ȘTIINȚE UMANISTE

PERSONALITĂȚI ALE UNIVERSITĂȚII DIN BUCUREȘTI

Alexandra Cornilescu is an internationally renowned linguist, whose pioneering ideas have been influential in developing generative grammar in Romania, Europe and beyond.

The weightiness of her contributions to the field is matched only by her talent for disseminating them. Ever since 1970, when she started teaching at the University of Bucharest, she has continuously played a tireless and inspirational role in the creation of several generations of linguists, which the academic world has come to admiringly refer to as *The Bucharest School.* As the initiator of the AICED conference, held annually in the English Department at the University of Bucharest, she has turned it into one of the leading platforms of generative linguistics in Europe. She has published extensively on Romanian and English linguistics and is also the founder and past editor of the journal *Bucharest Working Papers in Linguistics.*

On the occasion of her 75th birthday, her friends, students and colleagues celebrate Alexandra Cornilescu's work with this collection of essays on various topics of current theoretical interest.

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ȘTIINȚE UMANISTE

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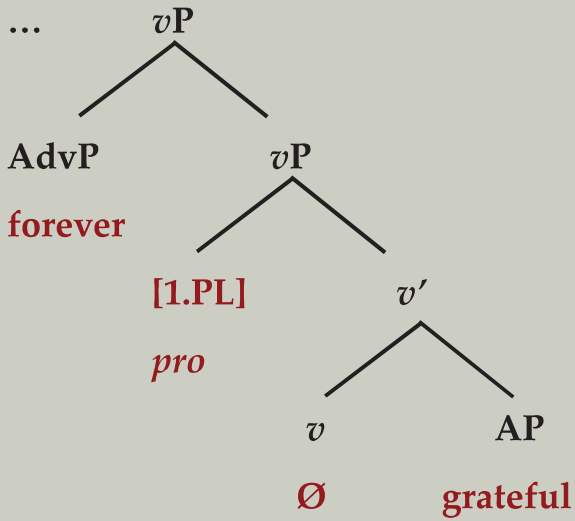

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Gabriela ALBOIU, Daniela ISAC, Alexandru NICOLAE,
Mihaela TĂNASE-DOGARU, Alina TIGĂU

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ROMANIAN *ALT* IN A PAN-ROMANCE PERSPECTIVE

Laura Brugè[*] & Giuliana Giusti[**]

Abstract: This paper confirms Nicolae and Cornilescu's (2011, 2012) hypothesis that *alt* 'other' can be an existential quantifier and can be part of complex existential quantifiers in combination with the indefinite article, cardinals and weak quantifiers. This creates a number of competing forms (bare *alt* vs. *un alt*, *alt* > Card vs. Card > *alt*, Q > *alt* vs. *alt* > Q) which interact in a complex fashion with the pronominalizing morphology appearing in nominal ellipsis. The diagnostics applied to Italian *altro* and Portuguese *outro* by Brugè and Giusti (2021) are systematically applied to *alt* in a survey, whose result confirm the same tendencies of speaker preferences found in the other Romance languages: bare *alt* is favored onto *un alt*, *alt* > Card wins over Card > *alt* and Q > *alt* wins over *alt* Q. This confirms Brugè and Giusti's hypotheses that complex quantifiers are listed in the lexicon and not freely formed in the syntax. It also favours the hypothesis that QP is above DP and not *vice versa*.

Keywords: adjective, determiner, nominal ellipsis, (complex) quantifier, partitive

1. Introduction[1]

If we consider the lexical items deriving from the Latin determiner-like adjectives *alter* and *alius* in the Romance languages, we observe great variation of category and function as well as interpretation. As regards category and function, we observe that in all Romance languages 'other' can combine with definite and indefinite determiners, thereby confirming that it still is a (determiner-like) adjective. The Italian examples below show *altro* 'other' preceded by a definite article (1a), an indefinite article (1b), and a demonstrative (1c):

(1) a. Ieri ho letto *Guerra e Pace* e domani leggerò
Yesterday have.1SG read *War and Peace* and tomorrow read.1SG.FUT
l' altro libro / gli altri libri.
the.SG other.SG book.SG / the.PL other.PL books
'Yesterday I read War and Peace and tomorrow I will read the other book/books'

