

THE CURIOUS CASE OF N1 + (OF) + PROPER N2: EVALUATION VS COMPLEX PROPER NAMES

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Abstract. The paper addresses the syntax of two binominal patterns that involve a ‘negative name of role’ on the first nominal position and a proper name inserted in the second nominal position. The first pattern, dubbed ‘negative name of role’ N1 + Proper N2 (*criminalul X* / criminal.DEF X) is shown to be a classifier + noun structure, where the classifier is a classifier of quality or a qualifier, the structure behaving syntactically as complex descriptive proper name. The second pattern, referred to as ‘negative name of role’ N1 + of + Proper N2 (*criminalul de X* / criminal.DEF of X) is shown to be a binominal evaluative or qualitative construction, where the presence of *de* ‘of’ signals the presence of P-features, which is done by raising N1 from its original position inside D_{internal} to a position inside D_{external}, in a split-D configuration.

Keywords: evaluative binominals, complex proper names, P-features, classifiers.

1. INTRODUCTION

The paper investigates two types of binominal constructions in Romanian. The first, illustrated in (1) involves an N1 + Proper N2 structure, while the second, illustrated in (2) below, minimally differs from the first by containing what seems to be a prepositional element *de* ‘of’ and is, therefore, an N1 + of + Proper N2 pattern.

(1) **Teroristul Carlos Șacalul** a fost condamnat².

Terrorist.DEF Carlos Jackal.DEF has been convicted.

‘The terrorist Carlos the Jackal has been convicted.’

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² <https://hotnews.ro/teroristul-carlos-sacalul-a-fost-condamnat-la-inchisoare-pe-viata-pentru-atentatul-din-paris-in-1974-431354>

- (2) Nu ai noștri au pierdut, ci **teroristul** **ăsta de Nadal** a câștigat³.
 not Gen ours have lost, but terrorist.DEF this of Nadal has won
 ‘It’s not that our team has lost, but that the phenomenal Nadal has won.’

In the example in (1), the absence of the prepositional element *de* ‘of’ correlates with a complex proper name interpretation, where N1, i.e. the first nominal in the structure, names or labels the entity denoted by N2, in a fashion similar to constructions such as *the planet Venus* or *der Stadt Wien* / ‘the city Vienna’ / ‘the city of Vienna’ (see van Riemsdijk 1998, Cornilescu 2007, Tănase-Dogaru 2013, 2024a). On the other hand, in (2), N1 performs an evaluative function, giving rise to a ‘standard’ binominal qualitative construction, in the sense that certain features are (metaphorically) transferred from the domain of N1 onto the domain of N2, the resulting interpretation being “Nadal is a phenomenal / an extremely good tennis player”.

The paper addresses the role played by the prepositional-functional element *de* ‘of’ in articulating the two types of structures as well as the different semantic interpretations that are read off these structures. In the overall aim of describing the difference between the patterns N1 + Proper N2 and N1 + of + Proper N2, the paper proposes an analysis in terms of nominal classificatory devices vs checking of P-features, such as evaluation by the speaker, respectively.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents and elaborates on the data available. Section 3 takes the steps towards an analysis in terms of complex proper names and evaluative P-features, respectively. Section 4 gives the conclusions.

2. THE DATA

The purpose of this section is to present a number of contrastive pairs of the type in (1) and (2). The examples in (a) throughout illustrate the ‘negative names of roles’ N1 + Proper N2, while the examples in (b) illustrate the corresponding ‘negative name of roles’ N1 + of + Proper N2 patterns.

- (3) a. **Legionarul Sechila**, săltat de la Aeroportul Otopeni, încerca să plece⁴.
 guardist.DEF Sechila, busted of at Airport.DEF Otopeni, try.IMPF to leave
 ‘Guardist Sechila, busted at Otopeni Airport, was trying to leave.’
 b. Pare că **legionarul de Georgescu** nu prea agreează ideea⁵.
 seems that Guardist.DEF of Georgescu not too approves idea
 ‘It seems that the Guardist of a Georgescu does not really approve of the idea.’

