Ne-cliticization and the DP/PP distinction: A case for Q

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The puzzle of *ne*

An old puzzle: *ne* vs. NP-ellipsis

- Internal vs. external arguments:
  - Where NP-ellipsis occurs in English, Italian clitic *ne* is used when the ellipsis site would be inside an internal argument (1a), but not in an external argument (1b) (Belletti and Rizzi 1981, Burzio 1986, Cardinaletti and Giusti 1992 a.o.).
    - Regular NP ellipsis is used instead of *ne* for external arguments (an option that is unavailable for internal arguments).

(1) a. *Gianni legge tre libri, e Maria *(**ne**) legge quattro _ .*
         'Gianni reads three books, and Mary reads four.'   ✓*ne*/*NPE

     b. *Quattro persone hanno corso, e tre _ /***ne** ha hanno vinto.*
         intended: 'Four people ran, and three won.'   **ne*/✓NPE

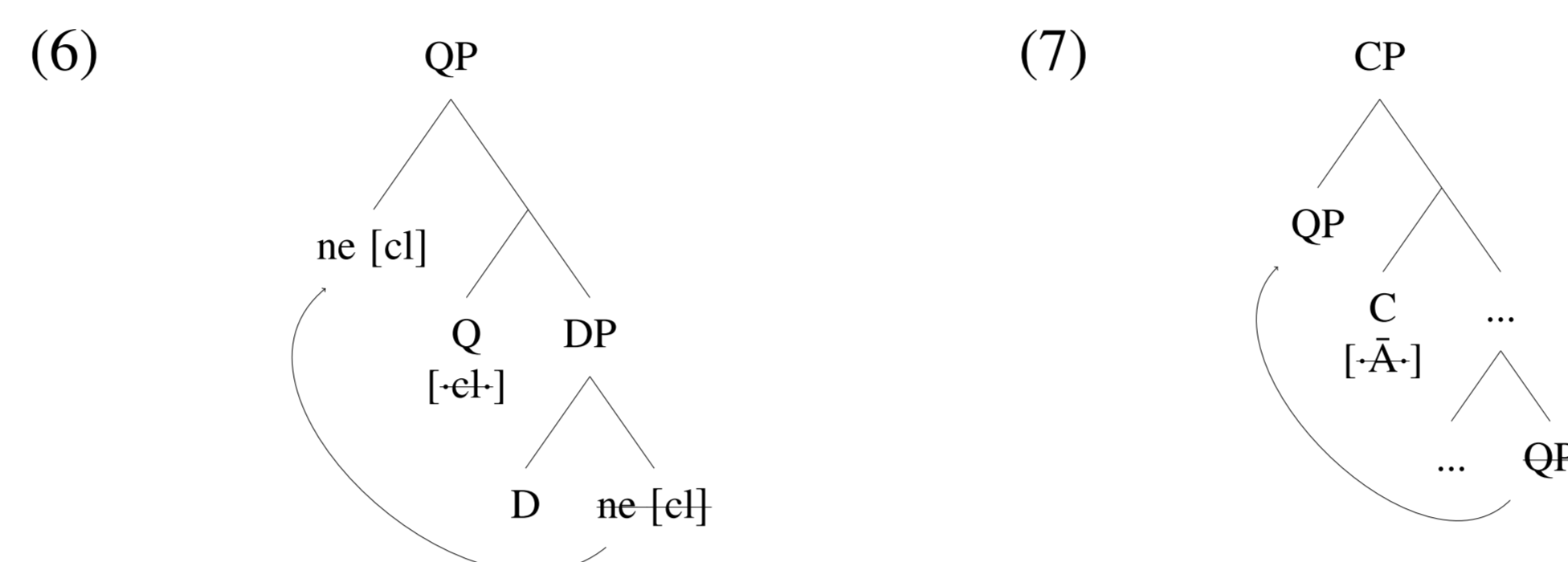### A less well-known puzzle: *ne* with PP arguments

- *Ne* is also used in contexts that license PP argument-ellipsis.

(2) *Context: Maria complained about John, and ...*

     a. *Lucia se *(ne) è lamentata.*
         'Lucia complained <about John>, too.'

- **Puzzle**: In a context that would license NP ellipsis inside a PP argument in English, *ne* is only available if the PP fronts in Italian.

