

# Structural properties of partitive/quantitative pronouns in Germanic and Romance

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# Partitive/quantitative pronouns

## Romance:

French: (1a) J'ai lu **deux livres**. > J'**en** ai lu **deux**.  
I have read two books > I EN have read two  
'I read two books.' > 'I read two.'

Italian: (1b) Ho visto **tre ragazzi**. > **Ne** ho visti **tre**.  
have-1.SG seen three boys > NE have-1SG seen-M.PL three  
'I saw three boys.' > 'I saw three.'

## Germanic:

Dutch: (2a) Ik heb **er twee** gekocht. [**boeken**]  
I have ER two bought [books]  
'I bought two.'

Luxembourgish: (2b) Si huet **der dräi**. [**Kanner**]  
she has DER three [children]  
'She has three.'

(Central) Hessian: (2c) Eich hun **ere fünf**. [**Geschwesder**]  
I have ERE five [siblings]  
'I have five.'

→ **micro- and mesocomparative analysis**

## Previous work

### on partitive/quantitative pronouns:

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#### French:

Kayne (1975, 1977), Milner (1978), Haïk (1982),  
Pollock (1986, 1998), Postal (1994), Ihsane (2013)

#### Italian:

Belletti & Rizzi (1981), Burzio (1986), Cordin (in Renzi 1988),  
Cinque (1991), Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992, 2006), Cresti (2003)

#### Dutch:

Bennis & Hulk (1979), Bennis (1986), De Rooij (1991), De Schutter (1992),  
Corver, Van Koppen & Kranendonk (2009), Kranendonk (2010)

#### German dialects:

Glaser (1992, 1993, 2008), Strobel (2012, 2013a, 2013b, forthcoming)

# French clitic pronoun *en*

(Pollock 1986, 1998; Ihsane 2013)

- **partitive:**

(3) Jean a acheté **trois de mes peintures**. > Jean **en** a acheté **trois**.  
J. has bought three of my paintings > J. EN has bought three  
'Jean bought three of my paintings.' > 'Jean bought three of them.'

- **quantitative:**

(4a) J'ai lu **beaucoup/peu de livres**. > J'**en** ai lu **beaucoup/peu**.  
I have read many/few of books > I EN have read many/few  
'I read many/few books.' > 'I read many/few.'

(4b) J'ai lu **deux/plusieurs livres**. > J'**en** ai lu **deux/plusieurs**.  
I have read two/several books > I EN have read two/several  
'I read two/several books.' > 'I read two/several.'

- **des/du NPs (partitive article):**

(5) Marie cherche **des souris/du sel**. > Marie **en** cherche.  
M. is-looking-for of-the mice/of-the salt > M. EN is-looking-for  
'Marie is looking for mice/salt.' > 'Marie is looking for some.'

cf. also

*beaucoup des livres*

'a lot of the books'

= **partitive** ⇔

*beaucoup de livres*

'a lot of books'

= **quantitative**

(Ihsane 2013)

# French clitic pronoun *en*

(Pollock 1986, 1998; Ihsane 2013)

- **genitive/adnominal:**

(6) Je connais l'**auteur de ce livre**. > J'**en** connais l'**auteur**.

I know the author of this book > I EN know the author

'I know the author of this book.' > 'I know the author of it.'

- **prepositional:**

(7a) Jean **se souvient de tous ses étudiants**. > Jean **s'en souvient**.

J. REFL remembers of all his students > J. REFL EN remembers

'Jean remembers all his students.' > 'Jean remembers them.'

(7b) Il est drôlement **fier de son idée**. > Il **en** est drôlement **fier**.

he is terribly proud of his idea > he EN is terribly proud

'He is terribly proud of his idea.' > 'He is terribly proud of it.'

# Dutch *er*

(e.g. ANS, De Rooij 1991, De Schutter 1992, Kranendonk 2010)

- **partitive/quantitative:**

(8a) **Hoeveel kinderen** heeft u? – Ik heb **er vier**.

how many children have you – I have ER four

‘How many children do you have? – I have four (of them).’

(8b) Hebben jullie **veel boeken**? – Ja, wij hebben **er veel**.

have you many books – yes we have ER many

‘Do you have many books? – Yes, we have many (of them).’

## Germanic:

Dutch and

(Central) German dialects:

**partitive pronominals**

**but** – like Catalan

(cf. Martí-Girbau 2010) –

**no partitive articles**

(except for **faded partitive construction** in Dutch?

cf. e.g. De Hoop 2003)

# Dutch *er*

(e.g. ANS, De Rooij 1991, De Schutter 1992, Kranendonk 2010)

- **expletive/repletive/existential/presentative:**

(9a) **Er** loopt **een man** op straat.

ER goes a man on street

‘There is a man on the street.’

(9b) Toen kwam **er een pastoor**.

then came ER a priest

‘Then came a priest.’

(9c) **Er** is/zijn ...

ER is/are ...

‘There is/are ...’

- **locative:**

(10) **Woont** hij **in Amsterdam**? – Hij **woont er** al jaren.

lives he in A. – he lives ER already years

‘Does he live in Amsterdam? – He has already lived there for years.’

- **prepositional/pronominal:**

(11) **Dat ongeluk** is al zo lang geleden gebeurd, ik **denk er** nooit meer **aan**.

that accident is already so long past happened I think ER never anymore PREP

‘That accident already happened such a long time ago, I never think about it anymore.’