In (3a), *legionarul Sechila* behaves as a complex proper name (see Cornilescu 2007), in the sense that N1 *legionarul* labels the kind of entity denoted by N2. In (3b), *legionarul de Georgescu* is a ‘standard’ evaluative binominal construction, where negative

³ <https://www.gsp.ro/sporturi/jocurile-olimpice-2016/cum-s-a-trait-o-finala-tensionata-decisa-in-cateva-puncte-si-pierduta-de-florin-mergea-si-horia-tecau-luminita-paul-si-marian-ursescu-scriu-din-ris2016-ce-nu-s-a-simtit-la-tv-485838-comentarii.html>

⁴ <https://www.aktual24.ro/legionarul-sechila-saltat-de-la-aeroportul-otopeni-el-incerca-sa-plece-din-tara/>

⁵ <https://x.com/RobertPMaverick/status/1883260765232300283?mx=2>

semantic features associated with the Romanian Iron Guard are transferred onto a specific individual. The same contrast, still carried by the item *legionarul*, can be witnessed in (4a,b) below, where Proper N2 designates the same individual:

- (4) a. Cea mai proastă glumă venită pe ziua de azi, de la **legionarul Neamțu**⁶
 DEF more stupid joke come on day.DEF of today, of at Guardist.DEF Neamțu
 ‘Today’s worst joke came from Guardist Neamțu’
 b. Cernea l-a băgat în Parlament pe **legionarul de Neamțu**⁷
 Cernea him-has put in Parliament DOM Guardist.DEF of Neamțu
 ‘Cernea made that Guardist, Neamțu, a member of Parliament.’

In (4a), the individual designated by the Proper N2 is inserted in the class of Iron Guard sympathizers, while in (4b), the same individual is evaluated with respect to some negative features thought to characterize the Iron Guard sympathizers.

- (5) a. La 25 ianuarie 1947 a murit **gangsterul Al Capone**⁸.
 at 25 January 1947 has died gangster.DEF Al Capone
 ‘On the 25th of January 1947 the gangster Al Capone died’
 b. **Gangsterul ăla de Mustață** nu mai atrage pe lângă el decât 400 persoane⁹
 gangster.DEF that of Mustață not more attracts on near him but 400 persons
 ‘That gangster of Mustață no longer attracts more than 400 persons around him.’

The pair in (5a-b) illustrates the same contrast: an individual is either labelled as belonging to the class of gangsters (5a), or negatively evaluated with respect to features of that class (5b), without necessarily making part of the respective class of entities/individuals.

- (6) a. **Teroristul ISIS Abdesalem Lassoued** a folosit un pașaport fals românesc¹⁰.
 terrorist.DEF ISIS Abdesalem Lassoued has used a passport fake Romanian.
 ‘The ISIS terrorist Abdesalem Lassoued used a forged Romanian passport.’
 b. **Teroristul ăla de Păduraru** care stă și pândește mașinile...¹¹
 terrorist.DEF that of Păduraru who stays and spies cars.DEF
 ‘That terrorist Păduraru who’s always spying on cars.’

The examples in (6a,b) illustrate the contrast between the complex proper name interpretation (6a) and the evaluative interpretation, using the N1 *terorist* ‘terrorist’. In (6a), N1 designates an actual terrorist, while in (6b), the individual referred to by N2 is negatively evaluated with respect to the characteristics of the class of terrorists.

⁶ <https://hotnews.ro/mihail-neamtu-dezvaluie-ca-a-fost-hartuit-sexual-de-un-preot-anglican-pe-cand-era-student-doctorand-in-uk-403586>

⁷ <https://jurnalul.ro/stiri/politica/pagina-938>

⁸ <https://adevarul.ro/istoria-zilei/25-ianuarie-ziua-in-care-a-murit-al-capone-2236280.html>

⁹ <https://www.gsp.ro/international/europa-league/galeria-stelei-continua-protestele-si-nu-va-sustine-echipa-nici-la-cluj-253007-comentarii-pagina1.html>

¹⁰ <https://m.ziare.com/brasov/stiri-actualitate/teroristul-de-la-bruxelles-care-a-ucis-doua-persoane-a-avut-pasaport-romanesc-fals-8915793>

¹¹ <https://www.turnucustiri.ro/comentariul-zilei/10572-bravo-baieti-sunteti-curati-comentariul-zilei>

The same contrast holds in the examples (7a,b) below. In (7a), N1 refers to a real-world drug-dealer and serves to label the entity denoted by N2, while in (7b), the referent of N2 is transferred a set of features that characterize the class of dealers / traffickers.

