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The Syntax of '(an)other' in Anconetano

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Abstract Unlike its Italian counterpart, the item meaning 'other' in Anconetano 'altro' is not a self-standing adjective. It can only occur as part of complex determiners: *staltro* ('this-other'), *qualtro* ('the-other/that-other'), *naltro* ('another'). We observe that a variant with nasalization of /l/ only appears in the indefinite determiner *nantro*, which can be plural and forms complex cardinals *naltri/nantri tre* ('three other') and combines with the quantity noun *po'* ('bit') agreeing with the plural nominal: *naltri/nantri po' de fioli* ('a bit more children').

Keywords Anconetano. Another. Complex determiners. Complex quantifiers. Quantity nouns.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 The Categorial Status of 'Other'. – 3 Indefinite 'Another'. – 4 Complex Quantifiers. – 5 Conclusions.

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1 Introduction

In Romance languages, the lexical item meaning 'other' is a source of variation in interpretive values and categorial status.[1] From the interpretive viewpoint, it is a context-dependent word, in that a nominal modified by 'other' may refer to entities added to those previously introduced in the discourse or different from those previously mentioned.[2] From the syntactic viewpoint, 'other' modifying a nominal must, may, or cannot be preceded by a determiner, a behavior that suggests it can be a prenominal adjective preceded by a determiner or a determiner itself.

In this paper, we study the morphosyntax of 'other' in Anconetano, a central Italoromance variety.[3] We do not address interpretive issues here because Anconetano does not display the varied orders typically associated with them. The contribution is structured as follows. Section 2 first presents Brugè and Giusti's previous work on *altro* in Italian, setting the diagnostics for complex determiners and quantifiers (Brugè, Giusti 2021; 2022; 2025). Then, it applies the diagnostics to Anconetano complex determiners *staltri* (these-other), *qualtri* (those-other) and *jaltri* (the-others). Section 3 focuses on the singular indefinite forms *naltro/nantro* ('another'), which display properties of a complex quantifier, like Italian *un altro*, and on plural *naltri/nantri*, which is absent in Italian and whose syntax varies across speakers. Section 4 examines the combinations of *naltri/nantri* with cardinals and existential quantifiers *tanti* ('many') and *poghi* ('few'). Only the orders <another.PL Card> and <another.PL few> are possible and behave as complex quantifiers, while the combination with 'many' is ungrammatical in either order. This gap in the paradigm is filled by the combination of 'another' with the functional noun *pò* 'bit'. Interestingly, in this case, 'another' may concord with masculine singular *pò* (*naltro pò de fioli* 'another.M.SG bit.M.SG of children.M.PL') like in Italian, or with the plural noun (*naltri pò de fioli* 'another.M.PL bit.M.SG of children.M.PL'), unlike in Italian.

1 This contribution is dedicated to Anna Cardinaletti, a fellow student, a colleague, a co-author of both of us, and a speaker of Anconetano herself. May our friendship and collaboration endure for many years to come, as they have in the past. Thank you, dear, for your expertise and great commitment.

2 Cinque (2015) defines these two readings as "further token(s) of x (where x is some substance/entity/measure)" and "further type(s)/kind(s) of x (where x is some substance/entity/measure)" respectively and proposes that each of them is linked to different positions in which 'other' is merged in the structure with respect to a cardinal.

3 We wish to thank 15 native speakers (age 24-80), who responded to a grammaticality judgement task sent out by email in written form in June 2025. Many issues that arose during interactions with individual consultants have inspired the discussion here. Due to space limitations, we do not include the survey. All consultants agreed to share their judgments anonymously.

A structural analysis is attempted at the end of section 4. Section 5 summarizes the results that crucially distinguish Anconetano from Italian and sets future lines of research in comparative dialectology.

2 The Categorial Status of 'Other'

2.1 'Other' in Italian

In Italian, the lexical item 'other' is generally considered an adjective because it can appear in prenominal, postnominal, or predicate positions (1), like other adjectives. The prenominal position in (1a) is unmarked and is ambiguous between the additivity and alterity interpretations, while the postnominal and predicate positions in (1b-c) are more marked, being only found in the high, formal register and being restricted to the alterity interpretation:

(1) a. Ho un altro problema.
'I have another problem.'
b. Ho un problema altro rispetto a quello che hai tu.
I have a problem other than the one you have
'I have a problem, different from yours.'
c. Il mio problema è altro rispetto al tuo.
the my problem is other respect to-the yours
'My problem is different from yours.'

