SINGLE-DP AND DOUBLE-DP QUALITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN ROMANIAN[1]

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Abstract. The paper analyzes qualitative binominals in Romanian with the aim of operating a distinction between Single-DP qualitatives and Double-DP qualitatives. The investigation of the syntactic and semantic distinctions between the two will lead to an analysis of Double-DP qualitatives in terms of periphery quantificational constructions checking P features in an outer D and conforming to the contrastive Topic – Focus information packaging. In the framework we adopt (apud Svenonius 2004, Laenzlinger 2005, Cornilescu 2010), DPs are phases. Phases are modal and quantificational and are characterized by having peripheries which check P-features. Double-DP qualitatives will be shown to feature exclusively prenominal adjectives and definiteness agreement, in sharp contrast with Single-DP qualitatives. The semantic type of N2 also differs from that of Single-DP qualitatives N2, i.e. N2 with Double-DP qualitatives always denotes an individual.

Keywords: Double-DP qualitatives, prenominal adjectives, definiteness agreement.

1. THE DATA

This paper is concerned with the study of the type of constructions found in (1) and (2)[3]. The constructions in (2) have not been given separate attention in the literature, although they constitute a distinct category of qualitative constructions. The paper will attempt to account for the different characteristics of this separate category of qualitative constructions, which we will dub 'Double-DP Qualitatives',

[1] This work was supported by the strategic grant POSDRU/89/1.5/S/62259, Project "Applied social, human and political sciences. Postdoctoral training and postdoctoral fellowships in social, human and political sciences" cofinanced by the European Social Fund within the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007-2013.

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[3] The constructions in (1) have been the focus of much research in the recent literature and have been referred to as 'qualitative' (Milner 1978, Hulk and Tellier 2000), predicate inversion structures (Corver 1998, Den Dikken 1998, 2006), binominal NPs (Aarts 1998), pivotal N1of N2 constructions (Zamparelli 1996), N/A de N constructions (Espanol-Echevarria 1998).

RRL, **LVI**, *2*, p. 115–135, Bucureşti, 2011

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in parallel with an analysis of the constructions in (1), which we will refer to as 'Single-DP Qualitatives'[4].

(1) a. o mămăligă de om
a polenta of man
'a languid man'
b. un cal de femeie
a horse of woman
'a horsy woman'
c. o zgâtie de fata
a slip of girl
'a slip of a girl'

(2) a. Am vorbit cu prostul ăla de frate-tău
(I) have talked with stupid-the that of brother-your
'I have talked to that stupid of brother of yours'
b. bietul de tine
poor-the of you
'poor you'
c. sărmanul de copilul ăla de la țară
pitiable-the of child-the that from at countryside
'that poor child from the coutryside'.

In what follows, we will proceed with an analysis of three major features of qualitative constructions, which emerge from a comparison between the former and a class of constructions with which qualitatives have been assimilated, i.e. pseudopartitive constructions. The three features are: predicative structure, 'emotiveness', and <e> denotation for Double-DP qualitatives vs. <e, t> denotation for Single-DP qualitatives, respectively.

1.1. Qualitatives and pseudopartitives

In the recent literature, qualitative constructions have been analyzed on a par with pseudopartitive constructions. Starting with Selkirk 1977, partitive constructions have been classified as:

(i) partitives: a group of the students / a bottle of the wine
(ii) pseudo-partitives: a group of students / a bottle of wine

[4] The single-DP qualitative construction exists in many other languages such as Dutch, Spanish and French, among others:

(1) a. cet imbecile de garcon (French, Hulk and Tellier 2000)
'this imbecile of boy'
b. deze idioot van een kerel (Dutch, Vişan 2003)
'this idiot of a guy'
c. el gallina de Juan (Spanish, Castillas Martinez 2001)
'the chicken of Juan'
d. that barge of a woman (English, Den Dikken 2006)

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Prompted by the similar syntactic structure, researchers have added qualitatives to the list of 'pseudopartitive' constructions. It seems obvious that the feature prompting researchers to group pseudopartitives together with qualitative constructions is the presence of the functional preposition *de/of/van*, which has recently come to be interpreted as a syntactic reflex of predicate raising (Bennis et al. 1998, Corver 1998, 2000, Den Dikken 2006). The functional preposition links two nominal domains N and N. In the case of qualitative constructions, it has been said to act as a 'nominal copula', i.e. the nominal counterpart of the copula 'be' in the clausal domain.

However, the two types of constructions differ with respect to at least two important dimensions.