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Although this paper has been written with four hands, to comply with criteria imposed by our department on the evaluation of research, L. Brugé is responsible for the abstract and sections 1 and 4 and G. Giusti for sections 2-3 and the references.
[1] This paper is written to honour Alexandra Cornilescu, a mother of generative linguistics and a source of inspiration for both of us. We had the privilege to meet her in Venice in the early '90s when she spent three memorable months at Ca' Foscari as a visiting scholar. Since then, the collaboration between Ca' Foscari and the University of Bucharest has been constant and fruitful for both staff and students. Thank you, Pusi, for all you have done for us in the last decades! This research is part of the Department of excellence project *Multilingualism, multiculturalism, linguistic and cultural diversity for the well-being of persons and society* of the Department of Linguistics and Comparative Cultural Studies, Ca' Foscari University of Venice https://www.unive.it/pag/40760/.

b. Ieri ho letto *Guerra e Pace* e domani leggerò
Yesterday have.1SG read *War and Peace* and tomorrow read.1SG.FUT
un altro libro / degli altri libri.
an other.SG book.SG / of-the.PL other.PL books
'Yesterday I read *War and Peace* and tomorrow I will read another book / some other books.'

c. Ieri ho letto *Guerra e Pace* e domani leggerò
Yesterday have.1SG read *War and Peace* and tomorrow read.1SG.FUT
quest' altro libro / questi altri libri.
this other.SG book.SG / these other.PL books
'Yesterday I read *War and Peace* and tomorrow I will read this other book / these other books.'

In the indefinite nominal expressions in (2), we observe that with plural and singular mass nouns, the partitive article can be missing, unlike singular *un* 'a/an':

(2) Vorrei mangiare *(un') altra mela / (dell') altra frutta / (delle) altre mele.
'I would like to eat *(an) other apple/ (some) other fruit / (some) other apples.'

Presence or absence of the indefinite article before 'other' is subject to variation across Romance, from the impossibility for *autre* 'other' to stand alone in French (3a) to the impossibility of *otro* 'other' to appear with an indefinite determiner in Spanish (3b). The intermediate cases include full optionality, as in Portuguese (3c); mandatory article in the singular and optional in the plural, as in Catalan and Italian (3d,e); or optionality of the articles in the singular and impossibility in the plural, as in Romanian (3f):

(3) a. Je dois résudre *(un) autre problème / *(des / d')autres problèmes. FR
b. Tengo que resolver (*un) otro problema / (*unos) otros problemas. SP
c. Eu tenho quel resolver (um) outro problema / (uns) outros problemas. POR
d. He de resoldre *(un) altre problema / (uns /d')altres problemes. CAT
e. Devo risolvere *(un) altro problema / (degli) altri problemi. ITA
f. Trebuie să rezolv (o) altă problemă /(*nişte/*unele) alte probleme. ROM
(I) must resolve (an) other problem (some) other.PL problems
'I must solve another problem / other problems.'

In previous works (Giusti 1993, Brugè 2017, 2018, Brugè and Giusti 2021), we have proposed that *altro* and its Romance equivalents are categorially ambiguous. They are determiner-like adjectives, following a definite determiner in (1a, c). But they are existential quantifiers in (1b), (2) and (3). In their quantifier status, the indefinite article must, can or cannot appear according to the language. In the cases in which it can or must appear, we proposed that the indefinite article is part of a complex quantifier whose head is 'other'. This is not surprizing considering English *another*, which is spelled out as a single word.

According to our proposal, complex quantifiers formed with 'other' are not limited to the combination with the indefinite articles but are common with cardinals and weak

quantifiers such as 'many', which are existential quantifiers themselves. In these cases, we observe variation as regards the order in which 'other' appears. In Italian and Portuguese, for example, 'other' preferably precedes the cardinal and follows the quantifier, but the reversed orders are possible as marked choices:

(4) a. Devo risolvere #due altri problemi *vs.* altri due problemi. ITA
must.1SG solve.INF two other.PL problems *vs*. other.PL two problems
b. Devo risolvere molti altri problemi *vs.* altri #molti problemi.
must.1SG solve.INF many other.PL problems *vs*. other.PL many problems

(5) a. Eu tenho quel resolver #dois outros problemas *vs.* outros dois problemas. POR
I must solve.INF two other.PL problems *vs*. other.PL two problems
b. Eu tenho quel resolver muitos outros problemas *vs.* #outros muitos problemas.
I must solve.INF many other.PL problems *vs*. other.PL many problems
'I must solve two/many other *vs.* other two/many problems.'