- (7) a. **Traficantul Maru**, legături periculoase cu cei mai violenți
dealer.DEF Maru, connections dangerous with DEF more violent
cântăreți de trap
singers of trap
'The dealer Maru (has) dangerous connections with the most violent trap singers.'
b. Cred că **traficantul ăla de Coldea** l-a și "prăfuit" bine...
(I) think that dealer.DEF that of Coldea him-has and dusted well
'I think that dealer of Coldea has had him beaten.'

Finally, the examples in (8-10) below consistently illustrate the contrast between a complex proper name interpretation (in a) and a 'negative evaluation / insult' interpretation (in b).

- (8) a. Printre primii deținuți s-a aflat și vestitul **mafiot Al Capone**¹².
among first.DEF detainees REFL-has found and famous.DEF mafioso Al Capone.
'Among the first detainees was also the famous mafioso Al Capone.'
b. PNL îi cheamă pe sălăjeni să îl pedepsească pe **mafiotul de Băsescu**¹³.
Băsescu
'The National-Liberal Party calls on the inhabitants of Sălaj county to punish Băsescu', that mafioso.'
(9) a. Cum a făcut bani **mercenarul Potra** în Congo¹⁴
how has made money mercenary.DEF Potra in Congo
'How the mercenary Potra made money in Congo'
b. E două clase peste **mercenarul de Oțele**¹⁵
is two classes above mercenary.DEF of Oțele
'He is twice as good as that mercenary of a footballer Oțele'
(10) a. **Criminalul** de război **Lubanga** înființează o nouă grupare rebelă¹⁶
criminal of war Lubanga establishes a new group rebel
'The war criminal Lubanga is setting up a new rebel group.'

¹² <https://evenimentulistoric.ro/incredibila-evadare-din-cea-mai-renumita-inchisoare-din-lume.html>

¹³ <https://graiulsalajului.ro/pnl-ii-cheama-pe-salajeni-sa-il-pedepseasca-pe-mafiotul-de-basescu-a-21664>

¹⁴ <https://www.g4media.ro/cum-a-facut-bani-mercenarul-potra-in-congo-cand-aduci-soferi-de-camioane-agenti-de-securitate-si-oameni-de-pest-60-de-ani-mi-am-dat-seama-ca-nu-era-bine-organizat-asa-ca-am-cerut-sa-pl.html>

¹⁵ <https://www.sportarad.ro/2023/01/23/roger-junio-ca-si-revenit-la-uta-accidentarile-lui-isac-si-stahl-urgenteaza-schimbul-brazilianului-cu-otele/>

¹⁶ <https://www.rfi.fr/ro/interna%C5%A3ional/20250404-criminalul-de-r%C4%83zboi-lubanga-%C3%AEnfiin%C8%9Beaz%C4%83-o-nou%C4%83-grupare-rebel%C4%83-care-amenin%C8%9B%C4%83-s%C4%83-st%C3%A2measc%C4%83-haos-%C3%AEn-estul-congoului>

- b. Parcă ar fi **criminalul** **ăla de Funeriu** care pică copiii la
 seems would be criminal.DEF that of Funeriu who flunks children.DEF at
 bacalaureat¹⁷
 bacculaureate
 ‘He acts like that criminal, Funeriu, who flunks children for their SATs’.

The data presented in this section show that there are two syntactic patterns for ‘negative name of roles’ in Romanian, such as *legionar* ‘Guardist’, *gangster* ‘gangster’, *terorist* ‘terrorist’, *traficant* ‘dealer’, *mercenar* ‘mercenary’, *mafiot* ‘mafioso’, *criminal* ‘criminal’. In the N1 + Proper N2 pattern, the syntactic structure is that where N1 names or labels the entity or individual denoted by N2. In the N1 + of + Proper N2 structure, N1 negative evaluates the individual denoted by N2. Sometimes, the same proper name appears in both types of constructions, presumably because speakers hesitate between the negative evaluation / insult dimension and the class-inclusion interpretation (11):

- (11) a. **Criminalul** **Putin** pregătește şah mat pentru România¹⁸
 Criminal.DEF Putin prepares check mate for Romania
 ‘Putin the criminal is preparing a check mate for Romania’.
 b. Cu **criminalul** **de Putin** nu se poate negocia¹⁹
 With criminal.DEF of Putin not REFL can negotiate
 ‘One cannot negotiate with Putin, that criminal.’