1.1.1. Qualitative constructions have been claimed to be underlain by a predicative structure. This predicative origin of qualitatives has been linked in the literature to occurrence in a copular construction. Indeed, most qualitatives in Romanian can be paraphrased in copular form (see (3)), although there seem to be many problems with this analysis, mainly coming from determination and the mechanism licensing the raising of the predicate:

(3) a. idiotul de doctor = doctorul e un idiot
idiot-the of doctor = doctor-the is an idiot
'the idiot of a doctor' = 'the doctor is an idiot'
b. un papagal de ministru = ministrul e un papagal
a parrot of minister = minister-the is a parrot
'a parrot of a minister' = 'the minister is a parrot'.

While it makes sense to claim that the underlying structure of 'that idiot of a doctor' is 'the doctor is an idiot', which clearly points to a relation of predication, the same does not hold of structures like 'o sticlă de vin/a bottle of wine' or 'douăzeci de studenți/twenty students'.

(4) a. un boboc de fata = fata e un boboc
a bud of girl = the girl is a bud
b. un pahar de lapte = ??? laptele e un pahar
a glass of milk = ??? the milk is a glass

In the example a. of (4) N1 is predicated of N2. More specifically, the construction is used to express evaluative metaphoric comparison; N2is compared to the entity denoted by N1, which appears from the fact that the construction is sometimes paraphrased as 'the girl is like a bud'. In sharp contrast, the paraphrase for the b example clearly shows that pseudopartitives proper are not based on a relation of predication.

1.1.2. Secondly, while qualitative constructions always entail an emotive element, i.e. they express positive or negative evaluation with respect to the speaker's attitude, quantitative pseudopartitives are not attitudinal. They are actually classifier-noun sequences, where the classifier, i.e. N1, performs the job of

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individuating the stuff denoted by the mass term and making it syntactically visible (for details see Tănase-Dogaru 2007, 2009). The paper will actually collapse the analyses for qualitatives and pseudopartitives but the framework is not that of analyzing these constructions along the lines of underlying predicative structure but of quantification and P-features.

Matushansky (2002), Bartra and Villalba (2006 a, b), Espanol-Echevarria (1997, 1998), Villalba and Bartra-Kaufmann (2010) have discussed the 'affective' characteristics of the qualitative construction. If we compare the structures in (5a) and (5b), while the subject-predicate canonical order in (5b) encodes old information+new information, in the qualitative construction in (5a), it is precisely the other way round. Matushansky 2002, Bartra-Kaufmann and Villalba 2010 take this inverted structure to be the chief source of the affective/emotional reading associated to the construction.

(5) a. Ticălosul de dentist / scoundrel-the of dentist / 'that scoundrel of a dentist'
new information-old information
b. Dentistul e un ticălos / dentist-the is a scoundrel / 'the dentist is a scoundrel' old information-new information

Den Dikken and Singhapreecha (2004) claim that in qualitative constructions, the so-called subject receives a focus interpretation, while the inverted predicate is interpreted as topic. Thus, the information structure in qualitatives conforms to the standard pattern found in predicate raising structures. They extend the information packaging in (6b) to binominal structures like those in (7).

(6) a. John_{OLD} is my best $\text{friend}_{\text{NEW}}$
b. My best $\text{friend}_{\text{OLD}}$ is John_{NEW}
(7) a. un drole de type
b. une pizza de chaude

Bartra and Villalba (2006), Villalba and Bartra-Kaufmann (2010) argue against this claim by suggesting that in Spanish the inverted predicate is interpreted as focus with respect to the topic DP (8), which they take to provide an explanation for the ban against typically focused DPs and strong pronouns in qualitatives (9 a, b).

(8) el $\text{idiota}_{\text{FOCUS}}$ de su $\text{hijo}_{\text{BACKGROUND}}$
the idiot of his son
(9) a. *Hable con el idiota de el
talked-1sg with the idiot of him
b. *No ablaste con el idiota de que alcalde?
not talked-2sg with the idiot of what mayor

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However, in Romanian, Double-DP qualitatives do allow strong pronouns and wh-in situ elements (10).

(10) a. Proasta de mine nu şi-a dat / mi-am dat seama că…
fool-the-fem of me not refl.3sg.have realized / refl.1sg.have realized that…
'I'm such a fool that I haven't realized that…'
b. Prostul de el nu şi-a dat seama că…
fool-the-masc of him not refl.3sg.have realized that…
'He's such a fool that he hasn't realized that…'
c. N-ai vorbit cu idiotul ala de CARE primar?
not have.2sg talked with idiot-the of WHICH mayor?
'You haven't talked to the idiot of WHICH mayor?'

These facts may suggest that N1 is not a focus, but a contrastive topic, which, unlike contrastive foci, which are not checked in situ, is realized by means of quantificational elements appearing at the left periphery.
Further support for this analysis comes from examples such as (11), where the postnominal demonstrative is a focalization marker (see Manoliu-Manea 1994), the first DP in the structure being a topic.

