

## *De* in Catalan Elliptical Nominals: a Partitive Case Marker\*

Núria Martí

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Departament de Filologia Catalana  
08193 Bellaterra (Barcelona). Catalonia (Spain)  
NMARTI@CC.UAB.ES

Received: April 18th 1995

Accepted: September 10th 1995

### Abstract

In Catalan an AP internal to an indefinite nominal phrase with an elliptical noun is obligatorily preceded by the prepositional element *de*: i.e. *un de petit* (lit. 'a of small, 'a small one'). The occurrence of *de* in elliptical indefinite nominals in Catalan, taken together with its parallel occurrence in dislocated indefinite nominals and with *en* pronominalization, sheds light on the structure of indefinite nominals. We propose that they are QPs (Quantifier Phrases), where Q selects a Case functional projection (KP) and assigns it partitive Case (cf. Giusti (1992)), and take *de* to be the head of KP. The clitic *en* and the element *de* in dislocated constituents are other morphological manifestations of the partitive Case assigned to KP.

**Key words:** nominal ellipsis, partitive Case, *de* preposition, quantifier phrase, Case phrase.

### Resum. *De en nominals el·líptics en català: un marcador de Cas partitiu*

En català un sintagma adjectiu intern a un nominal indefinit amb nom el·líptic és precedit obligatòriament de l'element prepositiu *de*: *un de petit*. L'aparició de *de* en nominals indefinits el·líptics en català, en relació amb els fenòmens de la pronominalització de *en* i de la dislocació, on també apareix *de* precedint els nominals indefinits dislocats, dona llum sobre l'estructura dels nominals indefinits. Proposem que són SQ (Sintagmes Quantificador), on Q selecciona una projecció funcional de cas (SK), a la qual assigna partitiu (cf. Giusti (1992)), i considerem que *de* és el nucli d'SK. El clíctic *en* i l'element prepositiu *de* dels constituents dislocats són igualment manifestacions morfològiques del cas partitiu assignat a la projecció SK.

**Paraules clau:** el·lipsi nominal, Cas partitiu, preposició *de*, sintagma quantificador, sintagma de Cas.

\* I thank Anna Bartra, Gemma Rigau and an anonymous reviewer for their comments. I am specially indebted to Jaume Solà for his comments, suggestions and invaluable help in the final English version of this paper. I have benefited from a FI (DGR) grant and also grants awarded by the DGICYT and the CIRIT (research projects PB93-0893-C04-01 and GRQ93-2035 respectively).

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## 0. Introduction

This paper is concerned with a construction, which is specific to Catalan among Romance languages, where *de* precedes an AP internal to an indefinite nominal with a non overt noun. The goals of this paper are to establish the status of the element *de*, and the conditions that trigger its appearance in such a restricted class of nominals in Catalan. More generally, we want to evaluate the evidence regarding the structure of nominals and APs that this construction offers.

We will propose that this construction is related to *en* pronominalization, and to dislocation of indefinite nominals, which are preceded by the element *de* too, and we will provide a unitary analysis for all of them.

Our proposal is a general hypothesis on indefinite nominals. We claim that they are quantifier phrases (QPs), where Q selects a functional projection responsible for Case (KP), whose head  $K^{\circ}$  is realized as *de*. Q assigns partitive Case to KP: *de* is, in fact, a manifestation of partitive Case. The scope of this theory extends to dislocated constructions, where the element *de* which precedes them is treated as a manifestation of partitive Case as well. We also assume that clitic *en* is partitive.

We concentrate on Catalan, but data from other Romance languages will be taken into account.

The paper is structured as follows: in section 1 we introduce the relevant data; in section 2 we argue that *de* is the head of a nominal functional category; in section 3 we identify this category as KP, a category responsible for Case; in section 4 we bring into consideration dislocated constructions, where *de* appears too; in section 5 we analyse all the instances of *de* as a realization of  $K^{\circ}$ ; and in section 6 we characterize the general conditions regulating the distribution of *de*.

## 1. The Data

In Catalan indefinite nominals, the prepositional element *de* obligatorily appears preceding an AP whenever the noun is elliptical, as shown in (1a). In contrast, the presence of *de* is excluded in indefinite nominals with an overt noun, as in (1b), and also in any definite nominal phrase, whether the noun is overt or not (see (2a,b)).

- (1) a. un *de* petit  
       a of small  
       'a small one'

(1) b. un gat (\**de*) petit  
 a cat of small  
 'a small cat'

(2) a. el gat (\**de*) petit  
 the cat of small  
 'the small cat'

b. el (\**de*) petit  
 the of small  
 'the small one'

Nominals in (1) contain an indefinite article, and those in (2) a definite article. Indefinite quantifiers such as *algun* ('some'), *molt* ('much, many'), etc. and numerals behave like indefinite articles in requiring *de* when the noun is non overt; whereas definite quantifiers such as *tots* ('all') and demonstratives behave like definite articles in excluding it in the same context, as shown in (3) and (4), respectively:

(3) a. alguna \*(*de*) buida  
 some of empty  
 'some empty one'

b. molts \*(*de*) diferents  
 many of different  
 'many different ones'

c. tres \*(*de*) barats  
 three of cheap  
 'three cheap ones'

(4) a. tots (\**de*) barats<sup>1</sup>  
 all of cheap  
 'all cheap'

b. aquesta (\**de*) buida  
 that of empty  
 'that empty'

1. In fact *tots barats* seems to be grammatical only with the adjective as a secondary predicate (see (i)). This is not the case with the definite article or the demonstratives. Other definite quantifiers such as *cada* ('each') and *ambdós* ('both') do not admit adjectives at all in elliptical nominals (see (ii)).