# Structural properties of partitive/quantitative pronouns

## Romance:

**French** and **Italian** partitive pronouns *en/ne* ↔

## Germanic:

**Dutch** quantitative pronoun *er*

**dialectal German** indefinite-partitive pronouns *(d)(e)r(e), s(e)n, es ...*

→ **Micro-** and **mesovariation** with respect to

- the **interpretative gap** and its **antecedent**
- the **quantificational element**
- their **distribution** (restrictions/asymmetries)
- their **syntax** (syntactic nature of the interpretative gap, level of pronominalization → analyses)



# The interpretative gap and its antecedent: (In)definiteness

- **Romance** and **Germanic** partitive/quantitative pronouns  
(Fr. *en*/It. *ne* and Du. *er*) = indefinite:

French (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002):

(12a) J'ai acheté **une voiture rouge**, et Marie **en** a acheté **une jaune**.

I have bought a car red and M. EN has bought a yellow  
'I bought a red car and Marie bought a yellow one.'

(12b) J'ai acheté **la voiture rouge**, et Marie (**\*en**) a acheté **la jaune**.

I have bought the car red and M. (\*EN) has bought the yellow  
'I bought the red car and Marie bought the yellow one.'

Dutch (Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012):

(13a) Jan heeft **drie boeken** meegenomen. > Jan heeft **er drie** meegenomen.

J. has three books taken-along > J. has ER three taken-along  
'Jan took along three books.' > 'Jan took along three.'

(13b) Jan heeft **de drie boeken** meegenomen. > \*Jan heeft **er de drie** meegenomen.

J. has the three books taken-along > \*J. has ER the three taken-along  
'Jan took along the three books.' > 'Jan took along the three.'

# The interpretative gap and its antecedent: (In)definiteness

## ⇔ **English *one*-anaphora**: in indefinite & definite phrases

→ restriction on moving out of a def. DP (Diesing 1992, cf. Déchaine/Wiltschko 2002)

(14a) I bought **a red car**, and Mary bought **a yellow one**.

(14b) I bought **the red car**, and Mary bought **the yellow one**.

## → **antecedent = non-specific** (Cordin in Renzi 1988, Cardinaletti & Giusti 1992):

(15a) Volevo **una bicicletta<sub>i</sub>**, ma non **ne<sub>i</sub>/\*la<sub>i</sub>** vendono più **del tipo che piace a me**. ⇔  
wanted-1.SG a bike but not NE/\*it sell-3.PL anymore of-the kind that pleases to me  
'I wanted a bike but they don't sell the kind I like anymore.'

(15b) Ho trovato [**una bicicletta che avevo messo in cantina**]<sub>i</sub> dopo che **l<sub>i</sub>/\*ne<sub>i</sub>** avevo rotta.  
have-1.SG found a bike that had-1.SG put in basement after that it/\*NE had-1.SG broken  
'I found a bike which I had put in the basement after I had ruined it.'

(16a) **Ne** ho visti **molti** (= **non-specific** individuals) ⇔  
NE have-1.SG seen-M.PL many  
'I saw many.'

(16b) Ho visto **molti di loro** (= a **specific** group)  
have-1.SG see many of them  
'I saw many of them.'

# The interpretative gap and its antecedent: Countability

- **Romance (and Belgian Dutch): same morphological form**,  
i.e. **one pronoun** Fr. *en*/It. *ne* (Du. *er*) for both **masc.** and **fem.**  
as well as **sing.** or **plur.** antecedent nouns (**plur. terms** and **mass nouns**):

(17a) **Quanti anni** ha? – Secondo me **ne** ha **trentadue**. [MASC. PLUR.]  
how-many years has-3.SG – according-to me NE has-3.SG thirty-two  
'How old is he? – I think he's thirty-two.'

(17b) Hai visto **molte persone**? – No, **ne** ho viste **poche**. [FEM. PLUR.]  
have-2.SG seen many people – no NE have-1.SG seen-F.PL few  
'Have you seen many people? – No, I have seen few.'

(17c) Hai bevuto **molto/-a vino/birra**? – Sì, **ne** ho bevuto/-a **molto/-a**. [MASC./FEM. MASS]  
have-2.SG drunk much wine/beer – yes NE have-1.SG drunk much  
'Did you drink much wine/beer? – Yes, I drank much.'

# The interpretative gap and its antecedent: Countability

- **Standard Dutch** (Du. *er*): **antecedent** must be a **count noun**:

(18a) Jan heeft **twee boeken** en Piet heeft **er drie**. [COUNT]

J. has two books and P. has ER three  
'Jan has two books and Piet has three.'

(18b) \*Jan heeft **veel wijn** maar Piet heeft **er weinig**. [\*MASS]

\*J. has much wine but P. has ER few  
'Jan has much wine but Piet has few.'

# The interpretative gap and its antecedent: Countability

- **(Central) German (and some Dutch dialects: e.g. Brabantish and Limburgish): distinct forms for plur. count nouns & fem. mass nouns: (d)(e)r(e) and masc./neut. mass nouns: s(e)n/es (Brab./Limb.: es/'t)**

e.g. Luxembourgish:

- (19a) Huet si **Kanner**? – Ech mengen, si huet **der dräi**. [PLUR. COUNT]  
has she children – I think she has DER three  
'Does she have children? – I think that she has three.'
- (19b) Hues de **Mëllech**? – Jo, ech hunn **der** nach. [FEM. MASS]  
have you milk – yes I have DER still  
'Do you have milk? – Yes, I still have some.'
- (19c) Wëlls de nach **Wäin**? – Nee merci, ech hunn **es** nach. [MASC. MASS]  
want you still wine – no thanks I have ES still  
'Would you like some more wine? – No, thanks, I still have some.'
- (19d) Drénks de nach **Waasser**? – Elo hunn ech **es genuch** gedronk. [NEUT. MASS]  
drink you still water – now have I ES enough drunk  
'Do you want some more water? – Now I have drunk enough (of it).'

