



ONLINE TALKS on Partitives

Partitive pronouns in intransitive contexts and the role of complexity

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Introduction

Partitive pronouns (Giusti & Sleeman, 2021):

(1) *Ik heb drie boeken* → *Ik heb **ER** drie.*

I have three books I have PART.WK three

'I have three books. → I have three.'

(2) a. ***NE** ho tre.*

PART.CL I-have three

'I have three.'

b. *Hai libri? → Sí, **NE** ho.*

you-have books yes PART.CL I-have

'Do you have books? Yes, I have.'

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- (3) *J'ai mangé des cerises* → *J' **EN** ai mangé.*
I have eaten PART.DET.PL cherries I PART.CL have eaten
'I ate cherries. → I ate some.'

Bentley (2004): NE typically occurs with the elliptical **direct object** of a transitive verb.

NE can also occur with intransitive verbs, viz. unaccusatives:

- (4) ***NE** arrivano molti.*
PART.CL arrive-3PL many-M.PL
'(Of them) many arrive.'

Introduction

Dutch partitive (quantitative) pronoun ER (Corver & van Koppen, 2018):

It “typically occurs in clausal environments featuring a(n indefinite) **direct object noun phrase** whose nominal head is empty, possibly as the result of movement of the partitive pronoun, and which is introduced by a cardinal or indefinite quantifier”

Introduction

Belletti & Rizzi (1981): in Italian, the partitive pronoun NE is used in combination with noun-less direct objects, but not in combination with noun-less quantified adverbial NPs:

- (5) a. *Gianni trascorrerà tre settimane a Milano.*
Gianni will.spend three weeks in Milan
'Gianni will spend three weeks in Milan.'
- b. *Gianni **NE** trascorrerà tre a Milano.*
Gianni PART.CL will-spend three in Milan
'Gianni will spend three in Milan.'

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- (6) a. *Gianni è rimasto tre settimane a Milano.*
Gianni is remained three weeks in Milan
'Gianni remained three weeks in Milan.'
- b. **Gianni **NE** è rimasto tre a Milano.*
Gianni PART.CL is remained three in Milan
'Gianni remained three in Milan.'

Belletti & Rizzi account for the difference by claiming that NE can only be extracted from an argument position.

Introduction

- (7) a. *Questo scaffale misura due metri*
this shelf measures two meters
'This shelf measures two meters.'
- b. *?Questo scaffale **NE** misura due*
this shelf PART.CL measures two
'This shelf measures two.' [Belletti & Rizzi, 1981: marginal]
- (8) *?(Di ore) **NE** dorme otto*
of hours PART.CL sleeps.3P.SG eight
'S/he sleeps eight of them, hours.' [Benincà, 1988: non elegant]

Introduction

Barbiers (2017):

- (9) a. *Ik heb twee dagen in Spanje doorgebracht.*
I have two days in Spain spent
'I have spent two days in Spain.'
- b. *Ik heb **ER** twee in Spanje doorgebracht.*
I have PART.WK two in Spain spent
'I have spent two in Spain.'

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- (10) a. *Ik ben twee dagen in Spanje gebleven.*
I am two days in Spain remained
'I have remained two days in Spain.'
- b. **Ik ben **ER** twee in Spanje gebleven.*
I am PART.WK two in Spain remained

Introduction

However, Will (2019) shows that on the internet the verb *costare* ‘cost’ is frequently attested with NE in all registers of the language:

- (11) *olio greco e spagnolo, che costa poco più di due euro al litro*
oil Greek and Spanish that costs little more than two euros per.the liter
*e ... quello italiano, che **NE** costa invece circa 6.*
and the.one Italian that PART.CL costs instead around 6
‘Greek and Spanish oil, which costs little more than two euros per liter and
... Italian oil, which, in contrast, costs 6 euros.’

Introduction

According to Bennis (1986), ER has to be used both with a direct object and with a quantified adverbial NP :

- (12) a. *Hoeveel heb jij *(ER) gekocht?*
how-many have you PART.WK bought
'Have many did you buy?'
- b. *Van die vier weken ben ik *(ER) twee in Milaan gebleven*
of those four weeks am I PART.WK two in Milano remained
'Of those four weeks I remained two in Milan.'

Introduction

Research questions:

- May extraction from quantified adverbial NPs be more acceptable than has generally been claimed in the literature, at least with some verbs? (Sleeman, 2023, to appear)
- How do speakers analyze other similar constructions containing intransitive verbs? (Sleeman 2022)

Methodology RQ 1

- A Grammaticality Judgment Task was submitted to native speakers of Dutch.
- Recruited by means of social media.
- Google Forms.
- Correct - Incorrect

- First Dutch test: 30 native speakers, 75 sentences.
- Dutch post-hoc test: 28 native speakers, 28 sentences.