(i) Els he comprat tots barats.  
 Acc3pl have-1sg bought all cheap  
 'I bought them all for a cheap price.'

(ii) \*He comprat ambdós barats.  
 have-1sg bought both cheap  
 'I bought the two cheap ones.'

Besides the distributional restrictions depending on the definiteness of the nominal, *de* also shows restrictions on the constituent it precedes: *de* precedes APs, but not PPs or relative clauses (see (5)), and *de* is also excluded if there is no modifier inside the nominal (see (6)).

- (5) a. un (\**de*) amb taques  
       a of with stains  
       'one with stains on it'
- b. uns (\**de*) que tenen taques  
       some of that have stains  
       'some ones with stains on it'
- (6) un (\* *de*)  
       a of  
       'one'

There are further restrictions on the kind of the adjectives that can appear in these constructions. Prenominal adjectives such as *mer* ('mere') are excluded, as illustrated in (7); and in the case of adjectives whose interpretation varies significantly depending on whether they precede or follow the noun, the only possible reading in these constructions is the one corresponding to the postnominal position (consider (8) and (9)).

- (7) a. un *mer* accident  
       b. \* un accident *mer*  
       ' a mere accident'
- c. \* un de *mer*  
       ' a mere one'
- (8) a. una *simple* novel·la  
       ' a mere novel'
- b. una novel·la *simple*  
       ' a simple novel'
- c. una de *simple*  
       ' a simple one'
- (9) a. un *pobre* home  
       ' a pitiable man'
- b. un home *pobre*  
       ' an impoverished man'
- c. un de *pobre*  
       ' an impoverished one'

None of the other Romance languages considered here shows a similar pattern: only Catalan features *de* in elliptical nominal constructions.<sup>2</sup> Compare the Catalan examples in (10) with the corresponding examples in Spanish, Italian and French —(11), (12) and (13), respectively:<sup>3</sup>

- |         |   |           |
|---------|---|-----------|
| (10) a. | un gat petit<br>'a small cat'           | (Catalan) |
| b.      | un <i>de</i> petit<br>'a small one'     |           |
| (11) a. | un coche nuevo<br>'a new car'           | (Spanish) |
| b.      | uno nuevo<br>'a new one'                |           |
| (12) a. | un vestito bello<br>'a beautiful dress' | (Italian) |
| b.      | uno bello<br>'a beautiful one'          |           |
| (13) a. | un crayon rouge<br>'a red pencil'       | (French)  |
| b.      | un rouge<br>'a red one'                 |           |

In sum, *de* appears in Catalan indefinite nominals when the noun is elliptical and preceding postnominal APs. In the next section we address the question of how to analyse the sequence *de AP*.

## 2. *De* Is a Nominal Functional Category

The sequence *de AP* can in principle be analyzed in two ways: a) *de* does not form a constituent with the AP, but rather with the whole NP in which N is elliptical; b) *de* forms an immediate constituent with the AP.

2.. *De* can also appear in French and Italian elliptical nominals, but the presence of *de* is more restricted and triggers a special interpretation. We consider it a different construction (see Martí (1994)). Observe the following French examples (from Milner (1976, 1978)):

- (i) a. J'en ai vu un de bon.  
I.EN have-1sg seen a of good  
'I have seen a good one.' (among them)
- b. J'en ai vu un bon.  
'I have seen a good one.'

For Italian examples, see fn. 20.

3. Notice that in Spanish and Italian the indefinite article has a different form depending on whether the nominal is overt or elliptical: *un/uno*, respectively.

There is evidence that approach (a) is to be preferred. If *de* forms a constituent with the AP, we would expect every AP within the elliptical indefinite nominal to be preceded by *de*, but this is not the case. Consider the nominals in (14), containing more than one AP, and the ones in (15,16), where an AP co-occurs with a PP:

- (14) a. Te 'n puc deixar una *de* sedosa llarga.  
Dat2sg.NE can-1sg lend a of silky long  
'I can lend you a silky long one.'
- b. N'he vista una *de* musical americana molt divertida.  
NE.have-1sg seen a of musical american very funny  
'I have seen a very funny american musical film.'
- (15) a. En tinc algun *de* vermell amb ràdio.  
NE have-1sg some of red with radio  
'I have some red one with radio.'
- b. En tinc algun amb ràdio vermell.
- (16) a. Li n'he regalat una *d'*elegant de seda.  
Dat3sg NE.have-1sg given a of.elegant of silk  
'I gave him an elegant silky one.'
- b. Li n'he regalat una de seda elegant.  
Dat3sg NE.have-1sg given a of silk elegant  
'I gave him an elegant silky one.'

As examples in (14) clearly illustrate, it is not the case that one *de* element precedes each AP: *de* appears only once in each nominal. They also show that *de* appears in a left-most position right after the determiner.

The examples in (15, 16) confirm the independent occurrence of *de* and AP(s), and the fixed position *de* occupies. The AP is preceded by *de* only when it is the first modifier (see (15a,16a)). When the first modifier is a PP, *de* is not realized (see (15b,16b)).

The contrast between (17a) and (17b) provides further evidence that each nominal can only contain one realization of *de*:<sup>4</sup>

- (17) a. N'he comprat *de* blaus i blancs.  
NE.have-1sg bought of blue and white  
'I have bought blue and white ones.'
- b. N'he comprat *de* blaus i *de* blancs.  
'I have bought blue ones and white ones.'

4. In these examples no quantifier is present. As they show the same pattern as the examples with indefinite quantifiers —*de* appears when the noun is elliptical—, we assume that there is a null quantifier.

