

PARTE

Partitivity in European Languages

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On the property-denoting clitic *ne* and the determiner *de/di*.
A comparative analysis of Catalan and Italian

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Bare nouns, NE, DE nouns

- (1) a. He *llegit llibres.* / Ho *letto libri.* ‘I read books.’
b. He *begut aigua.* / Ho *bevuto acqua.* ‘I drank water.’
- (2) a. *N’he llegit.* / *Ne ho letti.* ‘I read some.’
b. *N’he begut.* / *Ne ho bevuta.* ‘I drank some.’
- (3) a. *De llibres, n’he llegit.* / *Di libri, ne ho letti.* ‘Books, I read some.’
b. *N’he llegit, de llibres.* / *Ne ho letti, di libri.*
- (4) a. He *llegit llibres interessants.* / Ho *letto libri* ‘I read interesting books’
b. *N’he llegit d’interessants.* / *Ne ho letti di interessanti* ‘I read interesting ones’

Proposals

- After comparing the syntax and semantics of nominal, pronominal and adjectival indefinite expressions in Catalan and Italian, we show:
 1. the semantic parallel that exists between the property-denoting clitic NE and the determiner DE
 2. NE is a property-denoting anaphora, and DE is a property-denoting determiner
 3. There are three types of property-denoting NE / DE constituents
 - properties of individual entities, present in both languages
 - properties of kinds, only in Catalan
 - predicate properties, only in Catalan
- These two forms are not related to partitivity «strictu sensu»
- DE is also a concord marker on the AP stranded by NE cliticization

Catalan – Italian parametric differences

- (5) a. La Maria és *mestra*. (*De mestra*,) la Maria *n'és*. 'Maria is a teacher.'
b. La Maria és *pobra*. (*De pobra*,) la Maria *n'és*. 'Maria is poor.'
- (6) a. Maria è *maestra*. **Di maestra*, Maria (*ne*) è.
b. Maria è *povera*. **Di povera*, Maria (*ne*) è.
c. **Maestra / Povera*, *ne* è.
d. **Ne* è.

Structure of the talk

NE is a property-denoting anaphora

- NE is not a partitive constituent
- NE is a non-quantified indefinite clitic

Three types of NE in Catalan (and only one in Italian)

- Property of kinds anaphora
- Property of individuals anaphora
- Predicate anaphora

DE is a property denoting determiner
(or concord marker)

A true partitive requires a quantifier NE does not

- (7) a. La Maria ha tret en préstec *(alguns) dels llibres de la biblioteca.
b. Maria ha preso in prestito (alcuni) dei libri della biblioteca.
‘Maria borrowed some of the books of the library.’
- (8) a. La Maria ha tret en préstec *(alguns) d’aquests llibres.
b. Maria ha preso in prestito ?(alcuni) di questi libri.
‘Maria borrowed some of these books.’
- (9) a. La Maria n’ha tret en préstec (alguns).
b. Maria ne ha presi in prestito (alcuni).
‘Maria borrowed some.’

[Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006, 2017); cf. Belletti (1979), Chierchia (1998), Zamparelli (2008), Martí i Girbau (2010)]

The quantifier requires NE or an indefinite DP

The dislocated partitive co-occurs with them

- (10) a. D'aquests llibres, la Maria *n*'ha tret en préstec *(*alguns*).
b. Di questi libri, Maria *ne* ha presi in prestito *(*alcuni*).
'Of these books, Maria borrowed some.'
- (11) a. *D'aquests llibres, la Maria ha tret en préstec alguns.
b. *Di questi libri, Maria ha preso in prestito alcuni.
- (12) a. D'aquests llibres, la Maria ha tret en préstec només algunes *novel·les*.
b. Di questi libri, Maria ha preso in prestito solo alcuni *romanzi*.
'Of these books, Maria borrowed only some novels.'

NE is required in wh- and Focus fronting of the partitive

- (13) a. Di quali libri, Maria **(ne)* prende in prestito molti?
b. ?De quins llibres, la Maria **(en)* treu en préstec molts?
‘Of which books Maria borrows many?’
- (14) a. Quali libri Maria *(*li)* prende in prestito?
b. Quins llibres la Maria *(*els)* treu en préstec?
‘Which books does Maria borrow?’

