

Partitive pronouns in intransitive contexts in Italian and Dutch

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In the literature it is often assumed that partitive pronouns can only be used in combination with elliptical objects of transitive or unaccusative verbs. Some counterevidence has been provided as well, however, showing that partitive pronouns may also occur with intransitive verbs. In this paper it is investigated, by means of a Grammaticality Judgment Task, if native speakers of Italian and Dutch accept the use of the partitive pronoun with three types of intransitive verbs, in combination with an elliptical quantified adverbial NP. It is shown that both groups of participants were quite ready to accept the partitive pronoun in these cases, in some contexts more than in others. Various explanations for the results are considered and one more specific suggestion is made to account for the data, also based on a comparison with other constructions and other languages.

Keywords: partitive pronoun, intransitive verb, quantified adverbial NP, grammatical function, argument, Italian, Dutch

1. Introduction

Partitive pronouns, also called quantitative pronouns, are associated with indefinite expressions (Giusti & Sleeman, 2021). In the Dutch Example (1) and the Italian Example (2a), the partitive pronoun replaces the nominal constituent of a quantitative construction. In the Italian Example (2b), the partitive pronoun substitutes a determiner-less indefinite expression. In the French Example (3), it replaces a weak indefinite introduced by a partitive determiner. While in Dutch the partitive pronoun is a weak pronoun, in Italian and French it is a clitic:

- (1) *Ik heb drie boeken* → *Ik heb ER drie.*
I have three books I have PAR.WK three
'I have three books. → I have three.'

- (2) a. *NE ho tre.*
 PAR.CL I.have three
 ‘I have three.’
- b. *Hai libri? → Sì, NE ho.*
 you.have books yes PAR.CL I.have
 ‘Do you have books? Yes, I have.’
- (3) *J'ai mangé des cerises → J'EN ai mangé.*
 I have eaten PAR.DET.PL cherries I PAR.CL have eaten
 ‘I ate cherries. → I ate some.’

According to Bentley (2004), the nominal constituent of a quantitative construction with the Italian particle *NE* typically is or is part of the direct object of a transitive verb, as in (2). *NE* can also realize the only argument of one subset of intransitive verbs, viz. unaccusatives, as in (4). Because of this parallelism, the argument of unaccusative verbs realized by *NE* has been argued to be an underlying object (Belletti & Rizzi, 1981; Perlmutter, 1983; Burzio, 1986).

- (4) *NE arrivano molti.*
 PAR.CL arrive.3PL many.M.PL
 ‘(Of them) many arrive.’

Similarly, for the Dutch partitive (quantitative) pronoun *ER*, Corver & van Koppen (2018) observe that 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”, as in (1).

Belletti & Rizzi (1981) observe that, in Italian, the partitive pronoun *NE* is used in combination with noun-less direct objects, as in (5b), but not in combination with noun-less quantified NPs as in (6b):

- (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 PAR.CL will.spend three in Milan
 ‘Gianni will spend three in Milan.’
- (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 PAR.CL is remained three in Milan
 ‘Gianni remained three in Milan.’

In Belletti & Rizzi’s (1981) syntactic analysis, the ungrammaticality of (6b) results from the fact that *tre settimane* in (6a) is not a direct object, as it is in (5a), but a quantified adverbial NP, and hence has an adverbial function in the clause.

In a study on the distribution of partitive *NE* in Standard Italian, Will (2019) reaches, however, the conclusion that *NE* can refer to non-objects in some circumstances. Will states that this may be true for examples such as (7b) and (8), which have been judged “marginal” (Belletti & Rizzi, 1981 for (7b)) or “non elegant” (Benincà 1988 for (8)). In these examples of extraction from a non-argument NP, *NE* is coindexed with a quantifier indicating degree or measurement:

- (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 PAR.CL measures two
 ‘This shelf measures two.’ [Belletti & Rizzi, 1981]
- (8) ??*(Di ore) NE dorme otto*
 of hours PAR.CL sleeps.3P.SG eight
 ‘S/he sleeps eight of them, hours.’ [Benincà, 1988]

On the basis of a search on the internet, Will shows that the verb *costare* ‘cost’ is frequently attested with *NE* in all registers of the language:

- (9) *olio greco e spagnolo, che costa poco più di due euro al litro e*
 oil Greek and Spanish that costs little more than two euros per.the liter and
 ... *quello italiano, che NE costa invece circa 6.*
 ... the.one Italian that PAR.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.’

Since in the periphrastic perfect of the verb *costare* the auxiliary is *essere* ‘to be’ and not *avere* ‘to have’, in (10), Will argues that *cinque dollari* ‘five dollars’ in (10) is not a direct object, but an expression of degree, like *due metri* ‘two meters’ in (7):

- (10) *Il libro è costato cinque dollari*
 the book is cost five dollars
 ‘The book cost five dollars.’

Will shows that the use of *NE* with verbs with *essere* in the periphrastic perfect leads to conflicting judgments or hesitations about agreement on the past participle. In (11a) agreement is made with the subject because of the auxiliary *essere*. In (11b) agreement is made with *NE*, which refers to a masculine plural noun:

- (11) a. *Il libro NE è costato cinque (di dollari)*
 the book.MASC.SG PAR.CL IS COST.MASC.SG FIVE.MASC.SG OF DOLLARS
 b. *Il libro NE è costati cinque (di dollari)*
 the book.MASC.SG PAR.CL IS COST.MASC.PL FIVE.MASC.PL OF DOLLARS
 ‘The book has cost five of them, dollars.’

Will shows that both (11a) and (11b) are attested in newspapers, that either (11a) or (11b) is accepted by native speakers, that there are speakers who accept both and that there are speakers who accept neither (11a) nor (11b). Will observes that if masculine *dollari* is replaced by feminine plural *lire*, creating a gender conflict, the acceptance of agreement with *NE* becomes more difficult.

In this paper native speakers’ judgments of the combination of partitive pronouns with quantified adverbial complements is investigated. A Grammaticality Judgment Task was submitted to native speakers of Italian and Dutch.

The paper is structured as follows. In Section 2, Belletti & Rizzi’s analysis of the use of *NE* in Italian is presented, followed by Barbiers’ analysis of the Dutch partitive pronoun *ER*.¹ Section 3 contains the research questions, the hypotheses and the methodology. The results are presented in Section 4 and discussed in Section 5. The paper ends with some concluding remarks in Section 6.

2. Constraints on the use of the partitive pronoun

In this section, two syntactic analyses of the distribution of the partitive pronoun are presented, one for Italian, by Belletti & Rizzi (1981), and one for Dutch, by Barbiers (2017).

1. For Dutch the pronoun *ER* has rather been called a ‘quantitative pronoun’ in the literature, to distinguish it from the partitive pronoun *ERVAN* (Blom, 1977), which only has a purely partitive interpretation. In Italian, the form *NE* is ambiguous between a quantitative interpretation, as in (2a), and a truly partitive interpretation (*Ho comprato due libri. Ne ho letto uno* ‘I have bought two books. I have read one of them.’). The Italian pronoun has been called both a ‘partitive pronoun/clitic’ (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 1992) and a ‘quantitative pronoun/clitic’ (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2005) in the literature. In this paper, the term ‘partitive pronoun’ is used.