These sentences have a different interpretation: in (17a) the objects purchased are two-colour, while (17b) expresses that we have bought several blue objects and several white ones. The latter reading is determined by the presence of two *de*, each of which corresponds to a different nominal projection. In (17a), instead, the presence of a single *de* corresponds to a single nominal projection. In other words, in the first example the two APs are coordinated within one nominal, while in the second one there is coordination of two nominals.

In sum, all the evidence presented so far indicates that *de* occupies a unique structural position within the nominal. From this we conclude that it heads a projection of its own.

The next question we address is the nature of this projection. It is reasonable to assume that we are dealing with a functional projection given the lack of semantic content of the element *de*. In addition, its systematic appearance in a well defined class of nominals (elliptical indefinites) gives plausibility to its functional status.

More specifically, we will argue that *de* heads a functional projection responsible for Case.<sup>5</sup> This hypothesis is in the spirit of many traditional proposals which take some apparent prepositions to be Case markers. For instance, it has been argued that the *de* element preceding genitives nominals appears in order to satisfy Case. Consider (18):

- (18) la casa \*(de) la Maria  
the house of the Mary

One piece of evidence in favor of the Case status of *de* in elliptical nominal constructions seems to be the fact that it cannot be followed by PPs. This could be explained in the spirit of the Case Resistance Principle, as formulated by Stowell (1981), which states that Case cannot be assigned to a category containing a Case assigning feature, such as prepositions.<sup>6</sup>

5. See Bernstein (1993a,b) for an alternative analysis which treats *de* as the realization of the functional category word marker (WM), which she proposes for nominals. For arguments against this analysis, see Martí (1994).

6. This account is not straightforward, since the relevant PPs are not, in our proposal, directly selected by *de* but are rather a constituent within the nominal. However, it seems that the reluctance of prepositions to be preceded by *de* is sensible to the word order, in the sense that *de* and the preposition cannot be adjacent in the sequence. Observe the contrast in acceptability between (ia) and (ib), where the adverb *absolutament* ('absolutely') intervenes between *de* and the preposition *en* ('in'):

(i) a. \*No me n'han donat cap d'en condicions.  
not Dat1sg NE.have-3pl given none of.in conditions

'They have'nt given anyone in conditions to me.'

b. ?No me n'han donat cap d'*absolutament* en condicions.

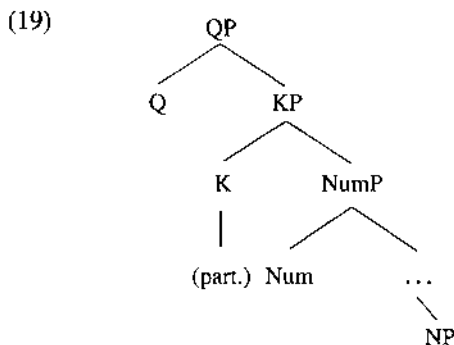
The impossibility of *de* to precede relative clauses could also be explained as a Case resistance instance in a similar way. The absence of *de* when there is no material that can follow it, instead, seems to require another type of explanation, perhaps based on phonological reasons: *de* is a proclitic element and if there is not a potential host, it is not realized.

In summary, we claim that *de* heads a Case functional projection within the nominal. In the following section we deal with the characteristics of this Case projection and its position in the nominal structure.

### 3. A Functional Projection for Partitive Case: KP

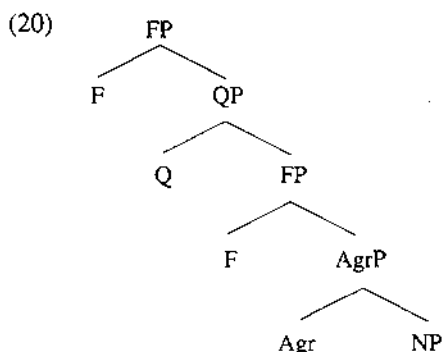
In the current literature it is generally assumed that every functional morpheme projects its own category. It has been argued for number (Picallo (1991), Ritter (1991), Valois (1991), Cinque (1993), among others) and gender (Picallo (1991)). In this spirit, it is reasonable to assume that Case is also projected as a functional category, which would be morphologically realized in languages with Case endings.

We will concentrate on indefinite nominals. We propose that in these nominals there is a Case Phrase (KP), which is the highest functional projection below QP (quantifier phrase), as shown in (19):



According to this analysis, then, indefinite nominals are QPs, whose head is an indefinite quantifier selecting a partitive Case projection. Like indefinite quantifiers, we propose that the indefinite article is generated in  $Q^0$  because of its parallel behaviour. The proposal of a Case projection in nominals is not new: it has been proposed in Giusti (1992b) for all nominals. Giusti argues that all nominals are QPs, headed by Qs which select a Case projection. The distinction between definite and indefinite nominals lies in the type of the quantifier that heads QP: definite quantifiers, such as *all*, *every*, *each*, and indefinite quantifiers, such as *some*, *many*, etc. According to her, they show different selection properties: definite quantifiers transmit the external Case they receive from V or P to their complement, whereas indefinite quantifiers retains it and themselves assign partitive Case to their complement. The nominal structure Giusti proposes is (20), where FP are Case projections (Giusti (1992b:162)):





The highest FP is for the external Case (assigned by a verb or a preposition). The lowest FP is selected by Q: F<sup>0</sup> is partitive (non overt) when Q is indefinite and F<sup>0</sup> is realized as an article when Q is universal.<sup>7</sup>

Giusti (1992) proposes this structure in order to account for the parallelism between definite and indefinite quantifiers concerning the possibility to be separated from the rest of the nominal projection.<sup>8</sup>

(21) a. Els llibres, *els* he comprat *tots*.  
 the books Acc3pl have-1sg bought all  
 'The books, I have bought them all.'

b. De llibres, te'n portaré *alguns*.  
 of books Dat2sg.NE bring-FUT-1sg some  
 'Books, I will bring you some.'