(11) idiotul.$_{topic}$ de profesorul ăsta.$_{focus}$
idiot-the of professor-the this
'that idiot of a professor'

N1 is, therefore, analyzed as contrastive topic (cf. Ihsane and Puskas 2001, contra Villalba and Bartra-Kaufmann 2010). However, we will also depart from the framework in Den Dikken and Singhapreecha (2004) by claiming that the orders N1 of N2 and DP1 of DPs are base-generated, the two nominals being linked in the structure by an Evaluation Phrase.

1.2. Qualitatives and 'pseudoqualitatives'

Besides the two features of qualitatives that emerge from the comparison with pseudopartitive constructions, i.e. predication and 'emotiveness', a closer look at (pseudo)partitives in relation to qualitatives reveals another important aspect.

It seems that the distinction between partitives and pseudopartitives (11 a, b) is mirrored in the distinction between Double-DP Qualitatives and Single-DP Qualitatives (12 a, b), which can thus be referred to, for the sake of preserving the parallelism, as qualitatives and pseudoqualitatives.

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(11) a. o sticlă din vinul acesta roşu
a bottle from wine-the this
'a bottle of this red wine'
b. o sticlă de vin(*ul) roşu
a bottle of wine(*the) red
'a bottle of red wine'

(12) a. deşteptul ăsta de ministrul Educației
smart-the this of minister-the education-the-Gen
'this smartass of minister of education'
b. deşteptul de ministru(*l)
smart-the of minister(*the)
'the smartass of a minister'

As made evident by the examples above, N2 in partitives and Double-DP qualitatives (11a, 12a) denotes an individual, i.e. <e>-type denotation, while N2 in pseudopartitives and Single-DP qualitatives ('pseudoqualitatives') (11b, 12b) denotes a predicate, i. e <e, t>-type denotation.

Ever since Jackendoff (1977), partitives have been seen as restrained by the 'partitive constraint', which has long been seen as definiteness effect in that the determiner of N2 must be definite.

(13) a. a few of those bottles of wine brought by John
b. *a few of some bottles of wine brought by John

There are, however, examples where a partitive N2 is preceded by a determiner which is not definite:

(14) a. Any of several options are open to us at this point[5].
b. This is one of a number of counterexamples.

Therefore, Ladusaw (1982) reformulates the partitive constraint as in (15):

(15) The second nominal in the partitive structure denotes an individual.

As all examples indicate, the same constraint regulates the behavior of Double-DP Qualitatives, whose N2 always denotes an *individual*. On the other hand, N2 in Single-DP Qualitatives and pseudopartitives always denotes a *property/predicate*.

This explains the ban on nonspecific DPs (16a), indefinite generics DPs (16b) and downward entailing quantifiers (16c).

[5] Examples from Barbara Abbott, quoted in Cornilescu (2010).

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(16) a. *N-am vorbit cu idiotul de orice profesor
Not-have talked-1sg with idiot-the of any professor
b. *E important sa vorbesti cu un idiot de un profesor
is important to talk-2sg with an idiot of a professor
c. *N-am vorbit cu idiotii de putini profesori
Not-have talked with idiots-the of few professors

In what follows, we will investigate major syntactic differences between Double-DP qualitatives and Single-DP qualitatives. Double-DP qualitatives will be shown to feature exclusively prenominal adjectives in the structure, to be presuppositional and to display definiteness agreement.

2. TYPES OF BINOMINAL QUALITATIVES: DOUBLE-DPs AND SINGLE-DPs

As already mentioned, the paper operates a distinction, within the class of binominal qualitative constructions in Romanian, between 'single-DP' qualitatives (17a) and 'double-DP' qualitatives (17b).

(17) a. Am vorbit cu [un [prost de doctor]$_{NP}$]$_{DP}$
(I) have talked with a stupid of doctor
'I have talked to a stupid of a doctor
b. Am vorbit cu [prostul ăla]$_{DP}$ de [frate-tău]$_{DP}$
(I) have talked with stupid-the that of brother-your
'I have talked to that stupid of brother of yours'

The 'double-DP' qualitative qualifies as a separate category of binominal constructions because it displays syntactic behavior and semantic interpretation that are different from those of the 'single-DP' qualitative. The following sections will investigate such differences.

2.1. Double-DP qualitatives and prenominal adjectives

One difference between the two types of qualitatives is the presence of exclusively prenominal adjectives, which feature in the 'double-DP' qualitatives but are impossible in 'single-DP' qualitatives (18-19):

(18) a. bietul de tine
poor-the of you
'poor you'

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b. *un biet de doctor
poor-the of doctor
'the poor doctor'

(19) a. sărmanul de copilul ăla de la țară
pitiable-the of child-the that from at countryside
'that poor child from the coutryside'

b. *un sărman de copil
pitiable-the of child
'poor child'.

The fact that these adjectives are exclusively prenominal and cannot be predicative may be taken to imply the presence of an empty head noun[6]; the same fact suggests that the preposition is case-related (apud Cornilescu 2010).