Results for partitive pronoun

Intransitive verb with ER (coordinated sentences)

- (13) *[Ik zal vier dagen in Rome blijven] en ik zal **ER** twee in Napels blijven. (83%)*
'I will stay four days in Rome and I will stay two in Naples.'
- (14) *[Iris heeft acht uur geslapen,] maar Koen heeft **ER** maar vier geslapen. (77%)*
Eva has slept eight hours, but Claudia has slept only four.
- (15) *[Gisteren heb ik één kilometer gezwommen] en vandaag heb ik **ER** twee gezwommen. (93%)*
'Yesterday I have swum two kilometers and today I have swum one.'

Results for Dutch

Intransitive verb without ER (coordinated sentences)

- (16) *[Ik zal vier dagen in Rome blijven] en ik zal twee in Napels blijven. (20%)*
- (17) *[Iris heeft acht uur geslapen,] maar Koen heeft maar vier geslapen. (30%)*
- (18) *[Gisteren heb ik één kilometer gezwommen] en vandaag heb ik twee gezwommen. (13%)*

Results for Dutch

Intransitive verb with ER (non-coordinated sentences) in post-hoc test

- (19) *[Ik ben twee dagen in Spanje gebleven.] - Ik ben **ER** twee in Spanje gebleven.*
(68%)
- (20) *[Koen heeft maar vier uur geslapen] - Koen heeft **ER** maar vier geslapen.*
(46%)
- (21) *[Ik heb twee kilometer gezwommen.] Ik heb **ER** twee gezwommen. (86%)*

Discussion RQ1

May extraction from quantified adverbial NPs in Dutch be more acceptable than has generally been claimed in the literature, at least with some verbs?

Yes, 86% in the coordinated sentences and 67% in the non-coordinated sentences.

Discussion RQ1

If we assume that Belletti & Rizzi's (1981) analysis of the use of the partitive pronoun is essentially correct, the fact that native speakers accept the combination of the partitive pronoun with an elliptical adverbial NP may be interpreted in two ways:

1. The participants may unconsciously or consciously have compared the variants with and without the partitive pronoun. Since leaving out the partitive pronoun is not an option, the speakers may have accepted the use of the partitive pronoun.

Discussion RQ1

2. There may be variation w.r.t. grammars between speakers. There are speakers who analyze quantified adverbial NPs as non-arguments and others who analyze them as arguments.

Discussion RQ1

- Circumstantial adverbials place, time, manner and the like follow the verb's complement within the VP and they are typically realized in prepositional form or in a bare NP form (Cinque 1999).

Discussion RQ1

- (22) *Les souffrances que ce travail m' a coûtées.*
the sufferings that this work me has cost
'The sufferings that this work has cost (caused) me.'

- (23) *Les trois mille euros que ce meuble m' a coûté.*
the three thousand euros that this furniture me has cost
'The three thousand euros that this furniture has cost me.'

Discussion RQ1

In Majorcan Catalan, there can only be (optional) agreement with the following complement if it is an argument, but not if it is an adverbial complement (Salvá 2017):

- (24) *En Joan ja ha {pesades/pesat} ses patates.*
ART Joan already has weighed{FEM.PL/M.SG} the potatoes.FEM.PL
'Joan has already weighed the potatoes.'
- (25) *Es meló ha {*pesades/pesat} vuit lliures.*
the melon has weighed {FEM.PL/M.SG} eight pounds.FEM.PL
'The melon has weighed eight pounds.'

Discussion RQ1

In Korean and English, the domain of direct case assignment is expanded to include measure expressions (Wechsler & Lee 1996; Stroik 1990):

- (26) *Tom-un twu sikan-tongan-ul tali-ess-ta*
Tom-TOP two hour-period-ACC run-PST-DEC
'Tom ran for two hours.'

Methodology RQ2

RQ2: How do speakers analyze other similar constructions containing intransitive verbs?

Constructions:

- Attributive past participles
- Relative pronouns

- 27 participants, 34 noun phrases and sentences
- Google Forms, Correct-Incorrect

Attributive participles

In Dutch, attributive passive participles combine with a noun that is interpreted as their internal argument, which may be the internal argument of a transitive or an unaccusative verb (Elffers, de Haan & Schermer 2014):

(27) *de geïnvesteerde minuten*

‘the invested minutes’

(28) *de gestorven soldaten*

the died soldiers

Results attributive participles

Transitive verb (3 noun phrases):

- (29) a. *de geïnvesteerde minuten* (92,6%)
‘the invested minutes’
- b. *de verspilde uren* (100%)
‘the wasted hours’
- c. *de afgelegde kilometers* (96,3%)
‘the accomplished kilometers’

Results attributive participles

Unaccusative verb (3 noun phrases):