According to Giusti, the pronominalized constituent is the projection selected by Q, and each type of quantifier requires a different clitic: *tots* ('all') requires the definite clitic *els*, while *alguns* ('some') requires the indefinite clitic *en*.

The structure of definite nominals is beyond the scope of the present paper. As for indefinite nominals, the structure we propose in (19) is essentially consistent with Giusti's proposal.

7. Giusti considers the definite article as a Case marker, among other reasons, because it appears as adjective inflection in some languages (old German, Romanian, Greek, etc.) (see Giusti (1993:73)). For her also the indefinite article is generated in the lower FP, in spite of the fact that it is not similarly used as a Case marker in any language. This idea does not capture the parallel behaviour of the indefinite article to indefinite quantifiers with respect to *de* appearance, *en* cliticization and nominal dislocation (as we will see).

8. The alleged parallelism is not as systematic as Giusti's proposal seems to suggest: while any indefinite can occur in a construction where the noun is dislocated with the clitic *ne*, the definite quantifiers that can float are very restricted (*all* and *both*).

This structure will allow us to make a general proposal on the morphological manifestations of partitive Case in Catalan: besides the elliptical nominal constructions considered so far, we will provide an account for clitic *en*—which Giusti assumes to be a realization of partitive Case—<sup>9</sup>, and also dislocated indefinite nominals preceded by *de*.

The next section deals with the distribution of *de* in dislocated constructions.

#### 4. *De* in front of Dislocated Constituents

In Catalan *de* precedes dislocated indefinite nominals, as illustrated in (22). Compare (22) with the examples in (23) which dislocate definite nominals, where *de* does not appear:

- (22) a. De mitjons, en tinc molts.  
of socks NE have-1sg many  
‘Socks, I have many.’
- b. D'aigua, te'n portaré de seguida.  
of.water Dat2sg.NE bring-FUT-1sg immediately  
‘Water, I will bring you some immediately.’
- (23) a. Els mitjons, els he posat al calaix.  
the socks Acc3pl have-1sg put into.the drawer  
‘The socks, I have put them into the drawer.’
- b. L'aigua, la vols fresca?  
the.water Acc3sg want-2sg cool  
‘The water, you want it cool?’

In fact, in Catalan *de* precedes any dislocated constituent which is not a definite nominal:<sup>10</sup> adjectives, adverbs and verbs, as shown in (23, 24, 25) respectively.

- (24) a. D'amable, ho és molt.  
of.kind HO is a.lot  
‘Kind, he is indeed.’
- b. De net, hi va bastant.  
of clean HI goes quite  
‘He dresses really clean.’
- c. D'intel·ligent, la Gemma, la hi considero força.  
of.intelligent the Gemma Acc3sg HI consider quite  
‘I consider Gemma QUITE intelligent.’

9. According to Giusti, *ne* pronominalizes the full FP projection selected by the indefinite Q in the same way definite clitics pronominalize the FP selected by definite Qs. Then we would expect nothing except Q can be left *in situ*, as is the case in definite nominals, but not in indefinite nominals. Giusti's hypothesis cannot explain the possibility of modifiers to appear in indefinite nominals as such studied in this paper.

10. With left-dislocated constituents *de* can be omitted, especially in front of adverbs (ex. (25)) and verbs (ex. (26)), and, to a lesser degree, in front of adjectives (ex. (24)). The presence of *de* is always preferable, though. For Italian it has been argued that the cases without *di* are hanging topics (Cardinaletti and Giusti (1990)).

- (25) De ràpid, hi camina molt.  
 of quick HI walks a.lot  
 'He is walking VERY quickly.'
- (26) De menjar, menja força per l'edat que té.  
 of eat-INF eats quite for the.age that has  
 'He/she eats a lot for his/her age.'

In all of the examples from (24) to (26) and in (22), there is a common pattern: the element preceded by *de* is linked to the clitic inside the sentence (*en, ho* or *hi*),<sup>11</sup> and there is a stranded quantifier in the base position. In the nominal cases in (22), this clitic corresponds to the constituent selected by the quantifier.<sup>12</sup>

The elliptical nominal construction we are considering here is closely related to the dislocated constructions in (22): the indefinite quantifier co-occurs with an empty noun (bound by *en* when in object position). Consider (27), where *de* appears both before the AP and the dislocated constituent (cf. (22)):

- (27) a. De mitjons, en tinc molts de curts.  
 of socks NE have-1sg many of short  
 'I have many SHORT socks.'
- b. D'aigua, te'n portaré de fresca.  
 of.water Dat2sg.NE bring-FUT-1sg of cool  
 'I will bring you some COOL water.'

We want to argue that both instances of *de* are a manifestation of the same phenomenon (partitive Case marking). This is supported by their similar occurrence restrictions: both in dislocated position —(28)— and elliptical nominal position —(29)—, *de* appears with APs (examples (a)) and not with PPs or relative clauses (examples (b,c)).<sup>13</sup>

11. In the case of verbs, the resumptive element is not a clitic, probably because there is none available, and the finite verb itself acts as a resumptive element.
12. This idea could be extended to the cases with adjectives and adverbs, since they often feature a stranded quantifier in the base position. For the cases where no quantifier appears, a null quantifier could be assumed, in parallel with the bare nominal cases, where a null indefinite quantifier can be postulated. We leave this issue for future research.
13. Notice that there is a null N within the dislocated constituents in (28). If N is overt, *de* uniformly appears in all cases:
- (i) a. De flors vermelles, en tinc moltes.  
 of flowers red NE have-1sg many  
 'Red flowers, I have many.'
- b. De samarretes amb botons, n'he comprat dues.  
 of T-shirts with buttons NE.have-1sg bought two  
 'T-shirts with buttons, I have bought two.'
- c. De cotxe que funcioni amb energia solar, no n'he vist cap.  
 of car that works with power solar not NE.have-1sg seen none  
 'Cars which work with solar power, I haven't seen any.'

