

The Syntax of Partitives: Evidence from Catalan¹

Núria Martí i Girbau (nmarti@ub.edu)²
Universitat de Barcelona

Aims:

1. Characterise partitives in order to delimit this type of nominal
2. Provide an analysis that captures particularities of partitives and also properties they have in common with other indefinite non-partitive nominals
 - by exploring the possibility of a unitary analysis for all indefinite nominals
 - by extending the same basic structure to predicative uses of quantifiers

I. Delimiting partitives

Milner's (1978: 62) description of partitives in French can be taken as a starting point (where properties (1c) and (1d) are known since Jackendoff (1977: 113) as the *Partitive Constraint*):

- (1) a. *une structure bipartite, les deux parties étant articulées par de*
b. *la première partie est un élément de Quantité non précédé de l'article défini*
c. *la seconde partie est un nom comportant un déterminant propre*
d. *ce déterminant est toujours de type défini*
e. *une interprétation sémantique propre: l'élément de Quantité quantifie un sous-ensemble d'un ensemble dénoté par le nom ou groupe nominal de la seconde partie.*

⇒ A nominal must have syntactic properties (1a–d) + semantic property (1e) in order to be a partitive. The so-called *pseudopartitives* (3bc) are not partitives: they only have properties a + b.

Partitives:

- (2) a. *un dels meus amics*
'one of my friends'
b. *molts d'aquells llibres*
'many of those books'
c. *un tros d'aquest pastís*
'a piece of this cake'
d. *la meitat de la cervesa*
'half of the beer'

Non-partitives (or quantitatives):

- (3) a. *un amic meu*
'a friend of mine'
b. *molts (de) llibres*
'many books'
c. *un tros de pastís*
'a piece of cake'
d. *mitja cervesa*
'half a beer'

The interest of partitives is both structural and semantic: partitive nominals seem to have a more complex structure and semantics than non-partitive indefinite nominals (=quantitatives).

- **partitives** = 'Q + *of* + det + NP' (in many languages) and denote a partition:
a subset of a bigger set —see (2a,b)— or a part of a whole —see (2c,d).
- **quantitatives** = 'Q + NP' (usually) and denote amounts
(but sometimes *of* is present too as in (3bc): so-called **pseudopartitives**)

¹ The contents of this presentation are based on my Ph.D. dissertation *The Syntax of Partitives* (UAB, 2010).

² Given my temporary position at the UB, it might be better to contact me at: nuriamartigirbau@gmail.com.

Too often the label *partitive* has been applied to nominals that (I claim) are not partitives:

- pseudopartitives: *lots of books, a piece of cake*
- simple N modification:
many books of my private library \cong many of the books of my library
tres nens de la classe ('three children in my class') \cong three of the children in my class
a branch of the tree
- indefinite nominals with adnominal modifier introduced by *de*:
dos llibres d'aquells ('two books of those')
- the *among* construction: *three among my friends*

A. Indefinite nominals with adnominal modifier introduced by *de*

- (4) a. *dos llibres d'aquells* 'two books of those'
b. *dos d'aquells llibres* 'two of those books' partitive

Nominals as in (4a) pattern with quantitatives and differ from partitives with respect to:

1. the type of quantifier they allow
2. noun modification possibilities
3. adjacency phenomena
- and 4. their interpretation.

1. Type of quantifier

As shown in (5) below, nominals like (4a) allow quantifiers rejected in partitives (see 6):

