Lectures on non-representational grammar

Lecture #2: Expressives and syntactic recycling. A case study on Spanish binominals

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Plan for today

1. Introduction

During the today's lecture, I would like to offer a new theory for the type of nominals that appear below:

(1)   a.   el   *idiota* de   Andrés
               the   idiot of   Andrés
               'that idiot Andrés'
    b.   *una   mierda* de   departamento
               a   shit of   apartment
               'a shit of an apartment'
    c.   *esa   boludez*   de   que   Andrés canta bien
               that   bullshit   of   that   Andrés sings well
               'that bullshit that Andrés sings well'

(2)   a.   el idiota de Andrés
               [$_{DP}$ det$_{[def]}$ [*epithet*] of *DP*]
    b.   una mierda de departamento
               [$_{DP}$ [det$_{[\alpha def]}$ *mixed expressive*] of *NP*]
    c.   esa boludez de que Andrés canta bien
               [$_{DP}$ [(complex) *demonstrative*] of *CP*]

Here you see the two theses I would defend in what follows:

(3)   **<u>Syntactic recycling thesis:</u>** there is a grammar of expressivity that requires syntactic manipulation, which essentially consists of merging material in "expletive" positions. This manipulation creates a non-representational syntax. Syntactic recycling must not be confused with syntactic deviation (in Corver's 2016 sense; see yesterday's conclusion).

(4)   **<u>The equative thesis:</u>** The nominals in (1) are "expressive" pronouns, i.e., mere syntactic indexes feeding assignment functions for three types of semantic types (individuals, propositions and predicates). The semantic connection between the expressive pronoun and the *of*-{DP, NP, CP} is equation, not predication, against the received view.

2. Preliminaries: expressivity and predication

As we saw yesterday, according to Potts' (2005) logic, expressives and epithets form a natural class: they denote functions that take an at issue denotation as argument and return the denotation of such an argument plus a conventional implicature dimension (CI):

(5)   a. Sheila's *damn* dog is on the couch.   (expressive)
             b. That *bastard* (Chuck) arrived late.   (epithets)

The difference between them boils down to the denotation domain of the input argument:

(6)   a.   *Damn:* $<<e^a, t^a>, t^c>$
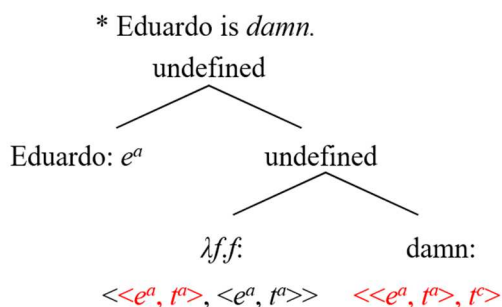   b.   *Bastard:* $<e^a, t^c>$

A direct consequence of this view is stated by Potts as follows:

"All predicates that appear <u>in copular position</u> must necessarily <u>fail to be expressive</u>, because they provide no argument for the copular verb (nor a functor that could apply to it)."

                                              [Potts 2007: 194; my emphasis]

Pure expressives fit this expectation straightforwardly:

(7)

$$\text{* Eduardo is } \textit{damn.}$$

```
              undefined
             /         \
    Eduardo: eᵃ        undefined
                       /         \
                   λf.f:          damn:
              <<eᵃ, tᵃ>, <eᵃ, tᵃ>>   <<eᵃ, tᵃ>, tᶜ>
```

Epithets do not fit the expectation in the same way. An epithet as *bastard* can, indeed, occur in predicative position, although it is easy to show that in that position *it fails to be an expressive* and projects its meaning into the at-issue dimension:

(8)   a. Andrés is a bastard.
        b. Andrés is *not* a bastard.

Whatever the meaning of *bastard* is, it falls under the scope of negation. Consider now Spanish binominal constructions containing *epithets*:

(9)   [**el   idiota de   Andrés]**   canta   feo.
             the   idiot   of   Andrés   sings   awful
             'That idiot Andrés sings awful.'

Does the epithet ***fail*** to be expressive when occurring in binominal constructions? Well, according to the received view on Romance binominal constructions it should:

"At the outset of this exercise, let me point out that what unites all qualitative binominal noun phrases is that they are characterized by the fact that the first noun phrase ascribes a property to the noun phrase that follows it. On the assumption […] that property ascription, in general, is structurally represented in the form of a predication structure, with the ascriber of the property being the predicate and the ascribee the subject, this leads us to the postulation of a syntactic structure underlying all QBNPs according to which there is a predicational relationship between the two noun phrases."
[Den Dikken 2006: 164-165, my emphasis]

Den Dikken's (2006) theory of predicate inversion (related views are found in works by Kayne, Collins, Moro, and others):

(10)   a. [$_{RP}$ [$_{XP}$ subject] [$_{R'}$ **relator** [$_{YP}$ predicate]]]
        b. [$_{FP}$ [$_{XP}$ predicate]$_j$ [$_{F'}$ **linker+relator**$_i$ [$_{RP}$ [$_{NP}$ subject] [$_{R'}$ t_i t_j]]]]
(11)   a. Imogen considers Brian (to be) the best candidate.
        b. Imogen considers the best candidate *(to be) Brian.
(12)   [$_{FP}$ [$_{XP}$ **The best candidate**]$_j$ [$_{F'}$ **to be**$_i$ [$_{RP}$ [$_{NP}$ brian] [$_{R'}$ t_i t_j]]]]

The received view on binominal constructions in Spanish and Romance is that there is a similar derivation for cases like *el idiota de Juan* (although not identical, see for different implementations Suñer 1990, Español-Echevarría 1998, Villalba 2007, González-Rivera 2011):

(13)   a. [$_{RP}$ [$_{XP}$ Juan] [$_{R'}$ **relator** [$_{YP}$ SIMILAR+**idiota**]]]
        b. [$_{FP}$ [$_{XP}$ SIMILAR+**idiota**]$_j$ [$_{F'}$ **de+relator**$_i$ [$_{RP}$ [$_{NP}$ Juan] [$_{R'}$ t_i t_j]]]]

This is precisely a point of strong disagreement. Semantically speaking, whenever an epithet occurs in the binominal scheme the predicative force vanishes. A brief comparison with group slurs show the point clearly (see Orlando & Saab 2020a,b and Saab & Orlando 2021):[1]

(14)   a.   Andrés   es   puto.
              Andrés   is   homosexual$_{pejorative}$
    b.   Ana   es   puta.
              Ana   is   prostitute$_{pejorative}$

But the following ones are just mere insults, without any classificatory force!

(15)   a.   el   *puto*   de   Andrés…
              the   *epithet*   of   Andrés
    b.   la   *puta*   de   Ana…
              the   *epithet*   of   Ana

More evidence that epithets do not have classificatory force:

(16)   Andrés es   un   animal.
        Andrés is   an   animal
        Reading #1: Andrés is a living being
        Reading #2: Andrés is a "stereotype of animal"

(17)   el   animal de   Andrés
        the   animal of   Andrés
        ~~*Reading #1*: Andrés is a living being~~
        Reading #2: Andrés is a "stereotype of animal"

---

[1] I found Marcel den Dikken's reaction to this objection extremely interesting for adding to the debate here:

"I accept Potts's generalisation, but would like to point out that in my 2006 book there are two options regarding the directionality of predication ('canonical' and 'reverse' predication, aka 'predicate-complement' and 'predicate-specifier' structures). Potts's generalisation only holds clearly for the canonical case (to which it is specifically tailored). Of course, Potts did not consider how his generalisation sits with reverse predication: he was unaware of this possibility at the time. But it is at least logically conceivable that reverse predication is impervious to Potts's generalisation. (It is obviously difficult to construct an argument to this effect based just on an empirical generalisation.)

    This is highly relevant to the central argument that you're making in your paper (viz., that a predicational approach to DP-internal expressives is not feasible). For QBNPs such as "that idiot of a doctor", the salient reading is one in which "idiot" applies to the referent of the complex noun phrase *in his/her capacity of being a doctor*. I argue in my 2006 book that for this reading (the attributive reading, as opposed to the comparative one), the property-denoting noun phrase ("idiot") starts out to the left of the subject ("doctor"), in a reverse predication structure. The attributive reading does not have a canonical predication structure as its underlier, and no predicate inversion is involved in the syntactic derivation of the QBNP on this reading. A natural response to your point about the non-feasibility of a predicational approach to DP-internal expressives in Spanish would thus be that you are right *as far as canonical predication is concerned*, but that on the salient attributive reading we are dealing (on my analysis) with reverse predication, which is not subject to Potts's generalisation. (One will of course need to understand both Potts's generalisation and its non-applicability to reverse predication; but there's an opening here.)"

                         [Marcel den Dikken, in personal communication via email 11.7.2022]

The epithet: an occurrence of a predicative word in a non-predicative position gives rise to an *stereotype* and to a related *negative valence* indicating some sort of speaker attitude.

The formal link

el(*p...*)(*de*)(*Andrés*)

The target: the referential term to which the epithet is applied

Some relevant questions we would like to answer:

(Q1) How may any word become expressive in the relevant sense? Or how did *animal* in the previous example lose its original predicative force and communicates a mere stereotype with an associated negative valence?

(Q2) What is the exact syntactic and semantic relation between the epithet and the target?

(Q3) What is the formal link for in the relevant set of constructions?

Reasonable answers to the previous questions (and others you may have in mind) should shed light on the mechanics that underlies the grammar of expressivity. Of course, unveiling the expressive machinery is one forced step in the way to understand how is that human languages are so powerful expressive devices. As we will see, a proper analysis of Spanish epithets / expressives has large empirical and theoretical consequences regarding the syntax and semantics of predication in the nominal domain, the internal structure of DPs and the way in which is advisable to model expressive contents in the semantics.

3. The "Det *epithet de* DP" construction

Properties of the "*Det epithet de DP*" binominal construction:
#1. It triggers many agreement/concord mismatches both internal to the DP and external to it (e.g., verb-subject agreement, and other anaphoric agreement patterns not discussed here).

#2. The epithet always occurs preceding the DP, i.e., there is no "predicate raising" alternation.

#3. NP-ellipsis of the epithet is absolutely banned.

#4. The preposition *de* forms a constituent with the DP.

#5. The *de*-phrase can remain implicit.

3.1. Property #1: Agreement/ concord mismatches
The crucial fact is this: the epithet is not the trigger of agreement/concord processes. *Prima facie*, the trigger seems to be the DP preceded by *de*. This connects, of course, to the question of *where the real head of the construction is*.