- (28) a. De vermelles, en tinc moltes.  
 of red NE have-1sg many  
 'Red ones, I have many.'
- b. Amb botons, n'he comprat dues.  
 with buttons NE.have-1sg bought two  
 'I have bought TWO with buttons.'
- c. Que funcioni amb energia solar, no n'he vist cap.  
 that works with power solar no NE.have-1sg seen none  
 'I haven't seen ANY that functions with solar power.'
- (29) a. En tinc moltes de vermelles.  
 'I have many red ones.'
- b. N'he comprat dues amb botons.  
 'I have bought two with buttons.'
- c. No n'he vist cap que funcioni amb energia solar.  
 'I haven't seen any that functions with solar power.'

In Spanish, in contrast, *de* does not appear before dislocated indefinite nominals:<sup>14</sup>

- (30) a. Calcetines, tengo muchos.  
 'Socks, I have many.'
- b. Agua, te traeré enseguida.  
 'Water, I will bring you some immediately.'

And correspondingly *de* does not appear before APs in elliptical nominals, as we already have seen.

This strict correlation (either presence or absence of *de* in both dislocated constructions and elliptical nominal constructions) does not hold for other Romance languages such as French and Italian, where the situation is more complex. In both languages *de* can precede or not the AP in elliptical nominals, but the unmarked construction is the one without *de*, and this is the one which corresponds to the

14. In fact, *de* does not appear before any dislocated constituent:

- (i) a. Amable, lo es mucho.  
 kind LO is a-lot  
 'Kind, he is indeed.'
- b. Contenta, lo está siempre.  
 happy LO is always  
 'He is ALWAYS happy.'
- (ii) Comer, come bastante para la edad que tiene.  
 eat-INF eats quite for the age that has  
 'He/she eats a lot for his/her age.'

construction with *de* in Catalan, the other having special interpretation (see fn. 1). As for dislocated nominals, we believe that the situation is the same as in Catalan: *de* is obligatory.<sup>15</sup> This is illustrated in the following examples:

## (31) Italian:

- a. Di sedie, ne abbiamo portate molte nel magazzino.  
of chairs NE have-1pl brought many into.the store
- b. Di studenti, ne ho visto alcuni vicino alla biblioteca.  
of students NE have-1sg seen some near to.the library
- c. Di libri, possiamo schedarne dieci facilmente.  
of books can-1pl classify.NE ten easily

(Benincà (1988: 165, ex. 70))

## (32) French:

- a. Il en a deux, de soeurs.  
he NE has two of sisters  
'He has TWO sisters.'
- b. Elle en a plusieurs, de chats.  
she NE has many of cats  
'She has MANY cats.'
- c. Vous en avez vraiment une petite, de maison.  
you NE have-2sg really a little of house  
'You have really a LITTLE house.'

(Kayne (1977: 113, ex. 152))

It seems, then, that in the case of nominals the true correlation is between the presence of *de* in dislocated elements and the presence of the clitic *en* (while the *de* in front of AP in elliptical nominals would be an independent phenomenon): Catalan, Italian and French have both clitic *en* and *de* in dislocated nominals, while Spanish lacks both.

Italian provides an argument in favor of relating clitic *en* and *de* in dislocated nominals: the impossibility for *di* to co-occur with a clitic other than *ne*, in contexts where it is possible to replace *ne* by an object clitic. Compare (33) with (34):

- (33) a. (Di) riso, ne mangiamo spesso.  
of rice NE eat-1pl often  
'Rice, we often eat.'

15. *De* has been described as optional with dislocated nominals in Italian (see Benincà (1988: 165)). As we pointed out in fn. 10, these apparent counterexamples to the obligatoriness of *de* (and the corresponding Catalan ones) can be explained away by assuming that they are cases of hanging topic, as argued by Cardinaletti and Giusti (1990). They show that in the contexts where hanging topics are excluded (hanging topics must occur in first position in the sentence and they are excluded in embedded sentences), *de* is obligatory. Notice that right dislocated elements can never be hanging topics and *de* is obligatory.

In contrast, *de* does not precede non-nominal dislocated elements in either Italian or French.

- (33) b. (Di) funghi, ne porterà Giorgio.  
 of mushrooms NE bring-FUT-3sg Giorgio  
 'Mushrooms, Giorgio will bring some.'
- (34) a. (\*Di) riso di questa qualità, lo mangiamo spesso.  
 of rice of this quality Acc3sg eat-1pl often  
 'Rice of this quality, we often eat.'
- b. (\*Di) funghi così belli, li trovi solo sul Montello.  
 of mushrooms so fine Acc3pl find-2sg only on.the Montello  
 'Such fine mushrooms, you find on the Montello.'

(Benincà (1988: 172, ex. 111, 114))

In object dislocation in Italian, it is possible to have a definite clitic instead of clitic *ne* when the dislocated element contains a restrictive modifier. In these cases, *di* is not possible in front of the dislocated element, as shown in (34). Catalan does not provide such an evidence of the relation between clitic *en* and *de* in dislocated constituents because the constructions corresponding to (34) are not possible.

