-the *de* uncle

   d. camera   oaspeţilor   vs.   camera   de oaspeţi
     room-the guests-the.GEN   room-the *de* guests

   e. ostrovul florilor   vs.   ostrovul de flori
     isle-the flowers-the.GEN   isle-the *de* flowers

   f. aerul   muntelui   vs.   aerul   de munte
     air-the mountain-the.GEN   air-the *de* mountain

   g. căldura verii   vs.   căldura de vară
     heat-the summer-the.GEN   heat-the *de* summer

The DPGen vs *de*-NP alternation exists also for adnominal constituents that function as (internal or external) arguments in event-nominalizations:

(67) a. construirea caselor   /acestor case   vs.   construirea de case
     building-the houses-the.GEN /these.GEN houses   building-the *de* houses

   b. plânsul copiilor   vs.   plânsul de copii
     cry-the children-the.GEN   cry-the *de* children

The adnominal noun introduced by *de* 'of' can be modified by an adjective or by a PP, as shown below:

   c. fiul   de rege african   construirea de case   din lemn
     son-the *de* king African   building-the *de* houses of wood

Summarizing, the alternation between genitive-Case marking and *de*-marking can be described as follows:

(68) An adnominal nominal projection is marked
      (i)   with genitive Case if and only if it is a full DP constituent.
      (ii)   with DE iff it is a nominal projection that lacks determiners.

     Note that in all of the examples above we have used only definites in the position of the head noun. This is a presentational option, which allows us to give minimal pairs for a large number of examples. The use of other determiners on the head noun imposes certain restrictions (which are semantic in nature, see §2.4. above) on the determiner of the adnominal constituent, which makes it somewhat more difficult, but not impossible, to find minimal pairs:

(69) a. un/acest palat   al   împăratului   /al   unui   împărat /de împărat
        a/this   palace(M) *al*.MSG emperor-the.GEN/ *al*.MSG a.GEN   emperor/*de* emperor

      b. o/această fotografie a   peisajului   /de peisaj
        a/this   picture(F) *al*.FSG landscape-the.GEN /*de* landscape

Going back to the two correlations stated in (68)i-ii, it should be observed that they do not hold crosslinguistically, and are even rare from a typological point of view: most languages use either morphological Case or prepositional marking on all adnominal constituents,

regardless of whether they are full DPs or lower-level nominal projections. Note furthermore that in Romanian itself, the generalization in (68)i holds for datives (which are homophonous to genitives), but not for Vocative Case, which *can* be marked on the noun itself:

(70)   a. Am   dat   bomboane **unor**   **copii** /**copiilor**   /**la copii**
           have.1SG given candies   some.PL.DAT   children /children-the.DAT /to children
           'I have given candies to some kids/to the kids/to kids.'
    b. **Băiete**,   vino   repede la mine!
        boy.VOC come.IMP.2SG quickly to me
        'Boy, come quick.'

We may thus conclude that the requirement of projecting the Det-level of representation, which characterizes Romanian genitives (see (68)i) and datives, is not a general requirement for morphological-Case marking. A tentative explanation for this state of facts could be related to the homonymy with datives: crosslinguistically, Goals (in the large sense) cannot function as predicate-modifiers, and cannot be expressed by bare NPs. (note that examples such as *a da mărgăritare la porci* 'litt. to give jewels to pigs' do not constitute a counterexample to this generalization, because here the bare NP is in fact a definite DP with a generic interpretation, see Chapter 7 on the deletion of the definite article after prepositions). Because genitives are homonymous with datives, they are subject to the same constraint.

     As is apparent from the examples above, adnominal *de*-constituents function as NP-modifiers whenever the head N is object-denoting. In event-nominalizations, they function as arguments :

(71)   a. **Distrugerea**   **de material didactic** de către elevi este aspru   pedepsită.
        destruction-the *de* material didactic   by   pupils is   severely punished
    b. **Descoperirea** **de elemente chimice** **noi** de către savanți în ultimul secol…
        discovery-the *de* elements chemical new by   scientists in last-the century

Let us now try to understand the generalization stated under (68)ii, namely why full DPs cannot be marked with *de*:

(72)   *fiul   de regele   vs.   *fiul   de un rege
       son-the *de* king-the   son-the *de* a king
(73)   a. mâna   omului   (bolnav)   vs.   *mâna   de omul   bolnav
        hand-the man-the.GEN (sick)   hand-the *de* man-the sick
    b. mâna   unui om (bolnav)   vs.   *mâna   de un om bolnav
        hand-the a.GEN man (sick)   hand-the *de* a man sick
    c. mâna   fiecărui om (bolnav)   vs.   *mâna   de fiecare om bolnav
        hand-the every.GEN man (sick)   hand-the *de* every   man sick
    d. chipurile tuturor copiilor   (nevinovați) vs. *chipurile de toți copii   (nevinovați)
        faces-the all.GEN children.GEN (innocent)   faces-the *de* all children (innocent)
    e. casele   acestor /acelor familii (refugiate) vs. *casele   de aceste /acele
         familii (refugiate)
        houses-the these.GEN/those.GEN families (refugee)   houses-the *de* these /those
        families (refugee)
    f. manualele   câtorva   elevi   vs.   *manualele   de câțiva elevi
        textbooks-the few.GEN   pupils   textbooks-the *de* few   pupils
    g. manualele   niciunui elev   vs.   *manualul   de niciun elev
        textbooks-the no.GEN pupil   textbook-the *de* no   pupil
    h. atitudinea câte   unui consilier   vs.   *atitudinea de câte   un consilier
        attitude-the DISTR a.GEN counsellor   attitude-the *de* DISTR a counsellor

A plausible answer is to say that the functional preposition DE is a default /elsewhere marker, which is used on those adnominal constituents that cannot be marked with genitive Case.

Note that the preference for genitive Case can be observed even for the lexical preposition *de* meaning 'by'. Of course, adnominal DPs may in principle be preceded by lexical prepositions, and in particular by *de* meaning 'by', as shown in (74)a. Let us however recall that authorship or more generally the agentive interpretation can also be expressed by genitive Case marking, which seems to be preferred whenever possible. Hence, the alternation between *de*-marking on proper names that are part of our encyclopaedic knowledge and as such seem to function as modifiers of the head N, and genitive Case, which is needed for DPs headed by common nouns, as well as by proper names that refer to individuals that are not notorious (see (74)b-c). Note that notorious proper names can also be marked with genitive Case, in which case their modifying interpretation is less prominent:

(74) a. romanele   de Rebreanu/Slavici/…
          novels-the *de* Rebreanu/Slavici/…
      b. ??/*romanele   de Ion/Petre/Maria
            novels-the   *de* Ion/Petre/Maria
      c. *romanele   de prietenul meu/vecina   mea
          novels-the *de* friend-the my /neighbour my

(75) a. romanele   lui   Rebreanu/Slavici/…
          novels-the GEN Rebreanu/Slavici/…
      b. romanele   lui   Ion /lui Petre   /Mariei
          novels-the GEN Ion/ GEN Petre/Maria.GEN
      c. romanele   prietenului   meu   /vecinei   mele
          novels-the friend-the.GEN my   /neighbour-the.GEN my

Idiomatic compound nominals can be built with either genitives or *de*-phrases :

(76) a. floarea   soarelui
          flower-the sun-the.GEN
          'sunflower'
      b. regina   nopţii
          queen-the night-the.GEN
          'night flower'
      c. iarba   dracului
          grass-the devil-the.GEN
          'weeds'
      d. mâna-Maicii-Domnului
          hand-the -Mother.GEN- Lord-the.GEN
          'honeysuckle'
      e. coada-şoricelului
          tail-the - mouse-the.GEN
          'milfoil'

(77) a. floarea-de-colţ
          flower-the -*de*- corner
          'edelweiss'
      b. laptele-de-pasăre
          milk-the –*de*- bird
          'dessert'
      c. dintele   de lapte
          tooth-the *de* milk

'milk tooth'

As in the case of productive constructions, the choice between genitive Case and de-marking strictly correlates with the syntactic category of the adnominal constituent. However, precisely because these examples are lexical compounds, there is no alternation for the realization of the adnominal constituent, given a particular lexical choice for the head N. One may still wonder whether the choice of the genitive vs DE is random, as might be suggested by the idiosyncratic nature of compounds. A closer observation of the examples reveals certain interesting generalizations, which indicate that the lexical properties of the head N and the modifier (which are indeed randomly put together) determine the choice between a DP and an NP (lacking a determiner) in the modifier position, which in turn determines the choice between the genitive and *de*.