  Gender unagreement:
(18) el   gallina / rata /   bestia   de Andrés
   the.M.SG chicken.F.SG rat.F.SG beast.F.SG of Andrés
   'that chicken / rat / beast Andrés'

[NB: the concord variant *la gallina / rata / bestia de Andrés* also exist, with feminine article but there is a change in meaning]

Plural agreement:

(19) los   gallinas /   ratas /   bestias   de   Andrés y   de Pablo
the.M.PL   chicken.F.PL rat.F.PL   beast.F.PL   of   Andrés and of Pablo
'those chickens / rats / beasts Andrés and Pablo'

Reflexive unagreement:

(20) el   gallina   de   Andrés se   odia   a   sí mismo / *a sí misma
the.M.SG   chicken.F.SG   of   Andrés SE   hates   DOM himself /* herself
'That chicken Andrés hates himself.'

Anaphoric agreement:

(21) [*el*   *gallina*   de   *Juan*]ᵢ   dice   que   *lo*ᵢ   amenazaron.
the.M.SG   chicken.F.SG   of   Juan.M.SG   says   that CL.M.SG threatened
'That chicken Juan says that they threatened him.'

3.2. Property #2: No predicate raising alternation

For those that believe that these binominals arise as the result of predicate inversion with the "predicate" *idiota* crossing its subject *Juan* (den Dikken 2006, Suñer 1990, Español-Echevarría 1998, among many others), it is at least curious that there is not counterpart with subject raising:

(22) a. [**el**   **idiota**   **de**   **Juan** **]**   tiene   dinero.
the   idiot   of   Juan   has   money
b. *[**el**   **Juan** **de**   **idiota]** tiene   dinero.
the   Juan   of   idiot   has   money

Compare with indubitable instances of predicate raising (Moro 2000):

(23) **Noam** es   **el**   **lingüista**.
Noam is   the   linguist
El   **lingüista**   es   **Noam**.
the   linguist   is   Noam

[Discuss in class den Dikken's (2006) solution to the problem raised by the absence of alternation in (22), but recall that we are not focusing on any particular predicational analysis, but, say, on the general form of the theory.]

3.3. Property #3. The epithet-ellipsis ban

Now, rhe epithet is not an eligible candidate for nominal ellipsis. Any attempt to delete the expressive noun gives ungrammatical results:

(24) *el   gallina   de   Juan   y   el   *<gallina>*   de   Pedro
the   chicken   of   Juan   and the   chicken   of   Pedro
Intended: 'that chicken Juan and that chicken Pedro'

(25) el   burro   de   Juan   y   el   *<burro>*   de   Pedro
the   donkey   of   Juan   and the   donkey   of   Pedro
Impossible: 'that donkey Juan and that donkey Pedro'
Possible: 'Juan's donkey and Pedro's'

[<… > = E-sites, as usual]

Additional fact to keep in mind (see Suñer 1990 and Saab 2004): in binominals, you cannot replace the putative subject by a genitive "subject" pronoun. Doing this automatically triggers the possessive reading:

(26)   his donkey
        Impossible: 'Juan is a donkey'
        Possible: 'Juan's donkey'

3.4. Property #4. The preposition de *forms a constituent with the DP*
Two criteria:

	Coordination:					
(27)	los	idiotas *de*	*Juan*	y	*de*	*Pedro*
	the	idiots of	Juan	and	of	Pedro

	Fragments:			
(28)	A:	el	idiota de	quién?
		the	idiot of	who
	B:	de	JUAN	
		of	Juan	

Both coordination and fragment answers require that *de* forms a constituent with the following DP/NP string in order to be conjoined with another phrase of the same type or to be a grammatical fragment, respectively. Of course, it could be the case that the conjoined phrases or the fragment answers are bigger and contain the structure that also licenses the putative copula de. Without a doubt, this is indeed the case when it comes to verbal copulas. Consider, for instance, these two sentences containing coordinate structures:

(29)   a.   Ana   es   inteligente   y   muy   profesional.
              Ana   is   intelligent   and   very   professional
              'Ana is intelligent and very professional.'
        b.   Ana   es   inteligente   y   es   muy   profesional.
              Ana   is   intelligent   and   is   very   professional
              'Ana is intelligent and is very professional.'

The simplest analysis for each coordinate structure is that there are different bits of structure conjoined in each case: APs vs. TPs, respectively:

(30)   a.   [AP inteligente] y [AP muy profesional]
        b.   [TP Ana es inteligente] y [TP *pro* es muy profesional]

By parity of reasoning, we should wonder whether it could be the case that a bigger structure is being coordinated in examples like (27), as well. These putative bigger structures would, of course, include the copular element *de*. Adapting den Dikken's (2006) analysis of predicate inversion for examples like (27), the representation would be approximately as follows:

(31) [DP the [LinkP idiots [Link' of [RelP Andrés t_{idiot}] and [Link' of [RelP Pablo t_{idiot}]]]]]

There are many problems with such an analysis. First, the conjoined phrases are Link' constituents, an issue potentially solved if the predicate *idiota* moves, in a sort of ATB extraction, from its base position as complement of both RelPs to the specifiers of each LinkP. This looks like an unwanted complication. But let's take it for granted. Even thus, it is unclear how the predicate ends with its plural form. At any rate, the burden of proof is on the proponents of the predicate inversion analysis.

Similar considerations apply to the fragment answer test. Again, in the case of verbal copulas there are two grammatical strategies: (i) answering with a true fragment, like in (32B), or (ii) answering with the full sentence, like in (32B'):

(32)   A: Ana   es   QUÉ??
               Ana   is   WHAT
        B: muy   profesional
               very   professional
        B':   Es   muy   professional.
               is   very   professional

If these strategies were available for binominals, we would expect that, in addition to the fragment answer already illustrated, which, by assumption, would be a bigger fragment including at least some projection of the Link head, the answer in (33B), in which the only piece of fragment is the subject of the putative subject-predicate structure, should also be perfectly grammatical. Yet, (33B) is by far less natural than answering with the full *of*-phrase:

(33)   A: el   idiota de   QUIÉN?
               the   idiot of   WHO
        B: ??Andrés
               Andrés

But there is more. In the sentential examples, answers like (34B) are not fragment answers at all. It is the full sentence that works as an appropriate answer.

(34)   A: Ana   es   QUÉ??
               Ana   is   WHAT
        B: Es   muy   professional.
               is   very   professional

By analogy, the nominal counterpart of (34B) should be a full DP; i.e., something like the perfectly grammatical (35B):

(35)   A: el   idiota de   QUIÉN?
               the   idiot of   WHO
        B: el   idiota de   Andrés
               the   idiot of   Andrés

Put differently, the short answer *de Andrés* cannot be the nominal counterpart of (34B). On the predicational analysis, *de Andrés* should be just a LinkP. The problem is that LinkPs cannot be used with independence of its selector head, i.e., D. Again, the burden of proof is on the proponents of the predicational analysis.

3.5. Property #5: Implicit de-*DP*
These binominal phrases also have an implicit counterpart in which the *of*-phrase remains implicit:

(36)   *el gallina* 'the chicken', *el idiota* 'the idiot', *el burro* 'the donkey', *el boludo* 'the asshole', *el hijo de puta* 'the son of bitch' etc.

Crucially, in cases in which the *of*-DP phrase remains implicit, the entire DP behaves as a pronoun not as an R-expression. Along the lines proposed by Dubinsky and Hamilton (1998) (see also Saab 2004, 2008, 2010, for discusion and references), *epithets are antilogophoric pronouns*:

8

(37)

Antilogophoricity constraint for epithets:
An epithet must not be anteceded by an individual from whose perspective the attributive content of the epithet is evaluated.

[Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998: 689]

(38)   *John$_i$* says that *John$_i$ / #*the idiot$_i$* / he$_i$ is crazy.

(39)   a. *John$_i$* ran over a man (who was) trying to give **John$_i$* / *the idiot$_i$* directions.
b. Through an accumulation of slipups, *John$_i$* (inadvertently) led his students to conclude that the **John$_i$* / *the idiot$_i$* couldn't teach.

[Dubinsky & Hamilton 1998: 687]

Spanish, from Saab (2004):

(40)   Aun cuando yo pueda perdonarlo, *Juan$_i$* me demostró que **Juan$_i$*/**el muy hijo de puta$_i$** no se lo merece.
'Even though I can forgive him, *Juan$_i$* showed me that **Juan$_i$* / that **son of a bitch$_i$** doesn't deserve it.'

(41)   Por la cantidad de errores que cometió durante su clase, *Ana$_i$* hizo que los alumnos pensaran que **Ana$_i$*/**la muy idiota$_i$** ni siquiera es capaz de enseñar.
'Due to the number of mistakes that she made during her class, *Ana$_i$* made the students think that **Ana$_i$* / **that complete idiot$_i$** is not even capable of teaching.'

Some preliminary observations you should keep in mind:

O#1: The agreement / concord (**Property #1**) and the ellipsis facts (**Property #3**) definitively show that the epithet is not the head of the construction. Given the particular distribution of the *de-DP* phrase, one is tempted to believe that the N inside this DP is the true head of the entire construction. Yet, there is this "annoying" preposition *de* which makes the hypothesis *prima facie* hard to accept.

O#2: Property #4 clearly shows that this preposition *of* cannot be a copular element (*contra* den Dikken and others). Its function in the phrase must be related to the formal licensing of the second DP (i.e., to Case licensing).

O#3: Property #5 on implicit *de-DPs* and the pronominal nature of epithets open the analytic space and force us to seriously considering that the true head of the construction must be looked for in the internal syntax of pronouns.

4. Some background assumptions
4.1. Expressivity in slurs and epithets
I follow here the tradition initiated by Kaplan (1999), formally implemented in Potts (2005) and McCready (2010), according to which expressive meanings can be properly captured by logical tools. Concretely, I assume that expressives, in particular, epithets and slurs, must be modeled by a bidimensional semantics. Binominal constructions pass the tests to diagnose parallel expressive meanings. Scoping-out and speaker orientation are two crucial diagnostics:

(42)   Ana   cree   que   el   p…   de   Andrés   llegó   tarde.
Ana   believes   that   the   homosexual$_{PEJ}$.of   Andrés   arrived   late
(43)   Ese   no   es   el   p…   de   Andrés.
that   not   is   the   homosexual$_{PEJ}$.of   Andrés

For the particular case of epithets, I assume that they make no contribution at the at-issue or truth conditional dimension (or alternatively, that they denote the identity function), but they do contribute to the expressive meaning dimension by taking an individual as input argument and returning an expressive meaning, whose specific content I will discuss latter:

(44)   el   p…   de   Andrés
       the   epithet of   Andrés
       Simplified version:
(45) $[\![p\ldots]\!]^{w,g}([\![Andrés]\!]^{w,g})$ = Andrés • P(A)

For the particular case of slurs, I assume with McCready (2010) that they make contributions both at the at-issue or truth conditional dimension and to the expressive meaning dimension:

(46)   Andrés es   p…
       Andrés is   homosexual$_{PEJ}$

       Simplified version:
(47) $[\![p\ldots]\!]^{w,g}([\![Andrés]\!]^{w,g})$ = Andrés is homosexual • P(A)

Recall:

   "All predicates that appear <u>in copular position </u>must necessarily <u>fail to be expressive</u>, because they provide no argument for the copular verb (nor a functor that could apply to it).

