


A HYBRID ANALYSIS OF THE FRENCH PRONOUN *EN**

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Abstract. This paper puts forward a novel account of the clitic pronoun *en* in French. It is shown that previous analyses cannot account for the rich nominal structure involved in *en*-pronominalization, in particular structures with stranded DP-internal remnants. The analysis proposed sees *en*-pronominalization as a hybrid between pronominalization and ellipsis, which includes DP-internal focus movement for the stranded remnants. It will be argued that *en* itself is best analyzed as being derived from an *nP* within the DP, even when it seemingly pronominalizes the entire DP. Following Cinque (2010), the analysis presented here also assumes that only modifiers of the *indirect* kind can be stranded by *en*-pronominalization.

1. Introduction

This paper provides a new take at indefinite/quantitative *en*-cliticization in French. Ever since Ruwet (1970), Kayne (1975) and Milner (1978), it has been well known in the generative literature that French has a special kind of clitic pronoun called *en*, similar to *ne* in Italian and *en* in Catalan. However, the syntactic status of indefinite/quantitative clitics such as *en* is far from clear. As pointed out by Falco and Zamparelli (2016), much of the work on pronouns in general has focused on pronouns standing in for full DPs and not subparts of them. However, *en* is a prime example of a pronoun standing in for subparts of a DP, which makes it a particularly interesting phenomenon to study.

Traditionally, pronouns have been analyzed as intransitive DPs (Abney 1987), transitive DPs with a silent noun/*pro*-complement of some kind (Uriagereka 1995) or with a phonologically deleted complement (Elbourne 2001). Some of the rationale behind treating pronouns as determiners is the fact that there is a morphophonological similarity between them, as witnessed, for instance, in Romance languages. However, as a uniform treatment of pronouns has shown to be insufficient (Déchaine & Wiltschko 2002), it has been proposed that pronouns are not primitives as such, but rather a heterogenous group with several subtypes. Déchaine and Wiltschko proposed a tripartition of pronouns: pro-DPs, pro-ΦPs and pro-NPs, where, in their analysis, quantitative clitics such as *en* belong to the latter group.

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There are significant empirical issues concerning *en*-pronominalization that have not been properly taken into account in the literature. These issues concern subextraction from nominals and the implications these have for the analysis of indefinite/quantitative clitics. A quantitative clitic like *en* can stand in for some layers of the nominal structure while stranding others. This creates pseudogapping effects which in turn raise questions as to what *en* actually pronominalizes. I argue that the syntactic label of the constituent *en* pronominalizes is much smaller than what seems to be the case superficially. The indefinite/quantitative *en* only stands in for a subpart of the nominal and that this is even the case where *en*, at first glance, seems to pronominalize the entire DP object. I claim that total *en*-pronominalization of the object is the result of the combination of pronominalization and ellipsis and that such an approach fits better with the fact that *en* can also pronominalize DP substructures.

1.1. “*En*”-pronominalization in French

French has a set of “quantitative expressions”, where weak quantifiers such as *beaucoup* (“many”, “much”), *peu* (“few”, “little”), *plusieurs* (“several”) and numerals like *trois* (“three”) take nominal structures as their complement. These nominals are generally targeted by *en*-pronominalization, as the following examples illustrate:

- (1) a. Marie a [QP beaucoup [NP *de livres*]].

Marie has many of books

“Mary has many books.”

- b. Marie *en*_i a [QP beaucoup *en*_i].

Marie EN has many

- (2) a. Marie a acheté [QP trois [NP *livres*]].

Marie has bought three books

“Marie bought three books.”

- b. Marie *en*_i a acheté [QP trois *en*_i].

Marie EN has bought three *en*

In (1–2), *en* stands in for the NP-structure introduced by the weak quantifiers *beaucoup* (“many”, “much”) and *deux* (“two”), that is *de livres*

in (1) and the bare noun *livres* in (2). As we can see, the difference between the pronominalized constituents is the presence of the element *de* in (1) and the absence of it in (2). Kayne (1975) remarks that there is also an implicit *de*-morpheme in structures containing numerals such as the one in (2), as right dislocation of the NP obligatorily calls for *de*, whereas the absence of it would lead to ungrammaticality. In Kayne's analysis, *en* is explicitly linked to *de*.

- (3) a. Il en a trois, *(de) fleurs.

He EN has three, of flowers.

“He has three, flowers that is.”

En also targets indefinite DPs: In French, indefinite count DPs are introduced by the indefinite singular article *un(e)* or the indefinite plural article *des*. French also has the separate “partitive”¹ article *du*² for mass nouns. In principle, DPs introduced by these articles are pronominalizable by *en*³. As we see in (4), *en* is standing in for the indefinite DP *des livres*, whereas in (5) it is targeting an indefinite mass DP *du chocolat*.

- (4) a. Marie a acheté [DP *des livres*].

Marie has bought INDEF.ART.PL books

“Marie has bought some books.”

- b. Marie *en*_i a acheté ~~*en*~~.

Marie EN has bought

“Marie has bought some.”

¹ The term traditional term “partitive article” is rather misleading as this article takes an indefinite reading and rarely has a partitive reading in Modern French (Carlier 2007, Ihsane 2008).

² The *du*-article also has a feminine variant, *de la*, along with the phonologically reduced form *de l'* in front of nouns beginning with a vowel. In this paper I will use *du* as an umbrella term for all of these variants.

³ There are certain exceptions to this, see Ihsane (2013).

- (5) a. Marie a acheté [DP *du* *chocolat*].

Marie has bought PART.ART chocolate

“Marie has bought chocolate.”

- b. Marie *en*_i a acheté *en*_i.

Marie EN has bought

“Marie has bought some.”

These DPs are not explicitly quantitative, meaning that if there is a notion of quantity in these structures at all, it must be of an implicit nature. We are dealing with DPs whose main property seems to be existentiality, “introducing new referents into the universe of discourse” (Bosvald-de Smet 2004: 43). The term “quantitative” is thus slightly misleading for these examples. I will rather refer to these structures as “indefinite”. However, as we shall see, this difference is not really down to *en* itself, as I argue that *en* targets the same subnominal constituent in these structures⁴.

The outline of the paper is the following. In section 1.2, before we delve into the issues of *en*-pronominalization itself, in order to properly lay out some the problematic areas of our current understanding of *en*-pronominalization, I will provide a short presentation of relevant DP-internal adjective modification in French. This presentation will, for reasons of space, be relatively brief. In section 1.3, I look at the important empirical issues concerning *en*-pronominalization before presenting the previous research that has already been done on *en* in section 2. In section 3, I provide a theoretical framework and a proposal for my own account of *en*-pronominalization, which is subsequently presented in detail in section 4. Section 5 concludes the paper.

1.2. *Short intermezzo: DP-modification in French*

French allows both prenominal and postnominal adjectives, although the majority of adjectives are postnominal (see Noailly 1999, Bouchard 2002, Laenzlinger 2005, Rowlett 2007 and Cinque 2010). As we can see in (6), adjectives of colour and nationality belong to this group, as these are almost always postnominal in French.

⁴ I also stress that whenever I refer to *en* or *en*-pronominalization in this paper, I only refer to the indefinite and quantitative type we have seen so far, not to other types such as the partitive or genitive (see footnote 11).

- (6) a. une voiture verte b. une tradition polonaise
 a car green a tradition Polish
 “a green car” “a Polish tradition”

The postnominal position is mostly associated with the intersective reading, which is to say that the interpretation of the NP is composed of the intersection of the denotation of the noun and that of the adjective. Concretely, this means the set of cars and the set of green entities in (6a), whereas in (6b) we are dealing with the intersection of the set of traditions and that of Polish entities⁵. Furthermore, postnominal adjectives are often also more liberal with regards to their placement in relation to each other. Thus you can for instance have two orders for colour adjectives and nationality adjectives (Laenzlinger 2005):

- (7) a. des voitures rouges italiennes b. des voitures italiennes rouges
 INDEF.ART.PL cars red italian INDEF.ART.PL cars italian red
 “red Italian cars”

The prenominal, attributive position, on the other hand, is associated with short (or “weak”) adjectives such as for instance *grand* (“big”), *petit* (“small”) as in (8), focalized subjective adjectives⁶, and quantifying adjectives such as *seul* (“only”) and *nombreux* (“numerous”). For reasons of space, I will only provide a few examples here.

- (8) a. de grandes maisons b. des grandes maisons
 of big houses INDEF.ART.PL big house
 “big houses”

In (8a) we also observe that, by normative French standard (i.e. “Le Bon Usage”), the indefinite plural article is reduced to *de* when preceding a

⁵ Most intersective adjectives are predicative in the sense that they normally pass the copula test:

- (i) Cette voiture est verte.
 This car is green
 “This car is green.”

⁶ Subjective, focalized adjectives can normally appear in both positions. A prenominal position will often give it a somewhat more subjective reading:

- (ii) a. un livre excellent b. un excellent livre
 a book excellent an excellent book

prenominal adjective (see Mathieu 2012). However, in modern French the full article seems to become more and more accepted (8b). This is particularly true in spoken French⁷. As for so-called quantifying adjectives such as *nombreux* and *seul*, they only have a quantifying reading when they are prenominal. In a postnominal position, they will take a different reading. Consider the following contrast:

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------|
| (9) | a. un seul étudiant | b. un étudiant seul |
| | a sole student | a student lonely |
| | “a sole student” | “a lonely student” |

As we can see in (9b), *seul* is no longer quantifying when postnominal and takes on the meaning “lonely”. This is the only reading we get in a predicative setting:

- (10) Cet étudiant est seul.
 This student is lonely
 “This student is lonely.”

In (10), *seul* can never mean “sole” or “only”. It must always take the intersective reading “lonely”. This is not only true for quantifying adjectives. Several French adjectives can change meaning depending on which position they have in relation to the noun.

Other kinds of DP modification like relative clauses and PPs are of course also relevant for *en*-pronominalization, which will become apparent in subsection 1.3. However, given that these are all postnominal and as such structurally more “familiar” to a reader without knowledge of French, I will put them aside here and return to them in section 3.2.1. and 4.2.2.

Now that we have laid out the basics of DP-internal adjective modification in French, we can return to the puzzle this creates for *en*-pronominalization.

1.3. Empirical issues

A closer scrutiny of the structures that *en* pronominalizes will turn out to paint a more complex picture than what we have seen thus far. As we can see from the examples in (11), *en*-pronominalization can easily target subparts of the indefinite DP, while stranding other DP-internal elements. This creates pseudogapping effects that are manifestly different

⁷ Note that the difference between the full and the reduced indefinite article is also phonologically distinct, as shown by the phonological representation /dØ/ for *de* and /dE/ for *des*.

from the more or less total pronominalizations we saw in (1–5), where *en* either stands in for the entire indefinite nominal or the complement of some weak quantifier like *beaucoup* (“many/much”) or numeral like *trois* (“three”). Let us first take the sentence in (11a) as our starting point:

(11) a. Il a [DP des chemises bleues qu’il porte toujours].

He has INDEF.ART.PL shirts blue that.he wears always

“He has got (some) blue shirts that he wears all the time.”

b. Il *en* a [DP ~~*en*~~].

He *EN* has

“He’s got some.”

c. Il *en* a [DP des ~~*en*~~ bleues qu’il porte toujours].

He *EN* has INDEF.ART.PL *en* blue that.he wears always

“He has got (some) blue ones that he wears all the time.”

d. Il *en* a [DP des ~~*en*~~ bleues].

He *EN* has INDEF.ART.PL *en* blue

“He’s got some blue ones.”

e. Il *en* a [DP ~~*en*~~ qu’il porte toujours].

He *EN* has *en* that.he wears always

“He’s got some that he wears all the time.”