# The interpretative gap and its antecedent: Mismatch in number

- **gap** and **antecedent** may exhibit a **mismatch in number**:

Dutch (Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012):

(20a) Jan heeft **één boek** en Piet heeft **er drie**. → anteced. = **SING.** ⇔ gap = **PLUR.**  
J. has one book and P. has ER three  
'Jan has one book and Piet has three.'

(20b) Jan heeft **twee boeken** en Piet heeft **er één**. → anteced. = **PLUR.** ⇔ gap = **SING.**  
J. has two books and P. has ER one  
'Jan has two books and Piet has one.'

= Italian (Cresti 2003):

(21a) Maria ha **un cappello verde** ed io **ne ho due rossi**. → anteced. = **SING.** ⇔ gap = **PLUR.**  
M. has a hat green and I NE have-1.SG two red  
'Maria has a green hat and I have two red ones.'

(21b) Voi avete **tre cavalli** ed io **ne ho uno**. → anteced. = **PLUR.** ⇔ gap = **SING.**  
you have-2.PL three horses and I NE have-1.SG one  
'You have three horses and I have one.'

# The interpretative gap and its antecedent: Mismatch in number

**Note:** a paraphrase of

*Maria ha un cappello verde ed io ne ho due rossi*

would be ... *ed io ho due cappelli rossi*

and the English equivalent to *ne* involves *one*-insertion/*one*-anaphora:

‘... and I have **two red ones**’

→ quantitative, not partitive:

‘Mary has a green hat and I have **two of them (which are red)**’

→ antecedent = *hat-*, a constituent **not marked for number!** (Cresti 2003)

# The interpretative gap and its antecedent: No unitary status: various subparts of a DP

- Fr. *en*/It. *ne* and Du. *er* can stand in for a **variety of subconstituents of a DP**  
→ **no unitary status as a pro-form: pro-N, pro-N', pro-NP?**

Italian (Cinque 1991, Cresti 2003):

- (22a) Carlo ha letto **un lavoro su Jung** ed io **ne** ho letto **uno** \_\_\_ (= **lavoro**) **su Freud**  
C. has read a paper on Jung and I NE have read one on Freud
- (22b) Carlo ha letto **un lavoro su Freud** e anch'io **ne** ho letto **uno** \_\_\_ (= **lavoro su Freud**)  
C. has read a paper on Freud and also I NE have read one
- (22c) Carlo ha letto **un lavoro su Freud di Marianne Krüll** e anch'io **ne** ho letto **uno** \_\_\_  
(= **lavoro su Freud di Marianne Krüll**)  
C. has read a paper on Freud of Marianne Krüll and also I NE have read one
- (23) Gianni ha comprato **una grande foto di Venezia**  
G. has bought a big photo of Venice
- (a) ... e Mario **ne** ha comprato **una piccola** \_\_\_ (= **foto / foto di Venezia**)  
... and M. NE has bought a/one small '... and Mario bought a small one.'
- (b) ... e Mario **ne** ha comprato **una** \_\_\_ (= **foto / grande foto**) **di Firenze**  
... and M. NE has bought a/one of Florence '... and Mario bought one of Florence.'



# The interpretative gap and its antecedent: No unitary status: various subparts of a DP

Dutch (Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012):

(24a) Ik heb **twee poppen met blond haar**

I have two dolls with blond hair

en Jan heeft **er drie \_\_ (= poppen) met donker haar**

and J. has ER three with dark hair

‘I have two dolls with blond hair and Jan has three with dark hair.’

(24b) Jan gaf **een bewijs dat de aarde rond is**

J. gave a proof that the earth round is

en Piet gaf **er drie \_\_ (= bewijzen dat de aarde rond is)**

and P. gave ER three

‘Jan gave a proof that the earth is a sphere and Piet gave three.’

# The quantificational element: Co-occurrence with certain quantifiers

- **existential** quantifiers:  
**cardinals** and **degree quantifiers**/, **vague numerals**’ (*many, few, some*) ✓
  - (25a) It.: **Di ragazzi, ne** ho visti **molti**.  
of boys NE have-1.SG seen-M.PL many  
‘I saw many (boys).’
  - (25b) Du.: Jan heeft **weinig boeken** maar Marie heeft **er veel**.  
J. has few books but M. has ER many  
‘Jan has few books but Marie has many.’
- **other** quantity expressions: **quantificational element** *enough*,  
**binominal constructions** with **quantificational nouns** (*a couple of, a lot of*)  
and **measure nouns** (*a bottle of*) ✓
  - (26a) It.: **Ne** ho visti **abbastanza**.  
NE have-1.SG seen-M.PL enough  
‘I have seen enough (of them).’
  - (26b) Du.: Ik heb **er** nog **een paar/een boel**.  
I have ER still a couple/a lot  
‘I still have a couple/a lot (of them).’

# The quantificational element: Co-occurrence with certain quantifiers

- **universal** quantifiers (*all, both*) X

(27a) It.: \***Ne** ho visti **tutti**.

\*NE have-1.SG seen-M.PL all  
'I saw all (of them).'

(27b) Du.: \*Jan heeft **er alle** meegenomen.