The presence of exclusively prenominal adjectives speaks strongly against an analysis of Double-DP Qualitatives in terms of Predicate Inversion. If the adjective is banned in postcopular position (20), it can hardly be argued to raise from that position and undergo inversion with the predicate (21).

(20) a. *copilul e biet
child-the is poor
'the child is poor'

b. *doctorul e sărman[7]
child-the is poor
'the child is poor'

(21) a. bietul de copilul vecinei mele
poor-the of child-the neighbor-fem-Gen mine
'that poor child of my neighbour'

b. sărmanul de doctorul ăla ieşit la pensie
poor-the of doctor-the that come.part at pension
'that poor of a retired doctor'

The paper assumes that adjectives merge in different positions in the DP, according to their denotations (cf. Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011a, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b, Svenonius 2008). Exclusively prenominal adjective are DP-periphery adjectives and, therefore, cannot appear in adjectival article constructions

[6] The empty head noun mentioned in the paragraphs above can be conceived of as a silent noun TYPE or TOKEN (see van Riemsdijk 2005, Leu 2008, Tanase-Dogaru 2009), which is modified by the adjective, as in (23):

a. bietul TOKEN de tine / poor-the TOKEN of you

b. sărmanul TOKEN de copilul ăla de la țară / pitiable-the of child-the that from at countryside

[7] Sentence 20b is ok on the intersective reading of the adjective, where 'sărman' actually means 'destitute'.

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(22a). The fact that such adjectives feature in Double-DP Qualitatives (22b) indicates the presence of an outer D, which contains the adjective modifying an empty noun (22c).

(22) a. *copilul cel biet
child-the cel.$_{\text{-def.sg}}$ poor
'the poor child'

b. bietul de Ion
poor-the of Ion
'poor Ion'

c. [DP_{outer} D' D^0 [$_{NP}$ AP bietul N' N [e] [$_{AgrP}$ Agr' Agr^0 de [DP_{inner} D' D^0 [$_{NP}$ N' N Ion]]]]]

To briefly conclude the section, the presence of exclusively prenominal adjectives in what we called 'Double-DP qualitatives' is a clear indication of two determiner projections, the first nesting N1 and the second – N2. As will become evident in the section devoted to the quantificational nature of qualitatives, the outer D in this split-D structure is a contrastive topic satisfying periphery (quantificational) features.

2.2. Double-DP qualitatives and presuppositionality

Other differences in syntax and interpretation between 'single-DP' and 'double-DP' qualitatives relate to the presence vs. absence of scope ambiguities. The 'single-DP' qualitative is part of the main assertion and it falls in the scope of main verb negation (23a), while the 'double-DP' qualitative is an independent comment of the speaker (23b).

(23) a. N-am vorbit cu un prost de doctor.
Not-have talked with a stupid of doctor
'I haven't talked to any stupid of a doctor.'

b. N-am văzut-o pe frumusețea de soră-ta la petrecere
Not-have seen-her pe beauty-the of sister-your at party
'I haven't seen your beauty of a sister at the party'

(24) a. N-am vorbit cu vreun / niciun prost de doctor.
Not-have talked with any / no stupid of doctor
'I haven't talked to any stupid of a doctor.'

b. *N-am văzut-o pe vreo / nicio frumusețe de soră-ta la petrecere
Not-have seen-her pe any beauty-the of sister-your at party
'I haven't seen your beauty of a sister at the party'.

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When comparing (23a) and (24a) one can easily notice that they have the same interpretation, i.e. within the scope of negation. On the other hand, (23b) is presuppositional in that the double-DP qualitative presupposes the existence of the referent, which in turn explains why (24b) is ungrammatical.

2.3. Double-DP qualitatives and definiteness agreement

With 'double-DP' qualitatives, there is agreement in definiteness. If the lower term is a definite DP, the higher one must also be definite (25 a, b). With single-DP qualitatives there is no agreement in definiteness, i.e. if the lower term is not definite, the higher is either definite or indefinite, function of its position in the discourse (26 a, b).

(25) a. prostul de doctorul ăla
stupid-the of doctor-the that
'the stupid of that doctor'
b. *un prost de doctorul ăla
a stupid of doctor-the that
'that stupid of a doctor'

(26) a. un prost de doctor
a stupid of doctor / 'a stupid of a doctor'
b. prostul de doctor (*anaphoric*)
stupid-the of doctor
'that stupid of a doctor'

Part of the literature on Romance qualitatives makes the strong claim that no overt determiner (Vişan 2003) is allowed on N2 in Romance languages. A notable exception is Spanish, which displays the following types of qualitatives (27), classified according to the determiners occurring with each of the nominals (Espanol-Echevarria 1996):

(27) a. DEF-DEF: el imbecil del doctor / the imbecile of-the doctor
b. INDEF-INDEF: un imbecil de doctor / an imbecile of doctor
c. DEM-PN: ese imbecile de Juan / that imbecile of Juan
d. DEM-INDEF: ese imbecil de doctor / that imbecile of doctor

A close investigation of Romanian data allows us to claim that the same patterns are found in this Romance language and that, therefore, the claim that no determiner is allowed on N2 is too strong (contra Vişan 2006).