In sum, there is a strict correlation between clitic *en* and the presence of *de* in the corresponding dislocated nominals, while the presence of *de* in front of APs in elliptical nominals seems to be specific to Catalan.

Nevertheless, we propose that the presence of *de* in nominal ellipsis constructions in Catalan is a language particular manifestation of the same general phenomenon: partitive Case marking.<sup>16</sup> In fact, applying the QP analysis to all these cases allows us to provide a better account of *en* cliticization, dislocation of indefinite nominals and indefinite elliptical noun constructions.

We assume that the head of QP is filled with an indefinite element (indefinite quantifiers and numerals, and the indefinite article). In bare nominals, where no quantifier is apparently present, we assume the existence of a null quantifier, since they have an equivalent behaviour concerning *en* pronominalization, dislocation and the presence of *de* in elliptical nominals (see fn.4).

It may be seen that in these constructions the indefinite quantifier (Q<sup>0</sup>) always remains in place and is never pronominalized or dislocated. What is pronominalized or dislocated is (part of) the projection selected by Q, namely KP. The hypothesis that Q is a head can more easily account for this fact than the traditional view that Q is a specifier. If the latter were the case, we would have to treat *en* pronominalization and dislocation as involving intermediate X' projections (the X' whose specifier is occupied by Q) and leaving a stranded specifier.

16. Brucart (1993:fn. 26) suggests that in what he calls pseudo-partitive constructions, inherent partitive Case is assigned to the material following the complex quantifier, in order to distinguish them from true partitives, where genitive Case is assigned. Pseudo-partitive constructions are equivalent to the nominals we are considering here, the difference being that the quantifier is not lexical but rather consists of a complex nominal, and *de* is then always present. Consider the following example:

(i) *Un grup de senadors socialistes* votaron en contra del projecte.  
 a group of senators socialist voted against of-the project  
 'A group of socialist senators voted against the project.'

The fact that *en* and *de*, which we take to be manifestations of partitive Case, only appear with indefinite quantifiers can be elegantly accounted for by simply assuming that indefinite Qs select partitive Case. This can only be formulated if we assume that Q is the head selecting KP.

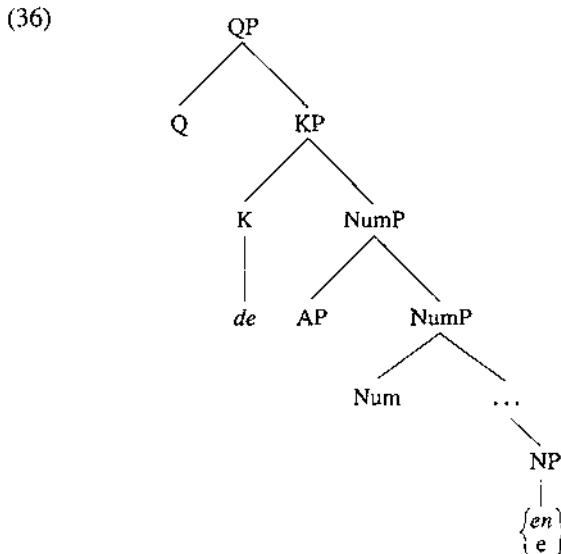
**5. De as a Realization of K<sup>o</sup>**

For the case of the dislocated indefinite nominals, their overt partitive Case marking with *de* allows them to be linked to the corresponding sentence internal position in the KP. This is a particular instance of the general pattern of dislocated elements, in which the form of the dislocated element enables it to be linked to the corresponding sentence internal position. Consider the following examples:

- (35) a. *A la Maria, li regalaré un llibre.*  
 to the Mary Dat3sg give-FUT-1sg a book  
 'To Mary, I will give a book.'
- b. *Per la plaça, no hi passa ningú.*  
 through the square not there goes nobody  
 'Nobody is crossing the square.'

The presence of preposition *a* ('to') in the dislocated constituent in (35a), and of the preposition *per* ('through') in (35b) indicates that these dislocated constituents correspond to the indirect object and to the locative complement within the sentence, respectively.

As for the material remaining in the KP, it has to be overtly marked for partitive in Catalan: K<sup>o</sup> must be filled with *de*, as shown in (36).



Within the NP either the clitic *en* or an empty category (represented by *e*)<sup>17</sup> appears. As for the position occupied by the APs, we assume that they are adjoined to the maximal functional projections inside the nominal.

The question that we next address is the following: why is *de* not realized whenever the noun is overt? We must assume that we are dealing with the same structure as in (36), the only difference being that an overt noun is inserted in the NP. We will try to characterize the conditions regulating the distribution of *de* in the next section.

## 6. Conditions Regulating the Distribution of *de*

We should first point out that the absence of *de* in nominals with an overt noun is not systematic. The presence of *de* is attested for some quantifiers in some dialects, as already pointed out by Fabra (1956: 23):

- (37) a. molt d'oli  
a.lot of.oil  
b. bastant d'aigua  
quite of.water

The existence of such examples is a further argument for the analysis of *de* as realization of Case. In addition, there is a tendency in some Catalan dialects to have only *de* in the absence of agreement endings on the quantifier.<sup>18</sup> This suggests an

17. We have only seen examples with *en* cliticization. In (i) there is an example where NP is generated empty:

- (i) Tinc un cotxe gros i un de petit.  
have-1sg a car big and a of small  
'I have a big car and a small one.'

18. Catalan dialects show a lot of variation, ranging from dialects where *de* obligatorily appears without any number or gender restriction (Majorcan and other balearic dialects, see (i)) to dialects which do not admit *de* after the quantifier (Algerian, see (ii)).