Before going through the examples, I first want to point out that according to the analysis I will present in section 3 and 4, *en* itself does not actually stand in for the entire gap created by *en*-pronominalization in these examples, but, as alluded to in the introduction, the resulting structures are a hybrid of pronominalization and ellipsis. This will

become clear in the analysis, however, for the purposes of illustration I will refer to it as *en*-pronominalization here and introduce the ellipsis component later.

As we can see, from the base structure in (11a) we can derive four different types of *en*-pronominalizations. In (11b) *en* seemingly stands in for the entire indefinite nominal, just like the example in (4). However, we can also get three different outputs from *en*-pronominalization of the example in (11a). In (11c), *en* apparently only stands in for the head noun *chemises* (“shirts”), whereas in (11d) the string that *en* supposedly stands for is discontinuous, as the head noun seems to have been pronominalized along with the relative clause, *chemises qu’il porte toujours* (“shirts that he wears all the time”), while the indefinite article and the adjective are stranded. In (11e), on the other hand, *en* strands the relative clause while seemingly standing in for the indefinite article, the noun and the adjective. Notice the contrast between (11c-d) and (11e): The article disappears when a relative clause is left in-situ. As we can see from all of this, modifiers can be stranded by *en*-pronominalization, however, they can also seemingly be a part of the pronominalized structure. Sometimes, as in (11d), the structural relationship between the pronominalized structure and the remnant(s) is even discontinuous. In (11a), the lexical counterpart of (11d), the head noun *chemises* (“shirt”) is merged closer to the adjective than the relative clause. However, *chemises* (“shirt”) is part of the underlying structure together with the more “distant” relative clause, whereas the article and the adjective are stranded remnants⁸.

When it comes to the quantitative *en*, in contrast to the indefinite plural article, weak quantifiers and numerals always remain in-situ after *en*-pronominalization, no matter what kind of modifier remnants are stranded:

⁸ While I mostly discuss examples with the indefinite plural *des* for the indefinite *en*, I would like to point out that this kind of stranding is also possible for mass nouns introduced by the “partitive” article *du* and its variants, and the analysis I present in this article is also valid for these cases:

- (i) Elle a acheté [DP du pain frais].
 She has bought PART.ART bread fresh
 “She has bought fresh bread.”
- (ii) Elle *en*_i a acheté [DP du ~~en~~_i frais].
 She EN has bought PART.ART fresh

- (12) a. Elle en_i a [QP une ~~en_i~~ plus grosse que la mienne].

She EN has one *en* more big than the mine

“She’s got one that’s bigger than mine.”

- b. Il en_i a [QP beaucoup de bons ~~en_i~~].

He EN has many of *en* good

“He’s got many good ones.”

- c. Elles en_i ont [QP plusieurs ~~en_i~~ vertes].

They EN have several *en* green

“They’ve got several green ones.”

- d. Il en_i a vu [QP un ~~en_i~~ qu’il déteste].

He EN has seen one *en* that he hates

“He’s seen one that he hates.”

- e. Elle en_i a lu [QP trois ~~en_i~~ de Zola].

She EN has read three *en* of Zola

“She’s read three by Zola.”

- f. Ils en_i ont [QP une ~~en_i~~ à vendre].

They EN have one *en* to sell

“They’ve got one for sale.”

All of this does not however imply that *en* can strand any kind of modifier. In (13) and (14), we see that *en* cannot for instance strand an adjective of the relational type, in contrast to a predicative, intersective adjective like *bleues* (“blue”) in (11).

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- (13) a. Paul a acheté [DP des cartes postales].
 Paul has bought INDEF.ART.PL cards postal
 ‘‘Paul has bought (some) post cards.
- b. *Paul *en* a acheté [DP des ~~en~~ postales].
 Paul EN has bought INDEF.ART.PL *en* postal
- (14) a. Paul a acheté [QP trois cartes postales].
 Paul has bought three cards postal
 ‘‘Paul has bought (some) post cards.
- b. *Paul *en* a acheté [QP trois ~~en~~ postales].
 Paul EN has bought three *en* postal

In this case, only a total pronominalization of the object nominal would be possible for the indefinite *en* and the entire nominal complement of *trois* (‘‘three’’) for the quantitative *en*.

A complete theory of *en*-pronominalization needs to be able to account for these data. In the remainder of this paper, I argue that *en* actually targets the same structure within all the nominals presented thus far. Although superficially there are clear differences, I argue that *en* is a pro-*nP* that only pronominalizes this structure, which consists minimally of the head noun, along with certain modifiers that cannot be stranded by *en*, such as the relational adjective seen in (13–14). I claim that *en* targets this *nP* every single time, even when we have cases of what seems to be total pronominalization such as the ones in (4–5) or (11b). I also claim that *en*-pronominalization involves movement to a focus projection when there is a stranded remnant and that the nominal structures below this projection are subject to ellipsis.

2. Previous research

In this section I will present the most relevant research literature on *en*-pronominalization. I will start by mentioning the more or less abandoned PP-analysis, before turning my attention to more recent analyses in section 2.2.

2.1. A pro-PP analysis

The traditional view is that *du*- and *des*-articles we see in (4–5) are portmanteau forms of the element *de* we see in (1) and (3) and the definite

determiner *le* (SG) and *les* (PL). This is also supported by Milner (1978), who was the first to separate between quantitative, partitive and genitive *en*⁹. The question is then how to define the element *de* and the article *le/les*. As *de* has prepositional characteristics, Kayne (1975) analyzes *en* as a pro-PP, given that it targets constituents introduced by *de*¹⁰. However, this analysis has been more or less abandoned on the grounds of

⁹ The quantitative *en* in Milner (1978) also includes the indefinite structures introduced by *des* and *du*, although these are rarely quantitative.

¹⁰ The reason for this comes from the diachronic development of the partitive article (Carlier 2007), namely that the *des*–/*du*-form of indefinites (4–5) are often morphophonologically identical to other *des*–/*du*-forms which *en* targets, such as applicatives (indirect objects) (i), genitives (ii) and bare partitives (iii):

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| (i) Marie parle <i>des livres qu'elle a écrits</i> . | → | Marie <i>en</i> a parlé. |
| Marie talks of.the books that.she has written | | Marie EN has talked |
| “Marie is talking about the books that she has written.” | | |
| (ii) Paul a lu le premier chapitre <i>du livre</i> . | → | Paul <i>en</i> a lu le premier chapitre. |
| Paul has read the first chapter of.the book | | Paul EN has read the first chapter. |
| “Paul has read the first chapter of the book.” | | |
| (iii) Paul a bu <i>du vin (sur la table)</i> . | → | Paul <i>en</i> a bu. |
| Paul has drunk of.the wine (on the table). | | Paul EN has drunk |
| “Paul drank of the wine on the table.” | | |

In the example above, *du vin* corresponds to “of the wine” and not to the indefinite mass predicate “wine”. According to Foulet (1930), the partitive determiner originally expressed only partitivity, and never indefiniteness. This means that *du vin* in (iii) could only mean “of the wine” and not “wine” in Old French. In modern times, however, it is the other way around: The indefinite mass reading is by far the most natural reading, whereas the direct partitive reading we see is a diachronic remnant only available for a very small set of verbs and limited to very specific contexts. See Kupferman (2004) for more on this.

extraction facts and c-selection¹¹. For reasons of space I will not go into detail about this matter here, but I refer to Milner (1978), Rowlett (2007) and Ihsane (2013) for more on why a pro-PP analysis is inadequate¹². That being said, Kayne has some insights that I will come back to in subsection 2.3.

2.2. *Pro-DP or pro-NP?*

Establishing whether indefinite/quantitative clitics like *en* are pro-NPs or pro-DPs is not a trivial issue. They differ from a traditional pro-DPs in several ways. From a semantic point of view, *des-* and *du-*phrases in French behave much like bare nouns in English: They usually have no direct referential import, meaning that they do not point to any individuals or entities in particular, but rather function as predicates. On the other hand, they also clearly function as internal arguments of the verb, and if we accept Longobardi's (1994) premise that all arguments are of the category D, analyzing *en* as a pure pro-NP may be problematic.

There are also major syntactic differences within indefinites targeted by *en*-pronominalization and traditional DPs. According to Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002), *en* is a pro-N clitic. One of the reasons they give for this is that *en* respects principle C of Binding Theory. This means that it cannot be bound by a c-commanding antecedent (Déchaine &

¹¹ Although a unitary analysis of *en* is very welcome, the problem with analyzing *de* as a preposition is that PPs constitute a barrier for extraction in French. As we can see below, extraction is allowed in (i), whereas this is not the case in (ii). This seems to indicate that we are dealing with two different kinds of *de*:

- (i) Elle a accroché des photos de Paris. → Elle *en*_i a accroché des photos *t*_i.
 She has hung INDEF.ART.PL photos of Paris She *en* has hung INDEF.ART.PL photos
 "She hung up pictures of Paris."
- (ii) Elle a parlé des photos de Paris. → *Elle *en*_i a parlé des photos *t*_i.
 She has talked of.the photos of Paris She *en* has talked of.the photos
 "She talked about the pictures of Paris."

Another problem with a PP analysis is that it implies that transitive verbs normally associated with DP objects select PPs as indefinite objects. From a theoretical point of view, this is a very dubious proposition. A less heavy-handed option would be to assume that the indefinite object is composed of an invisible determiner that selects a PP-complement, however, this would only shift the burden of selection on to the indivisible determiner: What is the nature of this invisible determiner, and why does it select a PP?

¹² The idea that the form of *de* in (1–3) has lost its prepositional character is also in line with the diachronic work done on *de* by Carlier (2007). Thus, in Modern French it seems to have developed into a different category all together. In general, *de*, which is one of the most frequently used words in French, seems to have a polysemous character, which makes it quite challenging to define properly.

Wiltschko (2002:428); I have made certain changes to the brackets, the labels and the gloss):

(15) a. *_{[TP Chacun_i pense [_{CP} que [_{TP} Jean *en*_i a vu]]]}.

each.one thinks that Jean *en* has seen

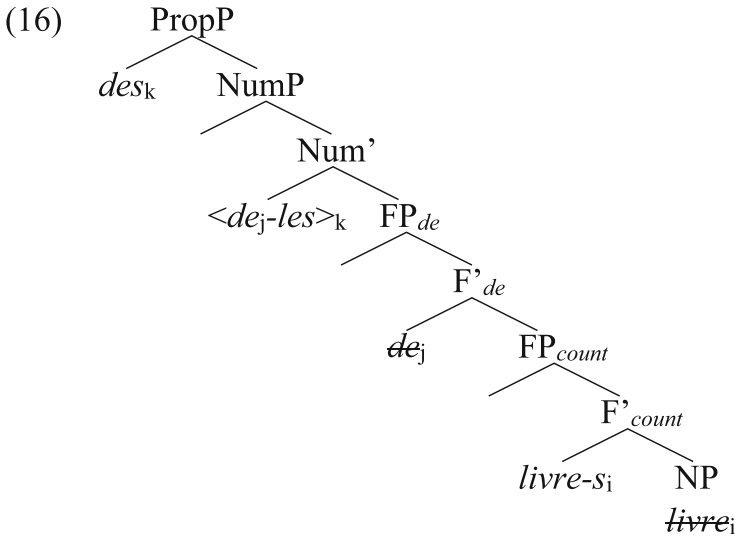
b. *_{[TP Des étudiants_i pensent [_{CP} que [_{TP} Jean *en*_i a vu]]]}.