(3) *Context: My career depended on four meetings...*

     a. **La sua carriera **ne** è dipes-a **da tre** (**incontri**).*
         intended: 'His career depended on three (meetings).'

     b. ***Da tre (incontri) ne** è dipesa la sua carriera.*
         From three meetings ne.CL is depended the his career

Fronting vs. CLLD: a surface similarity

- PP-fronting with *ne* is **not** Clitic Left Dislocation (CLLD):
  - Property 1 of CLLD: not sensitive to islands
    as it is base generated (Cinque 1990, Iatridou 1994, Anagnostopoulou 1994)

(4) PP-fronting with *ne* is sensitive to islands (4a-b): derived by movement.

     a. ***Da questi tre incontri**, G. si è lamentato [perché la mia carriera **ne** è dipesa _].*
         'On these three meetings Gianni complained [because my career depended _].'

     b. **Da questi tre incontri**, Gianni ha detto [che la mia carriera **ne** è dipesa _].*
         'On these three meetings, Gianni said [that my career depended _].'

     c. **La sua macchina**, Gianni si è lamentato [perché io **la** ho rovinata].*
         'His car, Gianni complained [because I ruined it].'   CLLD

  - Property 2 of CLLD: The clitic doubles the fronted phrase, not something inside the fronted phrase .

(5) PP-fronting with *ne* can be sensitive to the choice of quantifier inside the DP: *ne* usually can't associate with DPs headed by universal quantifiers.

     a. *Di **due** (**persone**) lei se **ne** è lamentata.*
         'She complained about two (people).'

     b. *%Di **tutte** (**le persone**) lei se **ne** è lamentata.*
         intended: 'She complained about all (the people).'

     c. **Tutte le persone**, **le** ho incontrate.*
         'All the people, them I met.'   CLLD
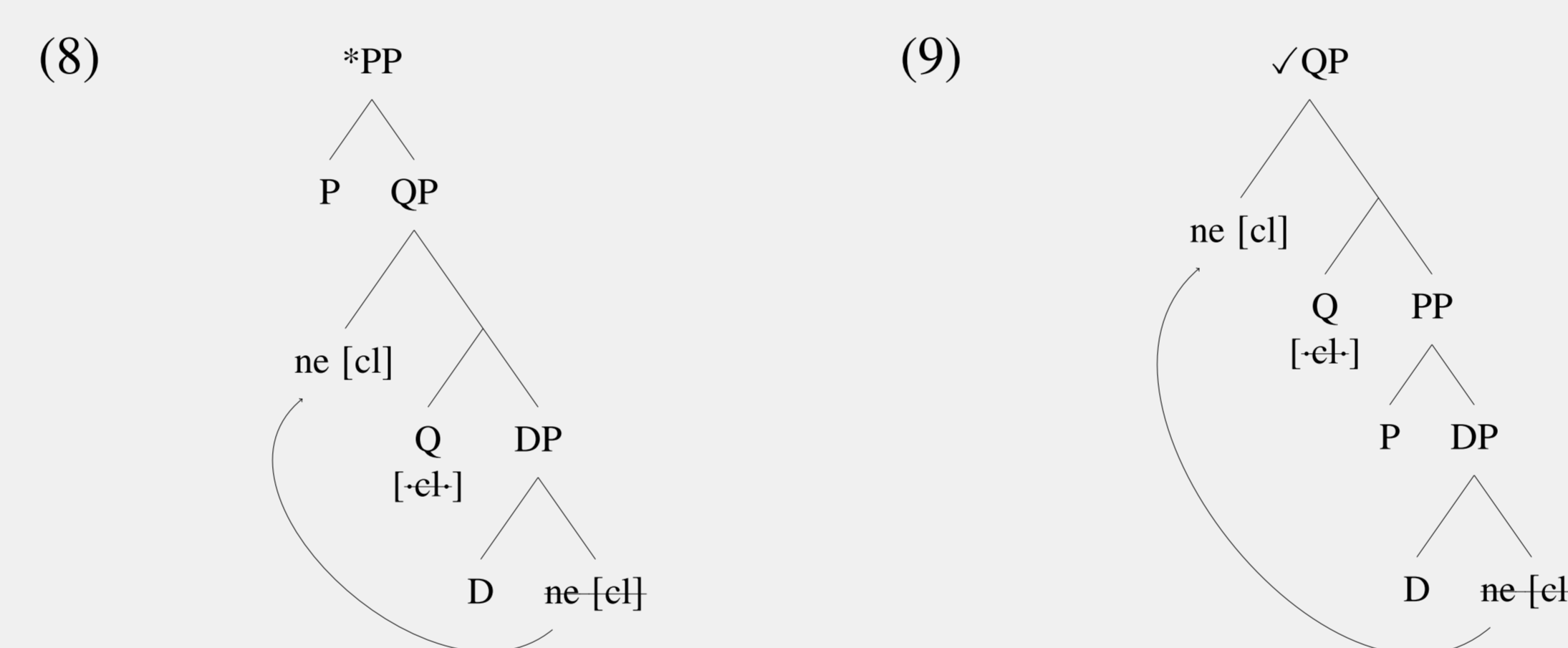
Proposal