- (5) a. He llençat *un munt de llibres dels que guardava a l'armari*.
'I threw away *lots of books of the ones I kept in the cupboard*.'
- b. Han vingut *força alumnes dels de primer*.
'There came *quite a lot of students of the ones in the first year*.'
- c. Han acomiadat *uns quaranta treballadors dels que havien contractat en els darrers dos anys*.
'*About forty workers of the ones that had been employed in the last two years* have been fired.'
- d. He vist *poques pel·lícules de les protagonitzades pels germans Marx*.
'I've seen *few films of the ones starred by Marx brothers*.'
- e. En aquest llibre hi ha *nombrosos errors dels que només cometria un mal editor*.
'In this book there are *numerous errors of the kind only a bad editor would make*.'
- f. A mi m'agrada llegir *novel·les de les romàntiques / de les que t'emocionen*.
'I like reading *novels of the romantic type / of the type that move you*.'
- g. He menjat *molt pastís del que ha portat ta germana*.
'I ate *a lot of cake from the one your sister brought*.'
- h. Només he comprat *una mica de vi del blanc*.
'I only bought *a little wine of the white variety*.'
- (6) a. */?? He llençat *un munt dels llibres que guardava a l'armari*.
b. * Han vingut *força dels alumnes de primer*.
c. */?? Han acomiadat *uns quaranta dels treballadors que havien contractat en els darrers dos anys*.
d. * He vist *poques de les pel·lícules protagonitzades pels germans Marx*.
e. * En aquest llibre hi ha *nombrosos dels errors que només cometria un mal editor*.
f. * A mi m'agrada llegir *de les novel·les romàntiques / de les novel·les que t'emocionen*.
g. * He menjat *molt del pastís que ha portat ta germana*.
h. * He comprat *una mica del vi blanc*.

Moreover, nominals like (4a) even accept determiners which are not quantifiers such as *altre* ('(an)other'), *cert* ('certain, specific') or *determinat* ('certain, specific') (see 7), which are impossible in partitives as expected (see 8):

- (7) a. Aquest mes m'he llegit *una altra novel·la de les quatre que em vas deixar*.
'This month I read *another novel of the four you lent me*.'
- b. A part de l'Anna, no coneixes *altres noies de les que vénen a ioga?*
'Apart from Anna, you haven't met *other girls of the ones in the ioga class?*'
- c. Oblida *certes coses de les que et vaig dir ahir: vaig xerrar massa...*
'Please forget *certain things of the ones I told you yesterday: I talked too much...*'
- d. Han descobert que *determinats quadres dels que s'exposen al museu són falsos*.
'It's been discovered that *certain pictures of the ones exhibited at the museum are fakes*.'
- (8) a. */^{??} Aquest mes m'he llegit *una altra de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar*.
b. * A part de l'Anna, no coneixes *altres de les noies que vénen a ioga?*
c. * Oblida *certes de les coses que et vaig dir ahir: vaig xerrar massa...*
d. * Han descobert que *determinats dels quadres que s'exposen al museu són falsos*.

2. Noun modification possibilities

Nominals like (4a) admit modification of the noun by an adjective (see 9), whereas true partitives do not license any noun modifier following the quantifier³ (see 10):

- (9) a. He llegit *una novel·la [molt divertida] de les quatre que em vas deixar*.
'I've read *a very amusing novel of those four you lent me*'
- b. Va llogar *una habitació [doble] de les que encara quedaven lliures*.
'(S)he rented *a double room of those that were still free*.'
- c. Va triar *un cotxe [automàtic] dels que va provar*.
'(S)he chose *an automatic car of those (s)he tried*.'
- (10) a. * He llegit *una [de molt divertida] de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar*.
b. * Va llogar *una [de doble] de les habitacions que encara quedaven lliures*.
c. * Va triar *un [d'automàtic] dels cotxes que va provar*.

3. Adjacency phenomena

Partitives require the quantifier to be adjacent to the preposition (see 12), unlike nominals with an overt noun after the quantifier (see 11):

- (11) a. He llegit *una novel·la que m'ha encantat de les quatre que em vas deixar*.
'I've read *a novel which I've loved of those four you lent me*'
- b. He llegit *una novel·la, aquest mes, de les quatre que em vas deixar que m'ha encantat*.
- (12) a. * He llegit *una que m'ha encantat de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar*.
b. * He llegit *una, aquest mes, de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar que m'ha encantat*.

³ This is also pointed out by Kupferman (1999: 50), who illustrates it in French:

(i) *Trois grandes de ces fenêtres étaient sales.

4. Interpretation

4.1 Genericity. Generic interpretation is available in nominals like (4a) (see 13b), but not in partitives (see 13c):

- (13) a. *Un gos ben entrenat* sempre seu a la primera.
'A well-trained dog always sits immediately.'
b. *Un gos dels ben entrenats* sempre seu a la primera.
'A dog of those that are well-trained always sits immediately.'
c. *Un dels gossos ben entrenats* sempre seu a la primera. partitive
'One of the well-trained dogs always sits immediately.'