INDEF.ART.PL students think that Jean *en* has seen

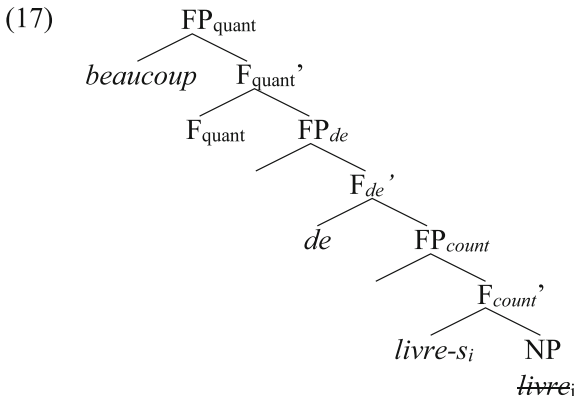
As is well known, the facts above contrast with pro-DPs with respect to principle B of the Binding Theory, as pro-DPs can be bound by a c-commanding antecedent. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006, 2017), who, on the other hand, argue that quantitative clitics such as *ne/en* are pro-DPs, point out that quantitative clitics like *ne/en* cannot have co-reference with a non c-commanding definite DPs antecedent either, which might be caused by the fact that *ne/en* simply cannot pronominalize definite (or referential) DPs at all. In their view, c-command relations are not really the issue per se and consequently cannot be used to argue against *ne/en* as pro-DPs.

Ihsane (2013) proposes a fine-grained account of the indefinite and quantitative structures seen in (1–5), based on the cartographic split DP framework. In her view, *des-* and *du-*nominals targeted by *en*-cliticization are Property Phrases, that is, predicates interpreted as arguments. Ihsane builds on the idea of *des* as an internally complex article, as we have seen, which is derived by the movement of the functional morpheme *de*. The latter heads its own projection below NumP, called FP_{de}. The element *de* moves to NumP (Ritter 1991), where the definite article is spelled out as number, encoding the feature [+/- plural]¹³, giving rise to the indefinite article *des* (*de* + *les*) at PF. To give the NumP constituent argument status, the complex article *des* moves to a functional projection dominating it, that is to the head of a “Property Phrase” (PropP). This is in line with Longobardi (1994), who argues that all arguments of the verb are of the category D. As for the PropP itself, it is the lowest projection in the left periphery of the split DP-projection. The derivation of the indefinite structures is presented in (16):

¹³ This means that, in this approach, singular/plural markings on nouns and grammatical number are distinct. The former is encoded in the functional FP_{count} lower in the nominal structure.



When it comes to quantitative *en* with weak quantifiers such as *beaucoup* (“many”, “much”) and *trois* (“three”) etc., Ihsane proposes that these are generated lower in the nominal structure, between NumP and the functional projection hosting the element *de*¹⁴, in the specifier position of their own functional projection called FP_{quantity}. This latter projection is modular in the sense that it does not project in Property Phrases. A structural description of the quantitative structures is shown in (17) (Ihsane 2013:24):



¹⁴ It is important to point out that the element *de* in the quantitative structures is the same as the one in the indefinite structures. This was also proposed by Milner (1978), but in his analysis *de* is merged above the definite article *le/les*.

To summarise, Ihsane's analysis assumes two separate types of *en*. The indefinite *en* targets Property Phrases, whereas the quantitative *en* targets a lower part of the nominal structure, namely FP_{de} , the complement of FP_{quant} .

Rowlett (2007) claims, following Miller (1992), that *de* is an inherent case marker heading its own KP, dominating a Classifier Phrase (see Guéron 2003) where the generic version of the definite article is merged.

(18) [KP *de* [ClassP *les* [NP *livres*]]]

Rowlett also assumes that the genitive and applicative *en* (see footnote 11) targets a KP headed by the case marker *de*. It is however very difficult to reconcile such an analysis with the idea that the indefinite article is a portmanteau form of the morpheme *de* and the definite article *les*, an idea also espoused by Rowlett himself. The problem with such an analysis is that, if the KP *de* is targeted by *en* as in the examples above, how can we account for cases where *des* remains in-situ?

(19) Paul a acheté des tulipes blanches, et moi, j'*en* ai acheté des rouges.
 Paul has bought INDEF.ART.PL tulips white and me I.en have bought INDEF.ART.PL red
 "Paul bought some white tulips while I bought some red ones."

As we can see in (19), the indefinite article *des* remains in-situ after *en*-cliticization has taken place. This indicates that a uniform approach of the kind Rowlett suggests is untenable, unless we are actually dealing with two different *de*-elements in the structure.

2.3. Internal structure?

Kayne (1975) brings up the fact that *en* can strand an adjective. In this case he proposes that *en* might be derived separately from the adjective *rouge* ("red"). As we can see, *en* is standing in for *de fleur* ("of flower") below, which Kayne, as mentioned above, considers a PP (Kayne 1975:120):

(20) Elle a [une [de fleur] rouge] → Elle a [une [en] rouge] → Elle *en* a une rouge
 she has one of flower red she has one EN red she EN has one red
 "She has one red flower."

Kayne also mentions that *en* can leave behind a relative clause, and proposes that this relative clause is merged separately from *en* itself. The clause is shown in (21) and the base structure for *en* is shown in (22) (Kayne 1975:132), where *en* would target *de fleur* just as in (20).

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- (21) a. En a-t-elle une qui soit rouge ?

EN has.she one that be red ?

“Has she got one that is red?”

- (22) b. [*une [de fleur] qui soit rouge*]

one of flower that be red

Kayne does not provide a more detailed discussion on this, and as we can surmise from the examples in (20–22) and from the ones I will present later, we need a more powerful model to account for the nominal structures involved in *en*-pronominalization. However, as I will come back to in section 3, I believe that Kayne’s insight is fundamentally correct in that *en* actually targets a smaller subpart of the DP.

As mentioned above, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006) claim that *en* is a pro-DP. They argue against Cinque (1991), who proposes that *ne/en* cannot be a DP as it can co-occur with a relative clause, which is not possible for accusative clitics. The Italian example below is from Cinque (1991) but taken from Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006:79) (The idiomatic translation is mine):

- (23) Di libri, *ne* ho letti due di cui non ricordo ora il titolo.

Of books NE have.1.SG read two of which not remember.1.SG now the title

“As for books, I’ve read two that I cannot remember the title of.”

As we can see from Cinque’s example, the relative clause co-occurs with *en*. If *en* is a pro-DP, it should not be able to co-occur with a relative clause from the same DP it is derived from, as accusative clitics do now allow this. The problem with this, according to Cardinaletti and Giusti is that *ne* can also pronominalize an object containing the same relative clause, as we can see from this example (again, the idiomatic translation is mine):

- (24) Di libri di cui non ricordo ora il titolo, *ne* ho letti due.

of books of which not remember.1.SG now the title, NE have.1.SG read two

“As for books which I cannot remember the title of, I have read two.”

(Cardinaletti & Giusti 2006:79)

The fact that *ne/en* can pronominalize a constituent containing a relative clause is rather uncontroversial, this is true for French as well. One

possibility is that *en* can stand in for a vast array of indefinite/quantitative nominal layers. In the case of examples (23–24), *en* would then target a nominal excluding a relative clause in (23) and a nominal including a relative clause in (24).

An approach where *en* can stand in for many different substructures in the nominal domain is proposed by Elliott (1986). According to his analysis, *en* pronominalizes all bar levels of the NP (Elliott 1986:106):

(25) a. Il *en*_i lit [_{N'} *des* [_{N'} [_N *e*_i] *difficiles*]].

He EN reads INDEF.ART.PL difficult

b. Il *en*_i lit [_{N'} *trois* [_{N'} *e*_i]]

He EN reads three

c. Il *en*_i lit [_{N'} *e*_i]

He EN reads

The problem with this approach is, firstly, the fact that there is no apparent uniformity and clear syntactic predictability to the constituents *en* can stand in for. For instance, why cannot *en* also replace *trois* in (25b)? Moreover, when we look at the examples in (11–12), *en* can seemingly target many different structures, some of them even discontinuous. We also know from all the work on DP-modification in French (Noailly 1999, Bouchard 2002, Laenzlinger 2005, Rowlett 2007, and Cinque 2010) that this modification can be very complex and, as we will come back to, raise even more questions than the examples in (11–12). Another point is that an approach such as Elliott's does not predict why the article remains after the stranding of an adjective but disappears after the stranding of a grammatical modifier, as we can see from the examples in (11). It is also not the case that *en* can replace any kind of nominal structure. For instance, as pointed out by Cardinaletti and Giusti (1991), Shlonsky (2014) and Falco and Zamparelli (2016), *en*-cliticization usually only strands predicative, intersective adjectives. One of the reasons behind this claim is that, as we have seen in section 1.2, some adjectives in Romance change their meaning depending on their position in relation to the noun. For instance, when an adjective like *ancien* is stranded by *en*-cliticization, it can only have the predicative meaning, namely meaning *old* and not *former*, as it would mean in a prenominal position. In the following sentence *ancien* can thus *only* mean *old* and never *former*. As we have seen, this also corresponds to the interpretation of *ancien* when used with the copula.

(26) A propos d'écoles, nous *en*_i avons visité une *t*_i ancienne.

To remarks of.school we *en* have visited one old

“On the topic of schools, we have visited an old one.”

As Shlonsky (2014) and Falco and Zamparelli (2016) point out, the fact presented above must be taken into account when identifying the structures inherent to *en* (or the Italian *ne* in the case of Falco & Zamparelli), meaning that, in the perspective of Cinque (2010), which we will return to, *en* could target some lower structure below the merge site of adjectives such as the one in (26). Shlonsky (2014:3) proposes that *en* targets a low nominal structure which includes intersective but excludes non-intersective adjectives:



This is an idea that I will develop in my analysis, however, as well will see, this idea is not enough by itself to account for all the structures involved in *en*-pronominalization.

Lastly, Giurgea (2012) argues that *en*- /*ne*-pronominalization must contain some kind of ellipsis as the constituent replaced by *en* can contain a quantifier that takes scope over the remnant numeral. As we see in the example below, the quantifier *chaque* takes scope over the numeral *trois* (“three”) (Giurgea 2012:47):

(28) Le journal contient deux interviews de chaque concurrent et la revue **en** contient **trois**
[**n**].

The newspaper contains two interviews of each competitor and the magazine *en*
contains three.

[**n**] = interviews with each competitor

This is a very strong argument. It seems to be very difficult to reconcile the fact that an NP-internal quantifier can take inverse scope over a remnant numeral, without also accepting the premise that there is at least a certain amount of invisible NP-structure available to the syntax. If at least some kind of internal structure is visible to the syntax, there must be some form of ellipsis.

3. The proposal

I will start by presenting the core idea of my analysis in 3.1. In section 3.2–3.4 I discuss the theoretical framework on which my analysis is based, justified by more examples and aspects that a model of *en*-pronominalization needs to be able to account for.

3.1. The core idea

As we saw in the previous section, although a lot of research has been done on the structure that *en* supposedly derives from, it is clear that they cannot account for the data I have presented in this article. Therefore we need a more fine-grained approach to *en*-pronominalization. Here I will propose that *en* never actually pronominalizes more than the extended projection of the *n*P. This means minimally the head noun, along with, as we shall see, certain type of modifiers. The rest of the DP-internal content is subject to ellipsis. In the following examples, the constituent that is targeted by *en*-pronominalization is marked by angle brackets, while the structures subjected to ellipsis are marked by a strikethrough:

- (29) a. [TP Elle [T *en*]_i a] [DP ~~des~~ <livres français>_i ~~qu'elle n'a jamais lus~~].
 She EN has INDEF.ART.PL books French that.she neg.has never read
- b. [TP Elle [T *en*]_i a] [DP des <livres>_i français qu'elle n'a jamais lus]
 She EN has INDEF.ART.PL books French that.she neg.has never read
- c. [TP Elle [T *en*]_i a] [DP des <livres>_i français ~~qu'elle n'a jamais lus~~].
 She EN has INDEF.ART.PL books French that.she neg.has never read
- d. [TP Elle [T *en*]_i a] [DP ~~des~~ <livres français>_i qu'elle n'a jamais lus].
 She EN has INDEF.ART.PL books French that.she neg.has never read

In this approach, *en* always targets the same subpart within the nominal structure, even though *en* seemingly stands in for a much bigger constituent in (29a) than in (29d), for instance. However, this is just a mirage. We need to separate between what structures *en* extracts from and the structures *en* actually pronominalizes. To this end, we need a syntactic machinery capable of accounting for these facts, which I will present in the following sections.