- *Ne* is licensed by a quantificational head Q (like the Q of Cable 2010).
  - Q licenses certain kinds of D heads and not others (e.g. *due, molti, etc.* but **tutti*)
  - Q licenses *ne* via agreement/movement to its specifier (6).
  - QP then fronts to Spec CP (as QPs usually do) (7).

(6)   (7)

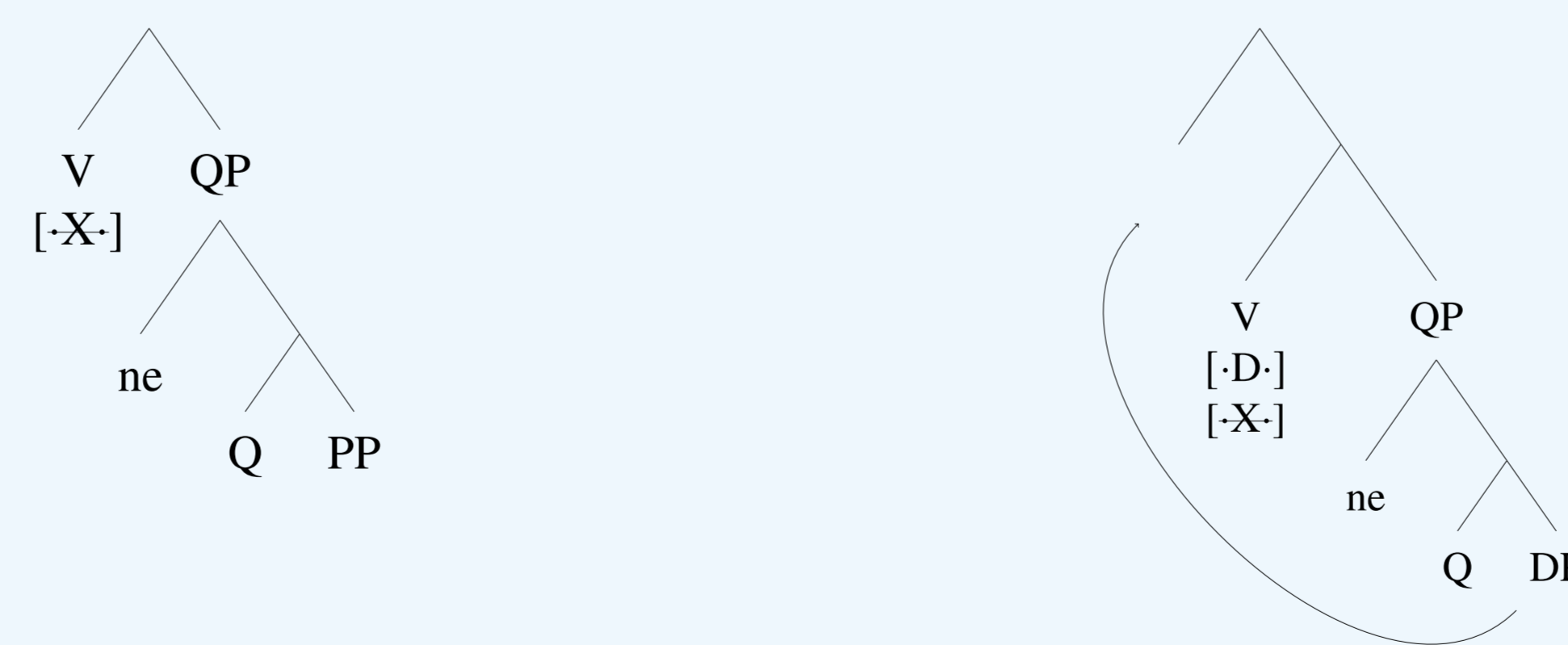- **Question**: where does QP merge and what does it pied-pipe?