The following sections will discuss the syntax and pragmatic interpretations of the two patterns. It will be shown that the pattern N1 + Proper N2 is a complex proper name (Cornilescu 2007, Tănase-Dogaru 2013), while the pattern N1 + of + Proper N2 is a binominal evaluative construction that checks P-features, such as subjective evaluation by the speaker (Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011, 2025 ms.).

3. ANALYSIS

The aim of the present section is to offer an analysis of the two patterns identified in section 2. The first pattern, i.e. ‘negative names of roles’ N1 + Proper N2, will be shown to function as complex proper names (Cornilescu 2007, Tănase-Dogaru 2013), where the first nominal slot is occupied by a classifier of quality which names or labels the entity denoted by the proper N2. The second pattern, i.e. ‘negative name of role’ + of + Proper N2 function as evaluative / qualitative binominal constructions that check P-features in the periphery of the outer D (Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011, 2025 ms., Tănase-Dogaru 2011, 2012).

¹⁷ <https://evz.ro/un-fost-ministru-al-educatiei-discurs-vehement-dupa-ce-o-femeie-a-fost-omorata-de-caini.html>

¹⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mBHRv2NFBf4>

¹⁹ <https://ziare.com/razboi-ucraina/servicii-secrete-greseala-trump-putin-hotarat-control-kiev-1929427>

3.1. 'Negative name of role' N1 + Proper N2

The present section analyzes the pattern 'negative name of role' N1 + Proper N2 in terms of complex proper names (Cornilescu 2007, Tănase-Dogaru 2013).

Complex or descriptive proper names are juxtapositions of common nouns and proper names. The descriptive noun designates a social role, i.e. kinship, profession, institutional role, a sort of place, i.e. city, street, river, village, or some other entity, i.e. a theatre, a planet, etc. (van Riemsdijk 1998, Löbel 2001, Cornilescu 2007, Tănase-Dogaru 2013).

- (12) Profesorul Ionescu, regina Elisabeta, oraşul Iaşi, strada Paris
 professor.DEF Ionescu, queen.DEF Elisabeth, city.DEF Iasi, street.DEF Paris
 'Professor Ionescu', 'Queen Elizabeth', 'the city of Iaşi', 'Paris street'
 (Cornilescu 2007, 63)

Van Riemsdijk (1998) calls these constructions 'qualificational constructions', while N1, which is treated as a semi-lexical head, is dubbed a 'qualifier':

- (13) der Planet Venus, die Stadt Wien, der Monat März, der Paragraph 218
 the Planet Venus, the city Vienna, the month March, the paragraph 218
 'the planet Venus', 'the city of Vienna', 'the month (of) March', 'paragraph 218'
 (van Riemsdijk 1998, 20)

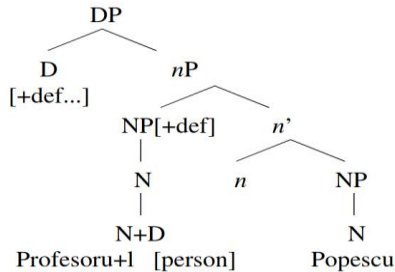
Löbel (2001) refers to the same construction as a 'non-relational noun licensing the non-participant role of Name'. Following van Riemsdijk (1998), Löbel (2001) treats such examples as single projections, i.e. two elements sharing the same referent:

- (14) the book 'The Name of the Rose', the poet Shakespeare, the film 'Gone with the Wind', the report No.26
 (Löbel 2001:260)

In Cornilescu (2007) this type of construction is analyzed as classifier-noun structure, where the common name N1 has a classifying role, indicating the kind of entity the proper name denotes. The descriptive common noun merges as the specifier of the nominal-class head, since the feature of this n-head is one of the features of the common noun. In the structure of a Romanian descriptive proper name (15), the proper name is too low to check [+def, +φ+ person], so it is the definite descriptive NP which checks the D[+def] feature²⁰.