(28) a. DEF-DEF: imbecilul de doctorul Ionescu / imbecile-the of doctor-the Ionescu

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b. INDEF-INDEF: un imbecile de doctor / an imbecile of doctor
c. DEM-PN: acest imbecil de Ion / this imbecile of Ion
d. DEM – INDEF: acest imbecil de doctor / this imbecile of doctor

It seems that only when N1 is indefinite can one ascertain that the type of qualitative construction is truly a Single-DP qualitative. When N1 bears a definite determiner, the unmodified N2 seems to be indefinite because the preposition *de* incorporates the definite article (29a). The article surfaces when N2 is modified (29b):

(29) a. *idiotul de prietenul
idiot-the of friend-the
b. idiotul de prietenul meu care stă în Ferentari
idiot-the of friend-the mine who stays in Ferentari
'that idiot of a friend of mine who lives in Ferentari'.

In conclusion, Double-DP qualitatives are characterized by definiteness agreement. This will make this type of qualitative construction amenable to an analysis in terms of 'double definite constructions' (cf. Cornilescu 2006, 2010, Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b).

3. PROPERTIES OF QUALITATIVES

3.1. 'High degree' quantification

Both Single-DP and Double-DP qualitatives resemble exclamative sentences in that they involve a quantificational interpretation. They convey the meaning that the property of the gradable adjective is predicated to an extreme degree in the scale it denotes (cf. Villalba and Bartra-Kaufmann 2010).

(30) a. Prostul ăla de ministru → ministrul e de o prostie crasa
fool-the that of minister
'that fool of a minister' → the minister is an utter fool
b. Bietul de pensionarul ăla singur şi sărac → pensionarul singur şi sărac e vrednic de milă
poor-the of pensioner-the that alone and destitute → the lonely and destitute pensioner is pitiable.

The high degree interpretation is incompatible with other quantificational structures involving high degree (see Villalba 2004), like absolute superlatives:

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(31) *N-am vorbit cu cel mai prost de primar
not-have talked-1sg with the more stupid of mayor
'I haven't talked to the most stupid of a mayor'.

The quantificational force of qualitatives prompts Villalba and Bartra-Kaufmann (2010) to analyze these constructions in terms of A'-movement of the 'predicate' DP to a DP-internal Focus Phrase, thus departing from the classical analysis of binominals as originally conceived of by Bennis et al. (1998). However, as shown by the following sections, arguments in favor of Predicate Inversion prove faulty, which prompts us to search for better and more economical ways of analyzing binominals syntactically.

3.1.1. *Attributive and comparative qualitatives*

Starting from the observation that agreement can be triggered by the element preceding de or by the element following de, i.e. by either N 1 or N 2, researchers have correlated this difference in agreement with differences in the interpretive nature of the qualitative element (cf. Doetjes and Rooryck 2003). Two further patterns can thus be distinguished within the construction:

(i) a 'comparative' construction, where N1 retains at least part of its lexical meaning and triggers agreement with the verb or the adjective (32).

(ii) a 'pure degree' construction where N1 has completely lost its original lexical meaning, having become semantically transparent, and contributes to a positive/negative evaluation of N2, expressing a high or low degree of quality. In the pure degree construction, it is N2 that triggers agreement (33).

(32) Ton phenomène de fille est distrait*(e)
Your phenomenon.masc of daughter.fem is absent-minded. fem/*masc

(33) Ce bijou d'église romane a été reconstruit(*e)
That jewel.masc of roman church.fem was rebuilt. masc/*fem

In (32) 'ton phenomène' has completely lost its original meaning and it expresses a high degree of quality. In (33), 'bijou' still retains part of its lexical meaning and its relation to the qualified element is paraphrasable in terms of comparison: the quality of the church is such that it resembles a jewel.

The same pattern can be noticed in Romanian, where we distinguish between comparative constructions (34) and 'pure degree'constructions (35):

(34) a. O prăjină de om se aşezase pe scaun.
a pole of man sat-3sg on chair
'A very tall man had sat in the chair.'

a'. un om înalt ca o prăjină
a man tall as a pole
'a very tall man' (Vişan 2003)

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(35) a. boala de armăsar
disease-the of stallion
'that mean old horse'
b. o loază de elev
a vine of pupil
'that good- for-nothing of a pupil'.