[Potts 2007: 194]

After McCready (2010), I take this as meaning the following:

All predicates that appear in copular position must have predicative force at the truth-conditional level, independently of the question whether other ornamental meanings at the expressive dimension are at play or not.

Now, when we again compare slurs to epithets occurring in binominal environments (see (1) and (2)), we see that Den Dikken's (2006) and other approaches according to which *de* 'of' is the nominal counterpart of *ser* 'to be' cannot be on the right track. Only slurs "fail" to be expressives in the previous favored sense, i.e., only slurs have predicative force at the truth-conditional level:

(48)   a.   Andrés es   un   p...
               Andrés is   a   homosexual$_{PEJ}$
       b.   Andrés es   un   animal.
               Andrés is   an   animal
(49)   a.   el   p…   de   Andrés
               the   *epithet* of   Andrés
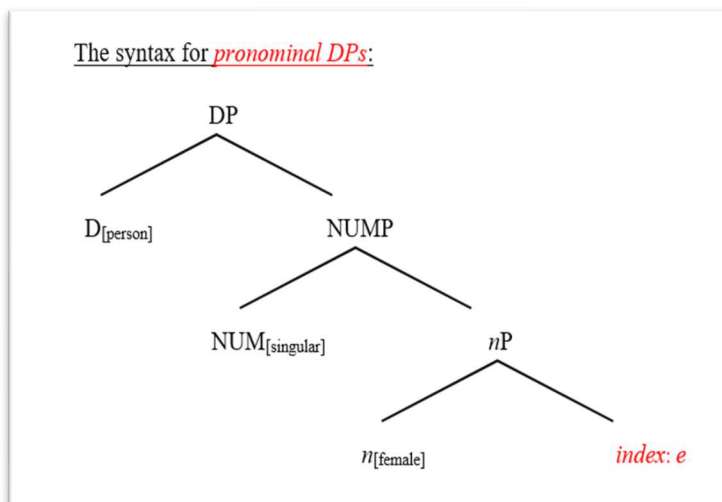   b.   el   animal de   Andrés
        the   epithet of   Andrés

Again: if this is correct, what is then the semantic dependency between the epithet and the referential term?

$$of \neq to\ be$$

4.2. The syntax and semantics of pronouns

Now, let's zooming in into the syntax of pronouns, which, I assume, is as follows:

(50)

The syntax for *pronominal DPs*:

Here you have a simplified but illustrative set of lexical entries. On the view assumed here, pronouns are essentially indexes ornamented with the presuppositions that the functional extended projection of DPs introduce (this is just Heim & Kratzer's (1998) approach):

The index:

(51) $[\![<e, n>]\!]^g$ = individual
(e.g., $[\![<1, e>]\!]^g$ = Ana)

The *n* head:

(52) a. $[\![female]\!] = \lambda x$: Female($x$). x
b. $[\![male]\!] = \lambda x$: Male(x). x

The NUM head:

(53) a. $[\![singular]\!] = \lambda x$: Atom($x$). x
b. $[\![plural]\!] = \lambda x$: Plural($x$). x
c. The [person] D head:

The D head:

(54) a. $[\![1person]\!] = \lambda x$: Part$_{speaker}$($x$). x
b. $[\![2person]\!] = \lambda x$: Part$_{hearer}$($x$). x
c. $[\![3person]\!] = \lambda x$: Non-Part($x$). x

Then, for a pronoun like *ella/she*, its syntax looks like as follows:

(55)

The syntax for *ella 'she'*:
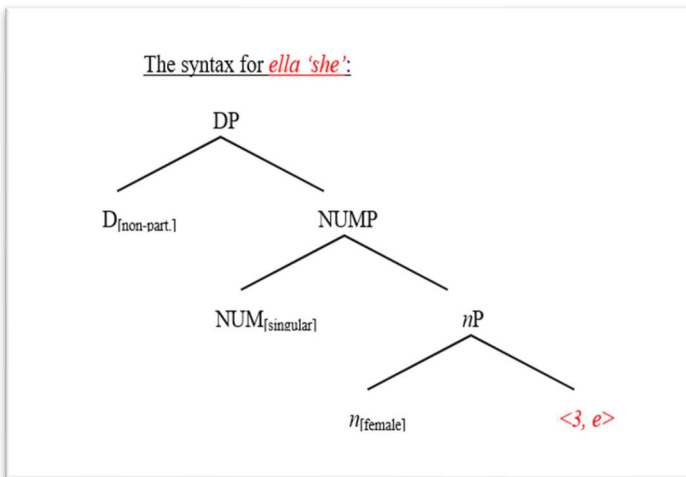
Indexes are subject to the *Pro-form and Trace Rule*:

Of course, context plays a crucial role in the proper interpretation of indexes by determining *assignment functions*:

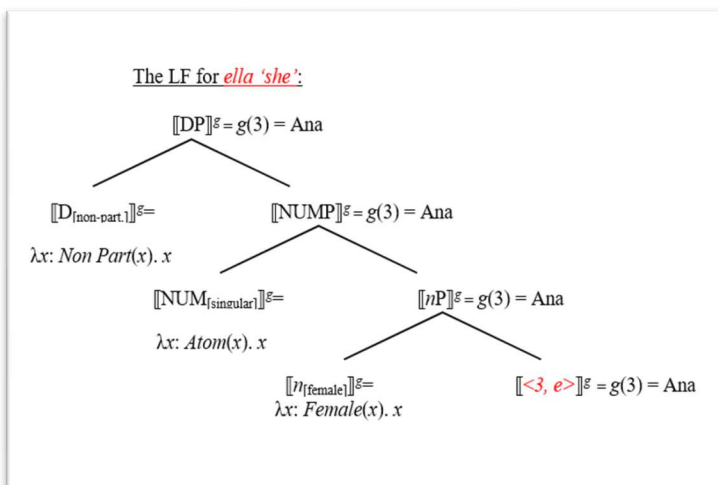Then, if the context is appropriated, index interpretation in the relevant example (*via* P&T) would be as follows:

(56)

The LF for *ella 'she'*:

5. An equative syntax and semantics for binominal constructions
5.1. Expressive pronouns and equative presuppositions

Syntactic recycling thesis: there is a grammar of expressivity that requires syntactic manipulation, which essentially consists of merging material in "expletive" positions. This manipulation creates a non-representational syntax. Syntactic recycling must not be confused with syntactic deviation (in Corver's 2016 sense).

Expressive pronouns (derived by recycling): epithets are *expressive pronouns* merged in the high functional layer of a given pronominal expression (Saab 2004, 2008). I.e., they are part of the syntax of strong pronouns:

(57)
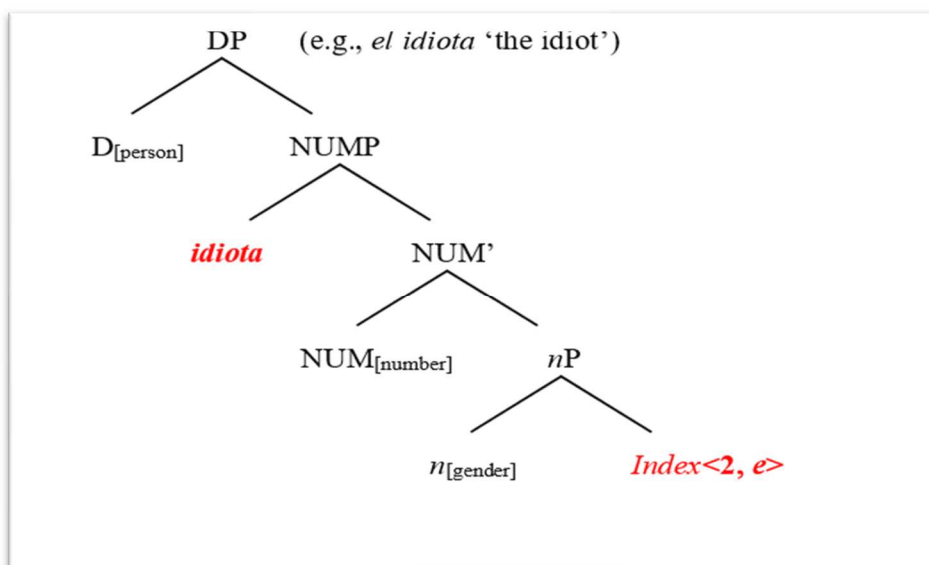
Semantic thesis: in such a syntactic position, epithets have no predicative force at the truth-conditional level; they only denote a stereotype in an expressive dimension of meaning (Saab & Carranza 2021, Orlando & Saab 2020a,b and Saab & Orlando 2021). Formally, we define a stereotype as a set of propositions contextually restricted in the following way:

(58) $[\![\text{Stereotype}]\!]^{g,w} = \lambda p.\ \exists P_{<e,t>}[\underline{P \in C}\ \&\ p = \lambda w.\ P(\text{Kind})(w)]$
(i.e., the set of propositions predicated of a class defined by the relevant lexical term, where the predicate P is contextually restricted)

So far, we have seen that epithets occur in non-predicative positions, concretely, as specifiers of NUMP (but the exact position is not entirely crucial). In that position, epithets only mean something in an expressive dimension of meaning. In particular, they communicate stereotypes by means of which a class is defined by a set of stereotypical properties. The obvious next question is now:

Q: How is the *of*-phrase in the *Det epithet of DP* construction connected to the syntax of epithets proposed so far?
My answer: Through an *equative syntax and semantics*.

The equative thesis: The nominals in (1) are "expressive" pronouns, i.e., mere syntactic indexes feeding assignment functions for three types of semantic types (individuals, propositions and

predicates). The semantic connection between the expressive pronoun and the *of*-{DP, NP, CP} is equation, not predication, against the received view.

(59)

el idiota de Juan 'that idiot Juan'

$$\llbracket Eq \rrbracket: <e, <e, e>> = \lambda x.\lambda y: x = y. \, x$$

(60)

el idiota de Juan 'that idiot Juan'

5.2. Deriving the five properties

Property #1: *Agreement/ concord mismatches*

Reflexive unagreement:

(61)　el　　　　　gallina　　　de　　Andrés se　　odia　　a　　sí mismo / *a sí misma
　　　the.M.SG　chicken.F.SG　of　　Andrés SE　hates　DOM　himself　/* herself
　　　'That chicken Andrés hates himself.'