\*J. has ER all taken-along  
'Jan took along all (of them).'

- **distributive** quantifiers (*every, each*) X

(28a) It.: \***Ne** ho visti/o **ogni / ognuno/ciascuno**.

\*NE have-1.SG seen(-M.PL) each/every (one) / everyone  
'I saw each/every (one) / everyone (of them).'

(28b) Du.: \*Ik heb **er elk(e)/ieder(e) / iedereen** gezien.

\*I have ER each/every (one) / everyone seen  
'I saw each/every (one) / everyone (of them).'

(cf. also Cardinaletti & Giusti 2006, Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012)

# The quantificational element: Co-occurrence with certain quantifiers

## → weak vs. strong quantifiers:

cf. also Du. *enkele* ('sm') ↔ *sommige* ('some') (Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012):

(29) Jan heeft **er enkele** /\***sommige** meegenomen.

J. has ER sm/\*some taken-along

'Jan took along some (of them).'

(although **some strong det.** seem to be able to be stranded by **ne-cliticization** in **Italian**:  
,**most**' and other **proportional det.**, cf. Cresti 2003)

(30) Ieri ho comprato **un chilo di farina**; **ne** ho usata **la maggior parte** per fare il pane.

yesterday have-1.SG bought a kilo of flour NE have-1.SG used-F.SG the biggest part for make the bread

'Yesterday, I bought a kilo of flour; I have used most of it in order to make bread.'

# The quantificational element: Co-occurrence with ONE/NO

- **Du. quant. *er*** is **obligatorily present** with the **singular quantifier ONE (*één*)** and the **negative quantifier NO (*geen*)**, whereas in **(Central) German dialects** the **pronominal genitive (*e)r(e)*** is **ungrammatical** in these cases (***ein-/kein-***):

(31) Du.: **Hoeveel boeken** heb jij? – Ik heb **\*(er) één/geen**.  
 how-many books have you – I have \*(ER) one/none  
 ‘How many books do you have? – I have one/none.’

↔ Eastern Thur. (Weise 1906):

(32) Hast du **Äpfel**? – Ich hãã **\*(er) enn/kenn**.  
 have you apples – I have (\*ER) one/none  
 ‘Do you have apples? – I have one/none.’

Hess. (SyHD): **all dialects** with partitive genitive pronouns:

(33a) **Wie viele Gummibärchen** hat Helmut? – Helmut hat **(\*ere) ein(e)s**.  
 how many jelly-babies has H. – H. has (\*ERE) one  
 ‘How many jelly babies does Helmut have? – Helmut has one.’

(33b) Haben wir noch **Plätzchen**? – Nein, wir haben **(\*ere) keine(/-s)** mehr.  
 have we still biscuits – no we have (\*ERE) none anymore  
 ‘Do we still have biscuits? – No, we don’t have any anymore.’

# The quantificational element: Co-occurrence with ONE/NO

↔ Lux.: **difference** between **full and reduced forms** of the **partitive genitive pronouns**:  
**full forms *där/däers* = possible (facultative), reduced forms *der/es* = ungrammatical:**

(34a) Ech hunn **där keng.** ↔ \*Ech hunn **der keng.** (PLUR. & FEM. SING.)  
I have DÄR none \*I have DER none  
'I don't have any.'

(34b) Ech hunn **däers keen.** ↔ \*Ech hunn **es keen.** (MASC./NEUT. SING.)  
I have DÄERS none \*I have ES none  
'I don't have any.'

(Thanks to Caroline Döhmer for the data on Luxembourgish!)

# The quantificational element:

## No quantifier

- **Part./quant. pronouns without any quantitative (or qualitative) specification:**

Italian (Cordin in Renzi 1988):

- (35) Se trovi **delle paste come quelle che piacciono a me**, compramene **(otto/alcune)**!  
if find-2.SG of-the pastries like those that please to me buy-me-NE (eight/a few)  
'If you find pastries like those I like, buy me some (/eight/a few).'

(↔ cases with **no overt**, but an **understood quantifier**, cf. Bentley 2006:

*Il prof. ne ha bocciati, studenti* → rising intonation, typical of exclamations: ‚many/a lot‘,  
*Libri, Lucia ne legge* → absence of rising intonation: ‚some‘)

# The quantificational element: No quantifier

↔ Dutch: in the **prototypical case**, a **quantificational element** is present  
→ **not all speakers** accept examples with **quant. er “alone”**  
**(not in Northern varieties):**

(36) **Handdoeken?** %Ik heb **er** (nog).

towels? %I have ER (still)

‘Towels? I (still) have some.’

(↔ **without quantification**, but **with further qualification** (adjunct-PP or relative clause):

*Handdoeken? Ik heb **er van uitstekende kwaliteit/die pas nieuw zijn***

= acceptable in **all** varieties of Dutch)



# The quantificational element: No quantifier

↔ (Central) German dialects, e.g. Hess.:

***ere/sen* is also grammatical without a remnant**

**(and contrary to Dutch, these pron. are only facultative  
when a quantifier is present):**

(37a) Hei sein **ere!** [**Pilze**]

here are ERE [mushrooms]

‘Here are some.’

(37b) Soll eich **sen** holle? [**Fleisch**]

shall I SEN fetch [meat]

‘Shall I get some?’

(→ cf. Standard & Low/Northern Ge. indefinite(-partitive) pronouns  
**welch-/we(l)k-** and Bav. generalized **ein-**)

## *wat voor/was für*-construction

- **Du. quant. *er*** may also occur in the *wat voor*-construction  
= surprising because this is **not a quantificational but a type-denoting expression!**

(38a) **Wat** heeft Peter **er voor één?** [auto]

what has P. ER for a/one [car]

‘What kind (of car) does Peter have?’