Brugè and Giusti (2021) propose that the unmarked orders are complex quantifiers while the marked choices are the result of independently merging 'other' and the cardinal or quantifier in the structure. The proposal is grounded on two diagnostics (nominal ellipsis and partitive constructions) for Portuguese and a third one (*ne*-cliticization) for Italian. Simple and complex quantifiers can appear in such constructions when they are complex quantifiers but not when they are prenominal adjectives, as in Italian (6)-(7):

(6) a. Devo risolvere *due altri / altri due dei miei problemi. ITA
must.1SG solve.INF two other.PL / other.PL two of-the my problems
'I must solve two more problems of mine.'
b. Devo risolvere molti altri /*altri molti dei miei problemi.
must.1SG solve.INF many other.PL / other.PL many of-the my problems
'I must solve many other problems of mine.'

(7) a. Ne devo risolvere *due altri / altri due.
PART.CL must.1SG solve.INF two other.PL / other.PL two
'I must solve two more.'
b. Ne devo risolvere molti altri /*altri molti.
PART.CL must.1SG solve.INF many other.PL / other.PL many
'I must solve many more.'

This is predicted by Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006/2017), according to whom *ne* is a partitive DP, and moves out of the QP which selects it. Quantity adjectives are inside the DP and cannot be stranded by *ne*-cliticization. The structure of *un altro, altri, altri due, molti altri* is given in (8a), the complex quantifier selects an indefinite DP (with a null D) to which it assigns partitive case. The structure of *due altri* and *altri molti* is given in (8b,c), where the first item is the quantifier selecting an indefinite DP with a null D, while the second item is a quantity adjective. Both *altri* and *molti* can have this function:[2]

[2] Complex quantifiers can also appear as qAP with definite determiners, but we do not discuss these cases, which would take us too far afield from the focus of this brief study.

(8) a. [QP *un altro / altri due / molti altri* [DP 0 [NP N]]]
an other / other.PL two / many other.M.PL
b. [QP *due* [DP 0 [qAP *altri*] F [FP [NP N]]]]
two other.M.PL
c. [QP *altri* [DP 0 [qAP *molti*] F [FP [NP N]]]]
other. M.PL many

The aim of this paper is to extend Brugè and Giusti's (2021) analysis of *altro / outro* to Romanian *alt(ul)* which has been independently analysed by Nicolae (2008) and Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011) as part of complex quantifiers. We discuss their data and bring about novel data collected from native speakers to check whether the great variability is due to freedom of order in the formation of the quantifiers in Romanian, unlike what we find in the other Romance languages, or whether there is an unmarked order for complex quantifiers, while the other orders are the result of independent merger of *alt* and a determiner or a quantity adjective.[3]

The paper is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses previous literature and presents the morphosyntactic properties of adnominal and pronominal *alt* that make it different from its counterparts in the other Romance languages and formulates the research questions that are raised in a pan-Romance perspective. Section 3 applies Brugè and Giusti's (2021) diagnostics to Romanian highlighting parallelisms and the dimension of variation in the Romance spectrum. Section 4 discusses the data in a pan-Romance perspective and draws the conclusions.

2. Morphosyntactic properties of Romanian *alt*

In Romanian, as in most Romance languages, only plural count nouns can be bare.[4] Bare singular count nouns are ungrammatical (9a). The preference for bare *alt* in (9b) clearly suggests that *alt* can be a self-standing determiner:

(9) a. A venit *(un) băiat / *(o) fată.
Has arrived (a.M) boy / (a.F) girl
'A boy / girl arrived.'
b. A venit (un) alt băiat / (o) altă fată.
Has arrived (a.M) other.M boy / (a.F) other.F girl
'Another boy / girl arrived.'

Although Romanian has two overt plural indefinite determiners, uninflected *niște* and inflected *unii / unele* (10a), bare *alt* is the only possibility in (10b) with plural count nouns. This is different from both Italian and Portuguese above:

[3] We thank Alexandra Crețan, Bianca Popa, Alexandru Nicolae, Alicia Tosu, Ion Giurgea, Monica Irimia, and Virginia Hill for their patience and availability in taking the survey.
[4] For reasons of space, we will not consider mass nouns or abstract nouns here.

(10) a. Au venit (niște / unii) băieți / (niște / unele) fete.
Have arrived (IND.DET) boys / (IND.DET) girls
b. Au venit (*niște / *unii) alți băieți / (*niște / *unele) alte fete.[5]
Have arrived (IND.DET) other.PL boys / (IND.DET) other.PL girls
'Some (other) boys / girls arrived.'