The nominal head, the one that projects and controls agreement / concord, is the empty *n* head / the index and its extended projection (including NUM and D). No *ad sensum* agreement, then, just regular agreement / concord.
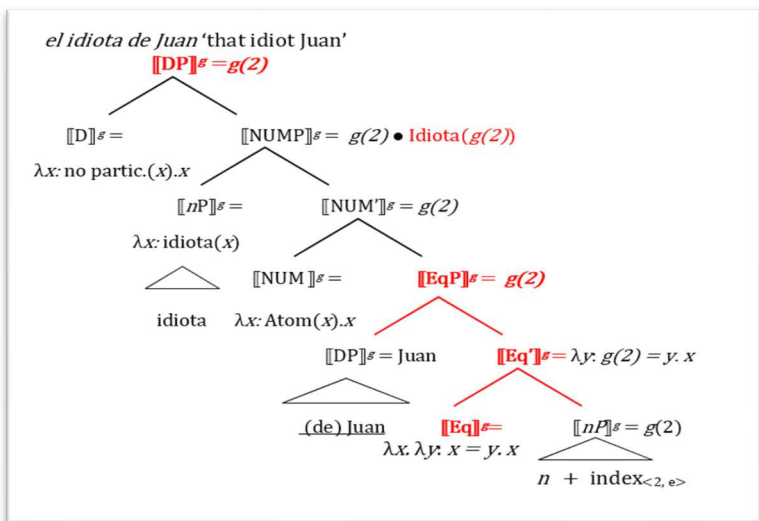
(62)
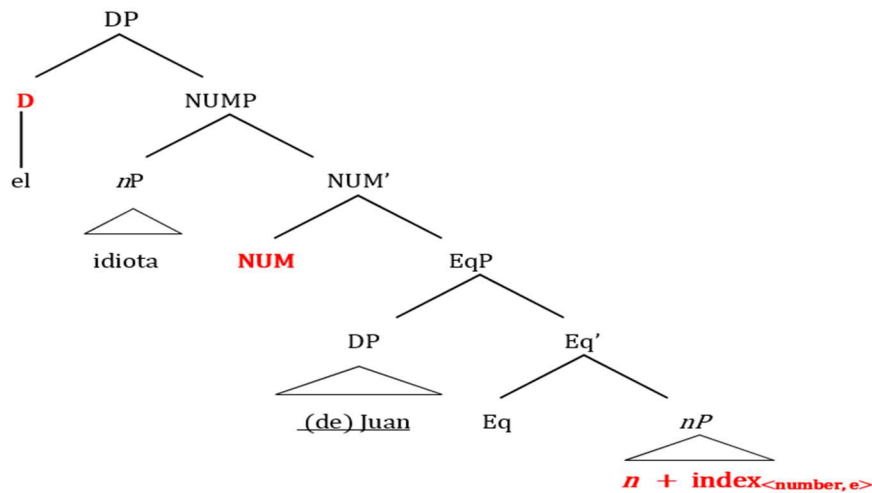
Property #2: *No predicate raising alternation*

(63)　a. [　**el**　　　　**idiota**　　　**de**　　　　**Juan**]　　tiene　dinero.
　　　　　the　　　　idiot　　　　of　　　　Juan　　　has　　money
　　　b. *[　**el**　**Juan**　**de**　**idiota**] tiene　dinero.
　　　　　the　Juan　of　idiot　has　money

According to the syntax and semantics I have proposed here, the ungrammatical (63b) is simply underivable as a matter of syntactic selection. First, because proper names or referential expressions in general, cannot occur in expletive position. Second, because the phrase that the epithet projects is not a DPs, but a *n*P.

(64)
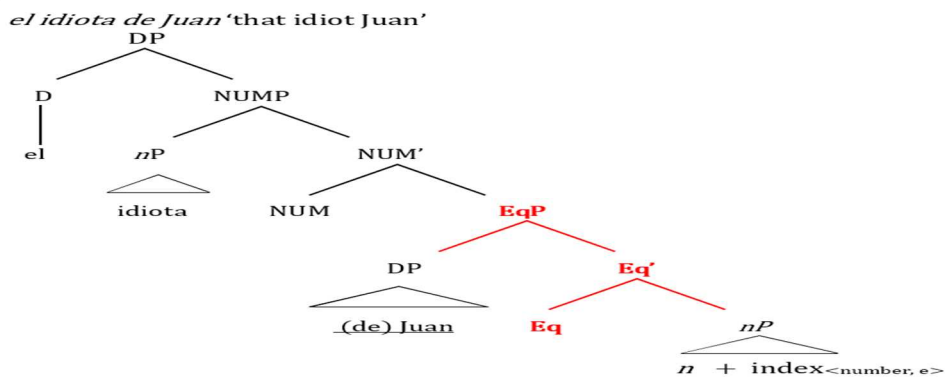
Property #3: *The ellipsis ban*

(65) *el   gallina   de   Juan   y   el   **<gallina>**   de   Pedro
      the   chicken   of   Juan   and   the   chicken   of   Pedro
      Intended: 'that chicken Juan and that chicken Pedro'

(66) el   burro   de   Juan   y   el   **<burro>**   de   Pedro
      the   donkey   of   Juan   and   the   donkey   of   Pedro
      Impossible: 'that donkey Juan and that donkey Pedro'
      Possible: 'Juan's donkey and Pedro's'

<div align="right">[<… > = E-sites, as usual]</div>

This is because nominal ellipsis only targets nPs and all nPs contain. Epithets are non-projecting nPs outside a nominal ellipsis domain whose head is a mere pronominal index. Again, the ellipsis ban is deduced as simply underivable.

(67)
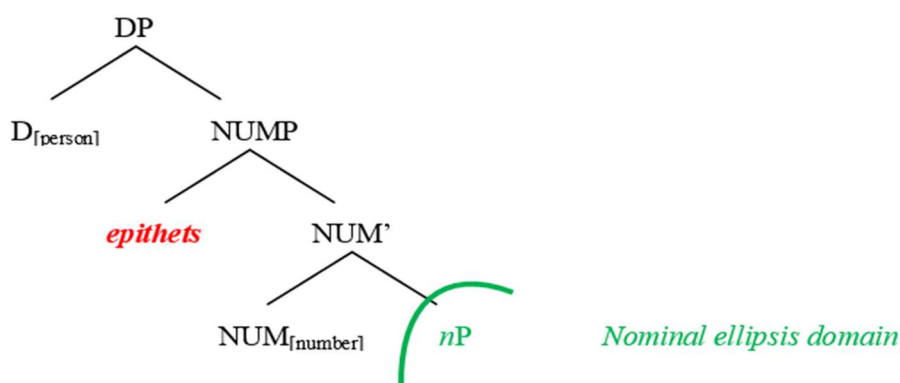
Property #4: The preposition *of* forms a constituent with the DP

Coordination:
(68) los   idiotas *de*   *Juan*   y   *de*   *Pedro*
      the   idiots   of   Juan   and   of   Pedro

Fragments:
(69) A: el   idiota de   quién?
            the   idiot   of   who
      B: de   JUAN
            of   Juan

This is a crucial aspect of the construction, which clearly goes against the idea in den Dikken (2006) and others that the preposition is a copula.[2] According to the syntax proposed here, instead, the preposition is a case marker, probably inserted after syntax (not a crucial point).

---

[2] Again, it is important to consider this nice alternative suggested by den Dikken:

"The fact that *"de"* and the noun phrase that follows it form a constituent in Spanish QBNPs is an important observation, as is the fact that it is difficult to respond to a question such as "el idiota de QUIEN?" with just "Andrés". These two things, taken together, may suggest that the Spanish P-element de (when used in QBNPs, or more generally) is linked to the noun phrase that follows it in a manner that is tighter than 'mere' constituency: it is worth considering the possibility that "de" and (the D-head of) the noun phrase following it are morphologically amalgamated. It may then be wrong to think of "de" as the surface exponent of a functional head (a relator or linker); instead, it may itself be a proclitic on the noun phrase to its right and serve as an "alternative realisation" (in the sense of Emonds' work) of such a functional head.

(70)
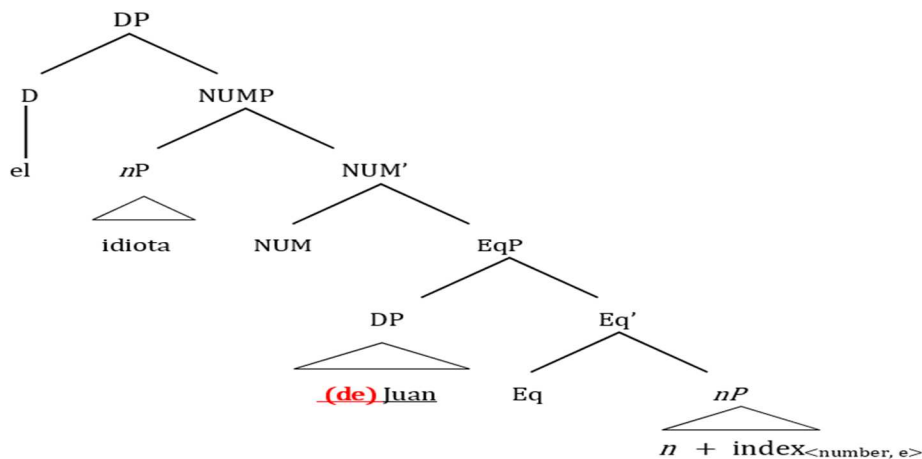
Property #5: *Implicit* de-*DP*

(71)   *el gallina* 'the chicken', *el idiota* 'the idiot', *el burro* 'the donkey', *el boludo* 'the asshole', *el hijo de puta* 'the son of bitch' etc.

This is just the antilogophoric syntax already discussed, in which the EqP was simply not merged during the derivation. As we have seen, epithets pertain to the class of pronominal expressions.

(72)
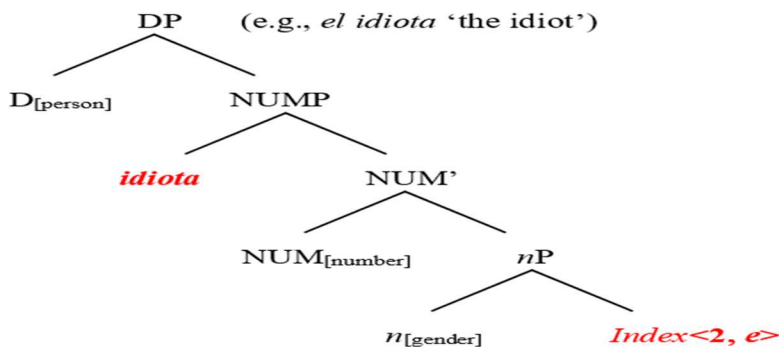
5.3. A note on variation in Romance

What I have said here regarding binominals in Spanish can be essentially generalized to other Romance languages, including at least Portuguese, Catalan, Italian or French. Indeed, some interesting differences give additional support to the general theory defended here. For instance, it seems that the Italian counterpart of the Spanish det epithet of DP construction requires mandatory use of the demonstratives *quello/quella*:

(73)   quell'/*l'   idiota   di   Gianni
         DEM/*ART   idiot   of   Gianni
         'that idiot Gianni'

Arguably, this correlates with the fact that Italian (and also French) uses demonstratives and not definite articles in nominal ellipsis or empty noun contexts (Kornfeld & Saab 2004):

This would create a possible reconciliation between your approach and the one I took in my 2006 book, while leaving unaffected what I said about English "of" and Dutch "van" (which are clearly not proclitics)."