- (i) a. molt *de* pa (Majorcan)  
a.lot of bread  
b. molta d'aigua  
a.lot of.water  
c. molts d'al.lots  
a.lot of.boys  
d. moltes d'al.lotes  
a.lot of.girls  
(ii) a. tante cavalls (Algerian)  
so.many horses  
b. assay herbes  
quite herbs  
c. poche vi  
few wine

The intermediate situation illustrated in (37) and (38) is attested in some central dialects. There is no such variation when the noun is elliptical: in this case *de* uniformly appears in all Catalan dialects.



explanation for the systematic presence of *de* in nominal ellipsis contexts. With an overt noun *de* appears more easily with the unmarked masculine singular form than with feminine or plural forms, which are marked for gender and number:

- (38) a. molta (?? de) calor  
a.lot-fem-sg of heat
- b. moltes (\*de) noies  
a.lot-fem-pl of girls
- c. bastants (? de) pisos  
quite-pl of apartments

When the noun is covert, the grammatical features it bears are also covert. In order to make recoverable the information concerning Case, the Case marking element *de* must be realized (we assume that number and gender features, but not Case features, are manifested by Q). If *de* is absent, a general condition on ellipsis is violated, namely that only recoverable information can be elided. The ellipsis of the nominal head in Catalan is only possible if the inflectional features corresponding to the noun are realized.<sup>19</sup> In other Romance languages, instead, the presence of the quantifier, which is the Case assigner, is sufficient.

Romance languages show variation in various degrees as to how partitive Case is morphologically realized. In Spanish, partitive Case has no morphological manifestation: there is no clitic *en*, and, as we have seen, *de* is absent in front of both dislocated constituents and APs inside elliptical nominals. Catalan is at the opposite end in this respect: there is a clitic *en* and *de* precedes both dislocated constituents and APs inside elliptical nominals (in some dialects *de* even appears in some non-elliptical nominals). Italian and French show an intermediate position: they share with Catalan the existence of clitic *en* and the presence of *de* in front of dislocated constituents, but they do not realize *de* inside the elliptical nominal projection.

Interestingly, with an empty quantifier Italian behaves like Catalan: *di* is obligatory in nominal ellipsis because in the absence of the quantifier it is the only means to recover partitive Case.

19. Brucart (1987) explains in this way that the definite article obligatorily appears in contexts of nominal ellipsis in Spanish: it becomes the only lexical manifestation of inflectional features of the noun:

(i) a. Sobre todo buscava los (autógrafos) de los escritores.  
above all looked-3sg-for the autographs of the writers  
'He looked for the autographs/ones of the writers.'

b. Sobre todo buscava \* (autógrafos) de los escritores.  
above all looked-3sg-for autographs of the writers

(Brucart (1987: 326, ex. 54))

- (39) a. Ne voglio di belle.  
 b. \*Ne voglio belle.  
     NE want-1sg of beautiful  
     'I want beautiful ones.'

(Cordin (1988: 638))<sup>20</sup>

Let us try now to define the syntactic conditions under which *de* must appear. We should be able to explain why *de* is realized with *en* or an elliptical noun, but not with an overt noun in the general case. We should also account for the limited cases where *de* co-occurs with an overt noun.

We will assume that the key factor lies in N head-movement inside the nominal to check functional features. With Chomsky (1992) we assume that nouns are inserted as already inflected and undergo head-movement to functional heads in order to check morphological features. N<sup>o</sup> reaches K<sup>o</sup> after moving through Num<sup>o</sup>, as you can see in (40).

20. Cordin shows all the possible combinations of *ne* with an adjective:

- A. *ne* + verb + quantifier + *di* + adjective  
 B. *ne* + verb + quantifier + adjective  
 C. *ne* + verb + *di* + adjective

and claims that the combination in (D) is never attested:

- D. *ne* + verb + adjective

It is not clear to us which is the interpretation assigned to (C). Cordin points out the semantic differences between (A) and (B), concerning the set of elements the adjective modifies, but she does not clarify whether the interpretation in (C) corresponds only to (A) or is ambiguous between (A) and (B). The interpretations of (A) and (B) are illustrated in the examples in (ia) and (ib):

- (i) a. Ne voglio alcune di belle.  
     NE want-1sg some of beautiful  
     'I want some of beautiful ones.'  
 b. Ne voglio alcune belle.  
     'I want some beautiful ones.'

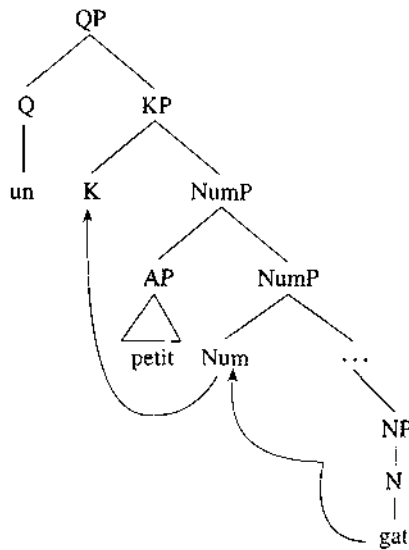
(Cordin (1988: 638, ex. 33))

In (ia) the adjective refers to the whole set of beautiful objects, of which the quantifier specifies a subset, while in (ib) the adjective refers to the subset of objects specified by the quantifier. For more information, see Cordin (1988).

In Catalan, example (ii) corresponds to (ib) and not to (ia), in spite of the fact that it contains *de*:

- (ii) En vull algunes de boniques.  
     NE want-1sg some of beautiful  
     'I want some beautiful ones.'