As observed, *alt* can combine with a cardinal or a weak quantifier ('many' or 'few'). In this case the order is reported to be free by Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011, 2012) and Nicolae (2008, 2019) but most of our informants express a strong preference for (11b) over (11a) and for (12a) over (12b), suggesting a parallel with Italian and Portuguese (4)-(5) above:[6]

(11) a. #Au venit doi alți băieți / două alte fete.
Have arrived two other.PL boys / two other.PL girls.
b. Au venit alți doi băieți / alte două fete.
Have arrived other.PL two boys / other.PL two girls.
'Two more boys / girls arrived.'
(12) a. Au venit mulți alți băieți / multe alte fete.
Have arrived many other.PL boys / two other.PL girls.
b. #Au venit alți mulți băieți / alte multe fete.
Have arrived other.PL many boys / other.PL many girls.
'Many more boys / girls arrived.'

The determiner status of *alt* is suggested by the apparent definite morphology that appears in nominal ellipsis, which is also found on existential quantifiers formed with *un*, such as *vreun* 'some' and *nici un* 'none' (13a).[7] Note that the suffix is on *alt* and not on *un* in (13b):

(13) a. unul / una / vreunul / vreuna / nici unul / nici una / altul / alta
one.M / one.F / some.M / some.F / none.M / none.F / other.M / other.F
b. un altul / o alta / *unul alt / *una altă.
an other.M / an other.F / an.M other / an.F other
'another'

[5] Although both combinations are unanimously noted to be ungrammatical in the literature (e.g. Lombard 1974), two speakers consider *niște* in (11b) marginal but not ungrammatical.
[6] As regards (11b), three informants judged it ungrammatical and three marginal; only one judged it fully grammatical. The judgements are less severe for (12b), which is not perfect for three speakers, and ungrammatical for other three; again, it is grammatical only for one.
[7] Giusti (1993, 2002, 2015) takes this as evidence to claim that the so-called definite article is inserted to realize gender, number and case features in D.

Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011, 2012) and Nicolae (2008, 2019) report that *alt* can be the host of the pronominalizing morphology when it cooccurs with cardinals in either order, but when *alt* precedes the cardinal, the pronominalizing morphology may be missing (14b):

(14) a. Au venit doi alți*(i) / două alte*(le).
Have arrived two other.M.PL / two other.M.PL
b. Au venit alți(i) doi / alte(le) două.
Have arrived other.M.PL two / other.F.PL two
'Two more arrived.'

On the other hand, when *alt* is combined with *mulți* and *puțini*, it carries the pronominalizing morphology in either order (15):

(15) a. Au venit mulți alți*(i) / multe alte*(le).
Have arrived many other.M.PL / many other.M.PL
b. Au venit alți*(i) mulți / alte*(le) multe.
Have arrived other.M.PL many / other.F.PL many
'Many more arrived.'

Cornilescu and Nicolae (2011, 2012) unify the enclitic article in definite DPs and in elliptical indefinites, proposing that ellipsis implies definite interpretation, in the sense that the null part of the nominal is topical (also cf. Nicolae 2019). Furthermore, they assume a QP layer below DP in the nominal spine. Simplifying their proposal, the three possible orders with the cardinal in (14) are derived by the structures in (16):

(16) a. [DP D [QP [QP* *doi alții*.DEF] Q [FP F [NP ~~N.DEF~~]]]
b. [DP D [QP [CardP *alți doi*] Q [FP F [NP ~~N.DEF~~]]]]
c. [DP *alții* [QP [QP* *doi ~~alții.DEF~~*] [FP [NP ~~N.DEF~~]]]]
'two more'

In (16a) the QP below D has a specifier filled by another QP, which we label QP*, for ease of exposition. The head of QP* is *alții*, realizing the DEF-features inherited by the elided N. In (16b), SpecQP is filled by CardP, whose head is *doi*, which does not inflect. The quantifier *alți* in SpecCardP does not inherit the DEF-features from the elided N. Structure (16c) is the same as (16a) plus movement of *alții* from the head of QP* to D.