(74) a. *la/quella   di   Gianni
          the.F/this.F   of   Gianni
          'Gianni's one'
      b. *i/quelli   che   mi   piacono
          the.PL/this.PL   that me   please
          'the ones that I like'

[Kornfeld & Saab 2004: 196, *apud* Leonetti (1999)]

An important and unnoticed generalization: what forces the use of strong determiners in this entire set of examples in Italian is the syntactically active presence of a silent or elliptical noun, which in the case of epithets is instantiated by a formal index. If this is correct, we would be adding another (strong) piece of evidence for the theory put forward here.

6. Other binominal constructions, other equations
6.1. The "Det expressive de NP" construction
Consider binominal constructions of the following type, in which the N involved in the construction is indeed an expressive, arguably, *of the hybrid or mixed type*:

(75) [Este   departamento de   mierda]   tiene cucarachas.
      this   apartment   of   shit   has   cockroaches
      [Esta   mierda (de   departamento)] tiene cucarachas.
      this   shit   of   apartment   has   cockroaches

[NB: That these expressive are hybrid can be demonstrated by their behavior under truth-conditional operators, like negation. So, if you say *no compré una mierda de libro* o *no compré un libro de mierda*, you are not saying that you didn't buy a book but that you didn't buy a bad book.]

Properties of the "*Det expressive de NP*" binominal construction:
#1. It triggers many agreeement/concord mismatches both internal to the DP and external to it (e.g., verb-subject agreement, and other anaphoric agreement patterns not discussed here).

#2. Some of these expressives can occur in post-nominal position, giving rise to an alternation which looks like as a kind of predicate inversion alternation (but it is not, as we shall see).

#3 NP-ellipsis of the expressive noun is absolutely banned.

#4. The noun contained within the *de*-phrase can license NP-ellipsis of a nominative NP in the E-site, although the *de-DP* phrase cannot be elided.

#5. The *de*-phrase can remain implicit.

6.1.1. Property #1: Agreement/ concord mismatches
Note a first important treat of the type of expressives: the expressive and the determiner agree in gender and number (e.g., *una mierda de departamento*). The second property to have in mind is that it seems that for many speakers, including me, there is also number mismatches between the *det*+expressive and the NP *departamentos*:

(76) esta   *mierda*   de   *departamentos*
      this.F.SG   shit.F.SG   of   apartment.M.PL
      'this shit of an apartment'

18

Now, it is *departamentos* the noun that controls agreement (again, there is some speaker variation here):

(77) Se   **demolieron**   esa   mierda   de *departamentos*
     SE.PASS   demolished.3PL   this.F.SG shit.F.SG   of apartment.**M.PL**

For (plausible) reasons having to do with the resistance to call the prepositional phrase *de departamentos* "the head of the NP", the Spanish tradition speaks here of *ad sensum agreement* (more on this, later).

6.1.2. Property #2: the predicate inversion illusion

(78) a. un departamento *de porquería/mierda*   (lit. an apartment of shit)
      b. *una porquería/mierda* de departamento   (lit. a shit of apartament)
              'a shit of an apartment'

But other expressives strongly reject the "inversion":

(79) a. un departamento *de puta madre*   (lit. an apartment of a POSITIVE EXPRESSIVE
      b. *_una puta madre_ de departamento (lit. a POSITIVE EXPRESSIVE of apartment)

And others cannot occur in post-nominal position:

(80) a. una bosta de *departamento*   (lit. an apartment of shit)
      b. *_un departamento_ de bosta…   (lit. a shit of apartment)
                                        [NB: these are not semantic paraphrases]

6.1.3. Property #3: the expressive-ellipsis ban
The expressive noun is not an eligible candidate for nominal ellipsis. Any attempt to delete the expressive noun gives ungrammatical results:

(81) *una   mierda   de   departamento y   una   <mierda >   de   casa
      a.F.SG   shit.F.SG   of   apartment   and   a. F.SG shit.F.SG   of   house

6.1.4. Property #4: restrictions on NP-ellipsis for the "genitive" NP
The nominal head of the "genitive" phrase can be a good antecedent for NP-ellipsis, insofar as the elided noun is not included inside an expressive syntax:

(82) una   mierda   de   departamento   en   San Telmo
      a.F.SG   shit.F.SG   of   apartment.M.SG   in   San Telmo
      y   uno   <departamento>   en   La Boca
      and   a.M.SG   apartment.M.SG   in   La Boca
      'a shit of an apartment in San Telmo and one in La Boca'

(83) una   mierda   de   departamento   en   San Telmo
      a.F.SG   shit.F.SG   of   apartment.M.SG   in   San Telmo
      y   una   mierda   <   de   departamento>   en   La Boca
      and   a.F.SG   shit.F.SG   of   apartment.M.SG   in   La Boca
Intended: 'a shit of an apartment in San Telmo and and a shit one in La Boca'

6.1.5. Property #5: implicit *de*-NP
Finally, the "genitive" phrase can remain implicit. So, if after watching a bad movie, one says:

(84)   Qué   *mierda*!
        what   shit.F.SG

The hearer understands that the expressive applies to the relevant movie. Of course, in the same scenario, the speaker has the option of not leaving the predicative noun implicit, as in:

(85)   Qué   mierda   *de*   *película*!
        what   shit.F.SG   *of*   *movie*

Similarly, if one says:

(86)   Ese   profesor   es *una*   *mierda*.
        that.M.SG   professor.M.SGis a.F.SG   shit.F.SG

the hearer must make explicit in her mind what is the implicit property the speaker had in her own mind, since the professor could be *una mierda* in many respects. For instance, the relevant professor could be just a bad professor (i.e., she is "a shit" as a professor) or a bad person (i.e., she is "a shit" as a person.). Indeed the speaker, again, has the option of making this perfectly explicit, like in:

(87)   Ese   profesor   es   una   mierda
        that.M.SG   professor.M.SGis   a.F.SG shit.F.SG
        de   *profesor*   */ de*   *persona*.
        of   professor /   of   person
        'This professor is a shit as a professor/ a person.'

> It seems, then, that the two types of binominal DPs share a series of properties and are mainly differentiated by the nature of the second nominal: a predicate in cases like in the *Det expressive of NP construction* (e.g., *a shit of **PREDICATE***), but a referential expression in the *Det epithet of DP* one (e.g., *the idiot of **R-expression***).

6.1.6. Analysis
Now, let's assume, also following Heim & Kratzer (1998), that assignments consist of complex indexes not only for *e* types but also higher ones:
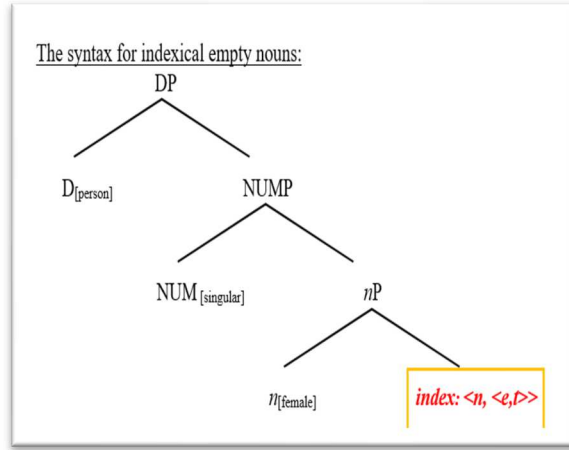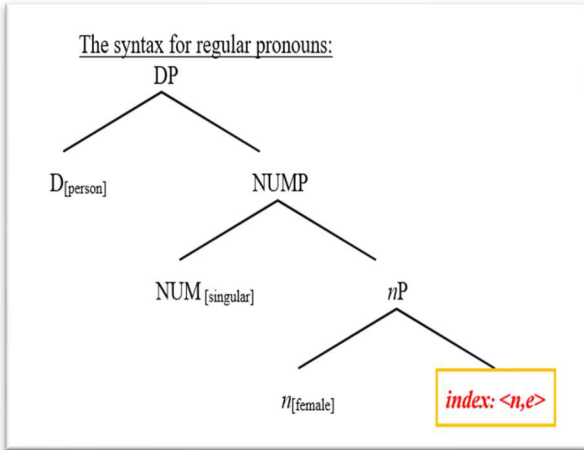
> *Variable assignment*:
> A partial function *g* from indices to denotations (of any type) is a (*variable*) *assignment* iff it fulfills the following condition:
> For any number *n* and type τ such that $\langle n,\tau\rangle \ni \mathrm{dom}(g)$, $g(n,\tau) \ni D_\tau$.
>
> [Heim & Kratzer 1998: 292]

In Saab (2022a), I have identified two types of indexical expressions distinguished by the content of their indexes: (i) regular pronouns, and (ii) indexical empty nouns:

(88)

The syntax for regular pronouns:

DP
D[person]   NUMP
NUM[singular]   nP
n[female]   index: <n,e>

The syntax for indexical empty nouns:

DP
D[person]   NUMP
NUM[singular]   nP
n[female]   index: <n, <e,t>>

The expressive *de* NP construction: expressives are DPs merged as nominal modifiers of *indexical empty nouns*. The presence of an *of*-phrase is *again* due to *the syntactic activity of an Equative Phrase* that syntactically and semantically connects an empty noun to the "genitive" *n*P. The expressive DP is headed by a D with an unvalued D feature which is valued with the dominating D through movement + *Agree*.
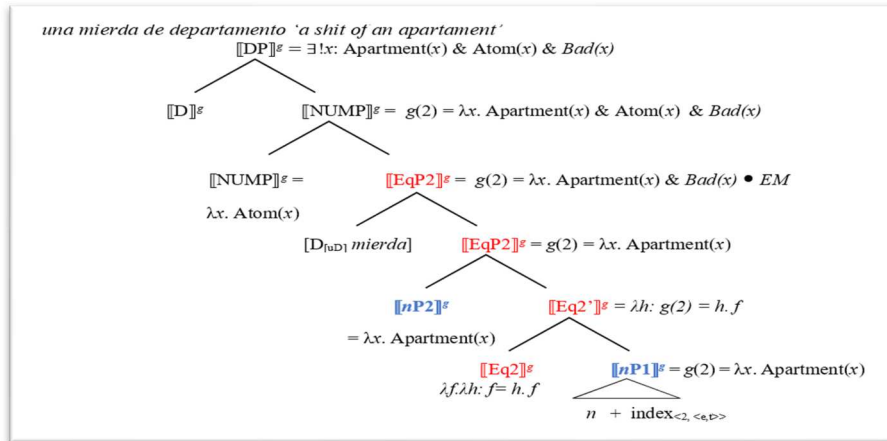
(89)

una mierda de departamento 'a shit of an apartament'
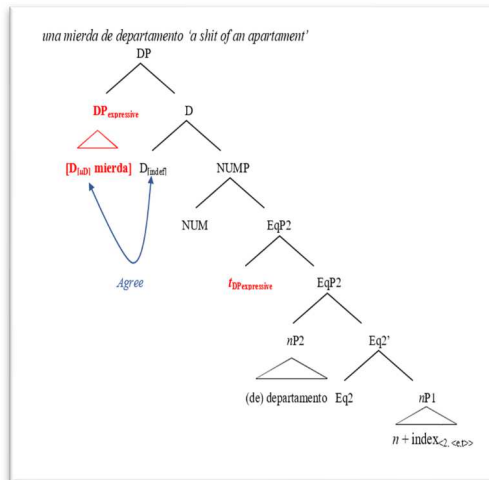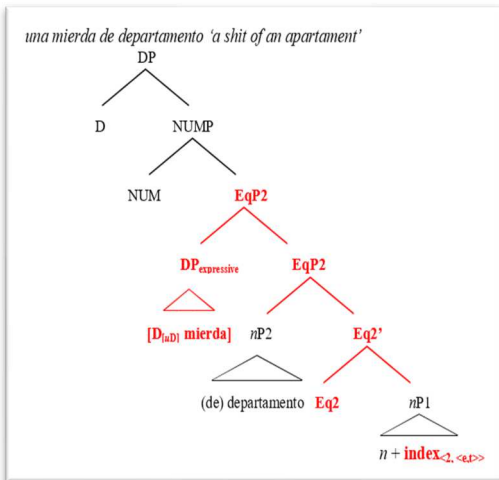
$[\![Eq2]\!]$:$<f, <f, f>> = \lambda f.\lambda h: f = h. f$

Here is the interpreted tree. Look at the equation (EM = expressive meaning**)!**

(90)

una mierda de departamento 'a shit of an apartment'
$[\![DP]\!]^g = \exists!x: Apartment(x)\ \&\ Atom(x)\ \&\ Bad(x)$

$[\![D]\!]^g$ $[\![NUMP]\!]^g = g(2) = \lambda x.\ Apartment(x)\ \&\ Atom(x)\ \&\ Bad(x)$

$[\![NUMP]\!]^g =$ $[\![EqP2]\!]^g = g(2) = \lambda x.\ Apartment(x)\ \&\ Bad(x)\ \bullet\ EM$

$\lambda x.\ Atom(x)$

$[D_{[uD]}\ mierda]$ $[\![EqP2]\!]^g = g(2) = \lambda x.\ Apartment(x)$

$[\![nP2]\!]^g$ $[\![Eq2']\!]^g = \lambda h:\ g(2) = h.\ f$

$= \lambda x.\ Apartment(x)$

$[\![Eq2]\!]^g$ $[\![nP1]\!]^g = g(2) = \lambda x.\ Apartment(x)$

$\lambda f.\lambda h:\ f = h.\ f$ $n\ +\ index_{<2,\ <e,t>>}$

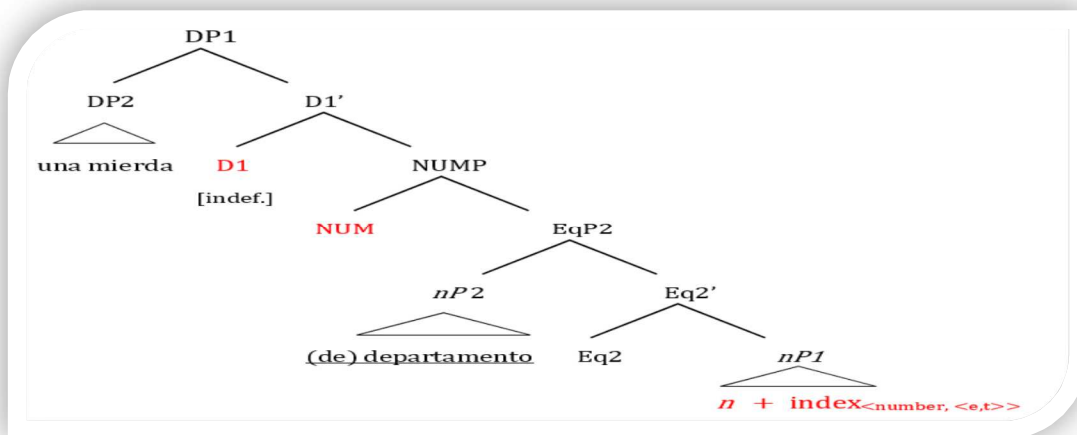Property #1: *agreement/ concord mismatches*

(91) Se   ***demolieron***   esa   mierda   de   *departamentos*
      SE.PASS   demolished.3PL   this.F.SG   shit.F.SG   of   apartment.**M.PL**

Again, like in the case of epithets, agreement/concord is determined by the extended projection of the empty noun, not by the expressive DP.
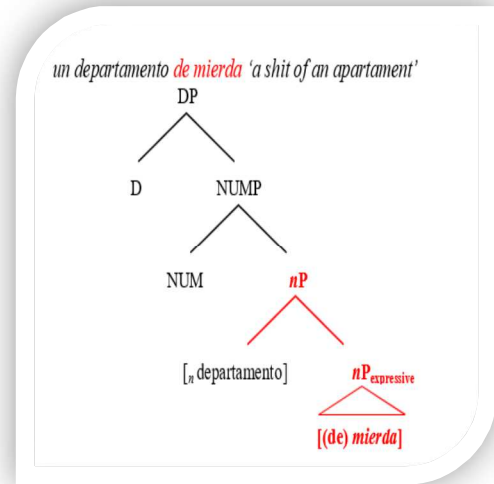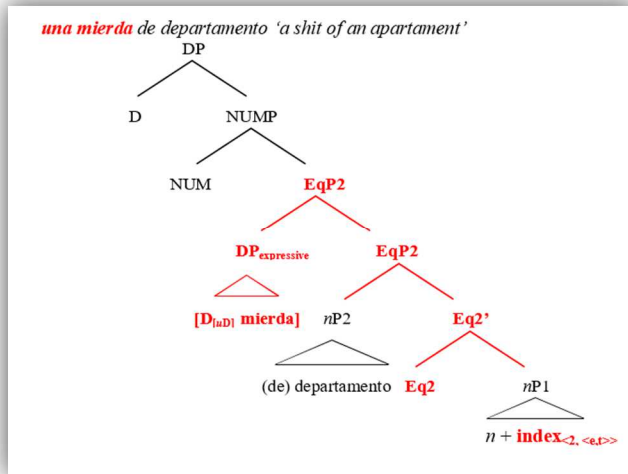
(92)

DP1
├ DP2 — *una mierda*
└ D1'
  ├ D1 [indef.]
  └ NUMP
    ├ NUM
    └ EqP2
      ├ nP2 — (de) departamento
      └ Eq2'
        ├ Eq2
        └ nP1 — $n\ +\ index_{<number,\ <e,t>>}$

Property #2**:** *the predicate inversion illusion*

(93) a. un departamento *de porquería/mierda*   (lit. an apartment of shit)
      b. *una porquería/mierda* de departamento   (lit. a shit of apartament)
            'a shit of an apartment'
(94) a. un departamento *de puta madre*   (lit. an apartment of a POSITIVE EXPRESSIVE
      b. **una puta madre* de departamento (lit. a POSITIVE EXPRESSIVE of apartment)
(95) a. una bosta de *departamento*   (lit. an apartment of shit)
      b. **un departamento* de bosta…   (lit. a shit of apartment)

(96)

una mierda *de departamento 'a shit of an apartament'*

DP
- D
- NUMP
  - NUM
  - **EqP2**
    - **DP_expressive**
      - [D_[uD] **mierda**]
    - **EqP2**
      - *n*P2
        - (de) departamento
      - **Eq2'**
        - **Eq2**
        - *n*P1
          - *n* + **index**_{<2, <e,t>>}

un departamento de mierda 'a shit of an apartament'

DP
- D
- NUMP
  - NUM
  - ***n*P**
    - [_n departamento]
    - ***n*P_expressive**
      - [(de) *mierda*]

<u>Property #3</u>: *the ellipsis ban*

(97) *una mierda de departamento y una <mierda > de casa
a.<u>F.SG</u> shit.<u>F.SG</u> of apartment and a. <u>F.SG</u> shit.<u>F.SG</u> of house

Like in the case of epithets, first the *n*P in which these expressives occur is not elidable, since it is a non-contentful *n*P, but just an empty noun. In turn, the expressive DP cannot guarantee ellipsis of the expressive noun in part because such a DP does not meet the discourse conditions that license nominal ellipsis, but also because the expressive itself is a fake nominal, both from a semantic and syntactic point of view.

(98)

DP
- D
- NUMP
  - NUM_[number]
  - *n*P — *No elidible*
    - *n*_[gender]
    - *Index<2, <e,t>>*
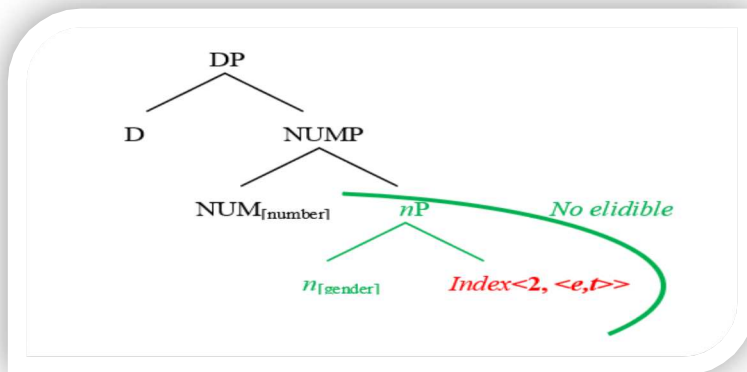
<u>Property #4</u>: *restrictions on NP-ellipsis for the "genitive" NP*
Recall:

(99) una mierda de departamento en San Telmo
a.<u>F.SG</u> shit.<u>F.SG</u> of apartment.<u>M.SG</u> in San Telmo
y uno <departamento> en La Boca
and a.<u>M.SG</u> apartment.<u>M.SG</u> in La Boca
'a shit of an apartment in San Telmo and one in La Boca'

23

This is because the elided *n*P is inside a regular DP, one which clearly licenses nominal ellipsis in a productive way in Spanish and Romance. But recall, also, that the genitive *n*P can never be elided:[3]

(100) *una   mierda   de   departamento   en   San Telmo
       a.F.SG shit.F.SG   of   apartment.M.SG   in   San Telmo
       y   una   mierda   <   de   departamento>   en   La Boca
       and   a.F.SG shit.F.SG   of   apartment.M.SG   in   La Boca
Intended: 'a shit of an apartment in San Telmo and and a shit one in La Boca'

Property #5: *Implicit* de-*NP*

(101) Qué   *mierda*!
      what   shit.F.SG

The empty noun analysis derives cases like these without any further ado. Indeed, these cases nicely illustrate why we really need empty nouns underlying this aspect of the grammar of expressivity in the nominal domain.