3.2. DP structure

I adopt the approach that the derivation of *en*-targeted DPs is derived in the same way as normal lexical DPs. To this end, I will base my syntax on the split DP hypothesis (Belletti 2004, Cinque 2002, Rizzi 2004, Laenzlinger 2017). Just like Ihsane (2013:24) I thus assume that the structure of the DP mirrors that of the CP:

- (30) [CP... [CP... [TP...adv₁ [TP...adv₂ [vP... [VP...]]]]]
 [DP... [DP... [FP...adj₁ [FP...adj₂ [*n*P... [NP...]]]]]
left periphery inflectional domain lexical domain

The *n*P projection corresponds to the vP, where arguments are merged (Grimshaw 1990, Valois 1991), while the middle functional layer represented by the FPs above hosts modifiers such as adjectives (Cinque 2005, 2010, Laenzlinger 2005) and is the domain of ϕ -features and the checking of agreement. The DP, on the other hand, is associated with notions like definiteness, indefiniteness, topic, focus and referentiality and corresponds thusly to the CP of the clause.

3.2.1. Modifier placement

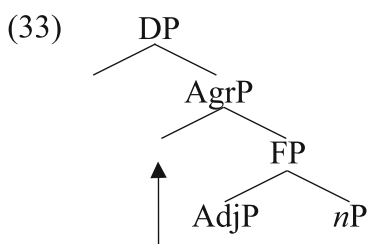
As for DP-internal adjuncts, I believe a possible way forward here is the cartographic approach, where adjectives are merged in the specifier of their own dedicated functional projection (Bernstein 1991, Cinque 1994, 2004, 2010, Laenzlinger 2005). These approaches assume that the FPs hosting adjectives are merged in a sequential order that corresponds to the semantic type of the adjective they host. The rough order of the projections for object denoting nouns is presented below:

- (31) Adj_{quantification} < Adj_{quality} < Adj_{size} < Adj_{shape} < Adj_{color} < Adj_{nationality}
 (Laenzlinger 2005:650)

Research on adjective modification has shown that the preferred order of adjectives is even more fine-grained. The following hierarchy is proposed by Scott (2002:102) and put into semantic meta-classes by Laenzlinger (2005:650):

- (32) [QUANTIF Ordinal > Cardinal] > [SPEAK-ORIENT Subjective Comment > Evidential] >
 [SCALAR PHYSICAL PROPERTY Size > Length > Height > Speed > Depth > Width >
 [MEASURE Weight > Temperature > Wetness > Age] > [NON-SCALAR PHYSICAL PROPERTY
 Shape > Color > Nationality/Origin > Material]

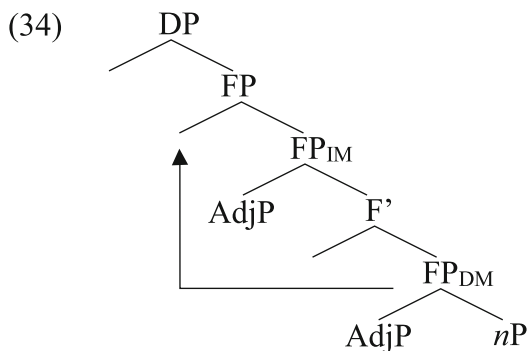
All adjectives are merged in the inflectional domain above *nP*. As this is an approach that posits a rigid phrase structure that abandons right-adjunction, along the lines of Kayne's 1994 Linear Correspondence Axiom, the correct order of the noun in relation to the adjectives is obtained by *nP*-movement to intermediary positions between the functional projections hosting the adjectives, sometimes referred to as Agreement Phrases in the literature (Cinque 2005, Knittel 2005), as feature valuation related to adjective inflection is also executed in these positions.



I follow Zribi-Hertz (2011) in only giving the so called Agreement Phrases the vaguer term “FP”, as the FPs hosting modifiers can also contain non inflected modifiers, which we will encounter later, making the label “AgrP” somewhat inappropriate.

Note that *nP*-movement means strict phrasal movement and not N-movement as in Bernstein (1991) and Cinque (1994), since the latter type was abandoned in Laenzlinger (2005) and Cinque (2010) on empirical grounds. Thus, an adjective will become postnominal through *nP*-movement to the specifier of an intermediary FP. It could also become postnominal through FP-movement, where the *nP* (or FP) pied-pipes another adjective lower in the structure and merges in a higher position. This is something I will come back to in section 4. An important idea in Cinque's framework that I will adopt here is the distinction between “indirect” and “direct” modifiers (Cinque 2010), also referred to as “clausal” or “non-clausal”, respectively. So-called “indirect modifiers” are merged above the direct ones in the inflectional layer. According to Cinque, modifiers closer to the noun are instances of direct modification (DM), whereas the indirect modifiers (IM) are merged above the DM layer. The adnominal PPs and relative clauses we saw in the last section are examples of these indirect modifiers. As the direct modifiers and the NP are below the indirect modifiers, the NP, together with the direct modifiers, has to move over the IM, so that we get the order: [DM NP] > IM > [DM NP]. So, according to this, direct modifiers are merged in the DM layer. As proposed by Cinque, I will assume adjuncts such as adnominal PPs, relative clauses and infinitive clauses to be merged in the

IM-layer. The *nP*, along with the DM modifiers, needs to move to a higher slot to get the right ordering relative to the IM modifiers¹⁵:



In case there are only indirect modifiers, the *nP* will of course still need to move to some FP above in order to obtain the correct linear order.

The distinction between direct and indirect modifiers becomes all the more important when we involve grammatical modifiers in the discussion. In Cinque's view, these are by nature (reduced) relative clauses. As we saw in example (11), *en* can strand not only lexical modifiers such as adjectives but equally non-lexical or grammatical modifiers such as PPs and relative clauses (and infinitive clauses¹⁶): In (35), the PP adjunct *de Zola* is stranded, whereas in (36) the same has happened to the relative clause *que je n'ai jamais lus* ("that I have never read").

(35) a. Il a lu des livres [PP de Zola].

He has read INDEF.ART.PL books by Zola.

"He has read books by Zola."

b. Il *en*_i a lu ~~*en*~~_i de Zola.

He en has read by Zola.

¹⁵ As explained, this approach builds on assumptions from Cinque (2005, 2010) and Laenzlinger (2005). However, what triggers this kind of movement is still a very contentious issue that I will not try to answer here.

¹⁶ An example of an infinitive clause remnant is provided below:

(i) J'en ai une à vendre.

I.en have one to sell

"I've one for sale."

(36) a. Elle a *des* livres [CP qu'elle n'a jamais lus].

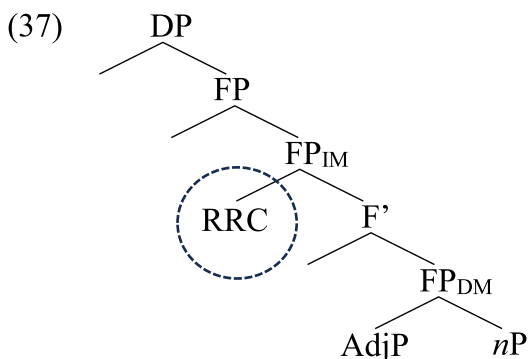
She has INDEF.ART.PL books that.she NEG.has never read

“She has books that she has never read.”

b. Elle *en* a ~~*en*~~ qu'elle n'a jamais lus.

Elle en has that.she NEG.has never read

Just like Cinque (2010), I will consider these indirect modifiers that are merged higher up in the nominal domain:



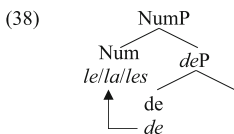
In section 4.2 I will briefly provide a rationale for why this must be the case.

3.2.2. Number, Quantity and Focus

Now that we have dealt with the lower layers of the DP, I will briefly address three issues pertaining to its left periphery before returning to them in section 4: (i) the nature of the articles *des/du*, (ii) the existence of a Focus Phrase high up in the left periphery of the DP and (iii) the position of numerals and quantity expressions like *trois* (“three”) *beaucoup* (“many”, “much”), *peu* (“few”, “little”) etc.

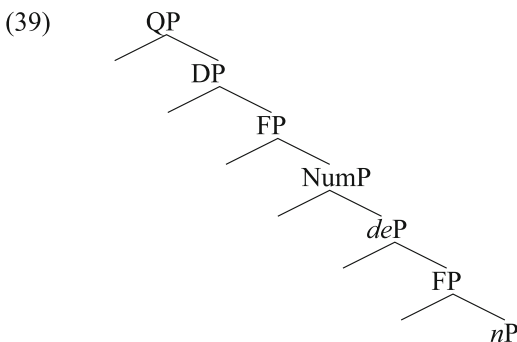
As we have seen in the previous examples of stranding, the element *des* stays in-situ as long as the stranded element contains a lexical modifier. I follow Ihsane (2013) in claiming that the indefinite plural article is the portmanteau form of a number head and the semi-determiner *de*, with

the latter being merged below NumP before finally incorporating to the Number head¹⁷.



As pointed out by Cyrino and Espinal (2020), Number is usually only encoded morphologically on the article in modern French¹⁸, as the plural *-s* on nouns and adjectives is only present in writing and reduced to liaison in spoken French (e.g. “les bons amis” [lebõzam’i]) (Cyrino & Espinal (2020: 167)). However, as I will come back to in the section 4.2.2., the exact position of the Number head will differ from previous analyses.

The *deP* presented in (38–39) is the projection headed by the morpheme we see in quantity expressions like *beaucoup de*, *peu de* etc. However, unlike Ihsane (2013), I assume that the QP that hosts these quantity expressions is not merged directly above *deP* deep inside the nominal, but rather act the top of the DP.



As mentioned in the introduction (p. 14), I also argue that the stranding caused by *en*-pronominalization involves a focus projection high in the DP to which stranded elements move during the *en*-pronominalization (Aboh 2004, Corver & van Koppen 2009). There are two reasons for this: Firstly, the stranded remnants associated with *en*-pronominalization are

¹⁷ Both Tabea Ihsane and Elisabeth Stark have pointed out to me the possibility of the existence of two separate *de*-elements in the nominal structure. Whereas the higher *de* merges in NumP to form the indefinite article, the lower *de* might be associated with Case (see Boivin 2005) and the discussion of Rowlett at the end of section 2.2) and head the constituent that *en* actually pronominalizes. Following this line of thought, there would also be a closer connection between *en* and *de*. This is a very interesting possibility that merits more investigation.

¹⁸ Nouns ending in *-al* and *-ail* being notable exceptions, like *journal* (SG) [ʒurnal] / *journaux* (PL) [ʒurno] and *travail* (SG) [travaj] / *travaux* (PL) [travo], respectively.

focused. The question of how to determine the correct antecedent of *en* is discourse related: If, say, the entire DP is known to the interlocutor we will have a case of “total” pronominalization. However, when a remnant is stranded, it provides new information that was not originally part of the antecedent:

(40) a. - Est-ce que tu as un *échiquier* ?

Is.it that you have a chessboard

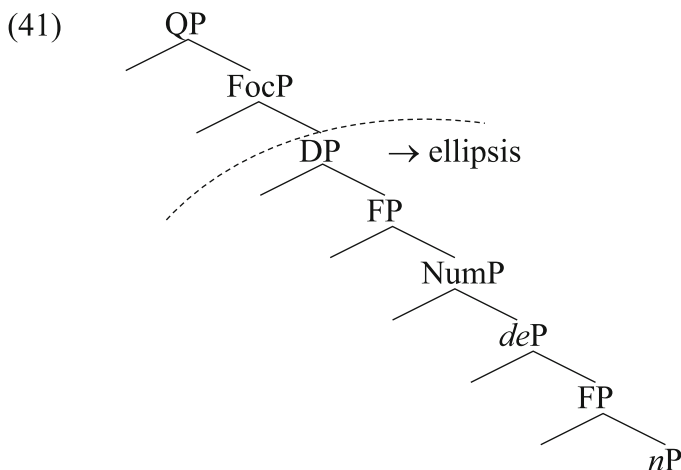
“Do you have a chessboard?”

b. - Oui, j’*en* ai un petit.