Since the combinations with a quantifier are taken by Cornilescu and Nicolae to be parallel to the combination with a cardinal, their analysis predicts parallel results. Instead, only (17a) and (17c) with inflected *alții* are possible. Parallelism with (16b) would predict *alți mulți* in (17b) to be as grammatical as *alți doi*, contrary to fact. Note that *mulți* can inflect for definiteness (cf. *mulții copii pe care i-cunosc* 'the many children that I know.'), thus it is not clear why it cannot inherit the DEF-feature from the elided N, as in (17b'):

(17) a. [DP D [QP [QP* *mulți alții*.DEF] Q [FP F [NP ~~N.DEF~~]]]
b. *[DP D [QP [QP *alți mulți*] Q [FP F [NP ~~N.DEF~~]]]]
b'. *[DP D [QP [QP *alți mulții*.DEF] Q [FP F [NP ~~N.DEF~~]]]]

c. [$_{DP}$ *alții.*DEF [$_{QP}$ [$_{QP*}$ *mulți* ~~*alții.*DEF~~] Q [$_{FP}$ F [$_{NP}$ ~~N.DEF~~]]]
'many more'

The assumption of free orders is problematic for Cornilescu and Nicolae's hypothesis. Furthermore, it is unexpected in the pan-Romance perspective. Complex quantifiers usually display a fixed order (cf. (3)-(5) above). The marked orders, when possible, are found in full nominal expressions and can be analysed as independent merger of a determiner and a prenominal modifier. Cross-speaker variation suggests that only few speakers have complex quantifiers in both orders.

Our survey submitted to seven native speakers (linguists or students of linguistics) suggest that this is the case of Romanian as well. With cardinals, the only fully accepted possibility is 'other' > Card: *alți doi*. The other order is not generally accepted in either full or elliptical DPs. Three out of seven speakers found *doi alți băieți* ungrammatical and other three found it marginal. In ellipsis, six out of seven informants found *doi alții* and *două altele* ungrammatical. The pronominalizing inflection on *alți* in the canonical order distinguishes the gender: masculine *alții doi* is only accepted by two speakers, it is ungrammatical for three speakers and marginal for two; feminine *altele două* is accepted by three speakers, it is ungrammatical for two, and marginal for two. Thus, a complex cardinal has the cardinal as head, which does not inflect in ellipsis for independent reasons. This is equally captured by Cornilescu and Nicolae's (16b) and Brugè and Giusti's (8a).

With quantifiers the canonical order is Q > 'other'. In full nominal expressions *mulți alți băieți* is unanimously accepted while *alți mulți băieți* is ungrammatical for three speakers and marginal for other three. In elliptical constructions *mulți alții* with the pronominalizer on *alt* is unanimously accepted, while *alții mulți* is ungrammatical for three and marginal for four. If this was a genuine complex quantifier with *mulți* as a head both analyses would predict the pronominalizer to be on *mulți*, which is instead never allowed.

Assuming a fix order for complex quantifiers accounts for the higher freedom in full noun phrases, where stacking is possible. For the cases in which the reverse orders are possible in elliptical constructions, we can either assume that stacked determiner-like adjectives may appear in N-ellipsis or that individual speakers extend the analysis of complex quantifier to the reverse order. The two scenarios could in principle coexist.

3. The partitive construction as a diagnostic for quantificational status

While nominal ellipsis may in some cases realize more than one prenominal position in the extended DP-area, the partitive PP strictly depends on the selectional properties of the quantifier head. This ensures that we are dealing with a complex quantifier, (8a), and not with independent merger of 'other' and a quantity adjective with a null NP, (8b).

A partitive PP can occur with pronominalized *unul* and *altul* in the singular and the plural (18)-(19):

(18) a. A venit unul dintre ei / una dintre ele.
Has arrived one.M.SG of them.M.PL / one.F.SG of them.F.PL
b. Au venit unii dintre ei / unele dintre ele.
Have arrived one.M.PL of them.M.PL / one.F.PL of them.F.PL
'One of them arrived.'

(19) a. A venit altul dintre ei / alta dintre ele.
Has arrived other.M.SG of them.M.PL / other.F.SG of them.F.PL
'Another one arrived.'
b. Au venit alții dintre ei / altele dintre ele.
Have arrived others.M.PL of them.M.PL / others.F.PL of them.F.PL
'Some others arrived.'

Bare *altul* is preferred over *un altul*, which is accepted by five out of seven speakers in nominal ellipsis and by four in the partitive construction (20a). Bare *alții* in the plural (19b) has no competitor: any combination with *unii* or *niște* is ungrammatical (20b):

(20) a. %A venit *(un) altul dintre ei / *(o) alta (%dintre ele).
Has arrived an other.M of them.M / an other.F of them.F
'Another one arrived.'
b. Au venit (*unii/*niște) alții dintre ei / (*unele /*niște) altele dintre ele.
Have arrived IND.DET others.M of them.M / IND.DET others.F of them.F
'Some others arrived.'