2.1 Italian

In their seminal paper, Belletti & Rizzi (1981) propose a theoretical account for a subject – object asymmetry that is observed in Italian with respect to the use of the partitive pronoun *NE*, which they assume to be extracted from object position, within a generative perspective. They formulate four constraints on the occurrence of *NE*:

(I) In preverbal subject position only \emptyset , that is the omission of *NE*, is allowed:

- (12) a. *Tre settimane passano rapidamente.*
 ‘Three weeks elapse rapidly.’
 b. *Tre \emptyset passano rapidamente.*
 c. **Tre NE passano rapidamente.*

(II) In object position only *NE* is possible, as in (5), which is reproduced as (13), for convenience:

- (13) a. *Gianni trascorrerà tre settimane a Milano.*
 ‘Gianni will spend three weeks in Milan.’
 b. **Gianni trascorrerà tre \emptyset a Milano.*
 c. *Gianni NE trascorrerà tre a Milano.*

(III) In (VP) adverbial NPs, both options are excluded, as (14), repeated from (6), shows:

- (14) a. *Gianni è rimasto tre settimane a Milano.*
 Gianni is remained three weeks.FEM.PL in Milan
 ‘Gianni remained three weeks in Milan.’
 b. **Gianni è rimasto tre \emptyset a Milano.*
 c. **Gianni NE è rimasto tre a Milano.*

(IVa) Postverbal subjects with *essere* (‘to be’) pattern with objects:

- (15) a. *Sono passate tre settimane.*
 are elapsed three weeks
 ‘Three weeks elapsed.’
 b. **Sono passate tre \emptyset .*
 c. *NE sono passate tre.*

(IVb) Postverbal subjects with *avere* (‘to have’) pattern with adverbial NPs:

- (16) a. *Hanno parlato tre ragazze.*
 have spoken three girls
 ‘Three girls spoke.’
 b. **Hanno parlato tre \emptyset .*
 c. **NE hanno parlato tre.*

Belletti & Rizzi account for most of the differences by claiming that *NE* can only be extracted from an argument position that is related to the verb by shared superscripts. Subjects and adverbial phrases are not arguments sharing a superscript with the verb. In other words, extraction of *NE* is only possible from subcategorized complements of transitive (13) and unaccusative verbs (15), but not from subjects, as in (12) and (16), or adverbial phrases (14). If the partitive pronoun is extracted from a subject or a complement that is not an argument, this leads to a subjacency violation, a constraint that has been claimed in the generative literature to be part of Universal Grammar.

2.2 Dutch

Barbiers' (2017) paper takes as its starting point sentences (17a–c) Sentence (17a) contains the quantitative Determiner Phrase *alle twee de boeken* (lit. 'all two the books'), (17b) contains quantitative *ZE* (*ZE alle twee* 'all two'), and (17c) contains quantitative *ER* (*ER twee* 'two'):

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|------|
| (17) | a. | <i>Ik heb alle twee de boeken gelezen.</i>
I have all two the books read
'I have read both books.' | Q-DP |
| | b. | <i>Ik heb ze alle twee gelezen.</i>
I have them all two read
'I have read them both.' | Q-ze |
| | c. | <i>Ik heb ER twee gelezen.</i>
I have PAR.WK two read
'I have read two.' | Q-er |

Barbiers shows that the partitive pronoun *ER* and the weak pronoun *ZE* in Dutch behave syntactically in a similar way. One of the pieces of evidence that Barbiers provides is that both in (17b) and in (17c) the two parts of the construction (*ZE alle twee* and *ER two*) can be split in the middle field of the clause:

- | | | |
|------|----|--|
| (18) | a. | <i>Zij heeft de boeken toen alle twee gelezen.</i>
she has the books then all two read
'She has read both books then.' |
| | b. | <i>Zij heeft ze toen alle twee gelezen.</i>
she has them then all two read
'She has read them both then.' |
| | c. | <i>Zij heeft ER toen twee gelezen.</i>
She has PAR.WK then two read
'She has read two then.' |

In a generative perspective, Barbiers argues that the position of *ZE* and *ER* in (18b)–(c) can be accounted for if it is assumed that the pronouns are moved from their base position (cf. Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2005). In the spirit of Belletti & Rizzi (1981), Barbiers shows that there is a difference in acceptability between arguments and adverbial complements, both with *ZE* and *ER*. Similarly to Belletti & Rizzi (1981), Barbiers accounts for the difference in terms of extraction. *ZE* and *ER* can be extracted from direct objects, i.e. arguments, but not from adverbial complements, i.e. adjuncts. The same verbs ‘spend’ and ‘remain’ as in Belletti & Rizzi’s paper (13)–(14) are used by Barbiers to show that Dutch *ER* behaves like Italian *NE*. In (19), the verb *doorbrengen* ‘spend’ is a transitive verb, and *twee dagen* ‘two days’ is a direct object:

- (19) 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 PAR.WK two in Spain spent
 ‘I have spent two in Spain.’
 c. *Ik heb ze alle twee in Spanje doorgebracht.*
 I have them all two in Spain spent
 ‘I have spent both in Spain.’

In (20), *blijven* ‘remain’ is an intransitive verb, and *twee dagen* ‘two days’ is an adverbial complement:

- (20) 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 PAR.WK two in Spain remained
 c. **Ik ben ze alle twee in Spanje gebleven.*
 I am them all two in Spain remained

To account for the parallelism between *ZE* and *ER*, Barbiers argues that quantitative *ZE* is the pronominalization of a higher projection of the nominal group (DP-high) and that *ER* is the pronominalization of a lower projection of the nominal group (DP-low). This would account for the fact that *ER* can combine with a stranded relative clause or PP (21), but that *ZE* cannot (22):

- (21) a. *Ik heb ER één die rood haar heeft.*
 I have PAR.WK one who red hair has
 ‘I have one who has red hair.’

- b. *Ik koop ER één uit China.*
 I buy PAR.WK one from China
 ‘I buy one from China.’
- (22) a. *Ik heb ze alle twee (*die rood haar hebben).*
 I have them all two (*that red hair have)
 ‘I have them both (that have red hair).’
- b. *Ik koop ze alle twee (*uit China).*
 I buy them both two (*from China)
 ‘I buy them both (from China).’

Whereas the exact extraction site of *ER* and *ZE* is thus different (21)–(22), in Barbiers’ analysis both are extracted from a DP that has to be in an argument position.

While this analysis accounts for the difference between (19b) and (20b), in Bennis’ (1986) opinion, however, there is no such difference. According to Bennis, *ER* has to be used both with a direct object and with a quantified adverbial NP (his sentences (77g and e)). This shows that judgments may vary:

- (23) a. *Hoeveel heb jij *(ER) gekocht?*
 how.many have you PAR.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 PAR.WK two in Milano remained
 ‘Of those four weeks I remained two in Milan.’