Yes I.en have one small

“Yes, I have a small one.”

As we can see from the example in (40), the interlocutor’s choice of including the adjective *petit* (“small”) provides new information about the nominal antecedent, *échiquier* (“chess board”). I propose that focused elements are moved to the specifier position of FocP before the complement of FocP is deleted, in the vein of other ellipsis and pseudo-gapping accounts that presume the existence of a FocP, like Corver & van Koppen (2009) and Gengel (2013)¹⁹.



¹⁹ Another point to be made here is that you can also reply *J'en ai un* (“I have one”) in example (40), in which case one could argue that the numeral *un* (“one”) itself is focused. If that is the case, one could also ask the question whether both *un* (“one”) and *petit* (“small”) are focused in example (40) and not just the adjective, resulting in two focused elements. Some of these issues should be examined more closely in future research.

As we can see above, the merge site of this FocP is high, above DP but below QP hosting weak quantity expressions and numerals, as these can never be deleted by the ellipsis associated with *en*-pronominalization in my analysis.

3.3. Morphological issues

There are certain morphological issues pertaining to *en*-pronominalization that need to be brought up in this discussion. In example (42), *en* is directly standing in for the *nP* of the direct object.

(42) [_{VP} *en*_i *voit* [_{DP} *des* [_{FP} *en*_i [_{FP} *vieilles* [_{nP} *en*_i]]]]]

EN *see* INDEF.ART.PL *old* *en*

First of all, stranded adjectives such as *vieilles* (“old”) above are inflected for gender and number, supposedly by agreeing with the noun. Now, in contrast to number, grammatical gender is usually seen as derived from the lexical entry of the noun, that is, specified as a valued uninterpretable feature (Kramer 2009, Atkinson 2015, Ihsane & Sleeman 2015). One question that needs answering is where the inflection comes from in these structures where no noun is present. One possibility is to claim that adjective agreement comes from valued features on *en* itself, however, one issue with this is that it is not at all obvious what kind of features *en* is composed of. One of the reasons for this is that *en* retains the same morphological form no matter what kind of structure it represents:

(43) a. Marie a mangé *du* *sucre* / *de la* *glace* / *des* *cacahuètes*

Marie has eaten ART.PART.M.SG sugar / ART.PART.F.SG ice.cream / INDEF.ART.PL peanuts.

*Marie has eaten sugar / ice cream / peanuts.

b. Marie *en* a mangé.

Marie en has eaten.

As we can see from (43), we are dealing with a masculine mass NP, *du sucre* (“sugar”), a feminine NP interpreted as mass, *de la glace* (“ice cream”), and *des cacahuètes* (“peanuts”), a plural NP. All of these are represented by the same form of *en* (43b). This contrasts with accusative clitics, which have ϕ -features such as gender, number and case (as we see below, gender features are underspecified in the plural, with only one form, *les*):

- (44) *le* = ACC. (l-) + M.SG (-e) → /lə/
la = ACC. (l-) + F.SG (-a) → /la/
les = ACC. (l-) + PL (-es) → /le(z)/

Accusative clitics can also trigger participle agreement, again in contrast to *en* (See Kayne 1989). Participle agreement with *en* would in this case be ungrammatical²⁰:

- (45) a. Ces photos-là, je les ai prises la semaine dernière.

These photos-there I them have taken the week last.

“I took these photos last week.”

- b. Des photos, j’en ai pris(*-es) la semaine dernière.

INDEF.ART.PL photos I en have taken the week last

“As for photos, I took (some) last week.”

Given that adjectives agree with the head noun, the ϕ -features need to derive from some source. If we claim that *en* does not contain any ϕ -features, one possibility would be to assume that the inflection on stranded adjectives emanate from another source like an empty category, that is, some kind of *pro*, along the lines of Milner (1978), that enters the numeration with valued ϕ -features:

- (46) [DP *des* [FP *italienn-e-s* [NP *pro* [Gen: F]]]]
 INDEF.ART.PL Italian

On such a view, *pro* would stand in for at least the head noun. However, I will abandon this idea on two grounds: Firstly, it is hard to prove the existence of such a hidden pronominal. The notion of *pro* is quite illusive and not very well defined. It seems undesirable from a theoretical point of view to stipulate an additional kind of covert pronoun when we can apply Occam’s razor and derive *en*-cliticization either from the pronominalization of *en* itself, the deletion of NP-structures or a combination of them. Secondly, *en*-pronominalization might be able to trigger participle agreement in some rare cases (see footnote 20). For these reasons, I will not pursue the idea of a *pro* further.

²⁰ However, according to Déprez (1998), *en* can trigger participle agreement under certain circumstances. There does not seem to be a consensus on it according to the native speakers I have consulted, however, in some cases it might be possible. Thanks to Elisabeth Stark for pointing out this reference to me.

However, another possibility, which deserves to be taken very seriously, would be to assume a full ellipsis account, where even the head noun along with its functional structure is elided phonologically. I will discuss this in the next section.

3.4. *Pronominalization or pure ellipsis?*

The first argument for ellipsis, made by Giurgea (2012), has already been mentioned in example (28), but I will repeat it here for practical purposes. The nominal pronominalized by *en* can contain a quantifier that takes scope over the remnant numeral. This is the case in (47), where the quantifier *chaque* (“every”) takes scope over the numeral *trois* (“three”):

- (47) Le journal contient deux interviews de chaque concurrent et la revue **en** contient **trois**
[_ne].

The newspaper contains two interviews of each competitor and the magazine *en* contains three.

[_ne] = interviews with each competitor

In order for a quantifier to be able to raise to LF, it needs to be visible to the syntax, which it cannot be if the entire nominal is replaced by an opaque pronoun like *en*.

Another important aspect that needs to be raised in the discussion of a uniform ellipsis account is whether *en*-pronominalization allows mismatches between the head noun of the antecedent and the head noun of the pronominalized structure. Mismatches are not always allowed in ellipsis as there is an isomorphism requirement, meaning that there must be a structural parallel between the antecedent and the constituent *en* stands in for²¹. As for the mismatching of grammatical gender associated with animate nouns, there is some variation between the native speakers. Most of the ones I consulted accepted the following:

²¹ See Merchant (2001) for more on the issue of isomorphism and Merchant (2014) for more on gender mismatches with ellipsis.

(48) a. - Est-ce que tu connais d'anciens élèves de cette école ?

Is.it that you know of.former pupils of this school

“Do you know any former pupils at this school?”

b. - Oui, j'en connais une.

Yes, I.en know one

“Yes, I know one.”

In (48), *en*-pronominalization permits the shift from the plural masculine *anciens élèves* (“former pupils”) to the singular feminine *une ancienne élève* (“a former pupil”). The head nouns are identical, it is the adjective *anciens* (“former”) that signals the masculine gender in the lead sentence, not the noun itself. Going the opposite way, from feminine to masculine, does not seem to be as acceptable. This could be related to the fact that masculine is the default in French, meaning that masculine can be used to refer to mixed groups of both genders²². For instance, although feminine animates are often derived from masculine ones by way of adding an feminine inflectional suffix, creating pairs like *étudiant* (“male student”) / *étudiante* (“female student”), the plural masculine *étudiants* (“students”) can refer to both male and female students.

It is interesting that some speakers accept the shift from masculine to feminine even when the underlying head nouns are completely morphologically different:

(49) a. - Est-ce que tu connais des acteurs ?

It.it. that you know INDEF.ART.PL actors ?

“Do you know some actors ?”

b. - Oui, j'en connais une. (*en* = actrice (“actress”))

Yes, I.en know one

“Yes, I know one.”

As we can see in (49), some speakers accept (49b) as a response for (49a), although the feminine morphological form *actrice* is quite different from the masculine *acteur*. However, it seems that the acceptability of examples like these increases when the head noun in the lead sentence is in the plural, as in (48a) and (49a), which is probably linked to the

²² Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out to me.

prementioned fact that masculine plural forms can include groups of both genders. A gender mismatch of the kind in (49) is less acceptable for my informants when it goes from singular to singular. Consequently, the following example was only accepted by 2 out of 6 informants:

(50) a. - Est-ce que tu connais un acteur ?

It.it. that you know an actor ?

“Do you know an actor?”

b. ??Non, mais j’en connais une. (*en* = actrice (“actress”))

No but I.en know one.F

“No, but I know one (actress).”

One of the informants who accepted this claimed the example would be better in a specific context, for instance when putting the stress on the numeral *un* (“one”) while clarifying:

(51) Non, pas *un* acteur ; mais par contre, j’en connais une. (*en* = actrice (“actress”))

No not an actor but by contrary I.en know one.F

“No, not an actor, but on the other hand, I know one (actress).”

The uncertainty in speaker judgements when it comes to these examples indicates that this would need to be tested on a larger scale. However, given the number of judgements deeming the mismatched examples acceptable, it seems somewhat implausible that even the head noun can be subject to ellipsis, given the facts presented above. There seems to be sufficient reason to pursue an approach that combines direct pronominalization by *en* and ellipsis, which I will do in the following section.

4. Analysis

In this section I will expand on my account by tying the knots together and present a formal analysis which will account for the data discussed so far. Section 4.1 examines the actual subnominal structure that I argue *en* pronominalizes, 4.2. looks at stranded remnants while 4.3. discusses Focus and ellipsis and presents the complete picture of the analysis.

An important aspect of my analysis is to propose that *en* only actually targets a subnominal structure that it minimally needs to stand in for. What I mean by this is that elements merged in this part of the nominal structure can never be stranded as a result of *en*-pronominalization. They must be part of the pronominal substitution.

4.1. The structure “*en*” actually pronominalizes

In this section, I will present some of the arguments for why *en* only actually pronominalizes a small subpart of the nominals targeted by *en*-pronominalization. I will refer to this subpart as *nP*, which is a structure that includes the head noun of the nominal and certain kinds of modifiers.

4.1.1. The head noun

As we have seen so far, *en* minimally needs to target the head noun of the DP. This is consistent with research on pronouns in general (Mavrogiorgos 2010:chapter 3). As the term alludes to, pronouns replace the noun and cannot normally co-appear with it²³:

- (52) a. *Marie *en* vendait des tickets²⁴.

Marie *en* was.selling INDEF.ART.PL tickets

“Marie was selling tickets.”

When it comes to a DP like *des livres de Zola* (“books by Zola”), there are two possibilities with regards to *en*-pronominalization.

- (53) a. Marie a lu des livres de Zola.

Marie has read INDEF.ART.PL books by Zola

“Marie has read books by Zola.”

- b. Marie *en*_i a lu ~~*en*~~_i de Zola.

Marie *en* has read by Zola

- c. Marie *en*_i a lu ~~*en*~~_i.

Marie *en* has read

²³ Please note that (52) is grammatical if *en* stands in for an adnominal (genitive) PP-complement, for instance *de la tombola* (“of the lottery”), but here I am referring exclusively to the quantitative and indefinite *en* (see footnote (9) for examples of other types of *en*). In (52), *en* cannot co-appear with the DP *des tickets* if *en* targets the head noun *tickets* itself. The only exception to this is dislocation, which has a different intonation in speech, normally marked by a comma in writing:

- (i) Marie *en* vendait, des tickets.

Marie *en* was.selling INDEF.ART.PL tickets

However, when it comes to dislocation we are dealing with an entirely different structure altogether. I will therefore not go further into this here, but I refer to De Cat (2007) for more on dislocation in French.