²⁰ In Tănase-Dogaru (2013), the N1 in complex proper names is treated on a par with Chinese 'count-classifier' (Cheng and Sybesma 1999), i.e. classifiers which name the unit in which the entity designated by N2 naturally occurs (e.g. *san ge ren* / three CLAS people 'three persons').

(15)



(Cornilescu 2007, 63)

The analysis in terms of complex proper names has been extended to other types of constructions, such as temporal names (complex proper names of years (16), months (17), hours (18), days (19), in Tănase-Dogaru 2022) and glossonyms, i.e. names of languages (20) (Tănase-Dogaru 2024a following Kayne 2005):

- (16) a. Slavici îl urmează în **anul 1880**.
 Slavici CL.ACC.MASC.SG follows in year.DEF 1880.
 ‘Slavici follows him in the year 1880.’
- b. Oficial, **în 1880**, în regiune trăiau 241 de persoane.
 officially, in 1880, in region live.IMPERF.3.PL 241 of persons
 ‘Officially, in 1880, 241 persons inhabited the region.’ (Tănase-Dogaru 2022, 190)
- (17) b. **în luna aprilie** au loc expoziții și festivaluri
 in month.DEF April have.3.PL place exhibitions and festivals
 ‘In the month of April exhibitions and festivals take place.’
- a. **În aprilie** devine din nou un om liber.
 in April become.3.SG again a man free
 ‘in April he becomes a free man again.’ (Tănase-Dogaru 2022, 190)
- (18) a. E **ora șase**.
 is hour six
- b. E **șase**.
 is six
 ‘It’s six o’clock.’ (Tănase-Dogaru 2022, 192)
- c. It’s six.
 it’s six HOUR
 ‘It’s six o’clock.’ (Kayne 2005:258)
- (19) a. Merg la cinema **lunea** (habitual reading) = DAY OF luni
 go.1SG.PRES at cinema Monday.DEF = DAY OF Monday
 ‘I go to the cinema on Mondays’
- b. Merg la cinema **luni** (punctual reading) = DAY OF luni
 go.1.SG.PRES at cinema Monday = DAY OF Monday
 ‘I go to the cinema next Monday.’ (Tănase-Dogaru 2022, 187-191)
- (20) a. Vorbește **limba engleză**.
 speak.PRES.3SG language.FEM English.FEM
 ‘(s)he speaks English’

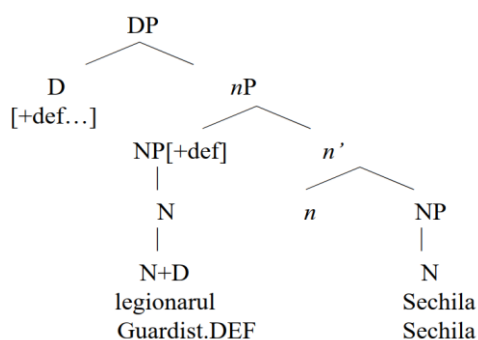
- b. Vorbește **engleză**.
 speak.PRES.3SG English.FEM
 ‘(s)he speaks English’

(Tănase-Dogaru 2024, 157)

Throughout the examples in (16) to (20), the bolded constructions illustrate complex or descriptive proper names (of roles, years, months, hours, days, and languages) which are patterned on a classifier-noun sequence. This classifier N1 is either overt (16 a, 17 a, 18 a, 20 a) or covert (16 b, 17 b, 18 b, 19 a, b, 20 b).

Going back to the syntactic analysis of the pattern ‘negative name of role’ + Proper N2, illustrated in (3a) and repeated here for convenience as (21), the claim is that N1 is a qualifier, i.e. a classifier of quality in a complex proper name structure.

(21)



This section has analyzed different types of constructions that fall under the umbrella of complex proper names. In such constructions, the first nominal in the binominal structure, i.e. N1, is a descriptive, common noun, that names the entity or individual denoted by the second nominal element, N2. It was shown that structures like *legionarul Sechila* / Guardist.DEF Sechila / ‘Guardist Sechila’ can be analyzed on a par with *profesorul Ionescu* / teacher.DEF Ionescu / ‘teacher Ionescu’, in the sense that N1 acts as a qualifier or a count-classifier. The following section investigates the ‘negative name of role’ N1 + of + Proper N2 and proposes an analysis in terms of checking of P-features in a binominal qualitative construction.