(→ **spurious article *een*** = obligatorily **stressed**,  
**interpretative gap** must be construed as **sing.!** cf. Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012)

(↔ Northern colloquial Dutch, cf. Corver & Van Koppen 2009:

(Over **schoenen** gesproken) **Wat voor** heb jij (**er**) gekocht?)

= **(Central) German dial.**, e.g. Rhine Franc., Central & East Hess. (SyHD):  
***ere*** in the analytic interrogative construction ***was für?***

(38b) **Was** sinn des **fer(re)?/Was fer(re)** sin des? [Pilze]

what are that for (ERE)/what for (ERE) are that [mushrooms]

‘What kind (of mushrooms) are those?’

# Extraction of partitive/quantitative pronouns: Restrictions/Asymmetries

Italian:

(cf. e.g. Belletti & Rizzi 1981,  
Cardinaletti & Giusti 2006)

- **direct obj.:** ✓

(39) **Ne visiterò alcuni.**

NE visit-FUT-1.SG some

‘I will visit some (of them).’

- ⇔ **indirect/prepositional obj.:** ✗

(40a) \*Gianni **ne parlerà a due.**

\*G. NE speak-FUT-3.SG to two

‘Gianni will speak to two (of them).’

(40b) \***Me ne sono occupato di alcuni.**

\*REFL NE be-1.SG occupied-M.SG of some

‘I occupied myself with some (of them).’

(40c) \***Me ne sono concentrata su alcuni.**

\*REFL NE be-1.SG concentrated-F.SG on some

‘I concentrated myself on some (of them).’

**ne = obligatory in dir. obj. pos. (selected):**

- Gianni **trascorrerà tre settimane** a Milano.  
> Gianni \*(**ne**) **trascorrerà tre** a Milano.

⇔ contrasts with **adverbial phrase:**

- Gianni è rimasto **tre settimane** a Milano.  
> \*Gianni (**ne**) è rimasto **tre** a Milano.

(Belletti & Rizzi 1981)

# Extraction of partitive/quantitative pronouns: Restrictions/Asymmetries

- **postverbal unaccusative/ergative subj.: ✓**

(41) **Ne** sono arrivati/venuti **molti**.

NE be-3.PL arrived/come many 'Many have arrived/come.'

- ⇔ **preverbal unaccusative/ergative subj.: ✗**

(42) **Molti** (\*ne) sono arrivati/venuti.

many (\*NE) be-3.PL arrived/come 'Many have arrived/come.'

- **preverbal/postverbal (in)trans. subj.: ✗**

(43a) **Molti** (\*ne) hanno partecipato alla festa.

many (\*NE) have-3.PL participated at-the party  
'Many (of them) participated at the party.'

(43b) **\*(\*)Ne** hanno partecipato alla festa **molti**.

\*(\*)NE have-3.PL participated at-the party many  
'Many (of them) participated at the party.'

(44a) **Molti** (\*ne) hanno visto Maria.

many (\*NE) have-3.PL seen M.  
'Many (of them) saw Maria.'

(44b) **\*(\*)Ne** hanno visto Maria **molti**.

\*(\*)NE have-3.PL seen M. many  
'Many (of them) saw Maria.'

cf. also **adjectival predicates**

(Cinque 1990):

- **Ne** sono **note**  
solo **alcune** (... **poesie**) ⇔
- **\*Ne** sono **buoni**  
**pochi** (... **articoli**)

## Semantic representation (Bentley 2006):

**ne-cliticization** = only available for  
an argument of a **state predicate**  
(states, achievements, accomplishments)

→ **rules out ne-cliticization** of  
the argument of **activity predicates**:

- **\*Attori, ne cantano molti**.  
\*actors NE sing-3.PL many  
'Many (actors/of them) sing.'

# Extraction of partitive/quantitative pronouns: Restrictions/Asymmetries

⇔ Dutch (cf. e.g. Bennis 1986):

- **subj.:**

- **ergative subj.:**

(45a) Gisteren **zijn** **\*(er) twee** gekomen.  
yesterday are \*(ER) two come  
'Yesterday, two came.'

- **non-ergative subj. of an intrans. verb:**

(45b) Gisteren **hebben** **\*(er) twee** gewandeld.  
yesterday have \*(ER) two walked  
'Yesterday, two went for a walk.'

- **subj. of a trans. verb:**

(45c) Gisteren **hebben** **\*(er) twee** een boek gekocht.  
yesterday have \*(ER) two a book bought  
'Yesterday, two bought a book.'

**quant. er cannot occur in sentence-initial pos.**  
(⇔ prepositional, locative, expletive er):

\*Er zijn **twee** verschenen

\*Er hebben enkele mensen haar **twee** gegeven

Du. **quant. er** with **subj.:**

- **Vier** zijn **(er)** geslaagd. [**studenten**]

- **Twee** moeten **er** opruimen/  
Er moeten **er twee** opruimen. [**kinderen**]

= (Central) German dialects:

- (East) Hess.: **Fia** sinn **ere**  
(da devou) scho ferhaired. [**Kinder**]

- Mos. Franc. (Hunsr.): **Feier** hon **er**  
sisch gemelt. (Reuter 1989)

# Extraction of partitive/quantitative pronouns: Restrictions/Asymmetries

- **dir. obj.:**

- (46) Gisteren heb ik **\*(er) twee** gekocht.  
yesterday have I \*(er) two bought  
'Yesterday, I bought two (of them).'