We have seen that the acceptability of the use of the partitive pronoun with a quantified adverbial NP may depend on the type of verb and that judgments may vary. Furthermore, we have seen in Section 1 that the type of agreement may affect the acceptance, which may also account for the rejection of (14c). In the next section, the research questions, hypotheses and methodology are presented.

3. Research questions, hypotheses and methodology

3.1 Research questions and hypotheses

In the introduction to this paper and in the previous section, it was shown that, according to the literature, extraction of the partitive pronoun typically occurs from direct objects and not from quantified adverbial NPs. However, Will (2019) has shown that, with the verb *costare* ‘to cost’, extraction from the quantified adverbial NP seems to be regularly used. Bennis (1986) accepts extraction from

a quantified adverbial phrase in Dutch. The first research question is therefore: May extraction from quantified adverbial NPs be more acceptable than has generally been claimed in the literature, at least with some verbs? I hypothesize that this is indeed the case. This hypothesis is motivated by Will's results for the verb *costare* 'cost' in Italian and Bennis' judgments. The second research question is: Does (14c) become more acceptable if no periphrastic perfect is used, avoiding an agreement judgment? Based on the conflicting judgments and hesitations of Will's informants about (11a–b), I hypothesize that this is also the case.

3.2 Test materials

A test was created in two different languages that have a partitive pronoun: Italian and Dutch. The Italian test contained 90 sentences with or without *NE* or without noun ellipsis, grammatical or ungrammatical according to the literature. Besides 3 sentences with an elliptical object and without *EN*, such as (13b), and 3 sentences with an elliptical object and with *NE*, such as (13c), the Italian test contained the non-contrastive sentences (14b) and (14c). In (14c) the form of the past participle can be interpreted as subject agreement, but not as object agreement. The test also contained a variant of (14c), with past participle agreement with *NE* (which makes that there were 3 sentences in total for this category: (14b), (14c) and (14d)). The noun *settimane* in (14a) is feminine plural, creating a gender conflict with the masculine subject. Agreement in (14d) takes place with its placeholder *NE*:

- (14) d. **Gianni NE è rimaste tre a Milano.*
 Gianni PAR.CL is remained.F.PL. three in Milan
 'Gianni remained three in Milan.'

The Italian test also contained 9 contrastive coordinated sentences: with the intransitive verbs 'to remain' in the future tense, 'to sleep' in the periphrastic perfect with *avere* 'to have' and with object agreement, as in (14d), and 'to swim' in the periphrastic perfect with *avere* and with a form of the past participle that can be interpreted as either object agreement or absence of agreement, all three sentences in a version with an explicit noun, a version with noun ellipsis + *NE*, and a version with noun ellipsis without *NE*. The verb 'remain' was chosen because it is used in the literature (see sentence (14)). The verb 'sleep' was also used in Bencà's Example (8). Like 'remain' and 'sleep', the verb 'swim' is labelled "intransitive verb" in dictionaries. These 18 sentences can be found in Appendix A.

For Dutch there were 75 test sentences in which a partitive pronoun was present or omitted or in which there was no noun ellipsis. In the Dutch test there were 9 sentences containing an intransitive verb and an adverbial NP as in (20), but presented in a contrastive coordinated way. Three sentences contained explicit nouns,

three sentences contained a partitive pronoun and three sentences contained an omitted (pro)noun. The sentences were the same as in Italian and the three intransitive verbs were therefore also the same. There were also 3 non-contrastive sentences with a direct object and *ER*, as in (18c) and 3 variants without *ER*. These 15 sentences are listed in Appendix B.

This paper focusses on the intransitive sentences (for the sentences with a direct object, see fn. 2). The sentences containing intransitive verbs were not clustered together in the test, but were separated from each other by other test sentences. For each language, the sentences were presented in the same order. The three contrastive coordinated sentences with a partitive pronoun in Italian and Dutch are represented in (24)–(29). For each of the three sentences, there were also three variants without the partitive pronoun, comparable to (14b), and three variants without noun ellipsis, but with an explicit noun. These two categories are exemplified by one sentence for Italian (30) and one for Dutch (31):

With a partitive pronoun (Italian)

- (24) [*Rimarrò quattro giorni a Roma*] e NE *rimarrò due a Napoli*.
I.will.remain four days in Rome and PAR.CL I.will.remain two in Naples
'I will remain four days in Rome and I will remain two in Naples.'
- (25) [*Eva ha dormito otto ore,*] ma *Claudia* NE *ha dormito solo quattro*.
Eva has slept eight hours but Claudia PAR.CL has slept only four
'Eva has slept eight hours, but Claudia has only slept four.'
- (26) [*Ieri ho nuotato due chilometri*] e oggi NE *ho nuotato uno*.
yesterday I.have swum two kilometers and today PAR.CL I.have swum one
'Yesterday I have swum two kilometers and today I have swum one.'

With a partitive pronoun (Dutch)

- (27) [*Ik zal vier dagen in Rome blijven*] en ik zal ER *twee in Napels blijven*.
I will four days in Rome remain and I will PAR.WK two in Naples remain
'I will remain four days in Rome and I will remain two in Naples.'
- (28) [*Iris heeft acht uur geslapen,*] maar *Koen* heeft ER *maar vier geslapen*.
Iris has eight hours slept but Koen has PAR.WK only four slept
'Iris has slept eight hours, but Koen has only slept four.'
- (29) [*Gisteren heb ik één kilometer gezwommen*] en vandaag heb ik ER *twee gezwommen*.
swum
'Yesterday I have swum one kilometer and today I have swum two.'

With noun ellipsis, but without a partitive pronoun (Italian)

- (30) [*Eva ha dormito otto ore,*] *ma Claudia ha dormito solo quattro.*
 Eva has slept eight hours but Claudia has slept only four
 ‘Eva has slept eight hours, but Claudia has only slept four.’

Without noun ellipsis, but with an explicit noun (Dutch)

- (31) [*Ik zal vier dagen in Rome blijven*] *en ik zal twee dagen in Napels blijven.*
 I will four days in Rome remain and I will two days in Naples remain
 ‘[I will remain four days in Rome] and I will remain two days in Naples.’

The Dutch test did not contain Barbiers’ non-coordinated and non-contrastive sentence (20b). The acceptance of this sentences was tested post-hoc, in a smaller test, containing 28 sentences, among which the 9 contrastive test sentences with intransitive verbs, but also the non-contrastive sentence (20b), repeated as (32) for convenience, and two extra non-coordinated and non-contrastive sentences (33)–(34), see Appendix C. These 3 sentences were tested only in the variant with ER.