3.2. ‘Negative name of role’ N1 + of + Proper N2

While the previous section analyzes the pattern *criminalul X* ‘criminal X’ as a complex proper name structure, this section proposes that the pattern ‘negative name of role’ N1 + of + Proper N2, of the type *criminalul de X* ‘that criminal of an X’, is analyzable as a Double-DP qualitative construction (DDPQ in Tănase-Dogaru 2011, 2012) that checks P-features in an outer D.

Binominal evaluative constructions have been the subject of extensive research and are known by various labels, such as ‘qualitative constructions’ (Milner 1978, Hulk and Tellier 2000), predicate inversion structures (Corver 1998, Den Dikken 1998, 2006),

binominal NPs (Aarts 1998), pivotal N1 of N2 constructions (Zamparelli 1996), N/A de N constructions (Español-Echevarría 1998). They are illustrated for various languages in (22):

- (22) a. ce bijoux d'église romane (French; Doetjes and Rooryck 2003, 278)
 'this jewel of a roman church'
 b. een boom van een kerel (Dutch; Foolen 2004, 76)
 'a tree of a man'
 c. quella carogna del tuo dottore (Italian; Napoli 1989, 203)
 that scoundrel of-the your doctor
 d. el idiota del vecino (Spanish; Villalba 2007, 131)
 'the good of Juan'
 e. that fool of an engineer (English; Constantinescu 2011, 49)

In spite of the syntactic similarity between evaluative binominal constructions (23 a) and classifier-noun sequences (23 b), the literature generally makes a sharp distinction between them, in the sense that expressions of quality and quantity are seen in an either-or relation:

- (23) a. o otravă de om²¹
 a poison of human
 'a poison of a human being'
 b. un strop de sânge
 a drop of blood

However, classifiers like *strop* 'drop' have metaphorical uses by means of which they become evaluative so that classifiers / quantifying N1s and evaluative / qualifying N1s are actually placed on a cline. This was first noticed by Lehrer (1986), who, in discussing examples such as those in (24), used the label *metaphorical classifiers*:

- (24) a bear of a man, a slip of a girl, a dream of a house (Lehrer 1986: 111)

The same kind of metaphorical classifiers are argued to occupy first nominal position in the structure of the pattern 'negative name of role' N1 + of + Proper N2. The pattern is thus integrated into a class of constructions featuring metaphorical, qualitative classifier N1s in Romanian. This class contains (small) size nouns in their evaluating use (25) (Brems 2010, Tănase-Dogaru 2022), vengery terms in 'transferred contexts' (26) (Lehrer 1986, Tănase-Dogaru 2024b), and evaluative 'arrangement' classifiers (27) (Benigni 2023, Benigni & Latos 2023, Tănase-Dogaru 2024b).

- (25) a. a bunch of hamfisted dimwits (Brems 2010, 84)

²¹ https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=815325153583195&set=a.351582283290820&type=3&locale=ro_RO&paipv=0&eav=Afbf5KCMLXP46cM_UPWFZ39CeaCO1ptBPLnem9sO9IqbqveKkWp56yfln3L3SKtCd1c&_rdr

- b. o mână de oameni săraci (Tănase-Dogaru 2022, 110)
 a hand of people poor
 ‘a handful of poor people’
- (26) a. herd / flock / bevy / swarm / gaggle / litter of philosophers (Lehrer 1986, 113)
 b. turmă / stol / roi / banc / ceată de profesori (Tănase-Dogaru 2024b, 25)
 herd / flock / swarm / school / gang of professors
- (27) a. val de concedieri masive, o mare de lacrimi, un râu de sânge
 wave of lay-offs massive a sea of tears a river of blood
 (Tănase-Dogaru 2024b, 26)

In (25), N1 emphasizes the negative evaluation of N2, in the sense that N1 contextually mirrors the negative connotations of N2 (Brems 2010). In (26), N1 metaphorically transfers features associated with animal groups onto N2. In (27), the same kind of transfer is at work: the meaning of the construction arises from the interaction of the N1 and the N2 as the result of a process of *co-semiosis and metaphorization* (Benigni and Latos 2023).

