Partitive constructions are not all the same

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In this paper we argue that partitive constructions are, semantically, locative prepositional phrases, relating a *part* and a *whole*. Consider the following two structures:

(1) a. All of them were seen at the party.
     b. Some/most/three of them were seen at the party.

Both include Q(uantifiers), but not all Qs can equally "float" as we can see in (2):

(2) a. They were (all) seen (all) at the party.
     b. *They were (some/most/three) seen (some/most/three) at the party.

This has consequences for the DP-hypothesis and the theory of nominal constructions in general, since there are Q extraction phenomena which arguably do not depend on whether we are dealing with a DP or an NP in the narrow syntax and their phasal character (cf. Bošković, 2008), but rather on *semantic relations*. Our hypothesis is that the $\{D/Q\ldots\alpha\ldots\sqrt{}\}$ structure is a semantic interface necessity based on the grounds that a root without a D-like node restricting its reference is too generic to be interpreted and thus the derivation containing a bare root will crash at LF. We thus change the approach from a syntactic-based one to an interface-based one.

A second, but not less important issue, is the relation between the syntactic label and semantic interpretation. Just as a clause can be interpreted as a sortal entity (e.g., CPs having a DP distributional potential), the locative domain containing the *figure* and the *ground* within which part and whole are interpreted also has a DP-like distributional potential, being able to appear as the complement to a preposition, cf. (3a) and (3b):

(3) a. Mary baked a cake [P for [P? all of them]]
     b. *Mary baked a cake [P for [P to all of them]]

However, having partitive structures as PPs would call for stipulations (e.g., in the form of *ad hoc* features) to distinguish them from "normal" PPs – a highly undesirable scenario. Therefore, we will make the claim that partitive structures are in fact PPs, but, and we assume a label recognition process at the semantic interface. Thus, we propose that there is a D layer which accounts for the sortal interpretation the whole domain receives at LF. Therefore, partitive constructions are DPs (D providing sortality and functional potential) containing a locative relation between a *figure* and a *ground* in terms of *part* and *whole*, a PP. When the *part* is extensionally identical to the *whole*, it is a *token* of the whole: there is logical equivalence and, for all that matters, identity (ultimately, it can be subsumed to a problem of *Sinn* and *Bedeutung* in Fregean terms).

Assuming Grohmann's (2003) Copy Spell-Out, we have the following Spell-Out patterns in (2a, b):

(4) $[Prn_i [\ldots [Q_i\ldots]]]$

The principle ruling the Spell Out of floating Qs, taking into account extensional identity takes on the following form:

(5)   Prn ⇒ Q (⇒ stands for"is spelled out as") *iff* Prn ≡ Q in extensional terms, but not otherwise.

Different PF act as a clue for different LF interface effects; namely, reference restriction, which does not occur when there is logical identity. In terms of Prolific Domains, both the *part* and the *whole* belong to the locative P domain, therefore, the Copy Spell-Out principle applies: otherwise, the dependency between two equal PFs would be too local to be technically relevant at the interfaces.

Logical equivalence is defined as maintaining the *Bedeutung*, salva veritate. Spelling out the pronoun as a Q is possible only if it means changing the *Sinn* but nothing else; otherwise, we would have *two different types*, and not *two tokens of the same type*.[1,2] In other words, the pronoun and the quantifier are materializations of *the same abstract type*, therefore, they are extensionally and logically equivalent.

(6)
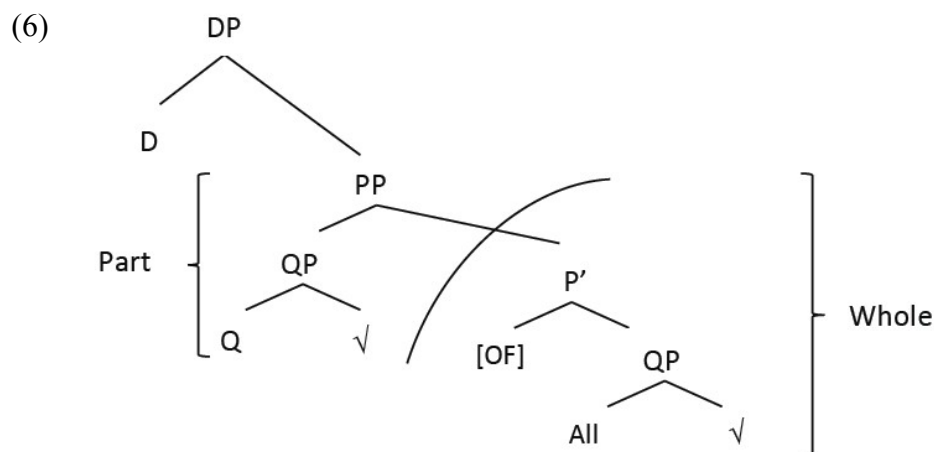
References
Bošković, Ž (2008) What will you have, DP or NP? Retrieved from http://web.uconn.edu/boskovic/papers/nels.illinois.proceedings.final.pdf
Frege, G. (1892) Über Sinn und Bedeutung. Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik, NF 100. 25-50
Grohmann, K. K. (2003) Prolific Domains. On the Anti-Locality of Movement Dependencies. Amsterdam, John Benjamins.

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1 A type is defined as an abstract element in a physical system Φ. There are two kinds of types in a linguistic derivation: those that convey conceptual meaning (i.e., roots) and those that convey instructions as to how to interpret the relation between conceptual types (procedural types). Determiner, Time and Preposition are procedural types […]. The procedural or conceptual character of a node is of no importance to syntax, it is read at the semantic interface, and only there is it of any relevance.

2 A token is an occurrence of a type within an n-dimensional generative workspace. There are no a priori limits to the times a type can be instantiated as a token but those required by Interface Conditions IC.