- (32) [*Ik ben twee dagen in Spanje gebleven.*] – *Ik ben ER twee in Spanje*
 I am two days in Spain remained I am PAR.WK two in Spain
gebleven.
 remained
 ‘[I have remained two days in Spain] – I have remained two in Spain.’
- (33) [*Koen heeft maar vier uur geslapen.*] – *Koen heeft ER maar vier*
 Koen has only four hours slept Koen has PAR.WK only four
geslapen.
 slept
 ‘[Koen has only slept four hours] – Koen has only slept four.’
- (34) [*Ik heb twee kilometer gezwommen.*] *Ik heb ER twee gezwommen.*
 I have two kilometers swum I have PAR.WK two swum
 ‘[I have swum two kilometers.] – I have swum two.’

3.3 Participants

The native speakers, all adults, were recruited via social media, where they also received access to the Grammaticality Judgment Task. By means of a questionnaire that was added to the grammaticality judgment task, participants answered questions about their age, gender, mother tongue(s) and residence. Some participants were excluded, because Dutch or Italian was not their (only) mother tongue, because they had not been raised in a Dutch-speaking or Italian-speaking country or because they had not completed the test. This resulted in 23 partic-

ipants for Italian, from various regions: most of them were from Veneto, others were from Lombardy, Emilia Romagna, Liguria, Marche, Umbria and Trentino Alto Adige. There were 30 participants for Dutch, among whom 15 were native speakers of Netherlandic Dutch and 15 were native speakers of Belgian Dutch.

For Dutch, the smaller post-hoc test that was used to test the acceptance of Barbiers' non-coordinated and non-contrastive sentence (2ob)/(32) and (33)–(34), was filled in by a new group of monolingual native speakers, 28 in total, all from the Netherlands.

3.4 Procedure and analysis

The grammaticality judgments tests were created in Google Forms. The test started with an informed consent question. Participants could not start the test without having given their explicit consent for the use of their anonymous data for scientific purposes. The researcher's name and e-mail address were provided in the test for further information.

Since the tests were rather long and to reduce the reflection time, it was decided to offer the tests as a forced-choice task, with only two options for the judgment of the sentences: correct or incorrect. The participants could not submit the test without having given all answers. There was no time restriction and going back to a previous question was not excluded, although due to the length of the test and the randomized order it is not likely that participants have compared similar sentences or have revised their answers. Participants were encouraged to limit their reflection time for each sentence.

The data were categorized and the percentages of sentences that were judged "correct" for each category were calculated. No statistical analysis was performed, since statistical comparisons were not judged relevant for the goal of this paper.

For this paper, only the results of the sentences with an object (see fn. 2) and intransitive verbs were calculated (see the Appendices). The other sentences served as distractors and also as control sentences that permitted to see if the participants had filled in the test seriously. No participants had to be excluded for this reason. The results of the analysis are presented in the following section.

4. Results

In Section 4.1, the test results of the judgments by the native speakers of the non-coordinated Italian sentences (14b)–(d) and the non-coordinated Dutch sentences (32)–(34) are presented. In 4.2, the results for the nine coordinated sentences in Italian and Dutch are presented.

4.1 Judgments of the non-coordinated sentences

The Italian test only contained non-coordinated sentences with the verb ‘remain’, but no non-coordinated sentences with the verbs ‘sleep’ and ‘swim’ (in contrast to the Dutch test). All 23 native speakers of Italian judged sentence (14b) (*Gianni è rimasto tre Ø a Milano*) as “incorrect”, that is 0% judged this sentence as “correct”. As Figure 1 shows, sentence (14c) (*Gianni NE è rimasto tre a Milano*), was judged as “correct” by only 13% of the native speakers and the additionally created sentence (14d) with past participle agreement (*Gianni NE è rimaste tre a Milano*), was judged as “correct” by 26% of the native speakers of Italian.

The post-hoc test for Dutch contained three non-coordinated sentences with an intransitive verb and *ER* (32)–(34), but no non-coordinated sentence(s) without *ER*. On average, the three sentences were accepted in 67% of the cases by the native speakers of the post-hoc test. As Figure 1 shows, of the 28 participants of the post-hoc test, 68% judged the sentence with the verb *blijven* ‘remain’ (32) as “correct”. This was 46% for the non-coordinated sentence with the verb *slapen* ‘sleep’ (33) and 86% for the sentence containing the verb *zwemmen* ‘swim’ (34).

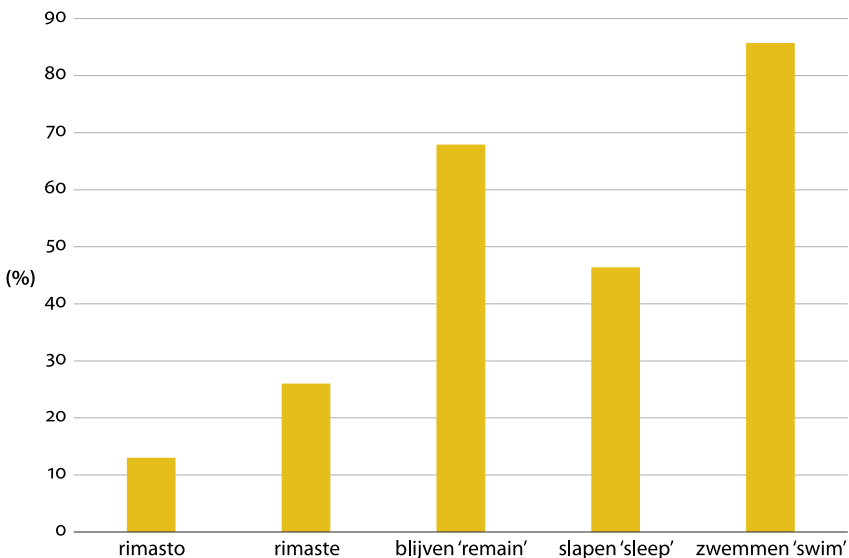


Figure 1. Percentages of acceptance of non-coordinated Italian and Dutch sentences with partitive pronoun and elliptical quantified adverbial NP

4.2 Judgments of the contrastive coordinated sentences

The nine contrastive coordinated sentences for each language consisted of three sentences with a partitive pronoun, three sentences with noun ellipsis and without a partitive pronoun and three sentences without ellipsis, but with a noun.

As Figure 2 shows, the contrastive coordinated sentences with a partitive pronoun in Italian, as in (24)–(26), were judged as “correct” in 77% of the cases. The variant with ellipsis but without a partitive pronoun (30) was estimated correct in 14% of the cases. The control variant with a noun (cf. (31)) was judged as being “correct” in 83% of the cases.

As for the three sentences with *NE*, they were not judged as equally “correct”. Sentence (24) with ‘remain’ in the future tense was judged as being “correct” by 65% of the native speakers of Italian, sentence (25) with ‘sleep’ in the periphrastic perfect with object agreement by 87% and sentence (26) with ‘swim’ in the periphrastic perfect with absence of object agreement by 78% of the native speakers of Italian (Figure 3).

The 30 native speakers of Dutch filled in “correct” in 85% of the cases for the three coordinated sentences with a partitive pronoun (27)–(29), see Figure 2. As shown in Figure 2, for the three coordinated sentences with ellipsis, but without a partitive pronoun, in 21% of the cases the 30 native speakers judged the sentences as “correct” and for the sentences with a noun the percentage was 96%.