Note indeed that in examples such as (76)a-c, the modifying noun refers to a unique entity, which must be referred to by a DP, hence the use of the genitive. The choice of the genitive in (76)d-e seems less well motivated, since the generic meaning of common nouns such as *şoricel* 'mouse', *rândunică* 'swallow' or *noapte* 'night' can be expressed either by a bare NP or by a definite singular DP, which would allow either de or the genitive. The choice of the genitive can probably be explained as a means of distinguishing lexical compounds such as *coada-şoarecelui*, *fusta-rândunicii*, *regina-nopţii* from the corresponding modification configurations, e.g., *o/această coadă de şoarece* 'a/this tail of mouse', *o/această fustă de rândunică* 'a/this skirt of swallow'.

3.2. Genitive Case alternating with *a*-Marking

Cardinals, as well as some other determiners or determiner-like adjectives such as *diferit* 'different', cannot be inflected for morphological Case. Since they are full DPs, they cannot be marked by *de* 'of' either. On this type of DP, genitive Case is marked by the invariable preposition *a*. The examples below illustrate the use of *a* with cardinals (78a), the pre-Det universal quantifier *tot* 'all' in the singular (78b), the neuter relativizing pronoun *ceea ce* 'that which, what' (78c) and the determiner-like adjective *diferit* 'different' :

(78)   a. cărţile   **a trei elevi** (conştiincioşi)
           books-the *a* three pupils (diligent)
           'the books of three (diligent) pupils'
     b. adunarea   **a tot satul**
           gathering-the *a* all village-the
           'the gathering of all the village'
     c. urmarea   **a ceea ce** s-a   produs în urmă cu câţiva ani
           consequence-the *a* that what REFL-has happened before   with several years
           'the consequence of what happened a few years before'
     b. realizarea   **a diferite tipuri** de structuri
           achievement-the *a* different types of structures
           'the achievement of different types of structures'

(79)   a. familiile   **a doi elevi**
           families-the *a* two pupils
     b. adunarea   **a tot satul**
           gathering-the *a* entire village-the
     c. consecinţa   a **ceea ce** s-a   spus mai devreme
           consequence-the *a* that what REFL-has said earlier
           'the consequence of what has been said earlier'

Some determiners allow both genitive Case marking (see (80)) and *a*-marking (see (81)) :

(80)   a. familiile   **câtorva**   elevi
           families-the few.GEN   pupils
           b. adăugarea **unui** **pic** de zahăr
           adding-the a.GEN little of sugar

(81)   a. familiile   **a câțiva**   elevi
           families-the *a* few   pupils
           b. adăugarea **a un pic** de zahăr
           adding-the *a* a   little of sugar

However, in the general case, variable determiners cannot be marked by *a* in the standard language (note, however, that *a* gains ground in the substandard language) :

(82)   a. familia   **fiecărui**   elev
           family-the every.GEN pupil
           b. lectura   **niciunei**   cărți
           reading-the no.GEN   book

(83)   a. *familia   **a fiecare** elev
           family-the *a* every pupil
          b. *lectura   **a nicio** carte
          reading-the *a* no   book

4. *De-al* genitives   (Isabela Nedelcu)

4.1. The structure of *de-al* genitives
A special form of the genitive is found in examples of the type shown in (84)-(85), where the genitive DP is preceded by the preposition *de*:

(84)   o carte   **de-a**   **Mariei**
           a book(F)   *de-al*.FSG Maria.GEN
(85)   (nişte) cărți   **de-ale**   **Mariei**
           (some) books(F) *de-al*.FPL Maria.GEN

In these examples, just as in genitives without *de*, *al* agrees in gender and number with the head noun. This agreement pattern, which is used not only in colloquial speech, but also in the written language of educated speakers, was until recently (until DOOM, 2005) not accepted by normative grammars (see in particular the Academic Grammar of 1963), which consider (84) to be a non-standard variant of (86), with a plural *al*:

(86)   o carte   **de-ale**   **Mariei**
           a book(F)   *de-al*.FPL Maria.GEN

Examples of the type in (84) were judged "incorrect" by Romanian grammarians because the preposition *de 'of'* was analyzed as having a partitive meaning (equivalent to *dintre, din* 'of, among') and consequently the phrase *al*+DP(Gen) was analyzed as a plural-marked free-standing *al*- phrase, corresponding to the super-set of a partitive construction. In other words, examples of the type in (84) were analyzed as equivalent to the type shown in (87):

(87)   o carte   **din/dintre   ale   Mariei**
       a book(F)   from/among   *al*.FPL   Maria.GEN

The partitive analysis of examples such as (84)-(85) is however misguided, since the preposition *de* is no longer used in partitive constructions (see chapter 3, § 1.4.4) in modern Romanian. Thus, in the partitive configurations shown in (88), *dintre, din* cannot be replaced by *de*:

(88)   a. niciunul **dintre noi**
           none   from   us
       a'. *niciunul **de noi**
           none   *de* us
       b. una **dintre sâmbete**
          one among Saturdays
       b'. *una **de sâmbete**
           one *de* Saturdays
       c. care   **din   noi**
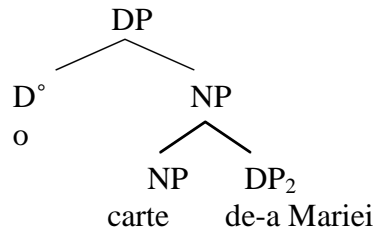   which from   us
       c'. *care   **de noi**
           which *de* us

The non-agreeing pattern shown in (86) is used only by those speakers who try to obey the academic norm (which they perceive as 'unnatural') and can be found in school books and newspapers (where it is imposed by the correctors). All native speakers, regardless of their level of education, use only (84) in a natural (uncontrolled) context.

❖   In old Romanian, *de* had a partitive meaning in constructions of the type [$_{DP1}$ D (N) *de* DP$_2$] in which DP$_2$ was not restricted to genitives / possessives: ***Nece unuia de voi** păru din capu nu-i va cădea.* (COD. VOR.[2]. 46^v/13) 'None of you will lose his hair'; ***Unu de noi** trebe să merem în târg.* (ALR II 3 222/349, in DLR) 'One of us has to go to the market'; ***una de sâmbete*** (in DA) 'one of Saturdays'; ***nimea de ceaia*** (arch.; in DLR) 'nobody of those'; ***carele de noi*** (arch.; in DLR) 'which of us'.
The structures with partitive *de* and genitive, in which DP$_2$ is plural, are older than those with singular DP$_2$. The plural is found in texts from the 16th c. and the first half of the 17th c. (*neceo dzisă **de-ale mele**,* („Legenda duminicii" – *Codex Sturdzanus*) 'none of my words'*; Şi încă un Vasco oarecarile **de-ai** noştri ... s-au închinat la leşi* (Grigore Ureche, apud C. Frâncu) 'and some other Vasco of ours have gave in to the Polish'.

In modern Romanian, the partitive meaning of *de* has survived only in some special, severely restricted constructions, which will be discussed in § 4.3 below.

To sum up, examples such as (84) and (85) are not partitive structures, and therefore we will not use the label "partitive genitive" to refer to the sequence *de + al*-phrase. Correlatively, the genitive DP is not necessarily plural (as imposed by academic norms).

In the partitive construction, the second DP denotes the whole from which a part is taken. In *de*-al genitives, on the other hand, *de* is not even a preposition, since it does not block agreement between *al* and the head noun. We may analyze *de-al* as a lexical compound, a variant of *al*, expressing "anti-uniqueness" (on this interpretative effect, see § 4.2 below):

(84´)

```
                        DP
                    ╱       ╲
                D°            NP
                o          ╱      ╲
                        NP          DP₂
                       carte     de-a Mariei
```

It is also possible to anayze *de-al* genitives as reduced relatives, in which case the example in (84) would be roughly paraphrasable by 'a book that is Mary's'. Note furthermore that *de-al* genitives are obligatorily used (instead of mere *al*-genitives) when they attach to indefinite pronouns such as *ceva* 'something', *cineva* 'somebody', *nimic* 'nothing', *nimeni* 'nobody' (for indefinite pronouns, see chapter 3 §1.3):

