### Two ways to be expressive

The case of Italian expressives cazzo and merda

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#### Introduction

Morphosyntactic properties

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The analysis

- N-of-an-N structures (Den Dikken 1998; Aarts 1998)
- ▶ **N1** encodes an **evaluation** by the speaker of the referent denoted by N2 (Potts 2007; Saab 2022*a*)
- (1) That **idiot** of a prime minister
- (2) What a **hell** of an article!

- ► Italian N-of-an-N structures
- ► N1 = merda 'shit' and cazzo 'dick'
- (3) Quella *merda* di (un<sup>1</sup>) primo ministro That shit of (a) prime minister 'That shitty prime minister'
- (4) Che cazzo di articolo! What dick of paper 'What a fucking/extraordinary paper!'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Only with [+animate]

- Merda and cazzo are semantically and pragmatically similar
  - Highly expressive
  - No truth-conditional meaning
    - Quella merda di (un) primo ministro = quel primo ministro
    - Che cazzo di articolo! = che articolo!
- ... but their morphosyntax is different
  - Different agreement properties
  - Different distributional properties

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#### Introduction: main claims

- ► *Merda* and *cazzo* have different morphosyntactic structures
  - ► Merda
    - ► √MERD-a<sub>ESG</sub>
    - Merged in the fseq of a lower nP
    - lts root semantics contains a pejorative connotation
  - Cazzo
    - Monomorphemic → no GEN and NUM features
    - Merged in J(P) at the edge of n (Biberauer 2018; Krifka 2020; Wiltschko 2021)
    - Purely functional item encoding expressive/evaluative content
- Merda and cazzo are different because they are in different stages of a grammaticalization path (Cavirani-Pots 2020)
  - See Poletto and Giorgi (2021) for a similar approach

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Number

Gender

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## Morphosyntactic properties: number

- Cazzo is rigid for NUMBER
- (5) Che cazz-① di pecoron-i! what dick.m.sg of ram-m.PL 'What fucking rams!'
- (6) \*Che cazz-i di pecoron-i! what dick.M.PL of ram-M.PL
  - ► *Merda* is flexible for NUMBER
- (7) \*Che merd-a di pecor-e! what shit.F.(SG) of sheep-F. PL
- (8) Che merd-e di pecor-e! what shit.F. PL of sheep-F. PL 'What shitty sheep(PL)!'

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# Morphosyntactic properties: gender

- Cazzo's GENDER is invisible
- (9) Un-a cazz-o di serat-a a-F.SG dick.(M).SG of evening-F.SG
- (10) ?Un cazz-① di serat-a a-M.SG dick-M.SG of evening-F.SG 'A fucking evening'
  - ► Merda's GENDER is visible and intervenes
- (11) Un-a merd-a di articol-o a-F.sg shit.F.sg of article-M.sg 'A shitty article'
- (12) \*Un merd-a di articol-o a.(M).SG shit- F.SG of article-(M).SG



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## Morphosyntactic properties: distribution (I)

- Merda but not cazzo can occur predicatively
- (13) Questo articolo è una merda! this article is a shit 'This article sucks!'
- (14) \*Questo articolo è un cazzo!
  this article is a dick

## Morphosyntactic properties: distribution (II)

- Merda can can embed higher projections (e.g. Poss), whereas cazzo can only embed RefN
- (15) a. Quella tua merda di amica that your shit of friend
  - b. Quella tua cazzo di amica that your dick of friend 'That fucking/shitty friend of yours!'
- (16) a. Quella merda della tua amica<sup>2</sup> that shit of the your friend 'That shitty friend of yours!'
  - b. \*Quella cazzo della tua amica that dick of.the your friend



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Only with [+animate]

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## Theoretical prerequisites

### Two theoretical prerequisites

- ► The formalization of grammaticalization paths into four stages (Cavirani-Pots 2020)
- Expressive meaning can come about by merging material in "expletive positions" (Saab 2022b; Tsiakmakis and Espinal 2022)

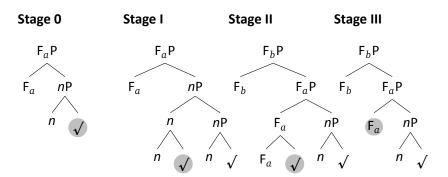
- ► Stage 0 lexical:
  - a \( \) is associated with a lexical item with conceptual content
- Stage I semi-lexical I: a √ is first merged with a categorizing head, and then inserted into the functional superstructure of a lower root
- Stage II semi-lexical II: a √ is first merged with a functional head, and then inserted into the functional superstructure of a lower root
- ➤ Stage III functional:
  the √ is lost, and only the functional feature from Stage II remains

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# Theoretical prerequisites: expressive meaning

### Saab's proposal for expressive meaning

- Expressive meaning comes about by merging material in "expletive positions" (Saab 2022b: 2)
- Expletive positions host purely expressive nouns, which have reached Stage III of the lexical-to-functional trajectory
- Expressive nouns are "mere syntactic indexes"; they have no other content than an expressive one