The adjectival status of *altro* is confirmed by the fact that even when prenominal, its position can vary, preceding or following a possessor (2a-a'), a cardinal (2b-b'), or an ordinal adjective (2c-c'):

(2) a. gli altri tuoi amici
the other your friends
'your other friends'
a'. i tuoi altri amici
the your other friends
b. gli altri tre concorrenti
the other three contestants
'the three other contestants'
b'. i tre altri concorrenti
the three other contestants
c. gli altri primi iscritti alle gare
the other first enrolled to-the races
c'. i primi altri iscritti alle gare
the first other enrolled to-the races
'the other first ones enrolled in the races.'

This makes *altro* similar to other adjectives, such as *simpatico* 'nice' in (3a) or *bravissimo* 'very good, excellent' in (3b):

(3) a. i simpatici tuoi amici
the nice your friends
'your nice friends'

a'. i tuoi simpatici amici
the your nice friends

b. i bravissimi tre concorrenti
the good.SUP three contestants
'the three excellent contestants'

b'. i tre bravissimi concorrenti
the three good.SUP contestants

Note, however, that while in (2) the unmarked position of *altro* is to precede the possessive or the cardinal (2a-b), in (3) the unmarked position of the adjective is to follow them (3a'-b').

Furthermore, unlike adjectives (4-7b) and like existential quantifiers, such as *molti* 'many' (4-7c), plural *altri/altre* can introduce a prenominal subject (4a), license elliptic nominals (5a), and appear in *ne*-constructions with postverbal subjects (6a) or direct objects (7a):

(4) a. Altre ragazze sono arrivate dopo.
'Other girls arrived later'
b. *?Simpatiche ragazze sono arrivate dopo.
nice.F.PL girls are arrived.F.PL later
'Nice girls arrived later.'
c. Molte ragazze sono arrivate dopo.
'Many girls arrived later.'

(5) a. Altre sono arrivate dopo.
'Others arrived later.'
b. *Simpatiche sono arrivate dopo.
nice.F.PL are arrived.F.PL later
'Nice ones arrived later.'
c. Molte sono arrivate dopo.
'Many arrived later.'

(6) a. Dopo, ne sono arrivate altre.
later, NE are arrived.F.PL other.F.PL
'Later, others arrived'
b. *Dopo, ne sono arrivate simpatiche.
later, NE are arrived.F.PL nice.F.PL
c. Dopo, ne sono arrivate molte.
later, NE are arrived.F.PL many.F.PL
'Later, many arrived'

(7) a. Ne ho conosciute altre.
NE I.have met.F.PL others.F.PL
'I met others.'
b. *Ne ho conosciute simpatiche.
NE I.have met.F.PL nice.F.PL
c. Ne ho conosciute molte
NE I.have met.F.PL many.F.PL
'I met many of them.'

Notably, determiner *altro* is only possible with plural count nouns, as in (4)-(7), or singular mass nouns, as in (8a), parallel to existential quantifiers, as the sentence in (8b) with *molto* shows:

(8) a. Voglio comprare altra frutta / altre mele.
I.want to buy other fruit / other.PL apples
'I want to buy more fruit.'
b. Voglio comprare molta frutta / molte mele.
I.want to buy much fruit / many apples
'I want to buy a lot of fruit / apples.'

With a singular count noun, *altro* cannot function as a determiner (9a) and must be preceded by an indefinite article (9b):

(9) a. *Voglio comprare altra / molta mela.
I.want to buy other / much apple
b. Voglio comprare un'altra mela.
'I want to buy another apple.'

For singular count nouns, Brugè (2018); Brugè, Giusti (2021; 2022; 2025) argue that the string *un altro/un'altra* 'another' is not formed by an indefinite article followed by adjectival *altro*, but is a complex quantifier, which behaves like cardinal *uno* 'one'. Support for this claim is the fact that *un altro* licenses elliptic nominals (10a), appears in *ne*-constructions (11-12a), and can select a partitive complement (13a). These four constructions are not allowed with the remnant

chunk formed by the indefinite article *un* and a prenominal adjective, as shown in (11-13b):[4]

(10) a. Un altro è arrivato dopo.
another.M.SG is arrived.M.SG later
'Another one arrived later.'
b. *Un simpatico è arrivato dopo.
a nice.M.SG is arrived.M.SG later

(11) a. Dopo, ne è arrivato un altro.
later, NE is arrived.M.SG another.M.SG
'Later, another one arrived.'
b. *Dopo, ne è arrivato un simpatico.
later, NE is arrived.M.SG a nice.M.SG

(12) a. Ne ho conosciuto un altro.
NE I.have met.M.SG another.M.SG
'I met another one.'
b. *Ne ho conosciuto un simpatico.
NE I.have met.M.SG a nice.M.SG

(13) a. Ho conosciuto un altro dei tuoi amici.
I.have met an other of-the your friends
'I met another one of your friends.'
b. *Ho conosciuto un simpatico dei tuoi amici.
I.have met another a nice.M.SG of-the your friend.M.PL

Brugè and Giusti further propose that *altro* also forms complex quantifiers with cardinal numbers in the order <'other' Card> and

4 The ungrammatical sentences in (8b), (9b), (10b) become grammatical if we replace *un* with *uno*:

(i) a. Uno simpatico è arrivato dopo.
'A nice one arrived later'
b. Dopo, ne è arrivato uno simpatico.
later, NE is arrived one nice
'Later, a nice one arrived.'
c. Ne ho conosciuto uno simpatico.
NE have met one nice
'I met a nice one.'