In the 'literal' or 'attributive' type, used mainly with animate referents (cf. Vişan 2003), N1 can be occupied by:
(i) nouns expressing insults - such as 'mitocan' ('boor'), mocofan ('oaf') etc.

(36) Un mitocan de doctor / a boor of doctor / 'a boor of a doctor'

(ii) expressions for insults or endearments that have both an adjectival and a nominal status, more frequent in their nominal use:

(37) dobitocul/idiotul/nemernicul/ticalosul/dragutul de Ion
imbecile-the, idiot-the, scoundrel-the, bastard-the, dear-the of Ion

(iii) nominalized adjectives

(38) mizerabila de servitoare, o dobitoacă
despicable-the of servant, an imbecile!
'The servant, that horrid and stupid woman'.

However, Romanian does not exhibit the same kind of variations in agreement as French. As shown in section 3.3, Romanian N1 in qualitatives is generally 'bleached' semantically, so that N2 is the semantic head. In Romanian qualitatives, agreement patterns seem to be more uniform in that N2 – the head – is preferred for agreement relations.

3.2. Scalarity

It is a well-known observation that nouns functioning as N 1 in qualitative constructions form a rather restricted class. Milner (1978) suggests that the class of nouns that can appear as N1 is closed, i.e. only the so-called 'noms de qualite' can function as N1 in these constructions. Ruwet (1982) and Hulk and Tellier (2000) claim that any noun that can function as an evaluation can appear in the position of N 1. We will go along the lines of Matushansky (2002), who argues that the nouns appearing in the N1 position must be scalar. As Vişan (2003) points out, one test to judge scalarity of nouns is the following: any noun which can appear in an environment sensitive to degree, such as modification by 'aşa / asemenea (so) in Romanian.

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(39) a. N-am mai văzut un asemenea cretin / nătărău / mocofan / ticălos.
not have more seen a such imbecile / dork / oaf/ bastard
'I've never seen such an idiot / imbecile/ dork / oaf / bastard'
b. o asemenea arătare/ pocitanie / frumusețe
such sight/ugliness/beauty
'such an ugly/beautiful thing'

As Matushansky (2002) points out, the group of nouns that behave as scalar to this test is exactly the class of nouns that are natural as N1 or as epithets. The shift undergone with nouns when used as N1 is the same as the shift in meaning undergone by a non-scalar predicate which appears in a scalarity-sensitive context, such as that of a degree operator:

(40) a. My cook is more French than Napoleon.
b. E mai domn decât tine
is more gentleman than you
'He's more of a gentleman than you'
c. un giuvaier de băiat
a jewel of boy
'a treasure of a boy'.

In (40a) the predicate 'French' undergoes a shift in meaning and comes to mean 'having the properties typically associated with being French'. In (41b), the predicate 'domn' undergoes a shift in meaning: 'domn' here means having properties typically associated with being gentlemanly. In a similar way, 'un giuvaier de băiat' will denote someone who has properties typically associated with a jewel i.e. something of value.

Therefore, nouns that can function as N 1 in N de N constructions fall into two categories:

(a) nouns that are scalar in nature and thus can express degree and function as epithets, which in turn fall into two sub-classes:

− nouns expressing negative evaluation: idiot / idiot, netrebnic / wreck, zapacit / irresponsible, prost / stupid

− nouns expressing positive evaluation: draguț / nice, simpatic / nice, scump / dear

(b) nouns that can be coerced into having a scalar interpretation: țăran / peasant, copil / child, dansator / dancer, clovn / clown, savant / savant, cârpaci / mender, etc.

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3.3. Agreement and selection

Selection generally operates between the verb governing the DP and N2:

(41) a. Am văzut o dulceață de om
(I) have seen a sweetness of man
'I have seen a very sweet man'
b. *Am mâncat o dulceață de om
(I) have eaten a sweetness of man
'I have eaten a sweetness of man'.

When the qualitative construction appears in subject position, it is generally N2 that can satisfy the selectional restrictions of the verb:

(42) Unchiul meu este un munte de om
uncle-the my is a mountain of man
'My uncle is a mountain of a man'.

Number agreement between the N1 and N2 is obligatory with qualitatives (43), which has sometimes been taken as evidence in favor of an underlying copular structure:

(43) a. o comoară de pisică = pisica e o comoară
treasure of a cat = the cat is a treasure
b. nişte comori de pisici = pisicile sunt nişte comori
some treasures of cats = the cats are treasures
c. *nişte comori de pisică = *pisica sunt/e comori
*some treasures of cat = *the cat are/is treasures.

However, the nouns that appear in a qualitative construction are not necessarily of the same gender. Thus, as example 44 shows, the two nominal expressions can have conflictual gender features: the N1 position can be filled by a masculine noun, while the N2 position will be filled by a feminine noun.