→The true partitive cannot bind an empty DP position in the complement of the quantifier

NE resumes the bare noun in a quantified construction

- (15)a. Maria *ne* prende in prestito molti ____ di quelli che prima avevo preso io.
b. La Maria *en* treu en préstec molts ____ dels que jo havia tret anteriorment.
'Maria borrows many of those that I had borrowed before.'
- (16)a. Maria prende in prestito molti *libri* di quelli che prima avevo preso io.
b. La Maria treu en préstec molts *llibres* dels que jo havia tret anteriorment.
'Maria borrows many books of those I had borrowed before.'
- (17)a. Dei libri della biblioteca, Maria (**ne*) ha preso in prestito molti *romanzi*.
b. Dels llibres de la biblioteca, la Maria (**n'*)ha tret en préstec moltes *novel·les*.
'Of the books of the library, Mary borrowed many novels.'

NE resumes a bare (singular) indefinite in Catalan

(18) a. Tinc pis. *En* tinc des del 1980.

b. Ho casa. **Ne* ho dal 1980.

‘I have an apartment. I have it since 1980.’

(19) a. Quan vivia a Amsterdam portava bicicleta. *En* portava per anar a la feina.

b. Quando vivevo ad Amsterdam portavo *(la) bicicletta. **Ne* portavo per andare al lavoro.

‘When I was living in Amsterdam I used to ride a bicycle to go to work.’

[Espinal (2010), Espinal & McNally (2011)]

NE resumes predicates in Catalan vs. Italian

(20)a. La Maria és *mestra*. *Ho/N'*és des del 1980.

‘Maria is a teacher since 1980.’

b. Maria è *maestra*. *Lo/*Ne* è dal 1980.

‘Maria is a teacher since 1980.’

(21)a. La Maria és *pobra*. *Ho/N'*és.

b. Maria è *povera*. *Lo/*Ne* è.

‘Maria is poor.’

(22)a. La professora està *malalta*. *Ho/N'*està.

b. La professoressa è *ammalata*. *Lo/*Ne* è.

‘The teacher is ill.’

NE resumes
a bare
noun not a
partitive
constituent

The partitive structure requires insertion of a weak quantifier, NE does not

The partitive complement is optional, NE is mandatory when the object indefinite bare noun is null

NE resumes the nominal complement of the weak quantifier rather than the partitive complement of a partitive structure

NE resumes bare (singular) nominals both in object position and in predicate position (in Catalan)

Semantic assumptions

- Bare singular nouns denote properties of kinds (*tenir pis, portar bicicleta*)
- In the nominal domain properties of kinds are instantiated into properties of objects by means of Number (*llegir llibres, leggere libri*) ('*qua*'-sets predicates)
- Adjectives refer to properties themselves ('*qua*-property predicates)
 - ✓ Cat. *ho* and It. *lo* are diagnostics for *qua*-property predicates

[Dobrovie-Sorin and Laca, 1996, 2003; Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin 2005; Dobrovie-Sorin et al. 2006; Espinal 2010; Espinal & McNally 2007, 2009, 2011; Borik & Espinal 2015, 2019, 2020]

Semantic analysis for NE as a property- denoting anaphora

a. *property of kinds anaphora* (Cat.)

$$[[en]] = \lambda P \lambda x^k [P(x^k)]$$

b. *property of individuals anaphora* (Cat., It.)

$$[[en]] = \lambda P \lambda y^o \exists x^k [P(x^k) \wedge R(y^o, x^k)]$$

c. *predicate anaphora* (Cat.)

$$[[en]] = \lambda P \exists x [P(x)]$$

DE
introduces
a bare
noun not a
partitive
constituent

DE is covert in object argument position in both Catalan and Italian (variation in Italo-Romance)

DE must be overt in left / dislocated position (Cat and It); it introduces dislocated predicates in Catalan

DE does not appear in Hanging Topics in Italian and Balearic Catalan, but is optional in Standard Catalan

DE is a concord marker on stranded adjectives (in both Cat and It)

Overt / covert DE in complement position of Q vs. V

(25) a. He comprat (**de*) pa. / Ho comprato (**di*) pane.
'I bought bread.'

b. Han caigut (**de*) pedres. / Sono cadute (**di*) pietre.
'Some stones fell down.'