Pied-piping vs. stranding

- Italian is not a P-stranding language: P must be pied-piped.
  - Restricts the distribution of Q: can't merge between P and DP.

(8)   *PP   (9)   ✓QP

- **Question**: how are arguments introduced by Q merged into the verbal domain?

Verbs and their arguments

- An insight from Newman (2021, 2024):
  - DPs are c-selected (introduced by [·D·])
  - non-DPs are not c-selected (introduced by a non-specific [·X·])
  - QP ≠ DP → QP checks [·X·] and not [·D·]

(10) V selects a PP: [·X·] checked by   (11) V selects a DP but merges a QP:
      merge of QP   DP must move to check [·D·]

- **Result**: QPs always pied-pipe PP but not DP
  - Accounts for asymmetric fronting behavior of *ne*-cl DP and PP arguments.
  - Accounts for internal/external argument asymmetry: external arguments <u>must</u> be DPs.

Comparison with Dutch

- Dutch baseline: Same contrast between internal/external arguments.

(12) a. *Jan leest drie boeken, en Maria leest *(**er**) vier _ .*
          'Jan reads three books, and Mary reads four.'   ✓ *er*/*NPE

     b. *Vier mensen renden en drie _ /***er** wonnen.*
          'Four people ran, and three won.'   **er*/✓NPE

- Italian vs. Dutch: A pied-piping/stranding contrast

(13) Italian: **P-stranding/✓pied-piping.   (14) Dutch: ✓P-stranding/✓pied-piping.
      a. **Chi piace questo libro **a**?   a. *Welke boeken houdt Jan niet **van**?*
          who likes this book to   Which books holds Jan not of
          intended: 'Who loves this book?'   'Which books does Jan not love?'
      b. *A chi piace questo libro?*   b. **Van** welke boeken houdt Jan niet?*
          to who likes this book   Of which books holds Jan not
          'Who loves this book?'   'Which books does Jan not love?'

- Prediction: Dutch *er* can associate with NP inside both fronted and in situ PPs – borne out:
  - Note: *daar* = *er* when fronted

(15) *Maria houdt van drie dingen.*
      Maria holds of three things
      'Maria loves three things.'

     a. **Daar** houdt Maria **van**.*
         (Th)er(e) holds Maria of

     b. **Daar-van** houdt Maria.*
         (Th)er(e)-of holds Maria

- In other words, Dutch has access to both structures (8) and (9) – (8) allows P to be stranded by QP, while (9) pied-pipes PP.

Puzzles about wh-movement

- The analysis suggests that, even when we don't see it, clauses with *ne* always have a fronted QP at their edge.
  - Does this fronted QP interfere with the ability of other things to wh-move or topicalize to the edge of the clause, for example?
    - Dutch: It does not affect V2.
    - Italian: Wh-movement and *ne*-cl can coexist, but they target different specifier positions:

(16) a. *Chi **ne** ha letti tre?*   (17)
          Who ne.CL has read three
          'Who reads three?'

     b. *CHI tre **ne** ha letti?*

     c. *TRE chi **ne** ha letti?*

  - Different types of Ā-movement can end up in the extended CP (cf. Rizzi 1997), as long as they are not of the same type (e.g. no multiple questions in Italian).

- Avenue for future research: interaction between QP movement and Ā-movement.

References: Anagnostopoulou (1994) *Clitic Dependencies in Modern Greek* – Belletti & Rizzi (1981) *The syntax of ''Ne'': some theoretical implications* – Burzio (1986) *Italian Syntax* – Cable (2010) *The grammar of Q* – Cardinaletti & Giusti (1992) *Partitive ''ne'' and the QP-hypothesis* – Cinque (1990) *Types of A'-dependencies* – Iatridou (1994) *Clitics and Island Effects* – Newman (2021) *The (in)distinction between wh-movement and c-selection* – Newman (2024) *When arguments merge* – Rizzi (1997) *The fine structure of the left periphery*