As for the three different verbs, the coordinated sentence with a partitive pronoun and the verb ‘remain’ was judged as “correct” by 83% of the 30 native speakers of Dutch, with the verb ‘sleep’ this is 77%, and with the verb ‘swim’ the percentage is 93% (Figure 3).

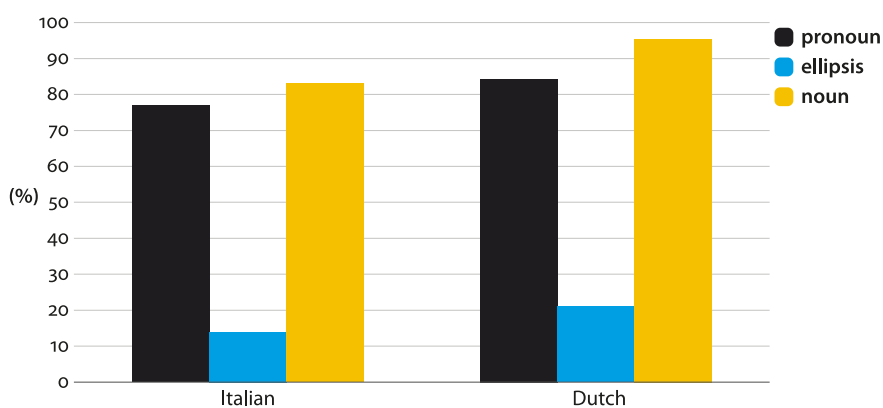


Figure 2. Percentages of acceptance of coordinated Italian and Dutch sentences with a quantified adverbial NP with or without a partitive pronoun and with a noun

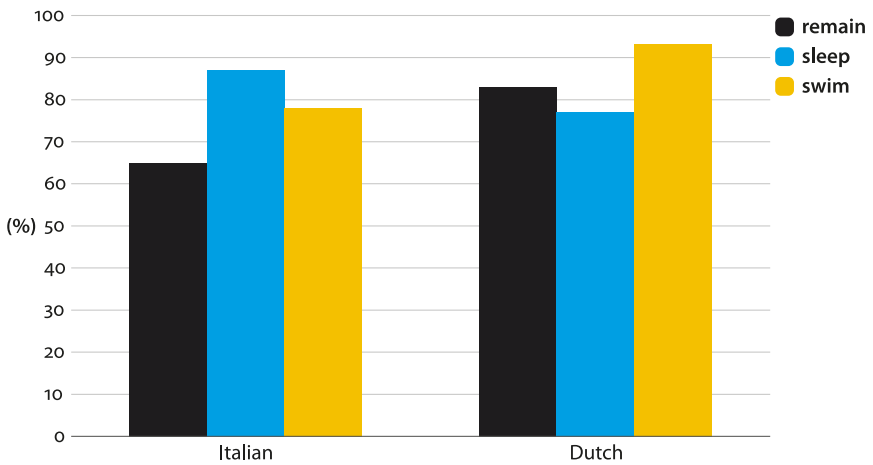


Figure 3. Percentages of acceptance of coordinated Italian and Dutch sentences with partitive pronoun and elliptical quantified adverbial NP, with the verbs ‘remain’, ‘sleep’ and ‘swim’

The 28 Dutch participants in the post-hoc test also judged the three coordinated sentences. The acceptance of these sentences with *ER* was almost the same as the acceptance in the longer version of the test: 87% and 85%, respectively. Of the 28 participants in the post-hoc test, 86% judged the coordinated sentence with the verb ‘remain’ as correct. The percentage of acceptance was 79% for the verb ‘to sleep’ and 96% for the verb ‘to swim’. These percentages are very similar to the percentages for the longer test. The coordinated sentences with ellipsis, but without a partitive pronoun, were judged as “correct” in 3% of the cases in the post-hoc test and for the sentences with a noun the percentage was 97%.

5. Discussion

The first research question of this paper aimed at investigating if extraction from quantified adverbial NPs may be more acceptable than has generally been claimed in the literature, at least with some verbs. The results showed that this is indeed the case, conform the hypothesis. In the coordinated sentences, the use of the partitive pronoun in combination with the verbs ‘remain’, ‘sleep’ and ‘swim’ were judged correct by the Italian native speakers in on average 77% of the cases. This was mainly due to the relatively low acceptance of 65% for ‘remain’. For Dutch, the mean percentage of acceptance for the combination of the partitive pronoun

with the three verbs was 86% in the coordinated sentences and 67% in the non-coordinated sentences.²

The goal of the second research question was to investigate if, in Italian, the absence of the necessity of agreement judgments improves the acceptance of the use of the partitive pronoun. The hypothesis that this would be the case was also borne out, at least for the verb ‘remain’. The sentences with the verb ‘remain’ in the periphrastic perfect with agreement with the subject or agreement with *NE* were judged correct in 19,5% of the cases, on average. In the sentence with ‘remain’ in the future tense the percentage of acceptance was 65%. It has to be noticed, however, that in the first case the sentences were non-coordinated, whereas in the second case the sentence was coordinated. As the results for Dutch show, coordination slightly increases the acceptability. The combination of the partitive pronoun with ‘remain’ in Dutch was accepted in 68% of the cases in the non-coordinated sentence, and in 86% of the cases it was judged correct by the same participants, viz. the participants of the post-hoc test, in the coordinated sentences. For the participants of the longer test the percentage was 83%. As for the verbs ‘sleep’ and ‘swim’, the absence of the necessity of an agreement judgment with the verb ‘swim’ in the periphrastic perfect in the Italian Example (26) did not increase the acceptance of the sentence (78%) with respect to the acceptance (87%) of sentence (25) with ‘sleep’ with object agreement.

Whereas there is a gender mismatch between the subject and the object in sentences (14c) and (14d) with ‘remain’, this is not the case for the sentences (25) and (26) with ‘sleep’ and ‘swim’, respectively. Since the auxiliary with ‘sleep’ and ‘swim’ is *avere*, agreement with the subject is not possible. Furthermore, the subject has or can be interpreted as having the same gender as the object. For Will’s (2019) informants, a gender mismatch made agreement with *NE* more difficult to accept. In the test that was carried out for this paper, the acceptance of the sentences with ‘remain’ in the periphrastic perfect was much lower than the acceptance of the sentences with ‘sleep’ (87%) and ‘swim’ (78%).³

The results show thus that the observation that has been made in the literature according to which the partitive pronoun typically occurs with direct objects

2. For a comparison: As mentioned in Section 3.2, the tests also contained (non-coordinated) sentences with a partitive pronoun and a transitive verb. These were accepted in 88,3% of the cases by the Italian native speakers and in 91% of the cases by the Dutch native speakers.