(26) a. He comprat una mica *(*de*) pa. / Ho comprato un po' *(*di*) pane.
'I bought some bread.'

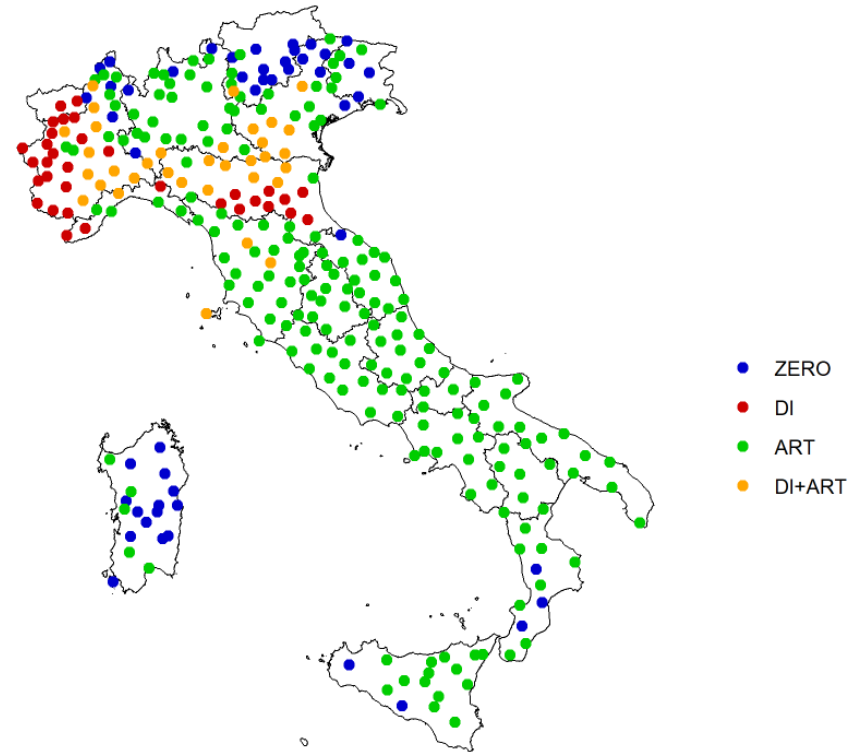
b. Han caigut un munt *(*de*) pedres. / Sono cadute un sacco *(*di*) pietre.
'A lot of stones fell down.'

(27) a. He comprat molts (*de*) llibres. / Ho comprato molti (**di*) libri.
'I bought many books.'

b. Han caigut bastantes (*de*) pedres. / Sono cadute abbastanza (**di*) pietre.
'Quite a few stones fell down.'

Overt and silent DE combined with overt and silent ART in Italo-Romance varieties: ‘[go to the cellar to take] wine’ AIS 1343

- (28)a. *de* vín (132 Torino) [DE *de* [ART 0]]
b. vín (124 Vercelli) [DE 0 [ART 0]]
c. *l* vín (128 Verbania) [DE 0 [ART *l*]]
d. *dul* vín (114 Verbania) [DE *d* [ART *ul*]]



[Lebani & Giusti 2022]

Overt / covert DE in displaced positions

- (29) a. **(De) llibres, n'he llegit. / (Di) libri, ne ho letti.* ‘Books, I read some.’
b. *N'he llegit, *(de) llibres. / Ne ho letti, *(di) libri.*
- (30) a. (A) Gianni, Maria gli ha regalato molti libri. ‘To Gianni, Maria gave him many books.’
b. Maria gli ha regalato molti libri, *(a) Gianni.
- (31) a. [?](A) en Joan, la Maria li ha regalat molts llibres.
b. La Maria li ha regalat molts llibres, *(a) en Joan.
- (32) a. (De) fruita, en hi ha molta, enguany. (Balearic Catalan)
b. En hi ha molta, enguany *(de) fruita ‘This year, there is a LOT of fruit.’
- (33) a. (De) cans, en he vist només un.
b. En he vist només un, *(de) cà. ‘I only saw ONE dog.’