(89) a. Cred   că mai era acolo **ceva**   ***(de-)al**   **bunicii**   **mele.**
          think.1SG that still was there something (*de-*)*al*.MSG grandmother-the.GEN my.FSG
          'I think there was something else of my grandmother's'
      b. Pentru **fiecare *(de-)al**   **nostru** pe   care-l   ucideţi, vom   ucide zece
          for   every   (*de-*)*al*.MSG our.MSG DOM whom-CL.ACC kill.2PL will.1PL kill   ten
          de-ai   voştri
          de-al.MPL   your(PL).MPL
          'For each of our men that you kill, we will kill ten of yours'
      c. Într-o ţară   străină unde nu-i **nimeni *(de-)al**   **tău**
          in-a   country foreign where not-is nobody (*de-*)*al*.MSG your(SG).MSG
          'In a foreign country, where there noone of yours'
      d. **oricare *(de-)al**   **lor**
          anyone   (*de-*)*al*.MSG they.GEN

The ungrammaticality of the variants without *de* can be explained as being due to the fact that pronouns are dominated by the DP node, whereas genitives must attach at a lower level, presumably as complements to N or as adjuncts to NP. The grammaticality of *de-al* genitives is expected if we assume them to be reduced relative clauses, since relatives adjoin to DP.

4.2. The interpretation of *de-al* genitives

The semantic effect triggered by the presence of *de* preceding the genitive is not partitivity, but rather "anti-uniqueness": the structure indicates that the referent of the whole possessive phrase (the entity being possessed) is not the only one which stands in a certain relationship R to the entity denoted by the genitive. In particular, an example such as (85), which corresponds to *some books of Mary's* in English, presupposes that Maria has more books than the set of books denoted by *nişte cărţi ale Mariei* 'some books of Mary's'; the example in (84), corresponding to *a book of Mary's*, presupposes that Maria has more than one book.

Because they are incompatible with the idea of uniqueness, *de-al* genitives cannot be part of DPs with definite determiners (definite articles or demonstratives) or proper names:

(90) a. elevii   buni (*de)-ai   Mariei
          pupils(M)-the good (*de-*)*al*.MPL Mary.GEN
      b. acest elev   (*de)-al   meu
          this pupil(M) (*de-*)*al*.MSG my.MSG
      c. Ion (*de)-al   meu
          Ion (*de-*)*al*.MSG my.MSG

The head noun can be governed by indefinite determiners or it can be a bare noun:

(91) a. un elev   de-al   meu
         a   pupil(M) *de-al*.MSG my.MSG
      b. nişte elevi   de-ai   mei
         some   pupils(M) *de-al*.MPL my.MPL
      c. mulţi / câţiva/ unii elevi   de-ai   mei
         many / a few/ some pupils(M) *de-al*.MPL my.MPL
      d. două maşini noi de-ale   firmei
         two   cars(F) new *de-al*.FPL firm-the.GEN

(92) Ion este client   de-al   meu.
      Ion is   client(M) *de-al*.MSG my.MSG
      'Ion is a client of mine.'

(93) A   băut sânge **de-al   duşmanului**.
      has drunk blood *de-al*.MSG   enemy-the.GEN
      'He has drunk the enemy's blood.'

(94) a. Ei   sunt **prieteni de-ai   mei**.
         they   are   friends(M) *de-al*.MPL my.MPL
         'They are friends of mine.'
      b. La petrecere au   venit numai **prieteni de-ai   mei**.
         to party   have.3PL come only   friends   *de-al*.MPL my.MPL
         'Only friends of mine came to the party.'
      c. Am   citit **articole de-ale   lui**.
         have.1SG read articles *de-al*.FPL he.GEN
         'I have read papers of his.'