In (53b), the *nP livres* is pronominalized while the *PP de Zola* (“by Zola”) remains in its original position while the article has disappeared. In (53c), the entire indefinite seems at first glance to have been pronominalized. However, my main argument is that in both of these cases, *en* only pronominalizes what it minimally needs to stand in for. In this case it is the *nP livres*. The article, along with indirect modifiers like *de Zola*, are never part of the pronominalized constituent and are subject to ellipsis. I believe this distinction is down to differences in thematic structure: The modifiers I now will deal with are more closely tied to the head noun semantically and could rather be seen as complements or even compounds in certain cases.

This will be explained in the follow sections.

4.1.2. *Classifying and intensional modifiers and complements*

Can *en* strand any kind of DP-internal modifier? The answer to this is negative. Adjectives of the relational type cannot be stranded by *en*-pronominalization, like the one we saw with *cartes postales* (“post cards”) in example (13–14). The fact that *en* cannot strand these types of adjectives is not really surprising as relational adjectives constitute a class with idiosyncratic properties: Their function is to classify the noun they modify and as such form a strong semantic unit with the head noun. One way to show this is that they do not pass the copula test, that is, they cannot function as predicates:

(54) *Cette carte est postale.

This card is postal

Furthermore, there are also other types of modifiers, such as some *PP*-elements, that do not allow stranding by *en*-cliticization:

(55) J’ai des cartes de crédit.

I.have INDEF.ART.PL cards of credit

“I have som credit cards.”

(56) *J’en ai de crédit.

I.en have of credit

The *PP de crédit* specifies the *kind* of the noun, and thus forms a strong semantic unit with the head noun. To drive the point home, a predicative adjective cannot appear between the head noun and the *PP de crédit*.

(57) a. une carte de crédit américaine.

A card of credit American

“an American credit card.”

b. *une carte américaine de crédit.

A card American of credit

As we can see from (57), predicative adjectives normally cannot separate the head noun and the *nP*-internal modifier. It is possible that the PP *de crédit* in (55–57) is actually a complement of the noun and not really a modifier. Contrast the example above with non-classifying PP adjuncts in (58):

(58) des montres suisses en or.

INDEF.ART.PL wristwatches swiss in gold

“Swiss wristwatches in gold.

As we can see in (58), a predicative adjective will often appear between the head noun and the PP.

There is one final class of adjectives that normally cannot be stranded by *en*-pronominalization, and that is intensional adjectives. In (59b), *en* can pronominalize the entire indefinite DP, but not the head noun separately (59c):

(59) a. Je planifie *de futurs projets*.

I plan of future projects

“I am planning future projects.”

b. J’*en*_i planifie ~~*en*~~.

I.*en* plan

c. *J’*en*_i planifie de futurs ~~*en*~~.

I.*en* plan of future

As we can see in (60), these do not pass the copula test either:

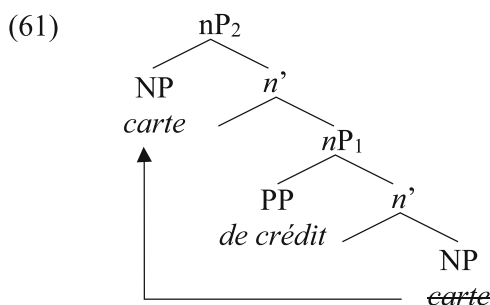
(60) *Ce projet est futur.

This project is future

Modifiers of the type presented above cannot constitute *en*-remnants²⁴.

4.1.3. “*En*”-pronominalization targets the *nP*

I am going to propose that the modifiers that have to be included in the pronominalization of the type mentioned above are merged in the *nP*, below modifiers that can be stranded. The head noun and the modifiers merged in *nP* form an inseparable unit which cannot be split by *en*-extraction. This means that they will always have to be included in the constituent that *en* pronominalizes. I provide an example of such a possible structure in (61) and (62). The arrow in (61) shows the movement of the noun above the PP modifiers *de crédit*, however, *the entire structure* in (61) and (62) represent a possible structure that *en* pronominalizes.

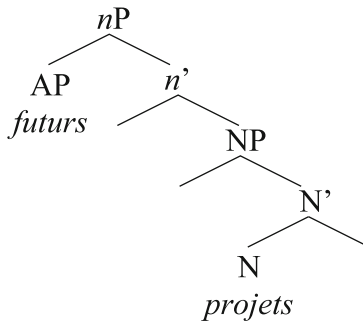


The PP *de crédit* is merged in the specifier position of a functional projection above NP. As it is thematically very close to the noun, it is merged in the “atomic” domain of the *nP* that is targeted directly by *en*. The movement of *nP* to a functional projection above the PP *de crédit* gives the latter the postnominal surface order, as detailed in 3.2.

²⁴ This is also the case with modification that behaves like compounding, such as for instance *verre à vin* (wine glass). These can never be stranded by *en*-pronominalization:

- (i) a. J’ai acheté des verres à vin
 I.have bought INDEF.ART.PL glasses to wine
 “I have bought (some) wine glasses.”
- b. *J’en ai acheté à vin.
 I.en have bought to wine

(62)



The intensional adjective *futurs* is pronominal in French, which means the NP does not raise higher in (62). This structure, as well as the one in (61), containing the head noun and classifying modifiers must be pronominalized by *en*, whereas, as we have seen many times now, other modifiers can be stranded:

(63) a. Marie a acheté trois cartes postales chères.

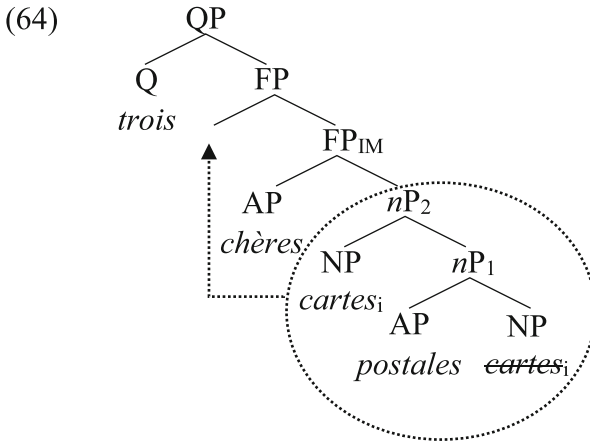
Marie has bought three cards postal expensive

“Marie has bought three expensive post cards.”

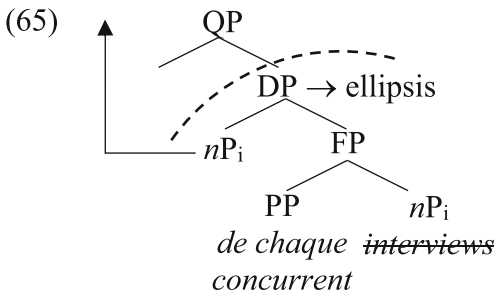
b. Marie *en*_i a acheté trois *t*_i chères.

Marie *en* has bought three expensive

The relation adjective *postales* (“postal”) must be included in the pronominalization and cannot appear in the postverbal position if *en*-cliticization has taken place. It is consequently merged in the *nP* domain like the modifiers in (61) and (62). However, an adjective like *chères* (“expensive”) can be and is consequently merged in the functional projections dominating *nP*.



On this account, *en* is merged in the place of the *nP* before moving above the adjective *chères* (“expensive”), which will be stranded, while *en* raises up and out of the DP.



Recent research suggests that even pro-forms involve deletion (Baltin 2012), and that the traditional dichotomy between pro-forms and ellipsis is too simplistic. I espouse this view here. The advantage of this approach is that there is still internal structure accessible to the syntax. In such a scenario, the adnominal PP containing the quantifier *chaque* (“every”) from Giurgea’s example in (28) and (47) would, as an indirect, grammatical modifier, be part of the elided structure. On such a view, the internal structure of the QP/DP is present so that the syntax has access to it.

We have now mainly examined the structures that must be included in the pronominalization proper and that are not touched by stranding or ellipsis. I will deal with the latter two in the next sections.

4.2. DP-internal remnants

Now that we have identified the structure that *en* obligatorily pronominalizes and discussed the nature of the gap brought about by

en-pronominalization proper, we turn our attention to stranded DP-internal modifiers of the indirect kind, higher up in the structure. An important issue that needs to be addressed is the status of the adjectives that can be stranded by *en*-pronominalization.

4.2.1. Two Merge positions

In example (66) *en* seemingly targets the *nP* *tulipes* (“tulips”) along with another adjective, *hollandaises* (“Dutch”), while the second adjective, *rouges* (“red”), is left behind in the postverbal position. According to the theories of adjective placement (see section 3.2), an adjective of colour such as *rouge* (“red”) would be an indirect modifier merged higher in the structure, above *nP*.

(66) a. J’ai acheté des [FP *tulipes hollandaises*] rouges.

I have bought INDEF.ART.PL tulips dutch red

‘I have bought red Dutch tulips.’

b. J’*en*_i ai acheté des *t*_i rouges.

I *en* have bought INDEF.ART.PL red

‘Me too, I bought some red ones.’

In (67), we have the opposite configuration: The adjective *rouges* (“red”) is seemingly part of the structure represented by *en* all the while the adjective *hollandaises* (“Dutch”) is stranded:

(67) a. J’ai acheté des *tulipes rouges* hollandaises.

I have bought INDEF.ART.PL tulips red dutch

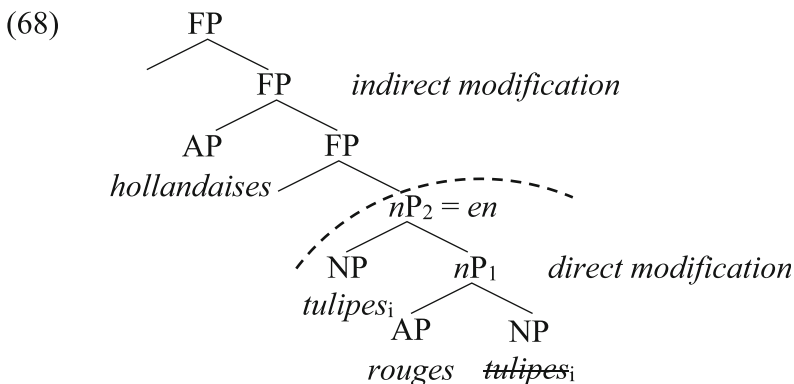
‘I have bought red Dutch tulips.’

b. J’*en* ai acheté des *t*_i hollandaises.