4.2 Existential constructions. Existential reading is available in nominals like (4a) (see 14b), but not in partitives (see 14c):

- (14) a. *Tinc un cotxe petit.*
'I've got a small car.'
b. *Tinc un cotxe dels petits.*
'I've got a car of the small type.'
c. **Tinc un dels cotxes petits.* partitive
'I've got one of the small cars.'

(14a) and (14b) are equivalent, they denote the existence of a car of a certain type (small), but (14c) is ungrammatical under that existential reading as the partitive denotes a specific car.

4.3 Donkey sentences. Nominals like (4a) are allowed in donkey sentences (see 15b) in contrast with partitives, which are rejected as expected for a specific nominal (see 15c):

- (15) a. *Tothom qui té un company de feina molt xerraire* procura evitar-lo.
'Everyone that has a very talkative colleague tries to avoid him.'
b. *Tothom qui té un company de feina dels que no callen* procura evitar-lo.
'Everyone that has a colleague of those who do not keep quiet, tries to avoid him.'
c. **Tothom qui té un dels companys de feina que no callen* procura evitar-lo.
**'Everyone that has one of the very colleagues who do not keep quiet, tries to avoid him.'*

4.4 Quantifier scope. Contexts where an indefinite has to be interpreted under the scope of an external operator show further contrast between nominals like (4a) (see 16b) and partitives (16c):

- (16) a. *En la majoria dels casos, si una calaixera resistent* ha durant trenta anys, en durarà uns altres trenta.
'In the majority of cases, if a resistant chest has lasted for thirty years, it will last for thirty more.' (Example taken from Picallo 1994: 155)
b. *En la majoria dels casos, si una calaixera de les resistents* ha durant trenta anys, en durarà uns altres trenta.
'In the majority of cases, if a chest of a resistant type has lasted for thirty years, it will last for thirty more.'
c. ??/**En la majoria dels casos, si una de les calaixeres resistents* ha durant trenta anys, en durarà uns altres trenta.
??/* 'In the majority of cases, if one of the resistant chests has lasted for thirty years, it will last for thirty more.'

4.5 Copular sentences. Partitives are licensed in equative copular sentences (see 17) whereas nominals like (4a) form adscriptive copular sentences like indefinite nominals in general (18):

- (17) a. L'Albert Adrià és *un dels cuiners que han treballat al Bulli*. equative
 'Albert Adrià is *one of the cooks who have worked at the Bulli*.'
 b. Qui és l'Albert Adrià? És *un dels cuiners que han treballat al Bulli*.
 Què és l'Albert Adrià? # És *un dels cuiners que han treballat al Bulli*.
 c. *Un dels cuiners que han treballat al Bulli* és l'Albert Adrià.
- (18) a. L'Albert Adrià és *un cuiner dels que han treballat al Bulli*. adscriptive
 'Albert Adrià is *a cook of those who have worked at the Bulli*.'
 b. Qui és l'Albert Adrià? # És *un cuiner dels que han treballat al Bulli*.
 Què és l'Albert Adrià? És *un cuiner dels que han treballat al Bulli*.
 c. * *Un cuiner dels que han treballat al Bulli* és l'Albert Adrià.

4.6 Presupposition of existence. Partitives always presuppose the existence of the set or whole from which the quantifier picks up a subset or a part and in that sense they are always specific (Enç 1991). Nominals like (4a) do not have such an implication (see 19a):

- (19) a. La Marta ens va explicar *un acudit dels seus*: se'l va inventar en aquell moment!
 'Marta told us *a joke of hers* (=of the type she usually tells): she made it up then!'
 b. # La Marta ens va explicar *un dels seus acudits*: se'l va inventar en aquell moment!
 # 'Marta told us *one of her jokes*: he made it up then!'

Only real partitives are inherently presuppositional: the construction in itself implies partition and, therefore, presupposition of existence. That is not the case in nominals like (4a), which tend to get a "kind of" reading of the PP –as in (19a)– whenever possible. When the PP does not get a "kind of" reading –see (20)–, a presupposition of existence is involved but as it is in indefinite nominals such as (21) with N modifiers *de la classe* and *de la meva biblioteca privada*.