The head noun can also be empty (ellided):

(95) doi de-ai   profesorului
      two *de-al*.MPL teacher-the.GEN
      'two of the teacher's (ones)'
(96) unul   de-al   nostru
      one.MSG *de-al*.MSG our.MSG
      'one of ours'

De-al genitives are not usually used after abstract nouns (denoting qualities, events), probably due to the anti-uniqueness effect:

(97) a. o virtute   (?*de-) a   muntelui
         a virtue(F)   (*de-*)*al*.FSG mountain-the.GEN
      b. o calitate   (?*de-)a   prietenului   meu
         a quality(F) (*de-*)*al*.FSG   friend-the.GEN my
      c. o reuşită   (?*de-)a   exploratorilor
         a success(F) (*de-*)*al*.FSG   explorators-the.GEN

De-al genitives are preferentially used with possessive pronouns:

(98) o cunoştinţă   (??de)-a   mea
      an acquaintance(F)   (*de-*)*al*.FSG   my

On the contrary, inanimates are ungrammatical as *de-al* genitives:

(99) a. un etaj   (*de)-al   imobilului

a   floor(M)   (*de-*)*al*.MSG building-the.GEN
     b. o alee   (*de)-a   parcului
        an alley(F)   (*de-*)*al*.FSG   park-the.GEN
(100) a. un component   (*de)-al   aliajului
        a component(M) (*de-*)*al*.MSG alloy-the.GEN
     b. o proprietate (*de)-a   aurului
        a property(F) (*de-*)*al*.FSG gold-the.GEN
     c. o condiţie   (*de)-a   reuşitei
        a condition(F) (*de-*)*al*.FSG success-the.GEN
     d. o problemă   (*de)-a   acordului
        a problem(F) (*de-*)*al*.FSG agreement-the.GEN

4.3. Partitive *de-al*

4.3.1. *Unul* + *de* + plural *al-* phrase

In contemporary spoken Romanian, the only instance of plural *al* with a singular head noun is the construction *unul* 'one' + *de-al*. *Unul* is the form taken by the indefinite article *un* in the context of N ellipsis (-*ul* can be analyzed as a pro-N; see chapter 3 §1.3).

(101) a. unul   de-ai   noştri
           one-the *de-al*.MPL our.MPL
           'one of ours'
       b. unul   de-ai   mei
           one-the *de-al*.MPL my.MPL
           'one of mine'

In this construction, the interpretation of the empty head N is always '+human', and the genitive is lexically restricted. The meaning of the construction is 'someone belonging to the group of persons related to X – his supporters, relatives, friends, etc.'. The genitive always refers to a human individual, except in the idiom *de-ai casei* 'of the house', meaning 'people who are familiar in a certain house: members of the family + close family friends'. In most of the cases (as in (101) above), the genitive is pronominal (including possessive pronouns, see section 4.5). Proper names or common nouns referring to unique enitities are allowed, but common nouns are unacceptable:

(102) a. unul   de-ai   lui   Vadim
           one-the *de-al*.MPL   GEN   Vadim
       b. unul   de-ai   mamei
           one-the *de-al*.MPL mother-the.GEN
       c. *unul   de-ai   şcolii
            one-the *de-al*.MPL   school-the.GEN
       d. *unul   de-ai   oraşului
            one-the *de-al*.MPL city-the.GEN

The negative counterpart of this partitive construction is also attested, although less frequently:

(103) Nu seamănă   cu **nimeni de-ai**   noştri.
       Not ressembles with nobody *de-al*.MPL   our.MPL
       'He doesn't ressemble anyone of ours'

   ❖   In the contemporary language, there are some relics of the construction *de* + plural DP, in which *de* is
        no longer partitive : the construction *de*+plural demonstrative expresses quality, meaning 'like those';

the demonstrative can also agree in number, in which case it can be translated as 'of that kind' (see (i)c).

(i)   a. o elevă   **de acelea**
       a pupil(F) *de* those.F
       'a pupil like those/ that kind of pupil'
    b. unul   **de-ăia**
      one.M-the *de* -those.MPL
      'one of those'
    c. unul   **d-ăla**
      one.M-the *de* -that.MSG
      'one of that kind'

Another lexicalized construction in which *de* introduces a plural DP is the construction *de*+the feminine universal *toate*. This construction is only used as a free standing DP, presumably with an elliptical head N and a null determiner (see chapter 3 § 1.3.4 on nominal ellipsis in bare nouns), and means 'things of all sorts, every sort of things'.

(ii)   Am   adus   **de toate**.
       have.1SG brought *de* all.FPL
       'I have brought all sorts of things.'