3. One of the reviewers observes that different regions have different uses of *NE*, stating that in the north east *NE* does not trigger past participle agreement. Among the 23 participants for Italian, 14 did not accept *NE* with either *rimaste* or *rimasto* (among whom 10 from Veneto), 6 accepted *NE* with *rimaste*, but not with *rimasto* (among whom the three participants from Lombardy) and 3 participants accepted *NE* with *rimasto*, but not with *rimaste* (all from Veneto).

may be too strong. Bennis (1986) accepts the combination of 'remain' with the partitive pronoun in Dutch, Will's (2019) search on the internet shows that in Italian the partitive pronoun is abundantly used in combination with the verb *costare* in all registers (see also fn. 6), and the results of the Grammaticality Judgment Task that was carried out in the research for this paper show that the participants of both Italian and Dutch accepted the combination of the partitive pronoun with the three verbs in approximately 80% of the cases, on average. In this percentage the sentences with 'remain' in the periphrastic perfect in Italian are not included.

How to account for the fact that the partitive pronoun was accepted with intransitive verbs by most of the native speakers? It may be the case that Belletti & Rizzi's (1981) analysis of the use of the partitive pronoun is not correct: extraction from a non-argument is possible. Since the partitive pronoun is subject to several syntactic extraction restrictions, formulated in terms of Subjacency violations by Belletti & Rizzi, I take their internal object constraint on extraction to be essentially correct. How to account then for these results? The results may be interpreted in two ways. One explanation for the results from this paper could be that leaving out the pronoun in combination with a quantified adverbial NPs is not an acceptable option, as shown by Figure 2. Although the sentences were not presented in pairs of sentences with or without a partitive pronoun, which could have induced a preference for the variant with the partitive pronoun, the participants may unconsciously or consciously have compared the two variants. The only other option would be the repetition of the noun, which the participants found the most acceptable option, see Figure 2. But economy considerations may have led them to also accept the partitive pronoun. This is suggested by the fact that the partitive pronoun was accepted more in coordinated sentences than in non-coordinated sentences, see Figures 1 and 3. These economy considerations may have been stronger for the participants than the syntactic constraint.⁴

If Belletti & Rizzi's analysis is correct, a second interpretation of the results could be that the distinction between a direct object and a quantified adverbial NP is not made by all native speakers. The results may then be interpreted as the analysis of non-arguments as internal arguments. This second interpretation is supported by several facts.

Cinque (1999) distinguishes circumstantial adverbials of place, time, manner and the like from adverbs. Circumstantial adverbials (at least in English) follow the verb's complement within the VP, they are not rigidly ordered with respect

4. Will (2019: fn. 23) observes that with respect to a sentence with *costare* and *NE* a speaker commented that using *NE* was the best way to communicate the ideas expressed by the sentence. The speaker added that in the absence of *NE*, the noun would have to be repeated, rendering the sentence cumbersome and repetitive.

to one another, and they are typically realized in prepositional form or in a bare NP form. Furthermore, they cannot appear in pre-VP positions in which AdvPs appear. Semantically, they can be seen as modifiers predicated of an underlying event variable. Cinque argues that AdvPs occupy the specifier position of distinct functional projections. Circumstantial adverbials rather occupy a position in the postverbal VP-space, which is not an argument position, but which by native speakers may be interpreted as such, as suggested by the results of this paper. This may also explain the relatively higher percentage of acceptance of agreement with *NE* in the Italian sentences in the periphrastic perfect, both with *rimanere* 'remain' (14d) and with *dormire* 'sleep' (25): the agreement may have contributed to an interpretation of the quantified phrase as an argument, as suggested by one of the reviewers.

From a typological perspective the reinterpretation of the grammatical function of an NP in the postverbal VP-space is observed as well. On the one hand, in French, the distinction between direct objects and adverbial NPs is explicitly made in the case of past participle agreement. Whereas with a relative pronoun that is a direct object past participle agreement has to be made, according to normative grammars no agreement is made if the relative pronoun has an adverbial function. Pino Serrano & Rodriguez Pedreira (2016), who investigate the difficulties of second language learners with this distinction made in normative grammars, oppose the following examples. In (35), with participle agreement, the complement is a direct object, whereas in (36), without participle agreement, it has an adverbial function.

(35) *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.'

(36) *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.'

Another example of the lack of past participle agreement in French in the case of the adverbial use of relative pronouns is the one provided by Grevisse & Goosse (1989):⁵

5. Hanse (1987) makes the same distinction as in (35)–(36) not only for *coûter*, but also for verbs such as *dormir* 'sleep', *courir* 'run', *mesurer* 'measure' and *peser* 'to weigh'. Hanse observes that in the intransitive use no agreement has to be made, as in (36)–(37). As shown in this paper, the partitive pronoun in combination with a quantified adverbial NP is accepted by native speakers, and it may be the case that in French this would hold for the verbs *coûter*, *mesurer* and *peser* even more than for *dormir* and *courir*, cf. fn. 6.

- (37) *Les vingt minutes que j'ai marché.*
 'The twenty minutes that I have walked.'

A similar distinction as in (35)–(36) is made in Majorcan Catalan, but it concerns past participle agreement with an object that follows, and not with one that precedes, as in the case of agreement with a relative pronoun in the French examples. In current Majorcan Catalan, past participle agreement with the direct object is optional. Salvá (2017), shows that in that language, like the French verbs *coûter* in (35)–(36) and *peser* (fn. 5), the verb 'to weigh' can be used in two different ways, and that, in Majorcan Catalan, there can only be (optional) agreement with the following complement if it is an argument (38), but not if it is an adverbial complement (39):

- (38) *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.'
- (39) *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'

On the other hand, however, there are also languages in which accusative case can be assigned to non-subcategorized adjuncts. One such language is Korean, as discussed by Wechsler & Lee (1996) by means of the declarative sentence (40). Wechsler & Lee adduce data from Korean, and also from English and other languages, as evidence for a universally available option whereby the domain of direct case assignment is expanded to include measure expressions. A similar proposal has been made by Stroik (1990) with examples from English.

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

In light of examples such as (35)–(36) from French and (38)–(39) from Majorcan Catalan, the fact that quantified adverbial NPs seem to be interpreted as arguments by native speakers with verbs such as 'to swim' or 'to sleep' may not be surprising. These verbs can be used in a transitive way, as in 'She was the first woman to swim the 1500m free under 18 minutes' or 'to sleep the sleep of the just'. For 'remain' it is not possible to construct an example with a direct object, but in this case the semantic parallel with the verb 'to spend' may lead to a reinterpretation. Although 'remain' is an unaccusative verb and not an unergative verb, which would make the interpretation of the adverbial as an argument less likely, as observed by one of the reviewers, this does not seem to completely block the

acceptance or use of the partitive pronoun with an elliptical quantified adverbial NP, as also shown by Bennis' judgment of sentence (23b).