- (20) a. tres nens dels que van a la meva classe
 'Three children of those in my class.'
 b. molts llibres dels que formen la meva biblioteca privada
 'Many books of those that constitute my private library.'
- (21) a. tres nens de la classe
 'three children in my class'
 b. molts llibres de la meva biblioteca privada
 'many books from my private library'

CONCLUSION: Nominals like (4a) are quantitatives and not partitives contrary to what is commonly assumed in the literature.

B. The among construction

The *among* construction looks similar to partitives ⇒ question: Is AC a (type of) partitive?

- (22) a. one **among** those books AC
 b. one **of** those books partitive

As noted in the literature, AC is much less restricted. Contrary to partitives, in AC there is:⁴

(i) no need of identity between the elements of the subset and the set:

- (23) a. muchos ancianos entre estas personas AC
 many old-men among these people
 b. *muchos ancianos de estas personas partitive
 many old-men of these people

(ii) no need of gender agreement between Q and N:

- (24) a. muchos entre estas personas AC
 many_{masc} among these people_{fem}
 b. *muchos de estas personas partitive
 many_{masc} of these people_{fem}

(iii) no restriction on the Q and different kinds of determiner allowed:

- (25) a. aquellos entre estos niños AC
 those among these children
 b. *aquellos de estos niños partitive
 those of these children

(iv) no restriction on the internal nominal with respect to the type of determiner allowed:

- (26) a. éstos entre muchos niños AC
 these among many children
 b. *éstos de muchos niños partitive
 these of many children

Two answers in the literature:

- a) AC and partitives are different constructions: the *among* PP behaves like an ordinary N modifier (Lorenzo 1995)
 b) AC is a type of partitive: the *among* PP is an adjunct partitive PP (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2006)⁵

Catalan data provide further arguments in favour of an answer in the lines of (a) and also some clues for a more accurate analysis of AC, in relation with another phenomenon that affects locative prepositions.

In Catalan the preposition *entre* can be preceded by the preposition *de* yielding *d'entre*:

- (27) a. *moltes novel·les d'entre els llibres que et van deixar*
 'many novels among the books that were lent to you'
 b. *dos entre els teus alumnes*
 'two among your students'

⁴ Examples from 23 to 26 are from Lorenzo (1995: 215ff). For Italian examples illustrating some of the AC properties in comparison to partitives, see Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006: §3.1).

⁵ According to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006), the *of* PP is a selected partitive PP: it is selected by Q (see (ia)).

- (i) a. [QP PP [Q' Q DP]]
 b. [AgrQP DP Q [QP PP [Q' Q DP]]]
 c. [FP[F' Q [AgrQP DP Q [QP PP [Q' Q DP]]]]]

The presence of *de* is not optional, it is required for the *entre* PP to be licensed as a N modifier ⇒ (27a) is a nominal vs. (27b) is a predication (*dos* is the subject and the *entre* PP is the predicate).

The Catalan *entre* PP is not accepted in contexts where it is forced to be part of the nominal (see 28). In contrast, the *entre* PP works very well as the predicate of a small clause (where the predicate *entre* PP is a location) (see 29):

- (28) a. *[Molts joves entre aquestes persones] han estat escollits per al concurs.
 ‘Many teenagers among these people have been selected for the quiz show.’
 b. * [Molts joves entre aquestes persones]_i, els_i han escollit per al concurs.
 ‘Many teenagers among these people, they have chosen them for the quiz show.’
 c. **Són* molts joves entre aquestes persones *que* han estat escollits.

- (29) Hi ha [[molts joves] [entre aquestes persones]].
 ‘There are many teenagers among these people.’

For the *entre* PP to be accepted as part of the nominal it must be preceded by *de*. The ungrammatical data in (28) become grammatical when *de* is added to the examples:

- (30) a. [Molts joves **d’**entre aquestes persones] han estat escollits per al concurs.
 b. [Molts joves **d’**entre aquestes persones]_i, els_i han escollit per al concurs.
 c. *Són* molts joves **d’**entre aquestes persones *que* han estat escollits.

In contrast, if *de* is added in (29), the *entre* PP can no longer be interpreted as a predicate but only as a noun modifier. Observe (31) (cf. (29)):

- (31) a. Hi ha [molts joves **d’**entre aquestes persones] *(a l’atur).
 ‘There are many teenagers among these people with no job.’