4.3.2. Elliptical constructions with a plural *al* phrase

Consider next examples such as (104), which involve the ellipsis of the head N:

(104)   a. Au   venit numai **de-ai**   **mei.**
        have.3PL come only   *de-al*.MPL   my.MPL
        'Only friends/colleagues/relatives of mine have come.'
     b. La nuntă   au   venit **de-ai**   **casei.**
        to wedding have.3PL come   *de-al*.MPL   house-the.GEN
        'Close friends and family members came to the the wedding.'

Examples of this type show restrictions that are similar to those observed in the partitive construction examined in § 4.3.1 above: possessive pronouns and the idiomatic *de-ai casei* 'of the house' are acceptable, but random common nouns are disallowed:

(105)   ?? S-au   întâlnit **de-ai**   **şcolii**   **/de-ai**   **vecinului.**
        REFL-have.3PL met   *de-al*.MPL   school-the.GEN /*de-al*.MPL   neighbour-the.GEN
        'People close to the school/to the neighbour have met.'

Common nouns used generically can nevertheless be found, which suggests that the construction under discussion here is not a sub-type of the partitive construction discussed in § 4.3.1:

(106)   a. Au   povestit **de-ale**   **tinereții**   **/vieții**
        have.3PL discussed *de-al*.FPL   youth-the.GEN /life-the.GEN
        'They talked about things related to youth/life.'
     b. Au   cumpărat **de-ale**   **gurii**
        have.3PL bought   *de-al*.FPL mouth-the.GEN
        'They bought food (litt.things for the mouth')

These examples have the distribution of bare nouns (see chapter 2): in particular they can appear in object positions and in postverbal subject positions, but not in the preverbal subject

position. Thus, (108) is possible only with a special intonation on the subject, which shows that it is dislocated – either a contrastive focus intonation or a contrastive topic intonation :

(107) Au   venit **de-ai   noştri.**
      have.3PL come *de-al*.MPL our.MPL
(108) # **De-ai   noştri**   au   venit.
       de-al.MPL our.MPL   have.3PL come

These elliptical *de-al* genitives may also appear in predicative positions. In this case, they may agree in number with the subject, so we may also find them in the singular:

(109) a. El e **de-al   nostru.**
         he is *de-al*.MSG our.MSG
         'He is one of ours.'
      b. El e **de-al   lui   Vadim.**
         he is *de-al*.MSG GEN Vadim
         'He is one of Vadim's.'

Examples of this type clearly indicate that *de-al* genitives built with an empty N head and an empty determiner are not to be analyzed as partitive constructions of the type shown in 4.3.1 above. They can instead be analyzed as *de-al* genitives agreeing with an empty noun interpreted as ±Human (e.g., *om, oameni* 'man/men, individual(s)' or *lucruri* 'things'), the choice between these possibilities being contextually determined.

      The fact that in argument positions, *de-al* genitives built with an empty N can only be used in the plural is not due to partitivity, but rather to a general constraint on bare nouns (see chapter 2): singular count nouns cannot be used bare in argument positions (only count plurals can do so). Since predicate positions are not subject to this constraint (e.g., *Ion e băiat bun* 'John is boy good'), singular *de-al* genitives can appear in predicate positions, as shown in (109).

      Note however that we can also find examples such as (110), where the genitive is in the plural, despite the fact that the subject is in the singular:

(110) a. El e **de-ai   noştri.**
         he is *de-al*.MPL   our.MPL
         'He is one of ours.'
      b. El e **de-ai   lui   Vadim.**
         he is *de-al*.MPL GEN Vadim
         'He is one of Vadim's.'

These genitives may be viewed as partitives (comparable to those shown in § 4.3.1 above) in which *unul* 'one' has been ellided.

    ❖ We may also find contextual ellipsis with bare nouns followed by *de-al*, with an anaphoric interpretation of the empty N:
      (i) N-au   venit studenţi de-ai   tăi.
        not-have.3PL come students *de-al*.MPL   your(SG).MPL
        Au   venit numai **de-ai   mei.**
        have.3PL come only   *de-al*.MPL my.MPL
        'Students of yours didn't come, only (students) of mine did.'