- (30) a. *de vertrokken treinen* (70,4%)
‘the departed trains’
- b. *de gestorven soldaten* (92,6%)
‘the deceased soldiers’
- c. *de vertrokken toeristen* (88,9%)
‘the departed tourists’

Results attributive participles

Unergative verb (3 noun phrases):

- (31) a. *de gewerkte mannen* (18,5%)
the worked men
- b. *de gelopen kinderen* (11,1%)
the walked children
- c. *de gezongen meisjes* (22,2%)
the sung girls

Results attributive participles

Intransitive verb with “adverbial quantified NPs” (5 noun phrases):

- (32)
- a. *de gelopen kilometers* (88,9%)
the walked kilometers
 - b. *de geslapen uren* (85,2%)
the slept hours
 - c. *de gezommen meters* (96,3%)
the swum meters
 - d. *de gewerkte dagen* (96,3%)
the worked days
 - e. *de te lang gebleven minuten* (51,9%)
the too long stayed minutes

Relative pronouns

In Dutch, in the function of direct object, the relative pronoun *dat* or *die* is used, depending on the gender and number of the antecedent:

- (33) *het boek dat ik heb gelezen*
the.N.SG. book.N.SG. that.N.SG I have read
'the book that I have read'
- (34) *de film die ik heb gezien*
the.M.SG movie.M.SG that.M.SG I have seen
'the movie that I have seen'
- (35) *de boeken die ik heb gelezen*
the.PL book.N.PL that.PL I have read
'the books that I have read'

Relative pronouns

According to prescriptive rules (such as those of the Dutch Language Union), the form *dat*, arguably a complementizer (Kayne 1994), should be used with an adverbial function, irrespective of the gender or number of the antecedent:

- (36) *de maanden dat / *die je afwezig was*
the months.M.PL that / that you absent were
'the months that you were absent'

Results relative pronouns

Transitive verb and *die* (3 sentences)

- (37) *De kilometers die ik afgelegd heb zijn op de kaart aangegeven.* (93%)
'The kilometers that I have covered are shown on the map.'
- (38) *De minuten die ik geïnvesteerd heb zijn verloren tijd geweest.* (89%)
'The minutes that I have invested have been lost time.'
- (39) *De uren die ik verspild heb waren verloren tijd.* (78%)
'The hours that I have wasted have been lost time.'

Results relative pronouns

Transitive verb and *dat* (3 sentences)

- (40) *De kilometers dat ik afgelegd heb zijn op de kaart aangegeven.* (7%)
'The kilometers that I have covered are shown on the map.'
- (41) *De minuten dat ik geïnvesteerd heb zijn verloren tijd geweest.* (11%)
'The minutes that I have invested have been lost time.'
- (42) *De uren dat ik verspild heb waren verloren tijd.* (11%)
'The hours that I have wasted have been lost time.'

Results relative pronouns

Relative pronoun in an adverbial function with *dat* or *die* (2x7 sentences)

(43) *Tijdens de kilometers dat ik heb gelopen heb ik genoten van het landschap.* (11%)

(44) *Tijdens de kilometers die ik heb gelopen heb ik genoten van het landschap.* (93%)

‘During the kilometers that I have walked I have enjoyed the landscape.’

(45) *De uren dat ik heb geslapen tellen niet mee voor het onderzoek.* (26%)

(46) *De uren die ik heb geslapen tellen niet mee voor het onderzoek.* (85%)

‘The hours that I have slept do not count for the research.’

Results relative pronouns

Relative pronoun in an adverbial function with *dat* or *die* (2x7 sentences)

(47) *De meters dat ik heb gezwommen hebben mij goed gedaan.* (22%)

(48) *De meters die ik heb gezwommen hebben mij goed gedaan.* (85%)

‘The meters that I have swum have done me good.’

Results relative pronouns

(49) *De uren dat ik ben gebleven zijn zeer waardevol geweest. (22%)*

(50) *De uren die ik ben gebleven zijn zeer waardevol geweest. (81%)*

'The hours that I have stayed have been very valuable.'

(51) *De jaren dat ik thuis ben gebleven hebben me goed gedaan. (44%)*

(52) *De jaren die ik thuis ben gebleven hebben me goed gedaan. (74%)*

'The years that I have stayed at home have done me good.'