The syntactic structure under discussion shares the ‘negative evaluation’ dimension with the ‘evaluative classifier construction’ in Romanian, a type of evaluative binominal construction where evaluative N1 classifiers are used with human N2 referents (Tănase-Dogaru forthcoming).

- (28) a. o **jigodie de om** ne-a vândut pe toți
 a distemper of man us-has sold DOM all
 ‘a scumbag of a man sold all of us’
- b. e o **dulceață de om**
 is a jam of man
 ‘He is a sweetness of a man.’

In (28), the evaluative classifier N1s serve the purpose of inserting the human referent N2s at the extreme ends of a good / bad axis and, from this vantage point, they seem to be semantically bleached. Other examples of N1 classifiers that place human referents at the ‘bad’ end of the good/bad axis are: *jigodie* ‘distemper’, *japiță* ‘tramp’, *javră* ‘cur’, *canalie* ‘scoundrel’, *bestie* ‘beast’, *gunoi* ‘trash’, *diavol* ‘devil’, *drac* ‘devil’, *rahat* ‘shit’, *curvă* ‘whore’ (Tănase-Dogaru forthcoming).

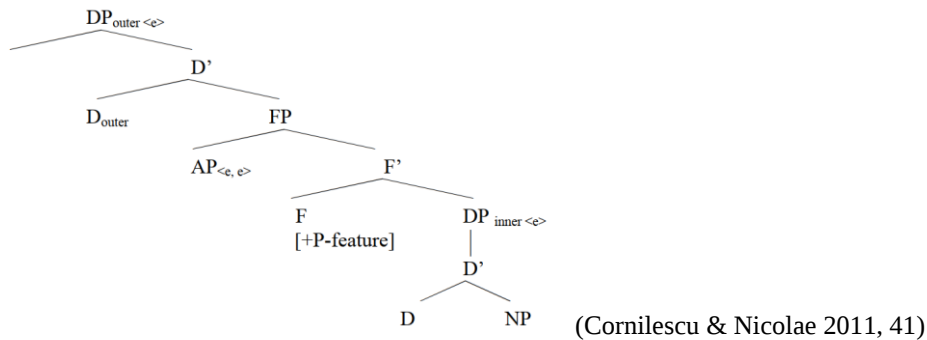
Unlike these classifier constructions, the ‘negative name of role’ N1 + of + Proper N2’ use classifiers that are not semantically bleached. The semantic features of the common noun N1 are transferred onto the individual denoted by the Proper N2.

To represent the pattern under discussion, the following assumptions will prove instrumental (following Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011, 2025 ms). The DP is a phase and phases have peripheries, understood as edge domains devoted to the checking of (quantificational) P-features (see also Butler 2004, McNay 2005). Since Chomsky (2000, 2001), P(ragmatic)-features (such as [+quantificational], [+modal], [+evaluation], [+emphasis], etc.) are seen as part of UG features and therefore they may play a role in the derivation. The checking of P-features in Romanian is visible in the behavior of prenominal adjectives in Romanian, for instance, which merge only if they check such a feature (Cornilescu & Nicolae ms.). According to Cornilescu & Nicolae (2011, 2025 ms.), P-features are checked in a syntactic space contained in a Split-D structure between an outer D_{external} and an inner D_{internal} , called the d^* -periphery. The d^* -periphery contains functional projections that check P-features. For instance, d^* -periphery adjectives (bolded

in (29)) focus on modal subjective evaluation, (contrastive) topic/focus, specificity, or other judgments by the speaker (Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011, 2025 ms.)

- (29) a. un **simpatic** [n*fost prim-ministru]
a nice former prime minister
b. aceste **fenomenale** [n* şapte legi]
these phenomenal seven laws (Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011, 41)

(30)



It is interesting to notice that *d**-periphery adjectives in Romanian are also typically the same (nominalized) adjectives appearing in evaluative / qualitative binominal constructions.

- (31) a. **simpaticul** de Janibazil²²
nice.DEF of Janibazil
'that nice Janibazil'
b. **fenomenalul** de Nicușor²³
phenomenal.DEF of Nicușor
'that phenomenon of Nicușor'

These nominalized adjectives and the (scalar) names of 'negative' roles under discussion in this section have in common the checking of P-features like subjective evaluation (and/or other judgments by the speaker).