This is because in these cases, *uno* is not a determiner, but a pronominal form modified by a postnominal adjective (Rizzi 1979; Cardinaletti, Giusti 2006; 2017).

with existential quantifiers in the order <Q 'other'> as shown, for example, by ellipsis (14)-(15) and *ne*-extraction (16)-(17):

(14) a. Altri due sono arrivati tardi.
other.M.PL two are arrived.M.PL late
b. *Due altri sono arrivati tardi.
two other.M.PL are arrived.M.PL late
'Two others arrived late.'

(15) a. Molti/Pochi altri sono arrivati tardi.
many.M.PL /few.M.PL other.M.PL are arrived.M.PL late
b. *Altri molti/pochi sono arrivati tardi.
other.M.PL many.M.PL /few.M.PL are arrived.M.PL late
'Many/a few others arrived late.'

(16) a. Ne ho conosciuti altri due.
NE I.have met.M.PL other.M.PL two
'I met two others.'
b. *Ne ho conosciuti due altri.
NE I.have met.M.PL two other.M.PL

(17) a. Ne ho conosciuti molti/pochi altri.
NE I.have met.M.PL many.M.PL/few.M.PL other.M.PL
b. *Ne ho conosciuti altri molti/pochi.
NE I.have met.M.PL other.M.PL many.M.PL/few.M.PL
'I met many/a few others.'

Brugè and Giusti also show that the marked orders in (14-17b) are grammatical (though marked as high register) in full nominals, as in (18), suggesting that the adjectival status of 'other' coexists with the quantifier status:

(18) a. Ho conosciuto due altre persone.
I.have met two other.F.PL person.F.PL
'I met two other people.'
b. Ho conosciuto altre molte / poche persone.
I.have met other.F.PL many.F.PL /few.F.PL person.F.PL
'I met a few other people.'

2.2 'Other' in Anconetano.

Anconetano is a central Italian variety at the north-eastern border of the so-called "area perimediana" (cf. Loporcaro, Paciaroni 2016, 238). Current studies on dialect-regional Italian bilectalism treat the dialects of this area, which include Tuscan varieties, as part of a continuum with Italian (cf. Cerruti, Regis 2020, 24-31). In this perspective, also keeping in mind that *altro* in Italian is not dissimilar to its counterparts in other Romance languages, we may expect to find the same categorial ambiguity and positional variation in Anconetano. More precisely, we may suppose that *altro* is a high prenominal adjective when it appears after a definite article (19a), or a demonstrative (19b-c), or an indefinite article (19d):[5]

(19)	a.	j	altri	amighi	mii
		DEF.ART.M.PL	other.M.PL	friend.M.PL	my.M.PL
		'my other friends'			
	b.	st'	altre	amighe	tue
		PROX.DEM	other.F.PL	friend.F.PL	your.F.PL
		'these other female friends of yours'			
	c.	qul'	altro	amigo	tuo
		DIST.DEM	other.M.SG	friend.M.SG	your.M.SG
		'that other friend of yours'			
	d.	n'	altra	amiga	mia
		INDEF.ART.	other.F.SG	friend.F.SG	my.F.SG
		'another friend of yours'			

However, if this were the case, we would expect definite articles to merge with 'other' without restrictions, obeying the same prosodic and morphological properties they display in other combinations. But, contrary to expectations, singular masculine and singular and plural feminine definite articles cannot precede 'other'. The nominals in (20) are judged as Italianized versions of Anconetano. The genuine Anconetano equivalents are given in (21):[6]

5 The orthography in (19) mimics Italian orthography, which captures the independent status of *altro* in the standard. We will see that this independence is absent from the Anconetano lexicon. Consequently, from (22) on, we will use one-word transcription for these complex determiners in the rest of the paper.

6 We use the transcription *qul* instead of *quel* 'that' for the demonstrative since in Anconetano the vowel /e/ is evanescent in these cases.