- **indirect obj.:**

- (47) Ik heb **er een paar** chocola gegeven. [**kinderen**]  
I have ER a few chocolate given [children]  
'I gave some (of them) chocolate.'

- **out of a complement-PP:**

- (48a) Ik heb **(er) aan een paar** geschreven. [**studenten**]  
I have (ER) to a few written [students]  
'I wrote to some (of them).'
- (48b) Ik heb **(er) al met veel** gesproken. [**studenten**]  
I have (ER) already with many spoken [students]  
'I have already spoken with many (of them).'

(Thanks to Hanneke Berends for some grammaticality judgements on Dutch!)

**quant. er** can also bind empty category of **two quantified noun phrases** (subj. & obj. pos.):

- ... dat **er [twee e]** [**één e**] gekocht hebben.

(Bennis 1986)

**quant. er** can be associated with a noun phrase in a **complement-PP**:

- Ik heb **er** lang **over twee** gepiekerd. [**problemen**]

↔ but **not** in a **time adverbial**:

- \*Ik heb dat boek **er tijdens twee** gelezen. [**vergaderingen**]

(Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012)

# Syntactic distribution of part./quant. pronouns: Adjectives

Italian (cf. e.g. Cinque 1991; Cardinaletti & Giusti 1992, 2006): **pre- vs. postnominal APs:**  
**postnominal adj. can be stranded by *ne*-cliticization, but prenominal adj. can't:**

(49a) Ho letto **un libro bello**. > **Ne** ho letto **uno bello**.  
have-1.SG read a book nice > NE have-1.SG read a nice  
'I read a nice book.' > 'I read a nice one.'

(49b) Si è fatta **una mera illusione**/\***una illusione mera**. > \***Se ne** è fatta **una mera**.  
REFL be-3.SG made-F.SG a mere illusion/\*an illusion mere > \*REFL NE be-3.SG made-F.SG a mere  
'She made herself a mere illusion.' > 'She made herself a mere one.'

→ ***mero* = only prenominal → ungrammatical with *ne*-cliticization**

(49c) Hanno dato **una certa notizia** ⇔ **una notizia certa**.  
have-3.PL given a **certain** (= **particular**) piece-of-news ⇔ a piece-of-news **certain** (= **sure**)  
'They gave a **certain** (= **particular** ⇔ **sure**) piece of news.'

> **Ne** hanno data **una certa** (,certain' = **sure**).  
NE have-3.PL given-F.SG a **certain** (= **sure**)  
'They gave a **certain** (= **sure**) one.'

→ ***certo* maintains only postnominal interpretation in the cliticization construction**  
(cf. also *diversi, grande, numerosi, nuovo, semplice, unico* etc.)

# Syntactic distribution of part./quant. pronouns: Adjectives

**Problems** (cf. Cinque 1991; Cardinaletti & Giusti 1992, 2006):

(50) Ho **un argomento principale**/\***un principale argomento**. > #**Ne** ho **uno principale**.  
have-1SG an argument main/\*a main argument > #NE have-1.SG a main  
'I have a main argument.' > 'I have a main one.'

→ **principale** can **only** be **attributive**, **ungrammatical** in **predicative** constructions:

\**Questo argomento è principale*/\**Ritengo questo argomento principale*

→ **only those adj. that can occur in predicative pos. can appear in ne-constructions**

(51) \***Ne** ho comprati (gli) **interessanti**.  
\*NE have-1.SG bought-M.PL (the) interesting  
'I have bought (the) interesting (ones).'

→ **prep. di** = **optional** with **predicative adj.**: *Ne conosco due (di) simpatici*,  
but **obligatory** with a **non-overt/empty quantifier**: *Ne conosco ∅ \*(di) simpatici*

**prenominal adj. giving rise to grammatical results:**

(52a) Fr. J'ai vu **un grand livre**. > J'**en** ai vu **un grand**.  
I have seen a big book > I EN have seen a big 'I saw a big book.' > 'I saw a big one.'

(52b) It. Gianni ha comprato **una grande foto (di Venezia)** e Mario **ne** ha comprata **una piccola**.  
G. has bought a big photo (of Venice) and M. NE has bought a small  
'Gianni bought a big photo (of Venice) and Mario bought a small one.'



# Syntactic distribution of part./quant. pronouns: Adjectives



It. Maria ha **un cappello verde** ed io **ne ho due rossi**.  
(‘two red ones’)

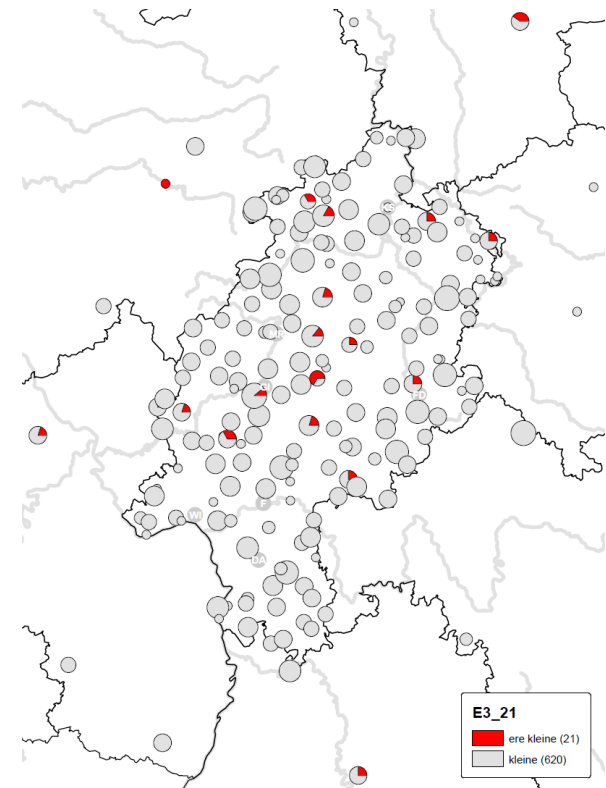
⇔ (Northern Standard) Dutch:

(53a) Hij heeft **vijf rode appels** en ik heb (**\*er**) **vier groene**.  
he has five red apples and I have (\*ER) four green  
‘He has five red apples and I have four green (ones).’

= (Central) German dialects, e.g. Hess. (SyHD):

(53b) Hier sind (**\*ere**) bloß **kleine**. [**Erdbeeren**]  
here are (\*ERE) only small [strawberries]  
‘Here are only small ones.’

→ **Du. *er* and Hess. *ere* do not co-occur with adjectives**



# Syntactic distribution of part./quant. pronouns: Adjectives

↔ but: **part./quant. pronouns can co-occur with adjectives**  
in **Southern/Belg. Dutch varieties**  
as well as in **High/Highest Alem. dialects**  
(→ **language contact** with French and/or Italian?):

East Flemish (Corver, Van Koppen & Kranendonk 2009):

(54a) Hij hee **vijf ruuë appels** en ik he **(der) vier groene**.  
he has five red apples and I have (DER) four green  
'He has five red apples and I have four green (ones).'

Bernese German (Hodler 1969):

(54b) Wi gseh **d'Öpfel** us? – Es hat **ere schöni**, aber es syn **ere fuli** drunder.  
how look the apples PRT – it has ERE nice but it are ERE rotten among  
'How about the apples? – There are nice ones but there are rotten ones among them, too.'

# Syntactic distribution of part./quant. pronouns: Modification vs. complementation

well-known **contrast**, e.g. from Engl. (cf. e.g. Corver & Van Koppen 2011, Günther 2013):

**nominal ellipsis** as well as **one-insertion**

= possible with **postnominal modifiers (adjuncts)**,  
but not with **arguments (complements)**:

- **adjunct- vs. complement-PPs:**

nominal ellipsis:

(55a) I talked with **these students from Germany** and with **these from Italy**. ⇔

(55b) \*I talked with **these students of physics** and with **these of chemistry**.

one-insertion:

(56a) I met **the student from Germany** but I didn't meet **the one from Italy**. ⇔

(56b) \***The destruction of Rome** was as cruel as **the one of Carthage**.

- **relative vs. complement clauses:**

one-insertion:

(57a) **the rumor that John heard yesterday** and **the one that Mary had heard the day before** ⇔

(57b) \***the rumor that Bill would be fired** and **the one that John would keep his job**

# Syntactic distribution of part./quant. pronouns: Modification vs. complementation

Italian (cf. e.g. Cinque 1991; Cardinaletti & Giusti 1992, 2006):

- **adjunct- vs. complement-PPs:**

(58a) **Ne** ho **alcuni di buona qualità**.

NE have-1.SG a-few of good quality

‘I have a few of good quality.’

(58b) \***Di studenti, ne** conosco **due in medicina**.

\*Of students NE know-1.SG two in medicine

‘I know two (students) of medicine.’

( $\Leftrightarrow$  *Maria conosce **tre racconti del nonno*** > *Maria **ne** conosce **tre del nonno***)

= **argument** of the noun or **modification/adjoined?**

➔ **not a real argument** of the **noun**, but a **modifier** occurring in the **postnominal predicative position**  $\Leftrightarrow$  **complements** that **cannot** occur as **predicates** are also **ungrammatical** with **ne**, cf. Cinque 1991, Cardinaletti & Giusti 1992)

# Syntactic distribution of part./quant. pronouns: Modification vs. complementation

- **relative vs. complement clauses:**

(59a) **Di libri, ne** ho letti **due di cui non ricordo ora il titolo.**

Of books NE have-1.SG read-M.PL two of which not remember-1.SG now the title  
'I read two (books) of which I don't remember the title now.'

(⇔ **ne** can also pronominalize a noun phrase that contains a relative clause:

***Di libri di cui non ricordo ora il titolo, ne** ho letti **due***, cf. Cardinaletti & Giusti 2006)

(59b) C'è **una possibilità che Maria venga.** > \*Ce **n'è una che Maria venga.**

there is a possibility that M. comes > \*there NE is a/one that M. comes

'There is a possibility that Maria comes.' > \*'There is one that Maria comes.'

# Syntactic distribution of part./quant. pronouns: Modification vs. complementation



Dutch & (Central) German dialects (Hess.):

- **adjunct- vs. complement-PPs:**

Standard Dutch (Kranendonk 2010):

(60a) Ik heb **er twee uit Frankrijk**. [stoelen]  
I have ER two from France [chairs] 'I have two from France.'

Central Hessian (SyHD):

(60b) Letzten Winter hu eich **ere von sehr gouter Qualität** gekaaft. [Stiefel]  
Last winter have I ERE of very good quality bought [boots]  
'Last winter I have bought some of very high quality.'

Standard Dutch (Kranendonk 2010):

(61a) Jij hebt **er twee (\*aan mij)** geschonden. [beloftes]  
you have ER two (\*to me) broken [promises] 'You have broken two (promises) to me.'