(102)
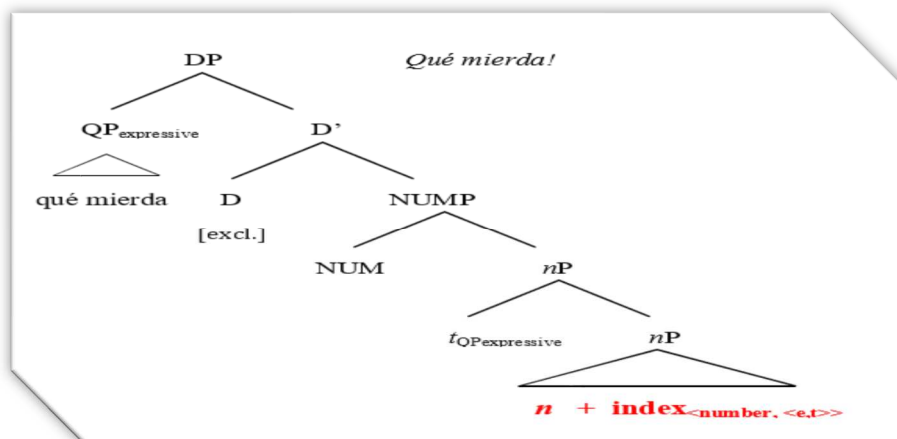
6.2 The "demonstrative de CP" construction
Here is the last one, the *neuter demonstrative of CP* DP:

(103) [*Eso*   de   que   Ana   venga   otra   vez]   no
       that   of   that   Ana   comes.SUBJ   another   time   not
       me   sorprende.
       me   surprises
       'That thing that Ana comes again does not surprise me.'

---

[3] Again, let's introduce Marcel's voice here:

"The suggestion that you make in section 6.6 of your SALT paper, that in the "idiot of a doctor" construction, the expressive is a DPs merged as a nominal modifier of an indexical empty noun is potentially quite interesting. It seems to me that this suggestion may mark the possibility of a meaningful rapprochement between your proposal and my "reverse predication" approach to the syntax of the attributive reading of QBNPs. (Note, for instance, that my "reverse predication" approach can explain the ban on ellipsis of the pre-"de" nominal in much the same way as your analysis (see p. 16 of the SALT paper), with an appeal to the fact that this nominal is not in a selectional relation with a NUM head endowed with the [E]-feature.)"

[Marcel den Dikken, in personal communication via email 11.7.2022]

An alternative with an expressive is very common:

(104) a.   esa *boludez* de que Andrés canta bien
           that bullshit of that Andrés sings well
           'that bullshit that Andrés sings well'

      b.   esa *hijaputez* de denunciar maestros
           that wickedness of denouncing teachers
           'that wickedness of denouncing teachers'

Properties of the "*Demonstrative de CP*" binominal construction:
#1. Unlike the two previous cases, it does not allow for unagreement.

#2. Like in the two previous cases, there is no "predicate raising" alternation and the demonstrative, like epithets, is always prenominal.

#3. Like in the two previous cases, NP-ellipsis of the nominal in complex demonstrative constructions is absolutely banned.

#4. Like in the two previous cases, the preposition *of* forms a constituent with the following CP.

#5. Like in the two previous cases, the *of*-phrase can remain implicit.

6.2.1. Property #2: *no unagreeement*

(105) ***Esa estupidez*** de que la tierra es plana
        that bullshit of that the earth is flat
        no ***la*** acepto.
        not CL.F.SG accept.1SG
        'That bullshit that the Earth is flat, I don't accept it.'

6.2.2. Property #2: no "predicate raising" alternation

(106) a.   eso de que Ana viene
           that of that Ana comes

      b.   *que Ana viene de eso
           that Ana comes of that

6.2.3. Property #3: the ellipsis ban

(107) ****esa estupidez*** de que la tierra es plana
        that bullshit of that the earth is flat
        y esa *<estupidez>* de que hay elfos
        and that bullshit of that there.are elves
Intended: 'that bullshit that the Earth is flat and that one that there are elves'

Compare with situations in which the noun is in predicative / head position (more on this tomorrow):

(108) ***esa estupidez*** que dijiste es peor que
        that bullshit that said.2SG is worst that
        esa *<estupidez>* que dije yo.
        that bullshit that said.1SG I
        'That bullshit you said is worse than the one I said.'

6.2.4. Property #4: *de* forms a constituent with the CP

Coordination of the *de*-phrases:

(109) Eso   de   que   Juan   baile   y   de   que   Ana   cante   es   ridículo.
      that   of   that   Juan   dances   and   of   that   Ana   sings   is   ridiculous
      'That thing that Juan dances and Ana sings is ridiculous.'

Fragment answers:

(110) B: Eso   de   QUÉ?
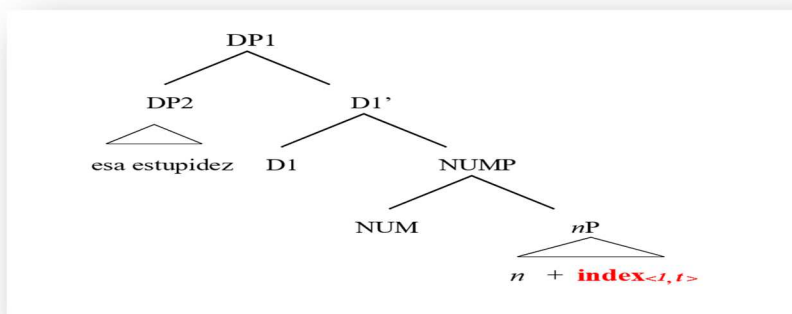   that   of   WHAT
      A: *(de)   que   Juan   baile
            *(of)   that   Juan   dances

6.2.5. Property #5: Implicit *de*-CP

(111) Quién   dijo   [esa   estupidez index$_t$]?
      who   said   that   bullshit
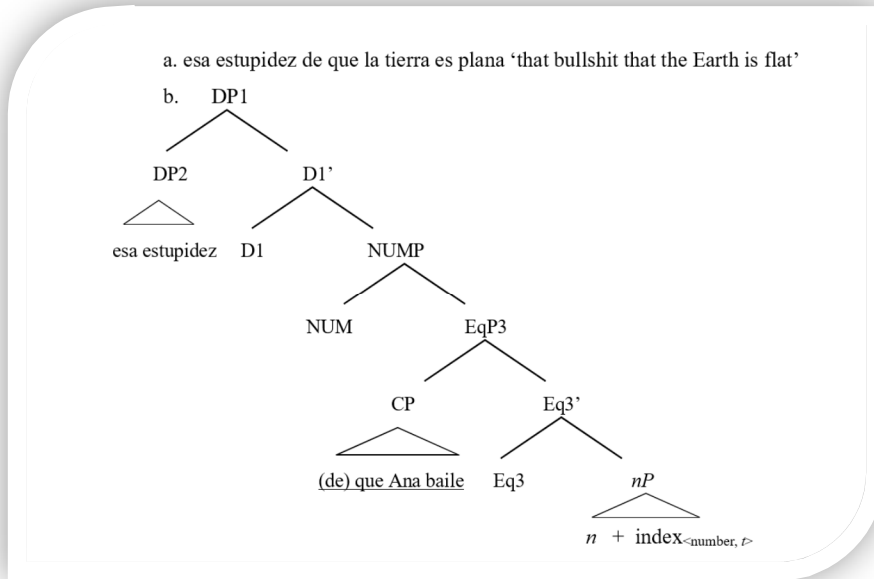   'Who said that bullshit?'

6.2.6. Analysis

An extension of the analysis to the *eso de que* construction is straightforward. First, we have to manipulate the semantic type of the index for making it refer to propositions:

(112)

$\llbracket Eq3 \rrbracket$:$<t, <t, t>> = \lambda q.\lambda p: q = p. q$

(113)

a. esa estupidez de que la tierra es plana 'that bullshit that the Earth is flat'

Most properties follow exactly in the same way as in the previous case, except property (1) on absence of unagreement that remains problematic:

(114) ***esa   estupidez***   de   que   la   tierra   es   plana
    that   bullshit   of   that   the   earth   is   flat
    y   esa   **\<estupidez\>**   de   que   hay   elfos
    and   that   bullshit   of   that   there.are   elves
Intended: 'that bullshit that the Earth is flat and that one that there are elves'

A plausible solution is to assume that a "neuter" feature on lower n amounts to absence of gender, a fact that triggers default gender resolution at PF. Now, since in this case a feminine demonstrative is located in Spec,DP, one could assume that this demonstrative resolves the gender feature on D on the basis of its own gender features. Once the main D resolves its gender features in the way proposed, it also controls anaphoric agreement in the relevant cases.

(115)

a. esa estupidez de que la tierra es plana 'that bullshit that the Earth is flat'
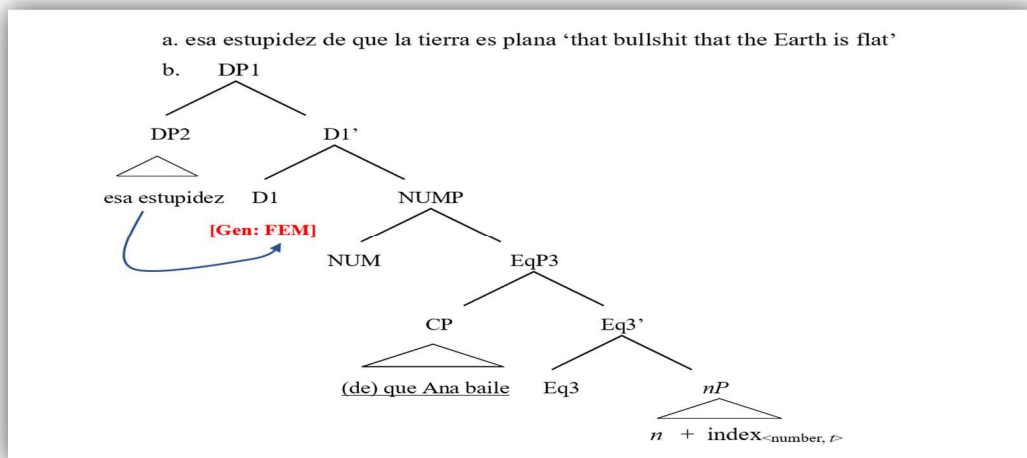
Summary: A set of equative constructions in the nominal domain certificates that there are indeed three types of nominal indexicals distinguished by their denotational domain:

Equations for individuals: $e = e$
Equations for properties: $<e,t> = <e,t>$
Equations for propositions: $t = t$

7. Conclusions

(Q1) How may any word become expressive in the relevant sense? Or how did *animal* in the *el animal de Andrés* lose its original predicative force and communicates a mere stereotype with an associated negative valence?