(20) a. #l' altro amigo tuo
DEF.ART.SG other.M.SG friend.M.SG your.M.SG
'your other [male] friend'
b. #l' altra amiga tua
DEF.ART.SG other.F.SG friend.F.SG your.F.SG
'your other [female] friend'
c. #le altre amighe tue
DEF.ART.F.PL other.F.PL friend.F.PL your.F.PL
'your other [female] friends'

(21) a. qul' altro amigo tuo
DIST.DEM other.M.SG friend.M.SG your.M.SG
'your other [male] friend'
b. qul' altra amiga tua
DIST.DEM other.F.SG friend.F.SG your.F.SG
'your other [female] friend'
c. qul' altre amighe tue
DIST.DEM other.F.PL friend.F.PL your.F.PL
'your other [female] friends'

We propose that in (19) above, we are dealing with complex determiners: *jaltri*, *staltro*, *qualtro*, *naltro*. Therefore, from now on, we will write them as one-word forms (cf. fn. 5). We also propose that singular *laltro* (20) is not part of the Anconetano lexicon. The only definite alterity/additive determiner with a full gender and number paradigm is *qualtro*. Plural *jaltri* / *laltre* in (22) is however in free variation with *qualtri* / *qualtre* (21):

(22) a. jaltri amighi tui
the-other.M.PL friend.M.PL your.M.PL
'your other [male] friends'
b. laltre amighe tue
the-other.F.PL friend.F.PL your.F.PL
'your other [female] friends'

Finally, note that the paradigm of *qualtro* displays overabundance (Thornton 2019) in the masculine plural cell, realized as *qualtri* or

quejaltri, while the reduced form without *que-* is defective, missing the singular and the plural masculine *laltri*, as shown in Tab. 1:[7]

M.SG	qu(e)laltro		*laltro	
F.SG	qu(e)laltra		*laltra	
M.PL	qu(e)laltri	qu(e)jaltri	*laltri	jaltri
F.PL	qu(e)laltre		laltre	

Table 1 The paradigm of the complex determiner 'the other' in Anconetano

Finally, note that masculine plural *jaltri* in (23a) but not feminine plural *latre* in (23b) can license elliptic nominals. In other words, the presence of the overt noun in the feminine is mandatory:

(23) a. Ha lasciato tuto al primo fiolo e gnente a qulaltri / quejaltri / jaltri (fioli).
has left everything to-the first son and nothing to the-other.M.PL (sons)
b. Ha lasciato tuto a la prima fiola e gnente a qulaltre (fiole) / laltre *(fiole).
has left everything to-the first daughter and nothing to the-other.F.PL (daughters)
'He/She left all their inheritance to their first son/daughter and nothing to the others.'

To conclude this section, unlike what is found in Italian, there is no occurrence of 'other' in Anconetano that displays an adjectival nature. Not only is 'other' ungrammatical in postnominal or predicate positions, which are admittedly limited to the high register in Italian, but the unexpected phenomena arising with prenominal 'other' could not be accounted for if plural 'other' were taken as an independent element (adjective or quantifier). Instead, we proposed that it is part of a complex determiner with its own paradigm and restrictions.

3 Indefinite 'Another'

In this section, we concentrate on indefinite nominals. Like Italian (10)-(13), in singular count nouns, Anconetano 'other' is apparently

7 According to Thornton (2019) "Overabundance is the situation in which two (or more) inflectional forms are available to realize the same cell in the inflectional paradigm of a lexeme".

preceded by the indefinite article, which in Anconetano is weaker than in Italian and does not display the initial vowel *u-* (24):[8,9]

(24) a. Ho cumprato (#u)na maja / (#u)n majó.
'I bought a T-shirt / a jumper.'
b. Ho cumprato (#u)naltra maja / (#u)naltro majó.
'I bought another T-shirt / another jumper.'

Naltro complies with the diagnostics for quantifier status observed for Italian *un altro* in (10)-(13) above. In (25), *naltro* introduces an elliptic nominal (25a); it allows for *ne*-extraction from the postverbal subject of an unaccusative verb (25b) and from a direct object (25c); and it appears with a partitive complement (25d):

(25) a. Uno è partito e naltro è rivato.
one.M.SG is left and another.M.SG is arrived
'One left and another one arrived.'
b. N'è rivato naltro.
NE is arrived another.M.SG
'Another one arrived.'
c. N'ho conosciuto naltro.
NE I.have met another.M.SG
'I met another one.'
d. È rivato naltro dej amighi tui.
is arrived another.M.SG of-the.M.PL friend.M.PL your.M.PL
'Another one of your friends arrived.'

8 In Anconetano, when *un/uno* has the status of an indefinite article, it always apocopates the initial *u-* (22), while the vowel *u-* does not apocopate when uno is a pronoun.

(i) N'ho comprata una / *na.
NE I.have bought.F.SG one.F.SG
'I bought one.'