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Our proposal

Merda 'shit'

Cazzo 'dick'

Locating expressivity

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## The analysis: our proposal

- ► √MERD-a is a semi-lexical I item
  - First merged with *n*, thus licensing GEN and NUM
  - ...then inserted into the fseq of RefN (between D and POSS)
  - Its NUM agrees with RefN's NUM (as if it were an Adj)
  - Its GEN is agreed with by higher projections (D)
  - Expressive due to its root content and non-canonical position (Corver 2016)

### The analysis: our proposal

- cazzo is a functional item
  - Merged in J(P) at the edge of n (Biberauer 2018; Krifka 2020; Wiltschko 2021)
  - ► It does not merge with *n*, thus no GEN and NUM
  - Its NUM doesn't vary
  - Its GEN is not agreed with by higher projections
  - Expressive due to its functional nature and syntactic position

"Nominal expletives **tend to lack some of the phi features they are expected to have** [e.g.] they lack morphosyntactic number or have a default singular number"

(Tsiakmakis and Espinal 2022: 5)

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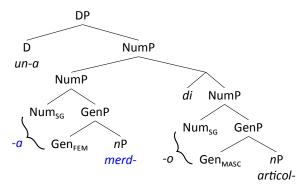
Our proposal

Merda 'shit'

Cazzo 'dick'

Locating expressivity

## The analysis: merda 'shit'



- ► *Merd-a* is flexible for NUM because NUM (and GEN) is a separate morpheme, therefore, it can pluralise
- Merd-a's GEN is visible and intervene because probing D will find it before RefN's features
- Both D and Merd-a inherit the value of NUM from the RefN

# The analysis: merda 'shit'

- (17) Quell-a merd-a di articol-o that-F. SG shit-F. SG of article-M. SG 'That shitty article'
- (18) Quell-e merd-e di articol-i that-F. PL shit-F. PL of article-M. PL 'Those shitty articles'
  - ► Merd-a behaves like an Adj (McCawley 1987; Ross 1972; 2004)
    - ► Its NUM agrees with the RefN's one
    - ... but not its GEN
  - ► Two adjacent NumPs
  - ightharpoonup OCP violation  $\rightarrow$  di-insertion (Richards 2010)

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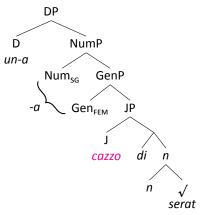
Our proposal *Merda* 'shit'

Cazzo 'dick'

Locating expressivity

- Cazzo is a monomorphemic functional item
- ► It has no GEN and NUM, therefore
  - Probing D skips cazzo and agrees with RefN
  - Cazzo is rigid for NUM
- Cazzo attaches right above the RefN; no D, Poss, Adj elements can intervene
- We take this to mean that cazzo is the left hand member of an elative compound with RefN

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- We build on the analysis of nominal compounds by Eik (2019), and on Krifka's (2020) JP (Judgement Phrase)
- Cazzo is adjoined at the word level as left hand member of the compound (with zero semantics, see Postma 1995)
- Di is a linker (Zwart 2006; Philip 2013)

- Recall: cazzo cannot be used predicatively, whereas merda can
- (19) Questo articolo è una merda! this article is a shit 'This article sucks!'
- (20) \*Questo articolo è un cazzo! this article is a dick
  - ► This can be explained by the fact that expressive *cazzo* is no longer a noun

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## Locating expressivity

#### Cazzo

- Adjoined to the edge of the n of the RefN
- ► This position is the N-domain correlate of Krifka's (2020) JP (cf. expletive position for expressive nouns of Saab 2022b)
- Proposal: the Act, CommitP and JP are recurrent positions in three domains n, v, and C (see also Biberauer 2018)

#### Merdo

- Expressive meaning comes about via its pejorative root content, and its non-canonical syntactic position (cf. Corver 2016)
- ► It's not bleached enough (yet) to be merged in J(P)
- Merged high in the fseq of the RefN

There are (at least) two ways to be expressive

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- Cazzo and merda are two expressive nouns, with different morphosyntactic properties
- ► Cazzo
  - Fully grammaticalized functional item, without GEN and NUM
  - Lefthand member of an elative compound, merged in J
  - Di is a linker
- ▶ Merda
  - Semi-lexical item with pejorative root content, with GEN and NUM
  - Merged in the fseq of the RefN, behaving like an adjective
  - Di-insertion is an OCP repair strategy

Grazie, cazzo<sup>3</sup>!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Positive evaluation

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## **Appendix**

- Extra supporting evidence:
  - merda always has pejorative meaning, whereas cazzo can also express a positive evaluation by the speaker ('che cazzo di macchina!')
  - cazzo but not merda can be used as a fragment answer (Floricic and Milioni 2021) ('Cosa hai fatto oggi?' 'Un cazzo')
  - cazzo but not merda can be used as an expletive with wh-items (Doliana 2015) ('Ma dove cazzo vai?')