Interestingly there is a clear parallelism with the presence of *de* preceding Catalan locative prepositions:

- (32) a. Hi ha *un sobre dins el calaix/sota la cadira/darrere el llum/sobre la taula*.
 ‘There’s an envelope in the drawer/under the chair/behind de lamp/on the table.’
 b. **El sobre dins el calaix/sota la cadira/darrere el llum/sobre la taula és gros*.
 ‘The envelope in the drawer/under the chair/behind de lamp/on the table is big.’
 c. *El sobre **de** dins el calaix/**de** sota la cadira/**de** darrere el llum/**de** sobre la taula és gros*.

CONCLUSION: *Among* is a locative preposition just like *inside*, *under*, etc., which projects into a PP that usually functions as the predicate of a small clause and which can only be a N modifier inside a nominal if licensed by *of*.

⇒ *the among construction is not a type of partitive construction: only de (or its counterpart in other languages) forms true partitives.*

II. The syntax of partitives

Partitives are a challenging construction, which poses several questions:

- (33) a. How is the partitive interpretation obtained? Is it semantically and syntactically determined or is it obtained pragmatically or from the discourse? If the former, is it determined by the preposition or by the relationship between the quantifier and the noun? Or could a different element present in the structure (e.g. an empty noun, an operator or a particular functional projection) be the one responsible for the partitive interpretation?

Here we will focus on the following question: Does the partitive structure contain two nouns (Q + N+ *of* + Det + N) or just one (Q + *of* + Det + N)?

- b. What is the status and role of the prepositional element and why does it appear systematically in partitives: is it a lexical preposition or a functional element (licenser)? Is it the same element present sometimes in quantitatives?
- c. Why is an external definite determiner systematically excluded in partitives but not in quantitatives? (**els tres dels meus amics* ‘the three of my friends’ vs. *els tres amics* ‘the three friends’)
- d. Why is an internal determiner required in partitives and why does it have to be definite? How is it licensed?

Answers defended here:

- (34) a. The partitive has a single noun structure, which contains the quantifier and the noun projection it selects (a DP).

Evidence from Catalan:

- nominals like *dos llibres d'aquells*, commonly assumed as partitives in the literature and used to support the claim that partitives contain an empty noun (Q [_N] *of* det NP), are quantitatives instead ⇒ opposite conclusion: *partitives do not contain an implicit N*.
- almost complementary distribution of quantifiers between partitives and quantitatives: this clearly suggests that selectional restrictions are involved that are imposed by the quantifier ⇒ *Q selects the noun projection (DP in partitives vs. NP in quantitatives)*.

- b. The prepositional element has no lexical content and it does not project into a PP inside the partitive construction, but is a functional element that appears for licensing requirements related to Case, as it does in some quantitatives.

Evidence from Catalan:

Relativised DPs from partitives show restrictions similar to relativised possessor DPs (where *de* is a Case licenser) in contrast with lexical PP complements, which have no restrictions (see (35) below)

- c. An external definite determiner is systematically excluded in partitives but not in quantitatives because in partitives the quantifier obligatorily raises to Spec of the top DP (I assume that the DP cannot be doubly filled).

Evidence from Catalan:

Partitives are systematically interpreted as specific (Enç 1991), and the quantifiers allowed in Catalan are in principle only those that can get a specific reading.

- d. The definite internal determiner is required by the selectional properties of the partitive quantifier: Q selects a specific DP (denoting a presuppositional set or whole from which Q picks out a subset or portion). The embedded DP is licensed by the Case marker *de*.

Relativising partitives:

As expected for a referential DP, the internal DP in partitives can be relativised. However, the only relative pronouns allowed by Catalan partitives are *el qual*, *la qual*, *els quals*, *les quals* (not *qui* nor *què*) as shown in (35).