The suggestion that internal arguments may be expanded to include measure expressions in native speakers' grammars is also shown by Sleeman (forthcoming) for Dutch. As in English (Levin & Rappaport, 1986), 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):

(41) *de geïnvesteerde minuten*
'the invested minutes'

(42) *de gestorven soldaten*
'the deceased soldiers'

The results of a Grammaticality Judgment Task that Sleeman (forthcoming) submitted to a group of native speakers of Dutch show that most of them also accepted (43) and (44), and to a somewhat lower degree (45). This suggests that they interpret the nouns as the direct object of the attributive passive participles, and more so with the verbs 'sleep' and 'swim' than with 'remain', on a par with the results for Italian in Figure 3.

(43) [?]*de geslapen uren*
the slept hours

(44) [?]*de gezwommen meters*
the swum meters

(45) ^{??}*de te lang gebleven minuten*
the too long stayed minutes

It could be the case that both factors play a role in accepting the partitive pronoun with intransitive verbs: an economy factor combined with an extension of the argument structure of verbs so as to include measure phrases in native speakers' grammars. To gain more insight into the acceptance of partitive pronouns with intransitive verbs, the acceptance of its combination with more sentences and more verbs should be tested combined with testing their acceptance in other constructions in which grammatical functions have been claimed to play a role, such as noun phrases containing attributive passive participles in Dutch, as exemplified in (43)–(45).⁶

6. The Italian test also contained a sentence containing the partitive pronoun in combination with the verb 'to weigh' and a quantified adverbial NP (i) and a similar sentence where the verb 'to cost' was used (ii) (see Appendix A). Both sentences were accepted by 96% of the partici-

The test was a forced-choice task. It would be interesting to know if the use of a Likert-scale would give a different result. The results could also in general be due to a task effect. However, Will (2019) had similar results in a search on the

pants. This confirms Will's observation that with *costare* the use of *NE* is largely accepted. The same seems to hold for *pesare*. The Dutch tests contained similar sentences (see Appendices B and C). Sentence (iii) was accepted by 47% of the Netherlandic Dutch participants of the longer test, by 50% of the participants of the post-hoc test and by 93% of the Belgian Dutch participants. Sentence (iv) was accepted by 27% of the Netherlandic Dutch participants of the longer test, by 29% of the participants of the post-hoc test and by 80% of the Belgian Dutch participants. These sentences show that Belgian Dutch seems to pattern with Italian in these contexts, whereas the acceptance of *ER* in these contexts by the Netherlandic Dutch participants is much lower. The group "weight" and "cost" also included "age". In Dutch, with "age", the verb 'to be' is used. In Italian, the verb 'to have' is used. Since, in Italian, "age" seems to be an internal argument of the verb 'to have', 100% of acceptance of sentence (v) is as expected. A score of 0% of acceptance of (vi) by the (Netherlandic) Dutch participants in both tests may be expected as well. Interestingly, in the context "age", the acceptance of the partitive pronoun by the Belgian Dutch participants seems to pattern with Italian as well (93% of acceptance). The acceptance of the omission of the partitive pronoun with these three verbs is relatively high (with the exception of "age" in Italian), see the Appendices, which may suggest that this is a different type of verbs than 'remain', 'sleep' and 'swim'.

- (i) [*Caterina pesa 57 chili*] *e* [*Margherita NE pesa 59*].
Caterina weighs 57 kilograms and Margherita PAR.CL weighs 59
'Caterina weighs 57 kilograms and Margherita weighs 59 kilograms.'
- (ii) [*Il viaggio in Italia costa 2.000 euro*] *e* [*il viaggio in Grecia NE costa 1.000*].
the trip in Italy costs 2000 euros and the trip in Greece PAR.CL costs 1000
'The trip in Italy costs 2000 euros and the trip in Greece costs 1000 euros.'
- (iii) [*Katrien weegt 57 kilo*] *en* [*Anneke weegt ER 59*].
Katrien weighs 57 kilograms and Anneke weighs PAR.WK 59
'Katrien weighs 57 kilograms and Anneke weighs 59 kilograms.'
- (iv) [*De reis door Italië heeft 2000 euro gekost*] *en* [*de reis door Griekenland heeft ER 1000 gekost*].
the trip through Italy has 2000 euros cost and the trip through Greece has
PAR.WK 1000 cost
'The trip through Italy cost 2000 euros and the trip through Greece 1000.'
- (v) [*Maria ha 25 anni*] *e* [*Gianni NE ha 27*].
Mary has 25 years and Gianni PAR.CL has 27.
'Mary is 25 years and Gianni is 27.'
- (vi) [*Marie is 25 jaar*] *en* [*Jan is ER 27*].
Mary is 25 years and Gianni is PAR.CL 27.
'Mary is 25 years and Gianni is 27.'

internet. Since Will's research was limited to the verb *costare*, such a search could be extended to other intransitive verbs as well.

For each verb only one sentence with a partitive pronoun and one sentence without a partitive pronoun was submitted to the native speakers. To verify the claim that some native speakers have another grammar than others with respect to these verbs, more sentences with the same verbs should be tested.

6. Conclusion

In the generative literature it is generally assumed that there is a syntactic constraint on the extraction of partitive pronouns, which could only be extracted from subcategorized arguments, but not from non-arguments such as quantified adverbial NPs. In this paper it has been investigated if this holds for the combination of a partitive pronoun with an elliptical quantified adverbial NP in Italian and Dutch. The results of a Grammaticality Judgment Task showed, however, that the combination of a partitive pronoun and an elliptical quantified adverbial NP was accepted in most of the cases in both languages. It was furthermore shown that a periphrastic perfect tense with the verb *essere* 'to be' reduced the acceptance of the partitive pronoun in combination with 'remain' in Italian, probably because of hesitations about agreement.

To account for the results, with the preservation of the syntactic constraint, two interpretations were suggested: economy considerations, where accepting a partitive pronoun instead of a noun may be a more acceptable choice than leaving it out, and a reinterpretation of the quantified phrase as an argument. Preliminary results of the acceptance of the three verbs of this study in another construction in Dutch in which grammatical functions have been claimed to play a role, suggest that the second interpretation may be on the right track, although a combination with the first interpretation may not be ruled out.

For this research only three verbs were used: 'remain/stay', 'sleep' and 'swim'. To gain more insight into the acceptance of the partitive pronoun in intransitive contexts, its acceptance with more verbs and on the basis of more test sentences should be tested. The study of its acceptance in other constructions in which grammatical functions have been claimed to play a role may also be insightful. I leave this for future research.

