Two ways to be expressive: The case of the Italian cazzo and merda.

Cora Cavirani-Pots, Edoardo Caviranu & Guido Vanden Wyngaerd KU Leuven

{cora.pots, edoardo.cavirani, guido.vandenwyngaerd}@kuleuven.be

1. Introduction. Italian has a number of expressive nouns, which can express the speaker's perspective (Potts 2007). This talk focuses on the morphosyntactic properties of Italian *cazzo* lit. 'dick' and *merda* lit. 'shit' in the N-of-an-N construction (1)-(2).

(1) Che cazzo di articolo!	(2) Che merda di articolo!
what dick of paper	what shit of paper
'What a bad paper!'	'What a bad paper!'

2. The data. Expressive *cazzo* can be invisible for gender agreement (3), and it has rigid number (4) (Doliana 2015, Giorgi and Poletto 2021).

(3) Un-a cazz-o di serat-a	(4) *Che cazz-i di pecoron-i!
a.F.SG dick-m.sg of evening-f-sg	what dick-M.PL of sheep-M-PL
'A fucking evening'	Int.: 'What a fucking sheep!'

In contrast, *merda* is never invisible for gender agreement (5), and it agrees in number with the lower N (6).

(5) Un-a / *Un	merd-a di giorn-o	(6) Che merd-e di pecor-e!
a.F.SG / a.M.SG	shit.F.SG of day.M.SG	what shit.f.pl of sheep.F.PL
'A fucking day	,	'What a fucking sheep!'

3. The analysis. We claim that expressive *cazzo* has its features and original root content stripped away, so that only an abstract expressive content remains (see (9)). It is invisible to the D-probe, which will agree with the features of the lower noun. In contrast, expressive *merda* is has its own gender and number projections, and is inserted into the functional sequence of another, lower root (Cavirani-Pots 2020) (see (10)). In this case, the D-probe will find the number and gender features of *merda*, and agree with it (5).



References: • Cavirani-Pots, C. (2020). *Roots in Progress*, PhD thesis, KU Leuven, Leuven. • Saab, A. (2022b). Introducing expressives through equations. Implications for the theory of nominal predication in Romance, in *Proceedings of SALT*, Vol. 32, pp. 356–383.