

Partitivity in Romance and beyond
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Indefinite determiners in central Italian dialects

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Terminology

(1) countable Ns

a. \emptyset **ragazzi**

boys

b. **pochi** ragazzi

few boys

c. *un* **po'** di ragazzi

a bit of boys

d. *pochi* **dei** ragazzi

few of the boys

e. **dei** ragazzi

(2) mass Ns

a. \emptyset **vino**

wine

b. **poco** vino

little wine

c. *un* **po'** di vino

a bit of wine

d. *poco* **del** vino

little of the wine

e. **del** vino

bare N

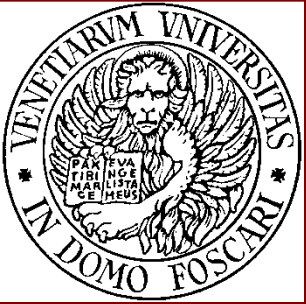
quantifier

quantity N

partitive PP

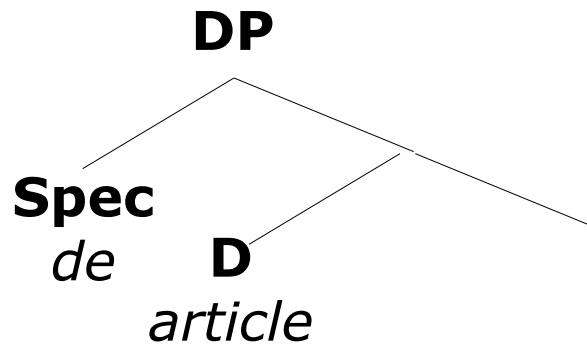
indefinite

determiner



Proposals

1. **Category:** *de+art* → indefinite determiner ≠ partitive phrase (PP)
2. **Structure:** *de* → SpecDP ≠ P + art → D



3. **Semantics:** wide vs. narrow scope *de+art* do not necessarily occur in the same variety



Indefinite determiners

Standard Italian

- a. Bevo [_{DP} **del** caffè]
- b. Bevo [_{DP} ∅ caffè]
- c. Bevo [_{DP} un caffè]
- d. Bevo [_{DP} **degli** aperitivi]
- e. Bevo [_{DP} ∅ aperitivi]
- Singular mass nouns
- Singular count nouns
- Plural count nouns



Qs and Quantity Ns select a PP

- a. [_{QP} alcuni [_{DP} Ø ragazzi]]
some boys
- b. [_{QP} alcuni [_{DP} Ø] [_{PP} dei ragazzi]]
some of-the boys
- c. [_{DP} un [_{NP} po' [_{PP} di ragazzi]]]
a bit of boys

(Cardinaletti and Giusti 2006)



de-
in indefinite
expressions
is not
a Quantifier

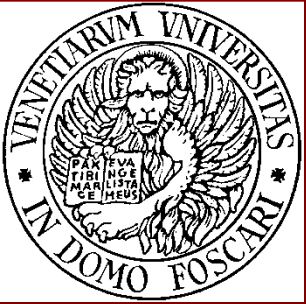


No *ne*-extraction or pronominalization

- a. *Ne ho lette **alcune**.*
[I] NE read *some*
- b. **Ne ho lette **delle**.*
- c. ***Alcune** sono arrivate tardi.*
some arrived late
- d. ****Delle** sono arrivate tardi.*



de-
in indefinite
expressions
is not the head
of a (partitive) PP



The causative construction

a. *Ho fatto bere (*a) Gianni.*

[I] made drink to Gianni

b. *Ho fatto parlare (*a) Gianni di suo padre.*

[I] made speak to Gianni of his father

c. *Ho fatto bere *(a) Gianni il caffè*

[I] made drink to Gianni the coffee

d. *Ho fatto bere *(a) Gianni del caffè*

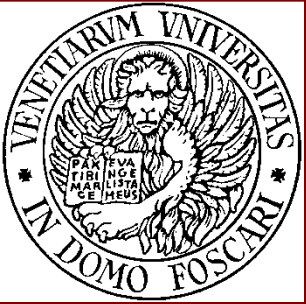
[I] made drink to Gianni some coffee

(cf. Carlier 2007 for French and Old French)



Article drop in Anconetano

- a. *Ho letto de(i) libri de storia.*
[I] read *de*+art history books
- b. *La copertina de*(i) libri de storia.*
the cover of+art history books
- c. *Ho letto molti de*(i) libri de storia de mi padre.*
[I] read many of+art history books of my father
- d. *Ho letto que(i) libri de storia.*
[I] read *those* history books



-e- drop in Anconetano

- a. *Ho letto d*(e)i libri de storia de mi padre.*
[I] read *de*+art history books of my father
- b. *La cupertina d(e)i libri de storia de mi padre.*
the cover of+art history books of my father
- c. *Ho letto molti d(e)i libri de storia de mi padre*
[I] read many of+art history books of my father

(Cardinaletti and Giusti 2011, forthcoming)