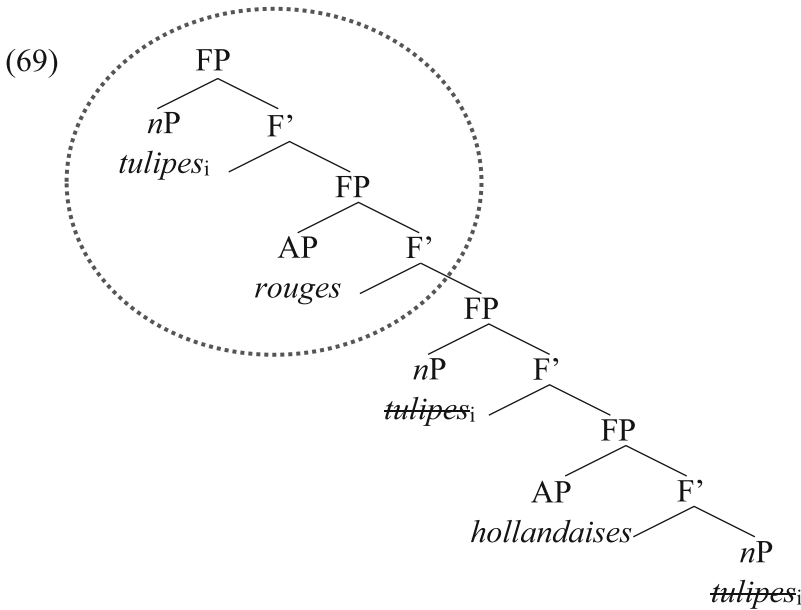
I *en* have bought INDEF.ART.PL dutch

It is the case for most adjectives that they can be stranded by *en*. Many can also seemingly be part of the pronominalization. I propose that the solution to this can be found in Cinque (2010), presented in section 3.2.1, who claims that (some) adjectives can have access to both the direct modifier position and the indirect modifier position: I argue that this is the case with adjective modification associated with *en*-pronominalization. I posit that the stranded adjective in (66), *rouges* (“red”), is in this case merged as an *indirect* modifier. In this case, this

would entail that the disappearing adjective *hollandaises* is merged closer to the noun *tulipes* (“tulips”) than *rouges*, that is, in the direct modification domain inside the *nP*-structure. Whereas in (67), it is the other way around. The adjective *rouges* (“red”) is merged as a *direct* modifier inside *nP* and *hollandaises* (“Dutch”) is merged outside of it as an indirect modifier, higher up in the structure. For the example in (67), the following structure would apply:



Let us pause for the moment and examine why this must be the case. If we were to respect the universal ordering of adjectives, this would not pose problems when it comes to stranding the adjective *rouges*, as it is normally supposed to be merged higher up in the structure than adjectives of origin/nationality. However, it is not as straightforward for the opposite order of these adjectives, namely the string [*tulipes rouges*] *hollandaises*, as in example (67). As we can see from example (31) in section 3.2, if we accept the hypothesis of a universal adjective order, adjectives of origin/nationality are supposedly merged below those of colour. If we were to adopt a standard derivation where *rouges* is not merged close to the noun in *nP* but rather above it, this would not work, as we can see from the derivation in (69).



Although the adjective order is correct after the obligatory two steps of NP-movement, the syntax would not be able to identify *tulipes rouges* while stranding the adjective *hollandaises*, as the string *tulipes rouges* does not form a separate constituent. This prevents *en*-pronominalization from taking place.

To summarize, all the adjectives that are part of the structured targeted by *en*-pronominalization will consequently be merged in the *nP* as a direct modifier, whereas the stranded adjectives will be merged higher as indirect ones.

4.2.2. The question of the article and non-lexical modifiers

We now turn our attention to the question of the indefinite plural article and how it only seems to be associated with adjectives after stranding. As we have seen, when a non-lexical modifier is stranded, the article must obligatorily disappear:

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- (70) a. *Il *en* a lu des de Zola.

He *en* has read INDEF.ART.PL by Zola.

“He has read some by Zola.”

- b. *Elle *en* a des qu’elle n’a jamais lus.

Elle *en* has INDEF.ART.PL that.she NEG.has never read

“She has some that she has never read.”

This contrasts with the quantitative *en*, where quantity expressions and numerals must always remain in-situ, no matter what kind of remnant we are dealing with:

- (71) a. Elle *en* a acheté trois *en* plastique.

She EN has bought three in plastic

“She’s bought three plastic ones.”

- b. Il *en* a plusieurs de haute qualité.

He EN has several of high quality

“He’s got several of high quality.”

On the other hand, quantity expressions like *beaucoup de* (“many”, “much”), *peu de* (“few”, “little”) etc., require an overt *de* in their structure. As it turns out, the latter behaves in the same way as the indefinite plural article in these structures. With adjectives, the morpheme *de* must appear when paired with quantity expressions that require an overt *de*, however, when introducing non lexical modifiers, *de* must disappear obligatorily, just like the article:

- (72) a. Il *en* a beaucoup de bleus.

He EN has many of blue

“He’s got many blue ones.”

- b. *Il *en* a beaucoup bleus.

He EN has many blue

- (73) a. Il en a beaucoup qu'il n'a jamais lus.

He EN has many that.he NEG.has never read

“He’s got many that he hasn’t read.”

- b. *Il en a beaucoup de qu'il n'a jamais lus.

He EN has many of that.he NEG.has never read.

Returning to the indefinite article, there is more evidence for the fact that there is a different relation between the article and adjectives than the article and grammatical modifiers. The structural difference between these modifier types seems to parallel the dichotomy between the demonstrative pronoun *celui/celle* and noun ellipsis in definite DPs.

- (74) Helène a choisi le rouge.

Helène has chosen the red

“Helène has chosen the red one.”

Although the kind of noun ellipsis shown in (74) does not work with all predicative adjectives, there is still a clear distinction between adjectives and clausal modifiers in this regard, as the ellipsis of the head noun stranding an indirect modifier together with a definite determiner is completely ruled out (75b and 76b):

- (75) a. Helène a cassé le vase de Marie.

Helène has broken the vase of Marie

“Helène broke Marie’s vase.”

- b. *Helène a cassé le de Marie.

Helène has broken the of Marie

- (76) a. Helène a cassé le vase que Marie a fait

Helène has broken the vase that Marie has made

“Helène broke the vase Marie made.”

- b. *Helène a réparé le que Marie avait fait.

Helène has repaired the that Marie had made

In this case, we would have to have recourse to the demonstrative pronouns *celui/celle* (pl.: *ceux/celles*)²⁵.

(77) a. Hélène a cassé celui de Marie

Helène has broken that.one of Marie

b. Hélène a réparé celui que Marie avait fait.

Helène has repaired that.one which Marie had made

There seems to be a dependency between articles and adjectives in constructions such as these. As we can see, the indefinite article cannot remain in-situ after *en*-pronominalization has taken place:

(78) *Marie *en*_i vendait des *en*_i.

Marie EN was.selling INDEF.ART.PL *en*

The indefinite article somehow has a defective nature that makes it dependent on a remnant adjective with which it can co-appear. This relation is symmetric in the sense that an adjective cannot be stranded without support of the indefinite article either:

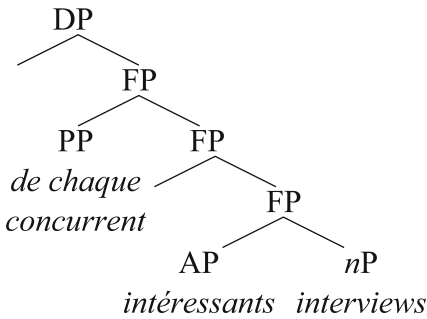
(79) *J'en ai acheté rouges

I.EN have bought red

These modifiers, just like the predicative, intersective adjectives we saw in the last section, are easily stranded by *en*-cliticization. As these are of the clausal, non-lexical type and appear more distant from the noun, they are merged higher in the DP structure, just as proposed by Cinque (2010). The data presented above could be construed as additional evidence for the idea that DP-internal PP- and CP-adjuncts of the type above are more loosely attached to the noun than the direct modifiers, reflected by the fact that they are merged above all lexical modifiers in the base structure and thus appear further away from the head noun itself:

²⁵ See Kayne (1994) and Cinque (2010) for more on *celui*.

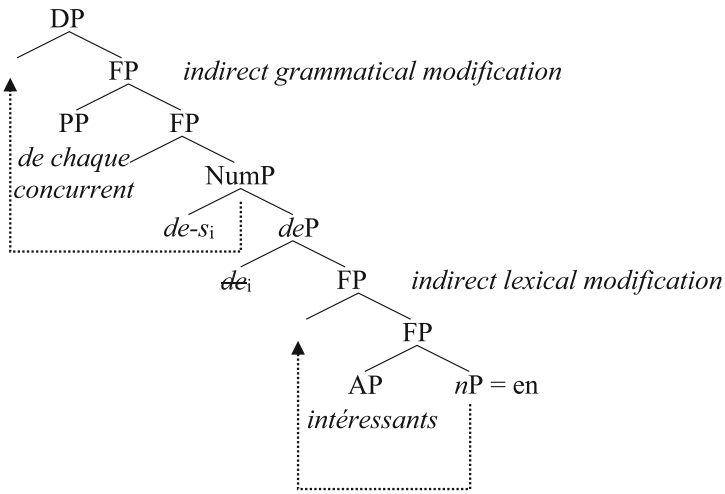
(80)



After the noun has moved to a specifier above the AP *intéressants* in (80), it will move together with the latter as a chunk above the non-lexical modifier.

Furthermore, as the indefinite plural article (or the partitive article, see footnote 10) appears with adjectives but not with grammatical modifiers, I assume that it is merged *below* the indirect modifiers and consequently raised to a position above them together with the lower parts of the DP. I illustrate this in the structure presented in (81). Please recall from section 3.2.2. that I see the indefinite (or partitive article) as an expression of Number, projected in its own NumP, along the lines of Ihsane (2013).

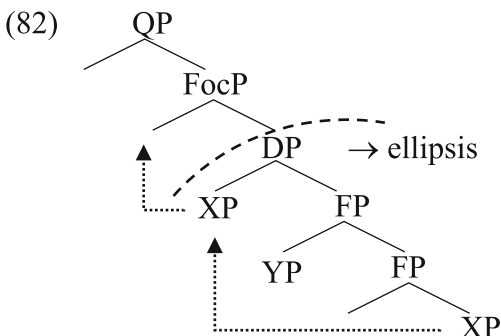
(81)



NumP will then raise to spec-DP above the projection(s) hosting the indirect modifiers. In this way, the article and the indirect (and direct) lexical modifiers make up a separate constituent from the non-lexical modifiers.

4.3. *Ellipsis and focus*

Now that we have gone through a lot of the nominal structure required in this analysis, I will turn my attention to the focus and ellipsis component, the last and very important step of the analysis. As shown in section 3.2.2., I assume the existence of a Focus Phrase almost at the top of the nominal, below QP. Elements that are stranded by *en*-pronominalization will move to the specifier of this projection, which will take them out of the ellipsis zone:



Now the question is, what goes where? The advantage of merging the article below the indirect grammatical modifiers (but above the indirect lexical modifiers), as we saw in the previous section, is that the indefinite plural article (or *de*P in quantity expression like *beaucoup de*, *peu de* etc, where the complete indefinite plural article is not present) pied-pipes along with the adjectives as one complete unit. In contrast, a non-lexical modifier such as a PP or a CP will move to this focus projection separately and will consequently not appear together with the article (unless we are dealing with two remnants and the PP or CP moves together with NumP after NumP has raised past it). Let us now come back to some of the examples in (11). For ease of reading, the source sentence in (11a) is repeated in (83) below:

(83) Il a [DP des chemises bleues qu'il porte toujours].

He has INDEF.ART.PL shirts blue that.he wears always

“He has got (some) blue shirts that he wears all the time.”

Now, let us look at (11c), where *n*P stands in for the head noun *chemises* (repeated as (84) below):

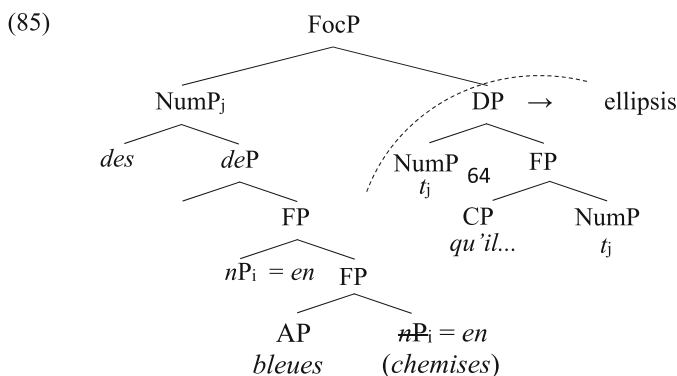
(84) Il *en* a [_{DP} ~~*en*~~ *bleues* ~~*qu'il porte toujours*~~].