9 On a par with definite determiners above, and with Italian *un altro*, we consider Anconetano *naltro* as a complex indefinite determiner and will transcribe it in one word.

A second interesting property of *naltro* is its covariance with *nantro*, which represents the only case we found so far of preconsonantal nasalization of [l] in Anconetano.[10]

Nantro displays all the properties of *naltro* and is considered by some of our consultants as "more genuinely Anconetano". In (26), we replicate (25), without providing glosses or translations:[11]

(26) a. Uno è partito e nantro è rivato.
b. N'è rivato nantro.
c. N'ho conosciuto nantro.
d. È rivato nantro dej amighi tui.

A third noteworthy property distinguishing Anconetano from Italian (3)-(7) above is that no bare *altro* (in any form) is available in Anconetano. The sentences in (27a-b) are judged as Italianized Anconetano by our consultants. As said in fn. 9, *antro* is totally excluded in (27a'-b'):

(27) a. #È rivate altre fiole,
a'. *È rivate antre fiole,
is arrived other girls[12]
'Other girls arrived.'
b. #Ho cumprato altre melangole.
b'. *Ho cumprato antre melangole.
I.have bought other cucumbers
'I bought other cucumbers.'

10 We thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out that according to Rohlfs' (1966, §245), in several Italian dialects some words including *altro* display nasalization of preconsonantal /l/. Notably, in Anconetano none of the other lexical items mentioned by Rohlfs display /l/ nasalization, e.g. as *polso* 'wrist', *falso* 'fake', *gelso* 'mulberry' vs. *ponso, fanso,* or *genso* found in some Sicilian varieties. More interestingly, *antro* is not an independent item in Anconetano and does not appear in any other complex determiner: **stantro*, **qulantro*, **jantri*, or pronoun **niantri* (vs. *nialtri*, 'we/us', AIS 1607, 539 Ancona) **vojantri* (vs. vo*ialtri*, 'you', AIS 661, 539 Ancona), unlike what is found in other (unspecified) Marche dialects in *noantri* (lit. we-other, 'we'), or as reported by AIS 444 'the other one' *kwell'andro* for 584 Amelia (Terni), consulted through NavigAIS, Tisato (2009).

Neither are we dealing with a phono-syntactic phenomenon triggered by the indefinite article *n* 'a'. For example, the equivalent of It. *un altruista* 'an altruist' is *n'altruista* and not ***n'antruista*, or It. *un altarino* 'an altar' is *n'altarì*, and by no means ***n'antarì*. These peculiarities of *nantri* further support our hypothesis that *naltro* and *nantro* are listed in the Anconetano lexicon as complex determiners.

11 Femmine *naltra* / *nantra* behaves the same.

12 In Anconetano, *esse* 'be' displays a syncretic form *è* 'he/she is /they are' in the third person singular and plural, like other lexical verbs *va* 'he/she goes /they go' *magna* 'he/she eats /they eat'. The distinct plural forms *ène*, *vane*, *magnane* are less common. A third-person plural syncretic with the first-person singular *sò* is also present, parallel to Italian *sono* 'I am / they are'.

A fourth surprising property is that, at least for some speakers, *naltro* (or *nantro*) can appear in the plural. We give examples in subject (28a) and object positions (28b):[13]

(28) a. %M'hai da dà naltre matite / naltri foji.
me.DAT you.have to give another.F.PL pencil.F.PL / another.M.PL sheet.M.PL
'You must give me other pencils / paper sheets.'
b. %Me ce vole naltre matite / naltri foji.
me.DAT LOC it.wants another.F.PL pencil.F.PL / another.M.PL sheet.M.PL
'I need other pencils / paper sheets.'

The examples in (28) are unexpected from two perspectives. On the one hand, it is surprising to find *naltro* in the plural, given that Anconetano does not display plural indefinite articles (29):[14]

(29) a. **M'hai da dà (u)ne matite / (u)ni foji.
me.DAT you.have to give one.F.PL pencil.F.PL / one.M.PL sheet.M.PL
'You must give me (some) pencils / (some) sheets.'
b. **Me ce vole (u)ne matite / (u)ni foji.
me.DAT LOC it.wants one.F.PL pencil.F.PL / one.M.PL sheet.M.PL
'I need (some) pencils / (some) paper sheets.'