(44) Pacostea de om
nuisance-the.fem of man.masc
'that nuisance of a man'

Several combinations can arise among neuter, feminine and masculine nouns inside a qualitative construction.

As in other Romance languages, in Romanian, D1 generally agrees with N1:

(45) a. acest înger de fată
this.masc angel.masc of girl.fem
b. această pacoste de om
that.fem nuisance.fem of man.masc.

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In case of gender mismatches, the adjective or participle located outside the DP generally agrees with N2, if N2 is animate, although the determiner agrees in features with N1.

(46) a. Şarpele asta de femeie s-ar putea face vinovată/ *vinovat de aşa ceva.
serpent this of woman herself could make guilty.fem/ *guilty.masc of such something
'This serpent of a woman could be guilty of such a thing'

b. Comoara asta de băiat nu poate sa se fi făcut vinovat/* vinovată de aşa ceva.
Treasure.fem this of boy not could make guilty. masc / *guilty.fem of such something
'This treasure of a boy could not be guilty of such a thing'

However, there are examples where agreement judgments are less clear[8]. One such case is when N2 is inanimate (cf. Vişan 2006).

(47) a. Hârbul asta de maşină ar trebui aruncat/aruncată.
wreck-the.neut this of car-the.fem should be thrown. neut/ thrown.fem
'This wreck of a car should be thrown away'

b. Tâmpenia de articol citit/? citită
idiocy-the of article.neut read.neut/ ?read.fem
'This stupid article that was read'

Selection and agreement facts point to N2 as the semantic head of the qualitative construction. We can, therefore, construe qualitatives as extended two-headed nominal projections, in the spirit of van Riemsdijk (1998), Grimshaw (2005) and Schwarzschild (2005), with *de* in a functional projection relating the two heads.
The following sections will capitalize on what has been said so far and will advance an analysis of Double-DP qualitatives as double definite constructions.

4. THE SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE OF QUALITATIVES

4.1. Against predicate raising

The syntactic structure of qualitatives has been the subject of much debate in the literature. Research has imported the analysis of predicate raising or predicate inversion from the domain of copular constructions into the domain of qualitatives

[8] Pending empirical research, i.e. verifying written corpuses and grammaticality judgments offered by native speakers will hopefully clarify this issue.

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(and quite a vast array of other 'de-constructions', assumed to enter a relation of 'family resemblance') and pseudopartitive constructions.

However, as we hope it has become clear from the arguments presented in the preceding sections, analyzing both pseudopartitives and qualitative binominals along the lines of the 'predicate raising' hypothesis is on the wrong track.

One very important counterargument to the predicate raising hypothesis concerns the mechanism that forces the predicate to raise from its non-canonical position. Several accounts have been proposed in the literature (most notably, movement driven by an emotive operator cf. Matushansky 2002, an empty head in need of licensing cf. Den Dikken 2006) but none is satisfactory since none complies with general economy requirements.

In the framework adopted here, the DP is a phase (apud Svenonius 2004, Cornilescu 2008). Phases have *peripheries* (cf. Chomksy 2009), i.e., projections which check P-features. Adopting a split D hypothesis (Aboh 2004, Laenzlinger 2005) the *d**-periphery is the space between a lower agreement Determiner, and a higher deixis Determiner. Periphery projections are all modal and quantificational.

A second major counterargument to the predicate raising approach concerns the present classification of qualitatives as Single-D qualitatives and Double-DP qualitatives. Double-DP qualitatives feature two DPs and, by virtue of the 'DPs-as-arguments' logic, neither can be a predicate.

A third counterargument concerns the presence of *de* – analyzed by predicate raising framework as a nominal copula – with cardinals in Romanian (48), which cannot be analyzed as predicates:

(48) douăzeci de studenți
twenty *de* students

Two major arguments have been used in the literature to argue against predicate inversion (see Matushansky 2002, van Riemsdijk 2005):
(a) extraction out of N2 is possible, which would be unexpected if N2 is the subject of a predication:

(49) a. Despre ce lingvist e aceasta minune de carte?
about what linguist is this wonder of book?
'Which linguist is this wonder of a book about?'
b. *Despre ce lingvist e cartea o minune?
about what linguist is book-the a wonder?

(b) N1 is iterable, which is unexpected if it is a predicate:

(50) Nemernicul de constipat de profesor
rascal-the of constipated of professor
'the rascal of a stuck-up of a professor'.

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Faced with these arguments, we have proposed that the order N1 of N2 in qualitative constructions is base-generated. Double-DP Qualitatives will, therefore, be analyzed as split-DPs linked by a functional element *de* in an Evaluation Phrase; Single-DP Qualitatives will be analyzed as split-NPs.

4.2. The Syntax of Double-DP Qualitatives

Both parts of Double-DP qualitatives contribute to the determination of reference; since the two nominals are both referential, neither is a predicate.