In order to derive the structure of (3b), repeated here for convenience as (32), the paper proposes a mechanism of P-feature checking in a functional projection (that we may call Eval P, Evaluation Phrase). The presence of P-features is signaled by the prepositional element *de* 'of'.

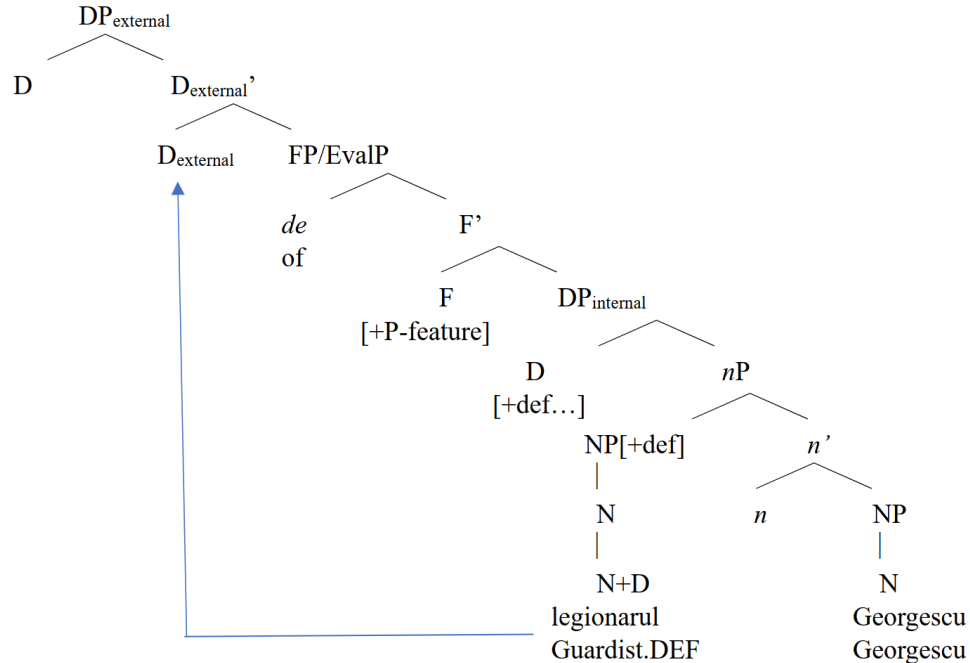
- (32) Pare că **legionarul de Georgescu** nu prea agreează ideea²⁴.
seems that Guardist.DEF of Georgescu not too approves idea
'It seems that the Guardist of a Georgescu does not really approve of the idea'

²² <https://www.remi-online.ro/sId9592-p0.html>

²³ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/747660115270166/posts/9736437666392321/>

²⁴ <https://x.com/RobertPMaverick/status/1883260765232300283?mx=2>

(33)



In the structure in (33), the negative name of role *legionarul* checks the [+def] feature in D and then raises to D_{external} in order to check the P-feature (evaluation by the speaker) in the FP.

This section has investigated the ‘negative name of role’ N1 + of + Proper N2 of the type *criminalul de X* / ‘criminal.DEF of X’. It has been shown that the derivation involves the checking of P-features hosted in some functional projection situated between a D_{external} and a D_{internal} in a split-D structure.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The paper has discussed the syntax of two binominal patterns that involve a ‘negative name of role’ on the first nominal position and a proper name which occupies the second nominal position.

The paper has shown that the first pattern identified, dubbed ‘negative name of role’ N1 + Proper N2 is basically a classifier + noun structure, where the classifier is a classifier of quality or a qualifier. The structure behaves syntactically as complex descriptive proper name. This is seen as further evidence in favor of the view that classifiers of quantity and classifiers of quality are not in an either-or relation.

The second pattern identified, dubbed ‘negative name of role’ N1 + of + Proper N2 is a binominal evaluative or qualitative construction, where the presence of *de* ‘of’ signals the checking of P-features. The checking of these P-features, essentially evaluation by the speaker, is done by raising N1 from its original position inside D_{internal} to a position inside D_{external}.

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