- (35) a. Les meves amigues, **de les quals una** viu a Praga, vindran totes a la festa.
 ‘My friends, one of whom lives in Prague, will all come to the party.’
 b. *Les meves amigues, **de qui una** viu a Praga, vindran totes a la festa. [= 35a]
 c. Al museu hi ha quadres modernistes, **molts dels quals** són de Russiñol.
 ‘In the gallery there are modernist paintings, many of which are by Russiñol.’
 d. *Al museu hi ha quadres modernistes, **molts de què** són de Russiñol. [=35c]

The same restriction applies to possessor DPs or N complements, where the preposition is commonly considered as a Case marker:

- (36) a. Les meves amigues, **de les quals** conec els pares, vindran totes a la festa.
 ‘My friends, whose parents I know, will all come to the party.’
 b. Les meves amigues, **de qui** conec els pares, vindran totes a la festa.⁶ [= 36a]
 c. Al museu hi ha quadres modernistes, els autors **dels quals** són catalans.
 ‘In the gallery there are modernist paintings, the authors of which are Catalan.’
 d. *Al museu hi ha quadres modernistes, els autors **de què** són catalans. [= 36c]

In contrast, DPs that are the complement of a lexical preposition show no such restrictions: they can be relativised by *què* if they are [–human] and by *qui* if they are [+human] (see 37).

- (37) a. Les meves amigues, **amb les quals** vaig parlar ahir, vindran totes a la festa.
 ‘My friends, with whom I spoke yesterday, will all come to the party.’
 b. Les meves amigues, **amb qui** vaig parlar ahir, vindran totes a la festa. [= 37a]
 c. Al museu hi ha quadres famosos, **dels quals** tothom parla.
 ‘In the gallery there are famous paintings, about which everybody talks.’
 d. Al museu hi ha quadres famosos, **de què** tothom parla. [= 37c]

In Catalan the relative pronouns *qui* and *què* require a true preposition to be licensed ⇒ as they are not licensed in partitives, the conclusion is that partitive *of* is not a lexical preposition but rather a Case marker just like in possessor DPs and N complements (see 36).

⁶ Catalan grammars do not include *de qui* among the possessive relatives, but examples like (36b) are acceptable, especially in spoken Catalan (although for some speakers they are not completely grammatical). However, in contrast with *del qual*, *de la qual*, etc., the form *de qui* cannot follow the non-relativised part of the nominal:

(i) *Les meves amigues, *els pares de qui* conec, vindran totes a la festa.

Question: Do differences between partitives and non-partitives justify a different account for these two types of indefinite nominals, or is there any basis for a unitary analysis?

► A similar basic structure can be defended for all kinds of indefinite nominals.

Further evidence: More overt instances of preposition *de* in quantitatives in Catalan than in other languages suggests that *de* is part of their structure as it is in partitives:

- (38) a. nominals such as *molts de llibres*: *de* not expected as Q agrees with N
b. systematic overt *de* preceding APs in elliptical nominals (*dos de blaus* ‘two blue ones’)
c. *una dotzena de llibres* (‘a dozen books’)
d. *dos milions de persones* (‘two million people’)

⇒ ***De is part of the structure of all indefinite nominals, both partitives and quantitatives.***

III. Claims with respect to the structure of indefinite nominals and proposal

- (39) a. Quantifiers are lexical categories.

Quantifiers are not a closed class, they are not phonologically nor morphologically dependent but are stressed and can be separated from the noun, they can undergo derivative processes, they can in general be predicates, and they have more descriptive content than the clearly functional categories such as articles or inflection, which have just grammatical content.

- b. There is a lexical selection relationship between the Q and the N. In fact, QPs select NPs in quantitatives or DPs in partitives. The type of QP and the projection of N it selects (NP or DP) is responsible for the partitive or quantitative meaning.

Data containing modified or complex cardinals (e.g. *uns deu* ‘about ten’, *dos-cents* ‘two hundred’), fractions (e.g. *un terç* ‘one third’, *una part* ‘one part’) and lexicalised quantificational expressions (e.g. *un munt* ‘a pile’) show that the whole QP behaves as a unit with respect to N.

- c. The prepositional element present in partitives and some quantitatives is a functional element that appears merely for licensing conditions, to satisfy the Case requirement of the embedded N. This element is always projected in the structure, although sometimes it is not overtly realised.

There is some evidence in favour of considering it a functional category related to Case in partitives: Case marking is an alternative to the preposition in some languages nowadays (Finnish, Russian, Armenian) or in old stages (English) and even both strategies coexist within the same language (German).

Ne pronominalisation (in Catalan but also French and Italian) supports the claim that the prepositional element is part of the structure of quantitatives ⇒ internal Case.