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Appendix A. Italian test sentences (without fillers) and percentages of acceptance

Object with NE

1. [Visiterò alcuni musei] – Ne visiterò alcuni. (100%)
2. [Gli studenti non hanno perso nessun corso di francese.] – Gli studenti non ne hanno perso nessuno. (74%)
3. [Sofia ha letto diversi libri.] – Sofia ne ha letti diversi. (91%)

Object without NE

4. [Visiterò alcuni musei.] – Visiterò alcuni. (0%)
5. [Gli studenti non hanno perso nessun corso di francese.] – Gli studenti non hanno perso nessuno. (4%)
6. [Sofia ha letto diversi libri.] – Sofia ha letto diversi. (0%)

Intransitive verb with NE (coordinated sentences)

7. [Rimarrò quattro giorni a Roma] e ne rimarrò due a Napoli. (65%)
8. [Eva ha dormito otto ore,] ma Claudia ne ha dormite solo quattro. (87%)
9. [Ieri ho nuotato due chilometri] e oggi ne ho nuotato uno. (78%)

Intransitive verb without NE (coordinated sentences)

10. [Rimarrò quattro giorni a Roma] e rimarrò due a Napoli. (26%)
11. [Eva ha dormito otto ore,] ma Claudia ha dormito solo quattro. (13%)
12. [Ieri ho nuotato due chilometri] e oggi ho nuotato uno. (4%)

Intransitive verb with noun (coordinated sentences)

13. [Rimarrò quattro giorni a Roma] e rimarrò due giorni a Napoli. (83%)
14. [Eva ha dormito otto ore,] ma Claudia ha dormito solo quattro ore. (87%)
15. [Ieri ho nuotato due chilometri] e oggi ho nuotato un chilometro. (78%)

Rimanere (non-coordinated sentences)

16. [Gianni è rimasto tre settimane a Milano] – Gianni ne è rimasto tre a Milano. (13%)
17. [Gianni è rimasto tre settimane a Milano] – Gianni ne è rimaste tre a Milano. (26%)
18. [Gianni è rimasto tre settimane a Milano] – Gianni è rimasto tre a Milano. (0%)

“Weight”, “cost” and “age” with NE

19. [Caterina pesa 57 chili] e Margherita ne pesa 59. (96%)
20. [Il viaggio in Italia costa 2.000 euro] e il viaggio in Grecia ne costa 1.000. (96%)
21. [Maria ha 25 anni] e Gianni ne ha 27. (100%)

“Weight”, “cost” and “age” without NE

22. [Caterina pesa 57 chili] e Margherita pesa 59. (39%)
23. [Il viaggio in Italia costa 2.000 euro] e il viaggio in Grecia costa 1.000. (48%)
24. [Maria ha 25 anni] e Gianni ha 27. (0%)

Appendix B. Dutch test sentences (without fillers) and percentages of acceptance

Object with ER

1. [Ik ga enkele musea bezoeken.] – Ik ga er enkele bezoeken. (83%)
2. [De studenten hebben geen enkel college gemist.] – De studenten hebben er geen gemist. (90%)
3. [Sophie heeft meerdere boeken gelezen.] – Sophie heeft er meerdere gelezen. (90%)

Object without ER

4. [Ik ga enkele musea bezoeken.] – Ik ga enkele bezoeken. (23%)
5. [De studenten hebben geen enkel college gemist.] – De studenten hebben geen gemist. (10%)
6. [Sophie heeft meerdere boeken gelezen.] – Sophie heeft meerdere gelezen. (20%)

Intransitive verb with ER (coordinated sentences)

7. [Ik zal vier dagen in Rome blijven] en ik zal er twee in Napels blijven. (83%)
8. [Iris heeft acht uur geslapen,] maar Koen heeft er maar vier geslapen. (77%)
9. [Gisteren heb ik één kilometer gezwommen] en vandaag heb ik er twee gezwommen. (93%)

Intransitive verb without ER (coordinated sentences)

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

Intransitive verb with noun (coordinated sentences)

13. [Ik zal vier dagen in Rome blijven] en ik zal twee dagen in Napels blijven. (97%)
14. [Iris heeft acht uur geslapen,] maar Koen heeft maar vier uur geslapen. (90%)
15. [Gisteren heb ik één kilometer gezwommen] en vandaag heb ik twee kilometer gezwommen. (100%)

“Weight”, “cost” and “age” with ER

16. [Katrien weegt 57 kilo] en Anneke weegt er 59. (70%: Netherlandic Dutch, 47%; Belgian Dutch, 93%)
17. [De reis door Italië heeft 2000 euro gekost] en de reis door Griekenland heeft er 1000 gekost. (53%: Netherlandic Dutch, 27%; Belgian Dutch, 80%)
18. [Marie is 25 jaar] en Jan is er 27. (47%: Netherlandic Dutch, 0%; Belgian Dutch, 93%)

“Weight”, “cost” and “age” without ER

19. [Katrien weegt 57 kilo] en Anneke weegt 59. (63%: Netherlandic Dutch, 67%; Belgian Dutch, 60%)
20. [De reis door Italië heeft 2000 euro gekost] en de reis door Griekenland heeft 1000 gekost. (63%: Netherlandic Dutch, 80%; Belgian Dutch, 47%)
21. [Marie is 25 jaar] en Jan is 27. (80%: Netherlandic Dutch, 93%; Belgian Dutch, 67%)

Appendix C. Dutch test sentences of post-hoc test (without fillers) and percentages of acceptance by Netherlandic Dutch speakers

Intransitive verb with ER (coordinated sentences)

1. [Ik zal vier dagen in Rome blijven] en ik zal er twee in Napels blijven. (86%)
2. [Iris heeft acht uur geslapen,] maar Koen heeft er maar vier geslapen. (79%)
3. [Gisteren heb ik één kilometer gezwommen] en vandaag heb ik er twee gezwommen. (96%)

Intransitive verb without ER (coordinated sentences)

4. [Ik zal vier dagen in Rome blijven] en ik zal twee in Napels blijven. (0%)
5. [Iris heeft acht uur geslapen,] maar Koen heeft maar vier geslapen. (4%)
6. [Gisteren heb ik één kilometer gezwommen] en vandaag heb ik twee gezwommen. (4%)

Intransitive verb with noun (coordinated sentences)

7. [Ik zal vier dagen in Rome blijven] en ik zal twee dagen in Napels blijven. (96%)
8. [Iris heeft acht uur geslapen,] maar Koen heeft maar vier uur geslapen. (100%)
9. [Gisteren heb ik één kilometer gezwommen] en vandaag heb ik twee kilometer gezwommen. (96%)

Intransitive verb with ER (non-coordinated sentences)

10. [Ik ben twee dagen in Spanje gebleven.] – Ik ben er twee in Spanje gebleven. (68%)
11. [Koen heeft maar vier uur geslapen] – Koen heeft er maar vier geslapen. (46%)
12. [Ik heb twee kilometer gezwommen.] Ik heb er twee gezwommen. (86%)

“Weight”, “cost” and “age” with ER

13. [Katrien weegt 57 kilo] en Anneke weegt er 59. (50%)
14. [De reis door Italië heeft 2000 euro gekost] en de reis door Griekenland heeft er 1000 gekost. (29%)
15. [Marie is 25 jaar] en Jan is er 27. (0%)

“Weight”, “cost” and “age” without ER


16. [Katrien weegt 57 kilo] en Anneke weegt 59. (68%)

17. [De reis door Italië heeft 2000 euro gekost] en de reis door Griekenland heeft 1000 gekost. (46%)
18. [Marie is 25 jaar] en Jan is 27. (86%)

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