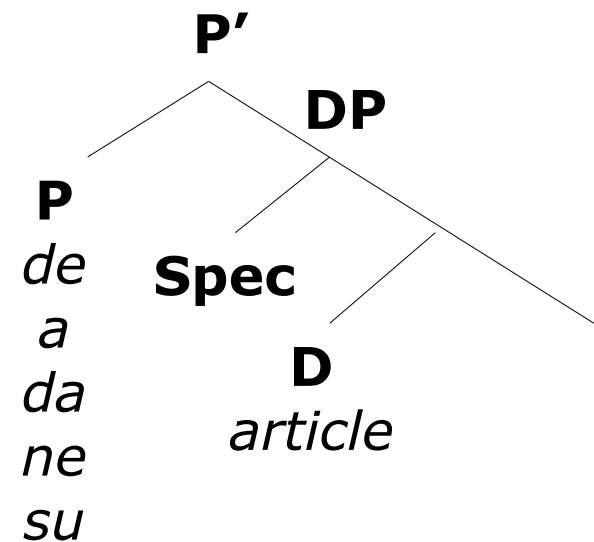
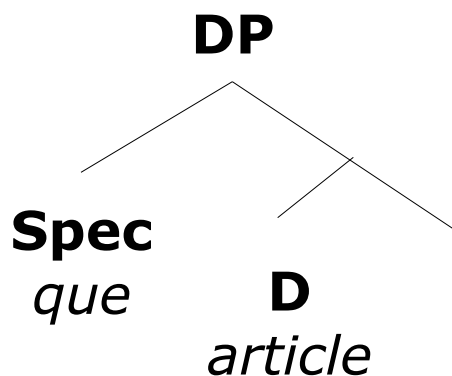
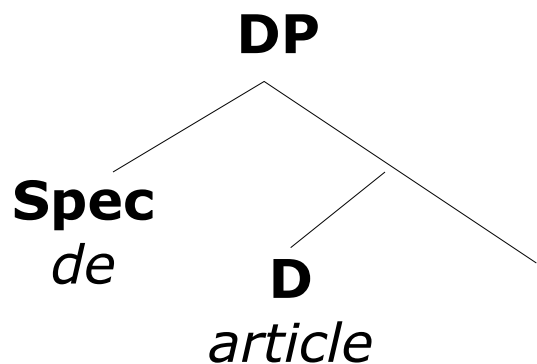
Cooccurrence with *fa*

- a. \emptyset / *alcuni giorni/mesi fa*
0/some days/months ago
- c. ?*dei giorni/mesi fa*
de+art days/months ago
- d. **alcuni dei giorni/mesi fa*
some of the days/months ago

pace Korzen (1996:405)



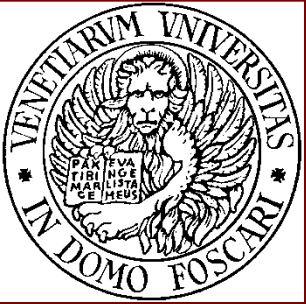
The structural analysis



<i>de+art</i>	<i>art</i>	<i>que+art</i>	<i>N</i>	
del	[i]l	quel	ragazzo	"boy"
dei	i	quei	ragazzi	"boys"
degli	gli	quegli	amici	"friends"



Indefinite determiners in Italo-Romance varieties



Examples

- a. sei fyse **d'**aqua (*Piedmontese*; Berruto 1974: 57)
- b. **di** belle patate / **di** bon vino (*Tuscan*, Rohlfs 1968:117)
- c. se ci fosse **l'**acqua (*general Italian*; Rohlfs 1968: 119)
- d. s'era corcato mmiezo a **ccerto** fieno (*Neapoletan*;
Rohlfs, 1968:118)
- e. **certi** kundi (*Avezzano*; Giammarco, 1979:141)
- f. aggio accattato **Ø** ova (*Neapoletan*; Rohlfs, 1968:118)



The dialects of the Marches

- No indefinite determiner (AIS; Rohlf's 1968:119; Renzi 1997:163).
- Definite determiners with indefinite interpretation:
 - a. [...] *l'acqua?* 'dove c'è **dell'**acqua fresca?' (AIS 1037)
 - b. *a pia 'l vi 'a prendere **del** vino'* (AIS 1343)
 - c. ***le** viole 'delle mammole'* (AIS 637)



Anconetano

Mass vs. plural nouns:

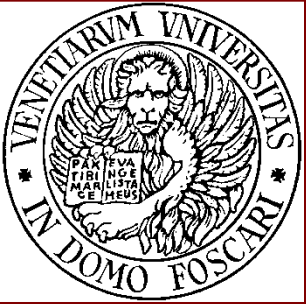
- a. **Ho cumprato **del** vi'*. 'I bought wine'
- b. *Ho cumprato **dele** patate.* 'I bought potatoes'

The definite article in D in indefinite expressions:

- c. *Ho cumprato **l** vi'.*
- d. *Ho cumprato **le** patate.*

No indefinite zero article:

- e. **Ho cumprato **Ø** vi'.*
- f. **Ho cumprato **Ø** patate.*



de+art is ambiguous

a. *Non ho visto \emptyset ragazzi.*

I did not see boys

$*\exists \neg; \neg \exists$

a'. *Non ho visto nessun/alcun ragazzo.*

I did not see any boy

$*\exists \neg; \neg \exists$

b. *Non ho visto dei ragazzi.*

I did not see DEI boys

$\exists \neg; (\%) \neg \exists$

c. *Non ho visto alcuni ragazzi.*

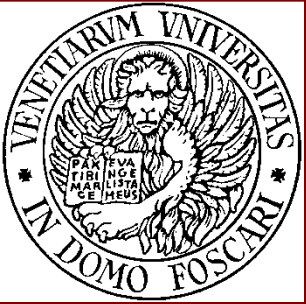
I did not see some boys

$\exists \neg; * \neg \exists$

d. *Non ho visto alcuni dei ragazzi.*

I did not see some of the boys

$\exists \neg; * \neg \exists$



Disambiguating ...

a. *Non ci sono \emptyset nanetti in questo giardino.* $\neg\exists$

there are no dwarfs in this garden

*Ma ci sono (dei) giochi per bambini./*Mancano Pisolo e Eolo.*

But there is a playground for children/*Sleepy and Sneezy are missing

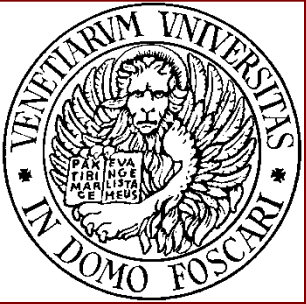
b. *Non ci sono **dei** nanetti in questo giardino.* $\exists\neg$; $\neg\exists$

Ma ci sono (dei) giochi per bambini. / Mancano Pisolo e Eolo.

c. *Non ci sono **alcuni** nanetti in questo giardino.* $\exists\neg$

There are not some dwarfs in this garden

#Ma ci sono giochi per bambini./Mancano Pisolo e Eolo.



Mass vs. plural

a. *Non ho bevuto Ø vino.*

I did not drink wine

* $\exists \neg$; $\neg \exists$

b. *Non ho bevuto del vino.*

I did not drink DEL wine

* $\exists \neg$; $\neg \exists$

c. ?**Non ho bevuto alcun vino.*

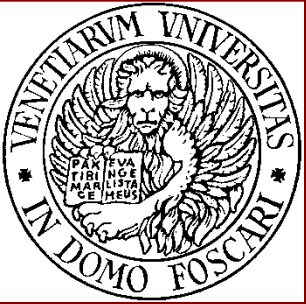
I did not drink any wine

* $\exists \neg$; ?? $\neg \exists$

c'. *Non ho visto alcuni ragazzi.*

I did not see some boys

$\exists \neg$; * $\neg \exists$



No ambiguity

a. *Non ho bevuto \emptyset vino.*

└┐

I did not drink wine

Ho bevuto (della) birra. / #Mancava il prosecco.

I drank beer / the prosecco was missing

b. *Non ho bevuto **del** vino.*

└┐

I did not drink DEL wine

Ho bevuto (della) birra. / #Mancava il prosecco.

I drank beer / the prosecco was missing



Back to Anconetano

- a. **Ho cumprato **del** v`i.*
- b. *Ho cumprato **dele** patate.*
- c. *Ho cumprato *(el) v`i.*
- d. *Ho cumprato *(le) patate.*



Only wide-scope *de+art*

a. **Nun c'è Ø naneti nte sto giardì.*

b. *Nun c'è i naneti nte sto giardì.* $\neg\exists$ (indefinite)

There are no dwarfs in this garden

*C'è solo i giogheti pi fioli. / *Mancane Pisolo e Eolo.*

... There is just a playground for-the children / *Sleepy and Sneazy are missing

c. *Nun c'è **de(i)** naneti nte sto giardì.* $\exists\neg$

#*C'è solo i/de(i) giogheti pi fioli. / Mancane Pisolo e Eolo.*



Singular *de+art* is expectedly missing

a. **Non ho bevuto* \emptyset *vì.*

a'. *Non ho bevuto* **I** *vì.*

$\neg\exists$ (indefinite)

I did not drink wine

Ho bevuto la bira. / #*Mancava I verdicchio.*

I drank beer / the verdicchio was missing

b. **Non ho bevuto* **del** *vì.*

I did not drink DEL wine



Conclusions

- a. Nominal expressions with indefinite determiners are not PPs, but DPs in all varieties.
- b. The indefinite determiner occurs in specDP, on a par with other determiners like demonstratives, and is “fused” with the article in D. This is structurally different from fused P+art.
- c. Nominal expressions with indefinite determiners have two interpretations, with wide or narrow scope with respect to negation.
- d. The wide-scope interpretation is limited to plurals.
- e. The dialect of Ancona, which only allows the wide-scope interpretation of indefinite determiners, only has plural *dei*.