[Escandell-Vidal (2009:867, exs. (69) and (70))]

Diagnostics for HT: resumptive strong pronoun

- (41) a. (??A) Gianni, Maria ha regalato molti libri solo a lui.
b. *(A) en Joan, la Maria ha regalat molts llibres només a ell.
- (42) a. (?Di) libri, Maria ha regalato a Gianni solo questi.
b. *(De) llibres, la Maria ha regalat al Joan només aquests.
- (43)a. **De* cadires, quant em demanes per elles?
b. (??*Di*) sedie, quanto mi fai pagare per queste qui?
‘A regards chairs, how much do you ask for these?’
(adapted from Villalba 2000:92, 113b))

Diagnostics for HT: must be leftmost in the (main) clause

- (44) a. Gianni, *(di) libri, Maria gliene ha regalati molti.
b. Libri, *(a) Gianni, Maria gliene ha regalati molti.
- (45) a. Gianni, la maestra dice che *(di) libri gliene regalerà molti.
b. Libri, la maestra dice che *(a) Gianni gliene regalerà molti.
- (46) a. ??(A) en Joan, *(de) llibres, la Maria li n'ha regalat molts.
b. *(De) llibres, *(a) en Joan, la Maria li n'ha regalat molts.
- (47) a. ??(A) en Joan, la mestra diu que *(de) llibres li'n regalarà molts.
b. *(De) llibres, la mestra diu que *(a) en Joan li'n regalarà molts.

DE in displaced positions

DE is covert in the basic position, except in the complement of semi-lexical nouns (Cat. *una mica de*), and some quantifiers (Cat. *molt*)

DE is mandatory in both languages (in left and right dislocation) when indefinite object arguments are dislocated

DE is mostly covert in Italian and Balearic Catalan Hanging Topic constructions

DE is mostly overt in Standard Catalan Hanging Topic constructions

DE with stranded adjectives with bare NE

(48) a. He llegit llibres (**d'*)interessants. / Ho letto libri (**di*) interessanti.

‘I read interesting books.’

b. N’he llegit *(*d'*)interessants. / Ne ho letti *(*di*) interessanti.

‘I read interesting ones.’

(49) a. (*De* llibres), n’he llegit *(*d'*)interessants. / (*Di* libri), ne ho letti *(*di*) interessanti.

‘Books, I read interesting ones.’

b. N’he llegit *(*d'*)interessants, (*de* llibres). / Ne ho letti *(*di*) interessanti, (*di* libri).

‘Books, I read interesting ones.’

DE on stranded adjectives with quantifiers

(50) a. He llegit alguns llibres (**d'*)interessants. /

b. Ho letto alcuni libri (**di*) interessanti.

‘I read some interesting books.’

(51) a. {*De* llibres}, n’he llegit alguns *(*d'*)interessants, {de llibres}. /

b. {*Di* libri}, ne ho letti alcuni (*di*) interessanti, {di libri}.

‘Books, I read some interesting ones.’

DE is an indefinite marker on the stranded AP

(52) a. He demanat *la* carn (**de*) ben cuita.

b. Ho ordinato *la* carne (**di*) ben cotta.

‘I ordered the meat well done.’

(53) a. *La* carn, *la* compra (**de*) congelada.

b. *La* carne *la* compra (**di*) surgelata.

‘The meat, I buy it frozen.’

[cf. Martí I Girbau (1995)]

DE on dislocated predicates in Catalan vs. Italian

(54) a. (*De*) mestra, la Maria ho/n' és.

b. (**Di*) Maestra, Maria lo/*ne è.

‘Maria is a teacher.’

(55) a. (*D'*) alegres, les criatures ho/en són.

b. (**Di*) Allegre, le bambine lo/*ne sono.

‘Children are happy.’

Concluding remarks

- Semantic parallels between the property-denoting clitic NE and the determiner DE
- NE, as a property-denoting anaphora, can correspond to a property of kinds, a property of individuals or a predicate in Catalan but only to property of individuals in Italian
- Parallelwise, DE is a property denoting determiner with the same three meanings attributed to NE in Catalan but with the only one meaning attributed to NE in Italian
- DE is also a concord marker (of indefiniteness) on the predicate AP that is left stranded by displacement of NE in both languages