He *EN* has INDEF.ART.PL *en* blue that.he wears always

“She has got (some) blue ones that he wears all the time.”

pronominalized constituent : *chemises*, elided elements : *qu'il porte toujours*, focused elements : *des bleues*

For this example, I propose the following derivation:



As we can see from the structural representation in (85), the indefinite plural article has moved together with *nP*, and the indirect adjectives *bleues* (“blue”) to a high FocP. The CP, if it is part of the nominal and the gap caused by *en*-pronominalization, is merged in its usual spot below DP. In this case, it is subject to ellipsis.

The following example, (86), is from (11e):

(86) Il *en* a [_{DP} ~~*en*~~ *qu'il porte toujours*].

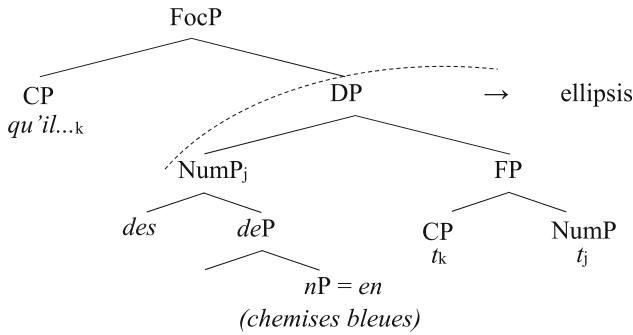
He *EN* has *en* that.he wears always

He’s got some that he wears all the time.”

pronominalized constituent : *chemises bleues*, elided elements : *des*, focused elements : *qu'il porte toujours*

Here the CP is focused, and we end up with the following structure:

(87)



As we can see, when the CP moves to the specifier of FocP it moves alone, while the moved NumP remains in spec-DP, where it is subject to ellipsis. For this reason, the article will not appear in the case of grammatical modifier remnants.

Let us not look at (11b), repeated as (88) below.

(88) Il *en* a [_{DP} ~~*en*~~].

He *EN* has

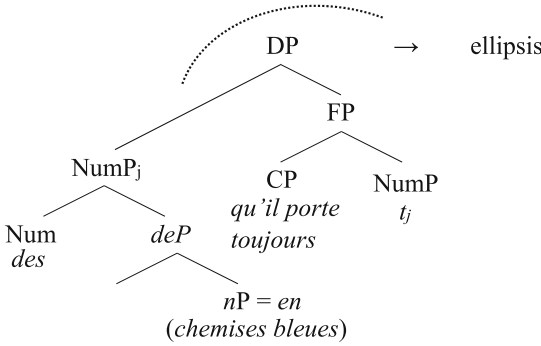
“He’s got some.”

Pronominalized constituent : *chemises bleues*, elided elements : *des qu’il porte toujours*

Here we have a case of “total pronominalization”, where *en* seemingly stands in for the entire nominal. As follows directly from the analysis I am proposing in this paper, *en* does in fact *not* stand in for the entire object in (88), it targets the same subnominal structure as in all the other examples. This means that the article and the indirect modifier(s) will be subject to ellipsis.

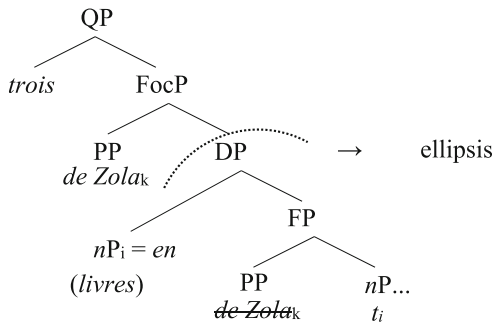
The structural representation I am proposing for (88) is shown in (89). The derivation is the same as in the examples with stranded elements, the sole difference being the absence of a Focus head attracting DP-internal elements above the ellipsis zone.

(89)



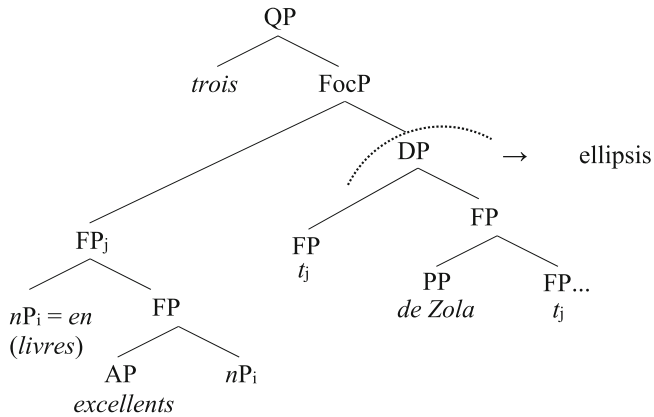
As for the quantitative structures, I propose that the quantity items and the numerals are merged high in the DP, above the FocP, as these can never be part of the pronominalized or deleted structure. They will always remain in-situ. So the structure of the nominal *trois livres de Zola* (“three books by Zola”), where *en* targets *livres* (“books”) and strands the indirect modifier *de Zola*, would be the following:

(90)



As we can see, apart from the high placement of QP in the quantitative constructions, the derivation is the same for them as for the indefinite structures. In (91), the indirect modifier *excellents* is stranded, while the indirect modifier *de Zola* (“by Zola”) is subject to ellipsis:

(91)



Apart from the structural justifications for the high placement of QP and FocP²⁶, there is also an argument from semantics. Boivin (2005) points out that the indefinite and quantitative nominals that *en* targets are interpreted in VP. This makes them “weak” semantically, meaning that they can never be interpreted outside of the VP. However, indefinite and quantitative nominals targeted by *en* can take scope over the negation and consequently be interpreted outside of VP when they contain stranded elements or when there is contrast involved in the interpretation of the numeral:

²⁶ Note that there is no Number projection in the quantity structures represented in (90) and (91). I argue that this projection may be omitted as the indefinite plural article or the partitive article do not co-appear with these types of quantity expressions and numerals. This would only happen in strict partitive structures which are not the topic of this article (See Milner (1978) for more on these structures). As a final remark, although some projections can be omitted, this does not necessarily go against the idea of a universal order of projections.

(92) a. Je n'en ai pas acheté des rouges, mais des jaunes.

I neg.EN have not bought INDEF.ART.PL red but INDEF.ART.PL yellow

“I haven’t bought red ones, but yellow ones.”

Ε > - / * - > Ε

b. Je n'en ai pas lu deux, mais trois.

I neg.EN have not read three, but two

“I haven’t read two, but three.”

Ε > - / * - > Ε

As we can see, the remnants from *en*-pronominalization obligatorily take scope over the negation in the sentences in (92). FocP and QP constitute the remnants in (92a) and (92b), respectively. It is thus possible that the capacity for LF-raising is associated with the Foc- and Q-heads at the top of the nominal structure.

Now that we have come thus far, before concluding, we can also return to the Italian examples by Cinque and Cardinaletti and Giusti in (23–24), although we base this discussion on the French equivalents here (my translations):

(93) a. Des livres, j'en ai lu deux dont je ne me rappelle plus le

INDEF.ART.PL books I.EN have read two of.which I neg me remember no.longer the titre.

title

“As for books, I have two that I cannot remember the title of.”

b. Des livres dont je ne me rappelle plus le titre, j'en ai lu

INDEF.ART.PL books of.which I neg me remember no.longer the title I.EN have read deux.

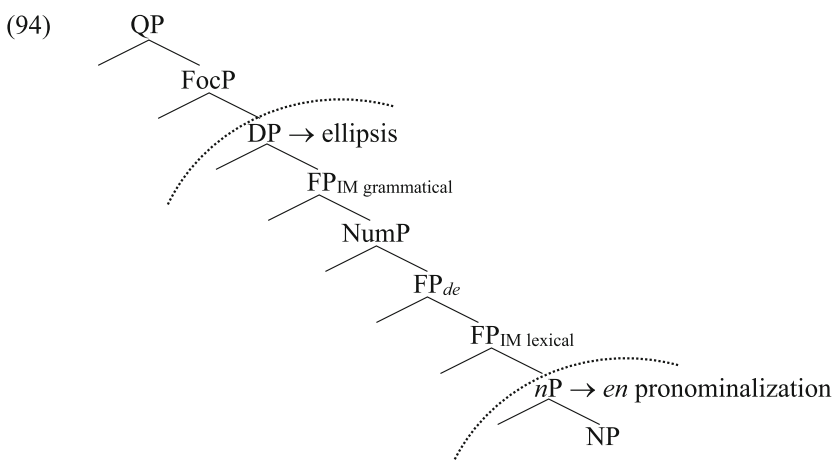
two

“As for books I cannot remember the title of, I’ve read two.”

On the view proposed in this article, using the fact that *en* can strand a relative clause (93a) and include it (93b) is not an argument for or against

the idea of *en* as DP. In the analysis presented here, *en* targets the same constituent within the nominal, namely the low *nP* structure, which in this case only includes the head noun *livres*. In (93a) the relative clause is focused, whereas in (93b) the relative clause is subject to ellipsis. In either case, the relative clause is still part of the internal structure of the nominal, and *en* targets the same constituent in both.

In summary, when we put all the pieces together, the research in this article has led us to adopt the following complex structure for *en*-pronominalization:



As we see from the structural representation, *en* only targets the lower part of the DP, namely *nP*. When we are dealing with indefinite structure, NumP will end up in the specifier position in DP, where it will stay or move on depending on whether it is focused or not. The same will happen with the projection hosting *de* for quantitative structures. When it comes to full pronominalization, I assume that the derivations are executed as normal, albeit without the FocP projection.

5. Conclusion

In this paper I have examined indefinite and quantitative *en*-pronominalization from a new angle, with a focus on subpronominalization. I have shown that previous research cannot account for all the complexities in the nominal structure involved in *en*-pronominalization, particularly when it comes to stranded DP-internal remnants.

I have taken *en*-pronominalization to be a hybrid of pronominalization and ellipsis, supporting Baltin's (2012) claim that the strict dichotomy between deletion and pro-forms might be a false one. I have claimed that *en*-pronominalization always targets a subpart of indefinite and quantitative nominals. I refer to this subpart as "*nP*". Apart from the

head noun, this constituent also contains certain projections that host direct modifiers such as classifying and intensional modifiers and even modifiers that normally can be stranded, as they can have access to two different merge positions, following Cinque (2010). I also argued that it was necessary to include actual pronominalization of the *nP* as opposed to a pure ellipsis account. This argument was firstly based on the fact that a certain part of the structure, namely *nP*, must always disappear after *en*-pronominalization and, secondly, on the possibility of morphologically distinct gender mismatches between the antecedent head noun and the pronominalized head noun.

Stranded modifiers are taken to be of the indirect kind and are thus merged in functional projections higher in the nominal structure. The indefinite article is merged higher than the indirect *lexical* modifiers but lower than the indirect *grammatical* modifiers, which means that after movement it constitutes a separate constituent from the latter ones. This explains why the indefinite plural article appears with remnant adjectives but not with remnant PPs and CPs.

Moreover, I have argued that subpronominalization involves movement to a FocP high up in the nominal structure. As shown, there are both semantic and pragmatic arguments to be made for this. The FocP also permits the hybrid analysis I have proposed, as remnant movement of the surviving structure allows for the lower structure to be elided. This goes along the lines of previous ellipsis analyses proposed by Corver and van Koppen (2009). The ellipsis analysis provides two additional benefits: Firstly, it allows for important parts of the nominal, possibly containing quantifiers, to be accessible to the syntax for quantifier raising (Giurgea 2012). Secondly, although *en* itself derives from the *nP* low in the nominal structure, the complete nominal it extracts from is a DP or QP. On this view, *en* itself is not an argument of the verb but rather derives from it. This means that arguing about whether *en* is a DP or not becomes a moot point: It is always part of a bigger DP/QP, however, it is not a DP/QP itself.

As the paper has clearly shown, the syntactic complexities involved in *en*-pronominalization are considerable. Some structural issues will certainly need to be developed further in future research. I hope that the new approach proposed here will spur more work on this phenomenon.

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