Syntactic recycling: syntax provides different Merge positions, some of which are predicative and some of which are not, i.e., syntax also provides expletive positions. A subset of lexical items with predicative force are also licensed in expletive positions. To the extent that those items also denote in an expressive dimension of meaning (e.g., by denoting, say, a stereotype in that dimension), we say that in expletive positions the truth-conditional dimension is lost and only the expressive dimension survives. Of course, the best candidates to occur in expletive positions are a subset of already *expressive words* for which the expressive dimension is constantly salient (e.g., *el idiota de Juan*, *una mierda de departamento,* or demonstratives with affective value).

This idea of syntactic manipulation is different from Corver's thesis that the expression of emotion in language requires *syntactic deviation*, i.e., the generation of deviant structures affecting the appraisal system. According to Corver (2016), this would explain some funny properties of Dutch expressives, as, for instance, the use of the so-called spurious indefinite (Bennis et al 1998):

(116)　die　　etters　van　　**een**　　jongens
　　　　those　jerks　　of　　　a　　　boys

One could be tempted to explain the unagreement facts of binominals in Spanish also as cases of syntactic deviation:

(117)　**Reflexive unagreement:**
　　　　el　　　　　gallina　　　de　　Andrés se　　odia　　a　　　sí mismo / *a sí misma
　　　　the.M.SG　　chicken.F.SG　of　　Andrés SE　　hates　　DOM　himself /* herself
　　　　'That chicken Andrés hates himself.'

However, I provided reasons to think that there is no syntactic deviation at all in the Spanish case. Syntax just proceeds generating structures by means of Merge in different syntactic positions, some of which are simply non-representational. One might wonder whether cases like the spurious indefinite in Dutch cannot be reduced to this type of syntactic manipulation. There is a possibility, for instance, that *een* is not a spurious determiner after all, but part of the extended projection of an indexical empty noun (in a similar vein to what Kayne's (2005) has proposed for cases like *a few books*):

(118)　die　　etters　van　　[**een**　[$_{EquP}$　jongens　*n*]]
　　　　those　jerks　　of　　　a　　　　　　　boys

(Q2) What is the exact syntactic and semantic relation between the epithet / expressive and the target?

Equation: Both epithets and mixed expressives participate in pronominal structures. In the case of the *det epithet of DP construction*, the epithet is part of the complex syntax of antilogophoric pronouns. In turn, the mixed expressive in the *det expressive of NP* construction is part of the complex syntax of a projecting empty noun. The syntactic correlate of what I just said is that the genitive coda is a DP in the case of the *det epithet of DP construction,* but an NP in the case of the *det expressive of NP* one. Similar considerations extend to the case of the *demonstrative of CP construction*.

Now, antilogophoric pronouns are projections of mere *individual indexes*, whereas empty noun constructions are projections of *mere property indexes*. In the three cases, interpretation is determined under different assignment functions contextually provided. The *of*-phrases in each case maintains only an indirect relation with epithets / expressives: they are introduced by **Equative Phrases**, which basically resolve the identity of the index or the empty noun *via* syntactic means. Now, the semantic relation with their targets is different in each construction. The epithet does not denote anything at the truth-conditional dimension, it only ascribes a stereotype to the target at the expressive dimension of meaning. In turn, given its lower merge position, mixed expressives are combined with their target *via* predicate modification, giving rise to semantic modification at the truth-conditional dimension. But they also project speaker's attitudes at the expressive dimension.

(Q3) What is the formal link for in the relevant set of constructions?

Not a copula, but a Case marker: the preposition *de* 'of' is a mere Case marker, not a copula (against part of the received view). They are assigned to nominals inside the *n*P domain. This is consistent with the distribution of the *of*-phrase in binominal constructions (the copula hypothesis was never able to explain why the distribution of the *of*-phrase is so similar to the distribution of mere Case markers). At any rate, the relevant implication is that, again, there is no true subject-predicate syntax involved here.

[If time allows it, discuss in class other issues: definiteness effects, the strong pronoun ban, the bare subject problem, etc.]

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Appendix. Primeval Genitives? Some thoughts after Pesetsky (2013)

The paucals funny behavior in Russian DPs:

(1) a. **No paucal (or nonpaucal numeral) (nominative environment)**
No mismatches

èt-**i**	posledn-**ie**	krasiv-**ye**	stol-**y**
these-**nom.pl**	last-**nom.pl**	beautiful-**nom.pl**	table- **nom.pl**

'these last beautiful tables'

b. **With paucal (nominative environment)**
Case mismatch, number mismatch

èt-**i**	posledn-**ie**	dv**a**	krasiv-**yx**	stol-**a**
these-**nom.pl**	last-**nom.pl**	two-**m.nom**	beautiful-*GEN*.**pl**	table-*GEN.sg*

'these last two beautiful tables'

[Pesetsky 2013: 1]

Reduction of the Russian cases to part-of-speech categories:

(2) |Genitive = N
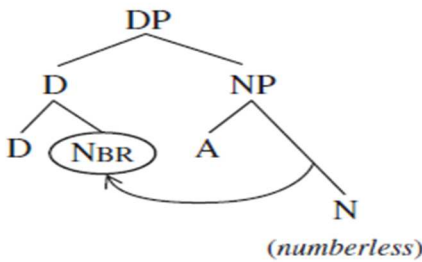   Accusative = V
      Nominative = D
      Obliques = P

"Primeval genitive" conjecture:
Ngen categorizes a Russian root as a noun (in the lexicon).

(3)

NBR-to-D movement

[Pesetsky 2013: 9]

Pesetsky's theory applied to the *det expressive of NP* construction makes sense of the idea that the *of-phrase* can be, after all, the head of the entire DP. In fact, the fact discussed so far could be used as an argument in favor of the primeval genitive conjecture.

"The kinds of elements sometimes classified as "linkers" may have a similar character (Collins 2003; Den Dikken and Singhapreecha 2004; Baker and Collins 2006; Den Dikken 2006). For example, the nominal-internal raising studied by Den Dikken and his colleagues that triggers the occurrence of English *of* and its counterparts in constructions like *that idiot of a doctor* or French *une pizza de chaude* 'a hot pizza' (lit. 'a pizza of hot') might indeed serve simply as a host for the moved element, as suggested in the works cited. ***Alternatively***, one might imagine a connection more analogous to that proposed here for the presence of N gen morphology when Russian Quant raises to D. For example, *une pizza de chaude* might involve raising of N to D, with the requirements of D in this construction blocking the overwriting of N● (*de*) by D●."

[Pesetsky 2013: 102]

(4)

una mierda de departamento 'a shit of an apartament'
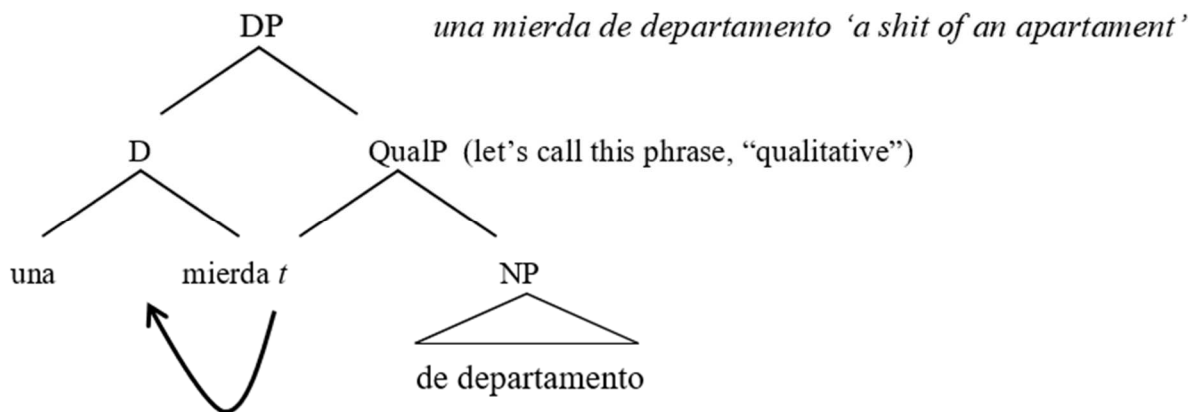
Here are two preliminary reasons that lead me to reject the primeval genitive conjecture for the relevant binominal constructions in Spanish:

<div style="border: 2px solid; background: orange; padding: 10px;">

A. It misses the connection with the *Det epithet of DP construction*, for which the primeval conjecture makes no sense. Yet, as we have seen, there are good reasons to reduce the syntax of binominals to an equative syntax connecting DPs or NPs with empty pronominals or empty nouns.

B. It cannot account for the fact that the genitive cannot be elided. Recall:

</div>

(5) *una   mierda   de   departamento   en   San Telmo
     a.F.SG   shit.F.SG   of   apartment.M.SG   in   San Telmo
     y   una   mierda   <   de   departamento>   en   La Boca
     and   a.F.SG   shit.F.SG   of   apartment.M.SG   in   La Boca

Intended: 'a shit of an apartment in San Telmo and and a shit one in La Boca'

Now, in favor of Pestesky, I have preliminary tested whether this type of "genitive" NP-ellipsis is allowed in Russian and it seems it is, a relevant fact, if correct. Here a pair of relevant examples provided by Vera Gribanova in personal communication (via email, 12.22.2021):

(6) Mne   nuzhny   eti   dva   stola,   a
     me.DAT   are.needed.PL   these.NOM   two.GEN   tables.GEN   and
     emu   nuzhny   te   tri   < stola >.
     him.DAT   are.needed.PL   those.NOM   three.NOM   tables.GEN

'I need these two tables, and he needs those three.'

Vera: To make there be a nominative antecedent for the genitive, you can do the following:

(7) Te   krasivye   stoly   mne   ochen' nravjatsja.   A   te
     those.NOM   beautiful.NOM   tables.NOM   me.DAT very   please.PL   while those.NOM
     dva   < stola >   ne   nravjatsja.
     two.NOM   tables.GEN   NEG   please.PL

'I really like those beautiful tables. But I don't like those two.'

Unlike Spanish binominals, then, primeval genitive nouns in Russian can be elided both taking a genitive (see (6)) or a nominative antecedent (see (7)).