On the other hand, plural *naltri/naltre* or *nantri/nantre* are judged as fully grammatical by all our consultants when combined with a cardinal (30) and by many of them when combined with the (masculine singular) quantity noun *pò* (31):

13 The examples in (28) were judged as acceptable by some consultants and unacceptable by others. This is marked by %.

14 That is to say that Anconetano, like all Italoromance varieties, misses the equivalent of *unos / unas N* in Spanish (or other Iberoromance and Eastern Romance varieties). To express plural indefinites, Anconetano allows the partitive article with specific interpretation (i), and resorts to the definite article for weak indefinite interpretation, since it lacks bare nouns (ii), cf. Cardinaletti, Giusti 2015; 2016; Giusti 2021:

(i) Ho cumprato dele matite/ dei foji.
I.bought PART.D.F.PL pencils / PART.D.M.PL sheets
(ii) Io, de solito, nun compro *(le) matite / *(i) penareli.
I usually NEG buy ART.F.PL pencils / ART.M.PL markers

(30) a. M'hai da dà naltre dó matite / naltri dò foji.
a'. M'hai da dà nantre dó matite / nantri dò foji.
me.DAT you.have to give another.F.PL two pencil.F.PL / another.M.PL two sheet.M.PL
'You must give me another two pencils / paper sheets.'
b. Me ce vole naltre dó matite / naltri dó foji
b'. *Me ce vole nantre dó matite / nantri dó foji.
me.DAT LOC it-wants another.F.PL two pencil.F.PL / another.M.PL two sheet.M.PL
'I need two other pencils / paper sheets.'

(31) a. M'hai da dà naltre pò de matite
a'. M'hai da dà nantre po' de matite
me.DAT you.have to give another.F.P bit.M.SG of pencil.F.PL
/ naltri pò de foji.
/ nantri po' de foji.
/ another.M.PL bit.M.SG of sheet.M.PL
'You must give me another two pencils / paper sheets.'
b. Me ce vole naltre pò de matite
b'. *Me ce vole nantre pò de matite
me.DAT LOC it.wants another.F.PL bit.M.SG of pencil.F.PL
/ naltri pò de foji
/ nantri pò de foji.
/ another.M.PL bit.M.SG of sheet.M.PL
'I need two other pencils / paper sheets.'

Thus, the marginality of (28) above is not due to the plural feature appearing on a lexical item formed with the indefinite article, but to the fact that only for some speakers is plural *naltri/naltre* (or *nantri/natre*) a self-standing determiner or quantifier, that is a determiner that does not need to appear in combination with a cardinal or a quantity noun. We focus on these forms in section 4.

4 Complex Quantifiers

Plural *naltri* (or *nantri*) combined with a cardinal number fulfills the complex quantifier diagnostics, presented in (8)-(11). It licenses an elliptic subject in (32a), it appears with *ne*-extraction from postverbal subject (32b) and object (32c) positions, and can occur with a partitive complement (29d):

(32) a. Uno è partito e naltri/nantri dó è rivati.
one.M.SG is left and another.M.PL two is arrived.M.PL
'One left and another two arrived.'

b. N'è rivati naltri/nantri dó.
NE is arrived.M.PL another.M.PL two
'Another two arrived.'

c. N'ho conosciuti naltri/nantri dó.
NE I.have met.M.PL another.M.PL two
'I met another two'

d. È rivati naltri/nantri dó dej amighi tui.
is arrived.M.PL another.M.PL two of-the.M.PL friend.M.PL your.M.PL
'Another two of your friends arrived'

Given the suggested complex determiner status for *staltro, qualtro,* and *jaltri* (section 2.2) and singular *naltro/nantro* (section 3), we posit that plural *naltri/nantri* is a complex quantifier. Not all speakers accept it in the function of an indefinite determiner introducing a full nominal expression (28). But for all speakers, plural *naltri/nantri* can form complex quantifiers with cardinal numbers, as in (32).[15]

Note that unlike Italian (33a), Anconetano only displays the order <'other' Card> shown in (32). The order <Card 'other> in Italian analyzed by Brugè and Giusti as the sequence of the cardinal quantifier and the prenominal adjective *altro*, is not present. In (33b), either form *naltri* or *nantri* following the cardinal is ungrammatical. This reinforces the hypothesis that *altro* (or *naltro*) is not an adjective. Note that *dó altri* in (33c), parallel to Italian (18) above, is judged by our consultants as Italianized Anconetano, as signaled by the # diacritic:

(33) a. It. Sono arrivati altri due bambini / due altri bambini.
are arrived.M.PL other.M.PL two children.M.PL / two other.M.PL children.M.PL

b. An. *È rivati dó naltri / nantri fioli.
is arrived.M.PL two other.M.PL children.M.PL

c. An #È rivati dó altri fioli
is arrived.M.PL two other.M.PL children.M.PL
'Another two children arrived'

Existential quantifiers 'many' and 'few' can form complex existential quantifiers with 'other' in many Romance languages, including Italian (cf. Brugè, Giusti 2021; 2022; 2025). Before delving deeper into the

15 The same diagnostics apply to *nantri/nantre dó*. We omit the relevant data, which are *mutatis mutandis* identical to (29).