- d. The quantitative element both in partitives and in quantitives is generated in a low position in the tree, inside a functional projection FP: the DP or NP is generated as the specifier of FP and the QP is generated as the complement of F⁰.

If the whole QP selects the N projection, then we need a structure that provides two positions for maximal phrases (\cong small clause). Evidence for a low basic position of QP comes from data with approximative modifiers (*deu dies aproximadamente* ‘ten days approximately’), postnominal quantifiers with the noun *thanks* (*grazie tante, thanks a lot*) and postnominal position of Qs in some languages.

- e. In parallel with qualitative predicate inversion within nominals (Kayne 1994, Den Dikken 1998, 2006), QP subsequently raises past the noun to a higher position in the structure, providing the right sequence of words.

- (40) a. tres (de les) novel·les
 three (of the) novels
 b. [DP (de) [FP [DP/NP (les) novel·les] F⁰ [QP tres]]]
-

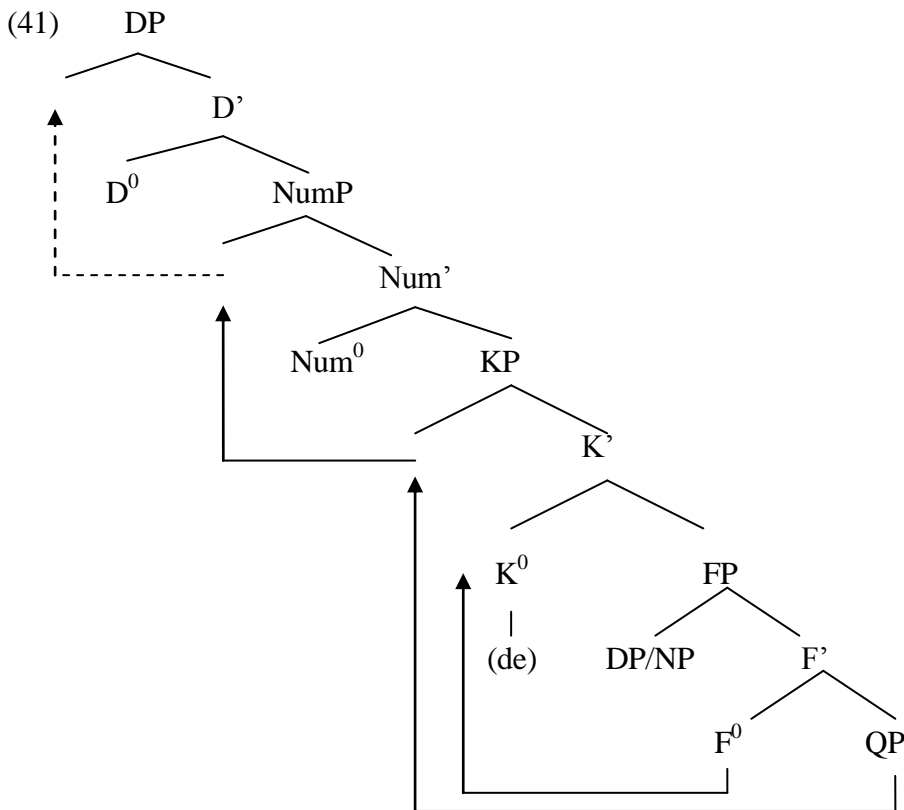
FP is a typical clausal configuration and predication is the usual relationship between two maximal categories as in all the cases studied by Kayne and Den Dikken, and as claimed by Corver (1998, 2001, 2009) and Corver and Zwarts (2006) for some quantitives to which they extend Den Dikken’s predicational analysis. However, here I defend that this is not the only possibility.

⇒ The lowest functional projection **FP accommodates two maximal projections which are semantically related (one selects the other)**. The nature of the lexical constituents that come into relation in FP and the type of semantic relation they have qualifies the configuration:

- **predicational FP** in ‘predicate inversion’ examples
- **quantificational FP** in partitives and quantitives.