The syntactic analysis of Double DP qualitatives relies on the split-D hypothesis (cf. Aboh 2004, Ihsane and Puskas 2002 a.o.) and claims that Double-DP qualitatives are double definite constructions or 'polydefinites' (cf. Lekakou 2008) which realize the [+definite] feature twice, i.e. in D_{outer} and in D_{inner}.

Double-DP qualitatives resemble adjectival article constructions in Romanian (51), which are attributive, d*-periphery constructions (cf. Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011b).

(51) a. mărul cel roşu
apple-the cel.$_{def.sg}$. red
'the red apple'

b. [DP_{outer} [$_{NP}$ mărul D' D^0_{outer} cel [$_{QP\ AP}$ roşu Q' Q^0 [DP_{inner} t_{NP} D' D^0 [$_{NumP}$ $t_{NP\ N'}$]]]]]

The paper assumes that adjectives merge in different positions in the DP, according to their denotations (cf. Cornilescu and Nicolae 2011a, Svenonius 2008). Exclusively prenominal adjective are DP-periphery adjectives and, therefore, cannot appear in the adjectival article construction (52a). The fact that such adjectives feature in Double-DP qualitatives (52b) indicates the presence of an outer D, which contains the adjective modifying an empty noun.

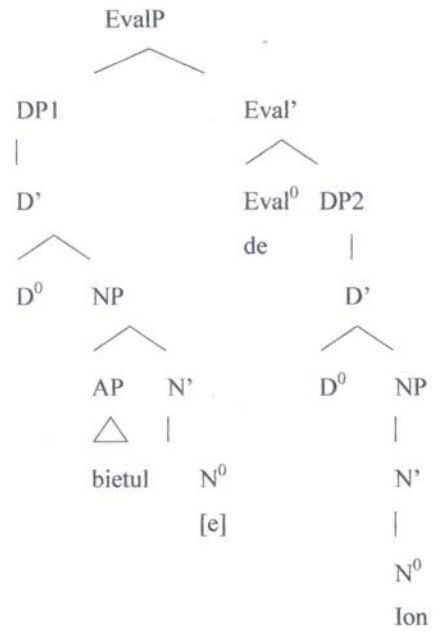
(52) a. *copilul cel biet
child-the cel.$_{def.sg}$ poor
'the poor child'

b. bietul de Ion
poor-the of Ion
'poor Ion'

The syntactic structure of Double-DP qualitatives is given in (53):

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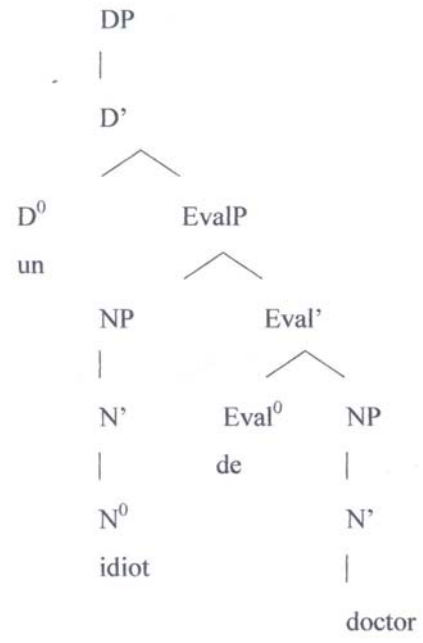
(53)



4.2. The Syntax of Single-DP Qualitatives

The syntactic structure of Single-DP qualitatives is argued to consist of a single DP which dominates a split-NP structure (54):

(54)



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5. CONCLUSIONS

The paper has focused on qualitative binominal constructions in Romanian. Although the literature on qualitative constructions does not acknowledge different types of qualitatives, it has been shown that there are sufficient arguments to operate a distinction between Single-DP qualitative constructions and Double-DP qualitative constructions.

A major outcome of the investigation is the analysis of Double-DPs in terms of periphery quantificational constructions, checking P-feature in an outer D. A close scrutiny of the syntactic and semantic differences between Double-DP qualitatives and Single-DP qualitatives has revealed that the former are presuppositional and feature exclusively prenominal adjectives. This category is also subject to definiteness agreement, which has prompted an analysis in terms of double-definite constructions.

It has been shown that Double-DP qualitatives conform to the contrastive Topic – Focus information-packaging and that the semantic type of Double-DP qualitatives is always <e>, i.e. *individual*, as in the case of partitives.

Another important result of the analysis is the different perspective on the grouping together of qualitatives and pseudopartitives. Generally, the literature has analyzed these constructions either as instantiations of different syntactic structures or as illustrations of predicate inversion resulting in an inverted structure featuring a nominal copula *de*. The similarity between qualitatives and pseudopartitives can be exploited from a different perspective, that of analyzing these *de*-constructions as quantificational, D-periphery constructions.

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