(40)

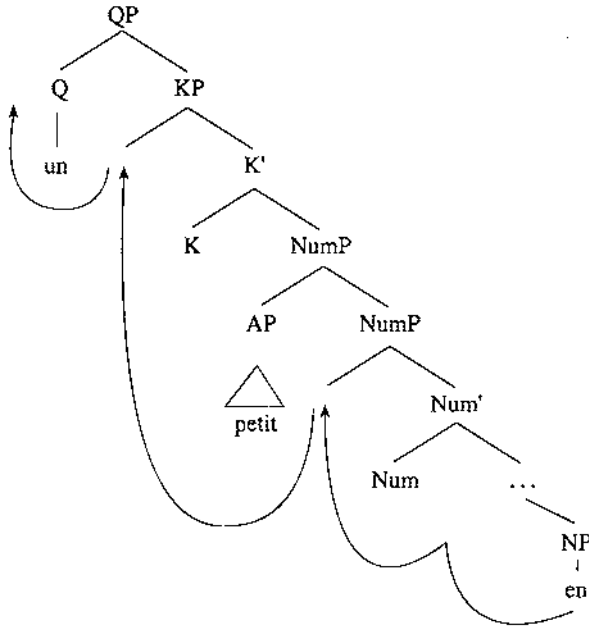


When the noun is empty, we suppose the syntactic derivation is the same:  $N^0$  head-moves up to  $K^0$  in order to check all the functional features. The only difference with the preceding case is that the noun in  $K^0$  is not visible.

In the case of *en* the derivation is different. We assume that *en* is a maximal projection, on the lines of Kayne (1994), which is an NP, and that it moves through specifiers in its way out of the QP.<sup>21</sup> Since, within the QP, *en* moves as a maximal projection, it will not move through  $K^0$ .<sup>22</sup>

21. In Kayne's (1994) theory adjunction and specifier positions are undistinguishable. We kept to the more traditional of distinguishing the two in order to have enough structural space: adjoined positions for APs and specifier positions for the movement of *en*. Otherwise, *en* could not move in the presence of an AP.
22. We leave open the question how the morphological feature of  $K^0$  is checked if  $N^0$  does not move to it, because *en* moves as a maximal projection. We speculate that the specifier-head configuration is an alternative means for the features to be checked, and that it takes place whenever the unmarked strategy (head-adjunction) does not apply.

(41)



What the derivation with clitic *en* and with an empty noun have in common is that  $K^0$  does not contain phonological material in the syntax. In other words,  $K^0$  is not visible. This contrasts with the case where the noun is overt: it moves to  $K^0$  and makes it visible.

For some reason, in Catalan  $K^0$  must always be visible, so that, if no overt noun moves to this position, *de* must be inserted. In the minimalist program, late insertion is allowed if we are dealing with elements which are not interpretable at LF. Chomsky (1992) proposes such a process of insertion for the element *do* in English and for the element *de* of genitives: «This formulation allows later insertion of functional items that are vacuous for LF interpretation, e.g., the *do* of *do*-support or the *of* of *of*-insertion» (Chomsky (1992: fn. 22)). *De*-insertion in  $K^0$  would be another instance this process.

It remains to be explained why *de* sometimes appears with an overt noun. This possibility is lexically restricted. A possible explanation consists in assuming that with certain quantifiers movement of the noun is shorter and only reaches  $\text{Num}^0$ . For this reason the lack of lexical material in  $K^0$  would trigger *de* insertion in this position.<sup>23</sup> If the noun reaches  $K^0$ , *de* insertion is not activated. This is to say, there would be a double possibility of either short or long  $N^0$ -movement, restricted to some quantifiers.

23. Since *de* is inserted after spell-out in PF, the problem remains unsolved how the features of  $K^0$  are checked in case they are strong. We leave this question open.

## 7. Conclusion

The analysis proposed in this paper consists in considering the element *de* that precedes AP inside indefinite elliptical nominals as the head of a Case functional projection, KP. This is the highest nominal functional projection and it is selected by Q, which is projected in QP and assigns it partitive Case.

The identification of *de* with the head of a nominal functional projection explains the fact that it appears only once in each nominal and it occupies a fixed position in the structure, the left-most position right after the determiner (the indefinite article or an indefinite quantifier, in this case).

As for the distribution of *de*, the fact that its appearance is restricted to indefinite nominals derives from the fact that only indefinite quantifiers, projected in QP, select a partitive Case projection. In this way, definite nominals are automatically excluded.

In indefinite nominals, *de* is only realized when the noun is non-overt. *De* insertion is triggered in order to satisfy the requirement of  $K^0$  to be visible in Catalan (i.e., to contain phonological lexical material).

It seems that the restrictions on the type of constituent which *de* precedes derive from its casual nature: *de* precedes APs,<sup>24</sup> but not PPs or relative clauses because the latter ones reject adjacent Case markers (cf. Case Resistance Principle by Stowell (1981)).

The hypothesis of *de* as a partitive Case marker extends to the dislocated constructions, where *de* precedes dislocated indefinite nominals. We claim that *de* is also a partitive marker in these contexts, which is necessary in order to identify the dislocated constituent with its corresponding position in the sentence: (part of) the Case projection selected by the indefinite quantifier.

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24. The proposed analysis does not explain why pre-nominal APs cannot be preceded by *de* in elliptical nominals. Probably, they are excluded in these constructions for the same reasons that account for their restricted distribution: they are excluded (or hardly admitted) in some other contexts, such as dislocated nominals or partitives, where there is not an elliptical noun. We have no explanation of the distribution of pre-nominal adjectives, but it does not seem problematic for the analysis of *de* AP presented here.

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