↔ Central Hessian (SyHD):

(61b) Ich hu **kaa Froe** mehr **aa dich**, awwer host douere noch **aa mich?** [Fragen]  
I have no questions anymore to you but have you ERE still to me [questions]  
'I don't have any questions anymore to you but do you have some (questions) to me?'

(cf. also **StGe. *welch-*** and **Bav. *ein-***)

# Syntactic distribution of part./quant. pronouns: Modification vs. complementation



- **relative vs. complement clauses:**

Standard Dutch (ANS 8·6·5·2·i):

- (62a) Hij had **veel goede leerlingen**, maar hij had **er** ook (**drie**) **die absoluut niet konden rekenen**.  
he had many good pupils but he had ER also (three) who absolutely not could calculate  
'He had many good pupils but he had also some/three who couldn't do the maths at all.'

Central Hessian (SyHD):

- (62b) Es gebd **ere**, **dej giehn goar net en die Kirch**.  
it gives ERE who go at-all not in the church  
'There are some who don't go to church at all.'

Standard Dutch (Blom 1975/76):

- (63a) Ik heb **er** nog nooit **een** gezien (**\*dat de aarde plat was**). [**bewijs**]  
I have ER still never a/one seen (\*that the earth flat was) [proof]  
'I have never seen any (proof) that the earth is flat.'

↔ North Hessian (SyHD):

- (63b) Es gerrer, **dass hei mu Römer geläbt hun**. [**Beweise**]  
it gives ERE that here once Romans lived have [proofs]  
'There are (proofs) that Romans once lived here.'

(cf. also **StGe. *welch-*** and **Bav. *ein-***)

# Syntax of partitive/quantitative pronouns: The syntactic nature of the interpretative gap

→ nature of the **interpretative gap** within the **noun phrase** associated with **quant. *er*** (cf. Broekhuis & Den Dikken 2012)?

→ the **interpretative gap** =

- the result of **deletion**:  
***er* ... [Num/Q [~~...N~~]]**
- **base-generated** as a (phonetically empty) **pronominal element**, which must be **licensed/bound** by **quant. *er*** (Kester 1996):  
***er*<sub>i</sub> ... [Num/Q [*pro*<sub>i</sub>]]**
- the result of **movement** (Coppen 1991, Barbiers 2009):  
***er*<sub>i</sub> ... [Num/Q [*t*<sub>i</sub>]]**
  - **quant. *er*** pronominalizes a **certain part** of the **nominal structure**
  - ***er*** = **base-generated** as **part** of the **noun phrase** and then **obligatorily moved** into some **NP-external position**



# Syntax of partitive/quantitative pronouns: Analyses

## → level of pronominalization?

- traditionally: **En. *one*** substitutes for the **constituent N'** → ***one* cannot occur with arguments**

## Fr./It. *en/ne* = a non-maximal (N') or a maximal category (NP/PP/DP)?

- Kayne (1975), Belletti (1979):

***en*** = a **prepositional clitic**: quantified noun phrases have the **underlying form** *deux de sœurs*

→ **Fr. quant. *en*** pronominalizes complement *de sœurs/de elles* /

**It. *ne*** stands for **partitive phrase** introduced by *di*

→ hypothesis of **categorial uniformity** (= **unified analysis of all uses of *ne***):

**quant. & non-quant. instances of *en/ne*** stand for **PPs with *de / di/da***

- Belletti & Rizzi (1981):

***ne*** = an **intermediate proj. N'**, not a **max. proj.**

→ **pronominalizes head noun** and its **complements**, while **quantifier** remains **in place**

- Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992, 2006):

***ne*** = a **max.**, not an **intermediate proj.** → the **clitic form** of the **quantitative DP**

in the **complement** of **Q** (quantifier occupies a pos. outside of the noun phrase: head of proj. QP)

→ of **category D** (not Ps)

- Cinque (1991), Belletti (1993):

***ne*** = an **NP**, not a **DP** (binding properties & co-occurrence with relative clauses)

# Syntax of partitive/quantitative pronouns: Analyses

- Ihsane (2013):
  - in addition to PPs, **en** can replace **different layers** of a **nominal structure** with an **articulated left periphery** ((SRefP) > ... PropP >)
  - and a **fine-grained inflectional domain** (... NumP > (FP<sub>quantity</sub>) > (FP<sub>de</sub>) > (FP<sub>count</sub>) > NP)
  - clitic **en** can pronominalize **PropPs** (property-denoting interpretation) but **not SRefPs** (*en* cannot involve reference)
  - **quantitative en** replaces a **subpart** of the **nominal inflectional domain**: FP<sub>de</sub>
  - ↔ **genitive en** and **partitive en** as PPs
  - **no uniform proposal** like Kayne's (*en* = **not uniformly a pro-PP**)

**Du. quant. er** (↔ **other instances of er** = presumably **pro-PPs**):

- Blom (1977), Bennis (1977), Van Riemsdijk (1978):
  - quant. er** = an **N'** (**does not occur** with the **head noun**, nor with **adj.**)
  - ↔ **does occur** with **relative clauses**)
- Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006):
  - er pronominalizes DP complement** of the **quantifier** (= in line with proposal for Fr./It. *en/ne*)
- Kranendonk (2010):
  - quant. er** = a **pro-nP** (a category including **adjectives** and **complement-PPs**, but **not adjunct-PPs** and **relative clauses**, which can co-occur with *er*)

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