matter, let us note that like many central Italian dialects, Anconetano does not express numerosity with *molti/e* but with *tanti/e,* which is also available to Italian, cf. (34a) and (34b):

(34) a. It. Sono arrivate molte / tante bambine.
b. An. È rivate *molte / tante fiole.
'Many girls arrived'

The complex quantifier *tante altre* ('many other'), which is unmarked in Italian (35a), is judged by our consultants as Italianized Anconetano (35b). Note crucially that the more genuine forms *naltre* or *nantre* give ungrammatical results in (35b):

(35) a. It. Sono arrivate tante/ molte altre bambine.
are arrived.F.PL many.F.PL other.F.PL children.F.PL
b. An. #È rivate tante altre/ *naltre/*nantre fiole
is arrived.F.PL many.F.PL other.F.PL children.F.PL

The reverse order with *tanti* is ungrammatical in both languages (36), unlike Italian *molti/e* (35a):[16]

(36) a. It. Sono arrivati altri molti / *tanti bambini.
are arrived.M.PL other.M.PL many.M.PL children.M.PL
b. An. *È rivati altri/naltri/nantri tanti fioli.
is arrived.M.PL other.M.PL many.M.PL children.M.PL
'Many other children arrived.'

Let us now observe the combinations arising with 'few'. In Italian, both orders are possible, though (37a) is unmarked, while (37b) is

16 Note that both Italian and Anconetano have the comparative complex quantifier It. *altrettanti* An. *naltritanti* 'as many':

(i) It. a. Sono arrivati altrettanti bambini.
An. b. È rivati naltritanti fioli.
are arrived.M.PL as-many.M.PL children.M.PL
'As-many children arrived'
(ii) It. a. Ne sono arrivati altrettanti
An. b. N'è rivati naltritanti.
are arrived.M.PL as-many.M.PL
'As-many [of them] arrived'

The overlap with this quantifier is probably the reason why the order <'other' *tanti*> is not allowed in any form.

marked. Brugè, Giusti (2021; 2022; 2025) analyse *pochi altri* in (37a) as a complex quantifier, and *altri pochi* in (37b) as the sequence formed by the existential quantifier *altri* and the quantity adjective *pochi*. The diagnostics of *ne*-extraction in (37c) support this hypothesis, since it is only possible with the order *pochi altri*:

(37)	a. It.	Sono arrivati	pochi	altri	/ altri	pochi
		are arrived.M.PL	few.M.PL	other.M.PL	/ other.M.PL	few.M.PL
		bambini.				
		children.M.PL				
		'A few other children arrived.'				
	b. It.	Ne sono arrivati	pochi altri		/ altri pochi.	
		NE are arrived.M.PL	few.M.PL other.M.PL		other.M.PL few.M.PL	
		'A few others arrives.'				

In Anconetano, the order <Q 'other'> (38a) with *altri* is judged as Italianized. Unlike Italian, the order <other Q> with *naltri/nantri* is grammatical (though marginal, as signaled by the ? diacritic) (38b). In (38c), *naltri/nantri poghi* behaves as a complex quantifier allowing *ne*-extraction:

(38)	a.	An.	#È rivati poghi altri fioli.
			is arrived.M.PL few.M.PL other.M.PL children.M.PL
	b.	An.	?È rivati naltri/nantri poghi fioli.
			is arrived.M.PL nother.M.PL few children
			'A few other children arrived'
	c.	An.	?N'è rivati naltri/nantri poghi
			NE is arrived.M.PL nother.M.PL few.M.PL

A last interesting property of *naltri/nantri* is that when it combines with the functional noun *pò* 'bit', selecting a pseudo-partitive complement with *de* 'of', it may either concord with the masculine singular features of *pò* as in (39a) or with the plural (masculine or feminine) features of the lexical noun, as in (39b-c):[17]

(39)	a.	È rivati/e	naltro	pò	de fioli / fiole.
		is arrived.M.PL/F.PL	nother.M.SG	bit.M.SG	of boys / girls
	b.	È rivati	naltri	pò	de fioli.
		is arrived.M.PL	nother.M.PL	bit.M.SG	of boys

17 Note that the concording forms of 'other' in (36b-c) are ungrammatical in Italian:

(i) Sono arrivati/e un altro pò di bambini/e vs. *Sono arrivati/e (un) altri/e pò di bambini/e

c.	È rivate	naltre	pò	de fiole.
	is arrived.F.PL	nother.F.PL	bit.M.SG	of girls
	'A few other boys/girls arrived'			

These forms admit *ne*-extraction in (40), suggesting that they are complex quantifiers:

(40)	a.	N'è rivati/e	naltro	pò
		NE is arrived.M.PL/F.PL	another.M.SG	bit.M.SG
	b.	N'è rivati	naltri	pò
		NE is arrived.M.PL	another.M.PL	bit.M.SG
	c.	N'è rivate	naltre	pò
		NE is arrived.F.PL	another.F.PL	bit.M.SG
		'A few arrived'		

With feminine mass nouns, like *pasta*, we observe the same alternation: concord for masculine singular *pò* covaries with concord for feminine singular *pasta* only for some informants. In (41a), we find the basic sentences; in (41b), we apply *ne*-extraction:

(41)	a.	Ciò fame.	Da-me naltro	%naltra	pò de pasta.
		I.have hunger.	Give-me another.M.SG	another.F.SG	bit.M.SG of pasta
		'I'm hungry. Give me more pasta.'			
	b.	Voi la pasta?	Scì! Da-me-ne	naltro	%naltra pò.
		you.want the pasta?	Yes! Give-me-NE	another.M.SG	another.F.SG bit.M.SG
		'Would you like pasta? Yes! Give me more.'			

In (42), we provide a structural analysis of <'other' Card> where cardinal *dó* is the head of a QP selecting a bare noun in SpecQP and merging to little *q* to form the complex quantifier *naltri dó*, which concords for gender and number features with the bare DP in SpecQP. In (42b), we propose a parallel structure for *naltri pò*, with the minimal difference in the category of *pò*, which is a functional quantity noun according to Cardinaletti, Giusti (2025). The FqN *pò* selects an indefinite DP with the overt indefinite determiner *de* in SpecFqN. The FqN remerges with little *q* forming a complex quantifier that retains the selectional features of *pò* and the concord feature of *naltri*. In (42c), we give the structure of non-concording *naltro pò* in which *naltro* is the complex indefinite determiner modifying the FqN *pò*:

(42) a. $[_{qP}\ [_{q}$ *naltri+dó*$]\ [_{QP}\ [_{DP}$ 0 *fioli*$]\ [_{Q'}\ [_{Q}$ *dó*$]]]]$
b. $[_{qP}\ [_{q}$ *naltri+pò*$]\ [_{FqNP}\ [_{DP}$ *de* D $[_{NP}$ *fioli*$]]]\ [_{FqN'}\ [_{FqN}$ *pò*$]]]]$
c. $[_{DP}\ [_{D}$ *naltro*$]\ [_{FqNP}\ [_{FqN}$ *pò*$]\ [_{FqNP}\ [_{DP}$ *de* D $[_{NP}$ *fioli*$]]]\ [_{FqN'}\ [_{FqN}$ *pò*$]]]]]$

5 Conclusions

Altro in Anconetano is only present as a borrowing from Italian. Anconetano does not display the adjective *altro*, either prenominal or postnominal. The occurrences of *altro* in Anconetano are found as parts of complex determiners or quantifiers, namely:

- the proximate demonstrative *staltro*;
- the distal demonstrative *qulaltro,* which has an overabundant paradigm;
- the definite determiner *jaltri*, which displays a defective paradigm;
- the indefinite determiner *naltro/nantro*, which can also function as an existential quantifier and is the only one displaying /l/ nasalization.

Unlike in Italian, none of these forms can be segmented. For this reason, we represented them as orthographic units.

Also, unlike Italian, *naltro/nantro* is possible in the plural, confirming that it is not a sequence of an indefinite article and a prenominal adjective *altro*. Plural *naltre/naltri* displays the following properties:

- For all speakers, it forms a complex quantifier with any cardinal number.
- For some speakers, it can be an autonomous determiner or quantifier.
- For many speakers, it can form a complex quantifier with the quantity noun *pò*.
- For some speakers, it can form a complex quantifier with *poghi* 'few' (but not with *tanti* 'many') crucially in the order <'other' Q>, which is the same order displayed with the cardinal and with the functional noun *pò* and not the order found in Italian.

This short paper zooming in on a niche of Italoromance, as is the morphosyntax of 'other' in a variety belonging to the 'area perimediana', provides food for thought on some general issues.

Considering both the distance between Italian and individual Italoromance varieties, and the distance across neighboring local varieties, further dialectological research should pin down the forms and positions of complex determiners and quantifiers, and

the possibility of plural 'another' across non-standard Italoromance varieties.

Our study attests to the vitality of Anconetano, an under-resourced local variety with low prestige among both its speakers and the surrounding linguistic area. Our consultants were able to identify grammatical and ungrammatical stimuli, thereby distinguishing the effects of contact with Italian from those of more genuine Anconetano expressions.

Finally, our analysis of complex quantifiers formed with *pò* suggests a grammaticalization path from a functional quantity noun to a complex quantifier that has never been observed or envisaged before.

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