In partitives and quantitives, three more functional projections are merged above FP:

- **KP (Case Phrase)**, needed to provide the low DP/NP with a Case feature. As proposed in the predicate inversion analysis, QP must raise to Spec KP and F⁰ must raise to K⁰ for the latter to become active as a Case assigner (*de* is a realisation of this Case assigner).
- **NumP** (the closest element to get a value for the number feature is the raised QP).
- **DP**, to which QP only raises if it has a specific feature.



Partitives and quantitatives share structure and derivation (but last step only in specific nominals)
 ⇒ What distinguishes these two types of nominals is the features of the lexical material (QP, and NP or DP) and the different type of agreement relations that take place within FP:

• **In partitives:**

- QP has its own number feature when starting the derivation and it does not agree with DP in FP (there is only gender Concord) (this explains the lack of number agreement between Q and N in partitives). Within FP, the QP inherits the [+Spec] feature from DP.
- As Num⁰ above KP gets the value of [±Number] feature from QP, it is QP that determines the number of the whole nominal, which can be different from the number of the lower DP.
- As QP inherits the [+Spec] feature, it values the top D⁰ as specific as well (which explains why all partitives are specific) and must raise to Spec DP (which precludes the insertion of a lexical determiner in D⁰, under the assumption that DP cannot be doubly filled).

• **In quantitatives:**

- QP gets number and gender both by Concord with NP within FP (this explains why Q agrees with N in quantitatives in both gender and number).
- Num⁰ above KP gets the value from QP like in partitives, but in this case it matches that of NP.
- Nominal is specific or non-specific depending on the value of QP feature: a [+Spec] QP raises to Spec DP like in partitives (the nominal is specific), whereas a [-Spec] QP raises only to Spec NumP (the nominal is non-specific: the DP projection ends up with no overt lexical material).

IV. Predicative QPs

- Same basic structure as starting point: FP (= partitives and quantitatives).
- A predicative QP has no [\pm Spec] feature; QP usually stays in situ and it is the subject that moves to get its Case feature valued (no KP) (\neq partitives and quantitatives) (but see 43b)
- A predicative QP can predicate of a DP —see ex. (42)— or of a NP —see ex. (43).

- (42) a. *Els meus estudiants són {molts / trenta / un munt}.*
‘My students are {many / thirty / a lot}.’
- b. *Els colons arribaven {a milers / en gran nombre}.*
‘Colons arrived {by the thousand / in large numbers}.’
- c. *Nosaltres dos hem de marxar.*
‘We two must be off.’
- (43) a. *Arribaven [colons {a milers / en gran nombre}].*
‘There arrived colons {by the thousand / in large numbers}.’
- b. *[Els tres llibres] són meus.*
‘The three books are mine.’

In this proposal QPs preceded by a determiner as *three* in *the three books* (see 43b) are not considered as adjectives contrary to what is often assumed in the literature \Rightarrow differences with respect to *three* in *three books* are derived from lack of [\pm Spec] feature (they are predicative QPs).

V. Conclusions

► I defend a unitary analysis of partitives and quantitatives: they share the same basic structure, where QP is generated in a very low position and raises past N. In particular, I claim that QP and DP/NP are generated inside a functional projection FP: QP in its complement position, DP/NP in Spec FP. Above FP other functional projections are merged: KP, NumP and DP:

$$(44) [\text{DP } \text{QP}_i \text{ D}^0 [\text{NumP } t_i \text{ Num}^0 [\text{KP } t_i \text{ F}_j^0 + \text{K}^0 (=de) [\text{FP } \text{NP}/\text{DP } t_j t_i]]]$$

► Given they share structure and derivation, I argue that the differences between partitives and quantitatives derive mainly from the lexical properties of the Q involved and from the nature of the nominal phrase selected by Q: a DP in partitives vs. a NP in quantitatives.

► The same basic structure FP is defended for predicative QPs, though functional categories above FP vary, especially if the resulting construction is a sentence instead of a nominal. Predicative Qs lack [\pm Spec] feature (\neq Qs in partitives or quantitatives: they have [\pm Spec] feature).

► Advantages of the analysis:

1. It covers a great amount of data and relates different types of constructions involving quantifiers:
 - it relates partitives to other indefinite nominals providing a general account
 - it accounts for predicational uses of quantifiers within nominals and in the clausal domain.
2. Although the analysis is mainly based on Catalan data, the conclusions reached extend easily to other languages such as Romance and Germanic languages.

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