Results relative pronouns

(53) *De dagen dat ik niet kom worden niet betaald. (56%)*

(54) *De dagen die ik niet kom worden niet betaald. (70%)*

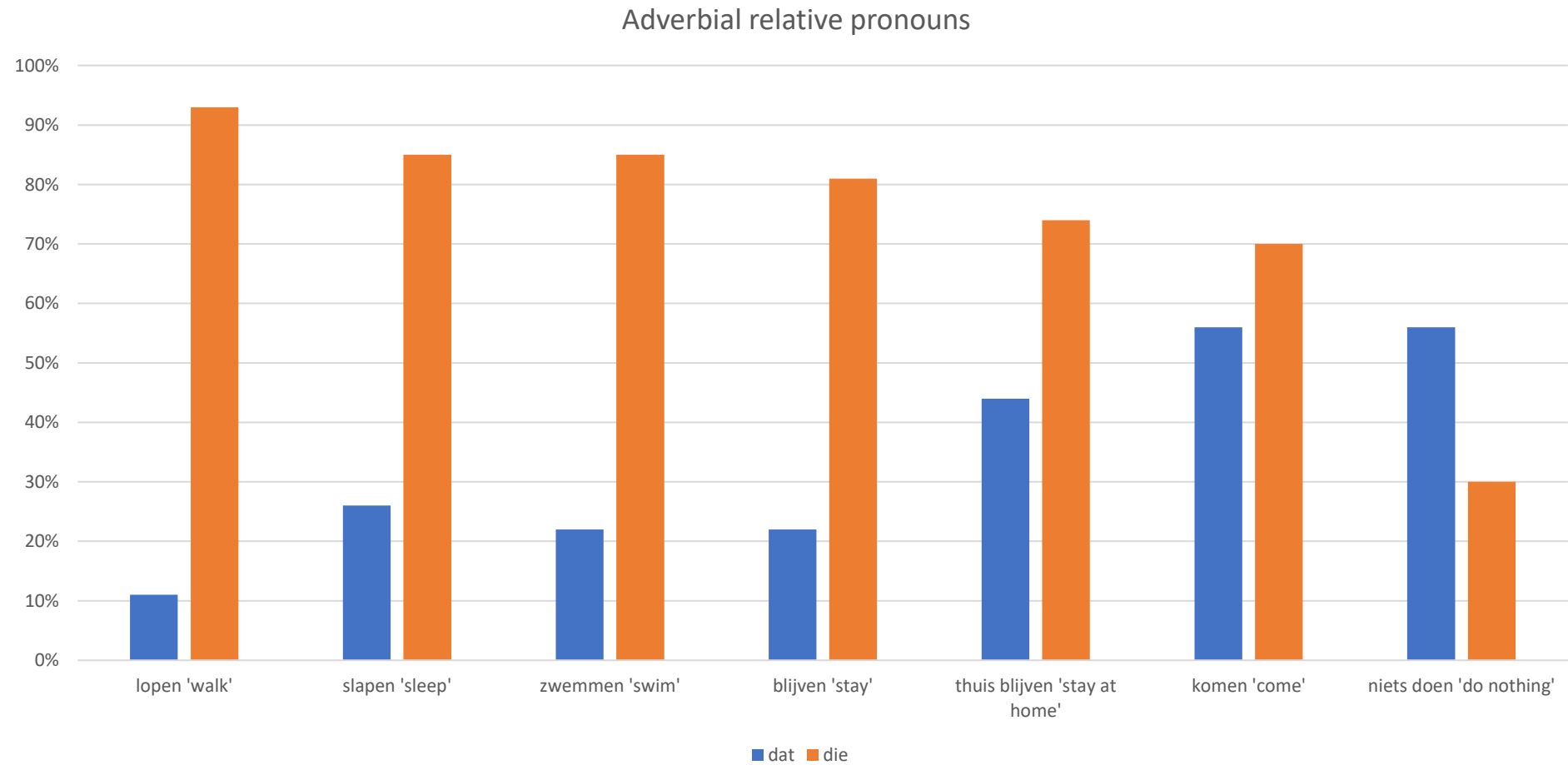
'The days that I do not come are not being paid.'

(55) *De uren dat ik niets doe zijn verspilde tijd. (56%)*

(56) *De uren die ik niets doe zijn verspilde tijd. (30%)*

'The hours that I do nothing are wasted time.'

Results relative pronouns



Discussion RQ2

On average high acceptance of intransitive verbs with “adverbial quantified NPs” in attributive function (verbs: *lopen, slapen, zwemmen, werken, te lang blijven*);

Die is accepted in an adverbial function with all verbs except for *niets doen*;

Dat is most accepted with the verbs *lopen, slapen, zwemmen* and *blijven*.

Discussion and conclusion

- Violation of syntactic constraint on the extraction of partitive pronoun from adverbial NPs by native speakers of Dutch;
- High acceptance of attributive use and of the use of *die*;
- Analysis of intransitive verbs is complex and leads to interspeaker variation;
- Analysis of adverbial NP as direct object, especially with verbs like *slapen, zwemmen, lopen, werken, blijven*;
- More research is needed on types of verbs;
- More research is needed on other languages;
- More research is needed on individual variation.

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