The cardinal preceded by *alți / alte* can appear in a partitive construction only if *alți / alte* does not carry the suffixal pronominalizer (21), this holds for six out of seven speakers. The reverse order is grammatical for one speaker and only with the pronominalizer (22):

(21) Au venit Maria și alte(%*le) două din prietenele sale /
Have arrived Maria and other.DEF two of friends-the.PL her.F.PL /
și alți(%*i) doi din prietenii săi./
and other.DEF two of friends-the.M.PL her.M.PL

(22) %(*)Au venit Maria și două altele din prietenele sale /
Have arrived Maria and two other.DEF of friends-the.F.PL her.F.PL
și doi alții din prietenii săi.
and two other.DEF of friends-the.M.PL her.M.PL
'Mary and two more friends of hers arrived.'

Complex quantifiers formed by *alt* as the head (23) are unanimously grammatical, while the reverse order (24) is marginal for three and ungrammatical for the other four speakers:

(23) Au venit Maria și multe altele din prietenele sale /
Have arrived M. and many other.DEF of friends-the.F.PL her.F.PL /

și mulți alții din prietenii săi
and many other.DEF of friends-the.M.PL her.M.PL

(24) %*Au venit Maria și altele multe din prietenele sale /
Have arrived Maria and other.DEF many of friends-the.F.PL her.F.PL
și alții mulți din prietenii săi.
and other.DEF many of friends-the.M.PL her.M.PL
'Mary and many other friends of hers arrived.'

The results of the survey show a large cross-speaker variation as regards the combination of *alți/alte* with the indefinite determiner, cardinals and weak quantifiers in either order, but bare *alt* is preferred over *un alt*, which is not possible in the plural and is less accepted in partitive constructions. The orders *alt* > Cardinal and Quantifier > *alt* are unmarked. Some speakers allow marked orders according to a hierarchy of acceptability: full nominal expressions > nominal ellipsis > partitive construction.

4. Reconsidering *alt* in a pan-Romance perspective

The scenario resulting from this survey reflects what Brugè and Giusti (2021) found in other Romance languages. For lack of space, we limit our comparison to Romanian (the most eastern language), Portuguese (the most western), and Italian (the most central) in the Romance family. In Table 1, [+] stands for accepted (almost) unanimously, [-] for rejected (almost) unanimously, [(+)] accepted by a small majority, and [(-)] rejected by a small majority:

	(i) introduce a full nominal expression			(ii) appear in elliptical constructions (It. *ne*-extr)			(iii) appear in partitive constructions		
	PORT	ITA	ROM	PORT	ITA	ROM	PORT	ITA	ROM
other.SG	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
other.PL	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
an+*other*.SG	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	+	(+)
an+*other*.PL	+	+	-	+	+	-	(-)	(-)	-
Card > *other*	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	-	(+)	(-)	-	-
Q > *other*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
other > Card	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
other > Q	(+)	(+)	(+)	(-)	-	(+)	-	-	(-)

Table 1. Distribution of 'other' in simplex and complex quantifiers

First observe that in the lateral languages Portuguese and Romanian, the indefinite article is optional in the singular, and that optionality in the plural is a central-western property that is missing in Romanian. A second generalization is that if bare 'other' is available, it is preferred in nominal ellipsis and partitive constructions. A third observation is that the orders 'other' > Card and Q > 'other' are unmarked in the three languages. They are the only ones that freely allow ellipsis and partitive constructions.

The acceptability of marked follows the hierarchy: full nominals > nominal ellipsis > partitive constructions.

Focussing on Romanian, we see that it behaves like Portuguese in allowing bare 'other' in the singular but is more restrictive than either Portuguese or Italian in disallowing 'other' preceded by an overt indefinite article in the plural. It is parallel to Portuguese and Italian in taking 'other' > Card and Q > 'other' as complex quantifiers, whose heads pronominalize as when they are not modified. This means that in *alți* > Card, *alți* does not carry the pronominalizer because it is not the head, while in Q > *alții* the pronominalizer is mandatory as it is with bare *alt*. Parallel to the other two languages, complex quantifiers freely occur in ellipsis and in partitive constructions, while the marked orders are accepted only by some speakers. This leads us to hypothesize that some speakers have a lexicon that includes complex quantifiers in the reversed orders. For those speakers who accept the reverse orders in ellipsis but not in partitive constructions we hypothesize that the complex quantifiers in their grammars have a reduced argument structure, which only includes the variable but not the partitive PP. This is the case of *un altul* and *alți mulți*.

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