ARTICLES AS PARTITIVES[**]
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These notes focus on a peculiar form of numeral partitive constructions with data drawn mainly from Catalan and Spanish corpora from the medieval and the classical periods.[1] The structures we discuss have been described in some traditional diachronic studies, but, to the best of our knowledge, they have never been given a formal account. The constructions we focus on show that cardinal partitives in several Old varieties of the Romance languages could be preceded by a definite determiner, in violation of well known restrictions that apply to their contemporary counterparts.

1. The data. Previous stages of Catalan, French, Italian and Spanish --henceforth O(ld)Cat, OFr, OIt and OSp--, show that partitive constructions with cardinal numerals appeared to conform to the pattern «definite determiner + numeral», as shown by the underlined sequences in the following examples:

(1) [OCat] Despús ayr rebí quatre lletres de vostra senyoria, les dos de·II·de abril, ý altra
de·VI·ý·altra de·XX·, que…
  (*Epistolari d'Hipòlita Roís de Liori i d'Estefania de Requesens* [1525-1549])
  The day before yesterday, (I) received four letters-FEM from your ladyship, two of them [*lit.* the two] from April 2, another from the 6th and another one from the 20th, that …

(2) [OFr] a. Des trois les deux son morts (Corneille, *Horace*, quoted in Togeby (1982))
  Of the three, two of them [*lit.* the two] are dead-MASC

b. De lui avoit il, si comme je vos aid it, uit enfans, les cinc vallés et les trois meschines
  (*Le Roman de Troie* 37.26-8; quoted in Foulet (1974, 194))
  of him had, as I have told you, eight children, five of them [*lit.*: the five] boys and three of them [*lit.*: the three] girls

(3) [OIt] a.Tre specci prenderai, e i due rimovi (Dante, *Paradiso* II, 97; quoted in Rohlfs (1969, 35))
  Three mirrors (you) will take, and two of them [*lit.* the two) (you) shall remove

b. …elli domandò: qual è il maestro di voi tre? L'uno si trasse avanti, e disse:…
  (*Il Novellino,*[Nov.XXI])
  he asked: who is the master among you three? One of them [*lit.* the-MASC,SING one-MASC] came forward and said:…

(4) [OSp] … rasqué todas las paredes y no había blanco más de las tres, y la una era negra
  (Alonso de Contreras, *Discurso de mi vida* [1597])
  …(I) scratched all-FEM the-FEM walls-FEM and there was white on no more than three of them [*lit.* the-FEM,PLUR three], and one of them [*lit.* the-FEM,SING one-FEM] was black

[1] Old Catalan examples come from *CICA* (*Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic*). Most Spanish examples are taken from the corpus of Old Spanish texts of the Spanish Royal Academy *CORDE* (*Corpus diacrónico del español).*

The above sequences have long been observed to have a partitive reading.[2] That is, OCat. *les dos* means 'two of them'. The cardinal expression names a subgroup of the group of entities denoted by a linguistic antecedent, as the corresponding English glosses indicate, and the determiner is anaphorically linked to this antecedent. The determiner-like pronominal that precedes the numeral agrees with it in number and gender, rather than with the DP that stands for the set in which the partition is made. This DP could appear as well in the «determiner + numeral» construction as the complement of the preposition *de* 'of':

(5) [OSp] A la primera arremetida mataron y tomaron a <u>los dos de los soldados</u>
        (F. Pedro de Aguado, *Historia de Santa Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada* [1568])
      At the first attack (they) killed and (they) took the-MASC,PLUR two of the-MASC,PLUR
      soldiers-MASC

(6) [OSp] Francisco de Hinojosa tiró dos o tres cañas al Clavero cara a cara, y <u>la una de ellas</u>
       por muy poco no le dio en un ojo
      (A Maldonado, *Hechos del Maestre de Alcántara don Alonso de Monroy* [c 1492])
      Francisco de Hinojosa. threw two or three stalks-FEM to the Clavero face to face, and
      the-FEM,SING one-FEM,SING of them-FEM,PLUR almost hit him on an eye

(7) [OCat] e fonch-los respost que eren hòmens ben aperssonats: especialment <u>lo un d'ells</u>
      era molt gran de la persona, e havia molt bona cara
               (*Curial e Güelfa* [XV cent] 235, 2.104)
      and answered them that (they) were well personed men; in particular one of them [*lit*: the-MASC,
      SING one-MASC of them-MASC] was very big of person, and (he) had very good face

(8) [OCat] E axí faç moltes gràcies al senyor rey, qui no volgué que per tan poca cosa <u>lo un de nós</u>
      se perdés, o per ventura abdosos, car de les coses que són per venir Deus tot sol sap la fi:
               (*Curial e Güelfa* [XV cent] 235, 2.104)
      and this (way) (I) make many thanks to the lord king, who did not want that for such a small thing
      one of us [*lit*: the-MASC,SING one-MASC of us] got wasted, of by chance both, because of the
      things that are to come God alone knows the end

The presence of a determiner-like pronoun in these constructions appears to violate the so-called *Anti-uniqueness Condition,* a restriction that requires these structures to be indefinite.[3] On a recent account for partitives, Martí (2002, 2006), applying Kayne's (1994, 86) analysis for possessive constructions of the types *Two pictures of John's*, indirectly derives *Anti-uniqueness* from the syntactic properties of the construction. Partitives, like possessives, are dominated by a non overt indefinite determiner that lacks case-licensing properties. The combined strategies of raising the numeral from an embedded position to the indefinite D specifier and inserting the preposition *de* 'of' in this indefinite D head both turn such a D/P into a Case licenser and results in the overt order where the cardinal numeral precedes the

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[2] See, among others, Meyer-Lübke (1900, 153), Gamillscheg (1957, 68), Lapesa (1992, 494) and Foulet (1974, 194). Contemporary French does not seem to allow this construction, but we have found the following sign at a Paris bookstore: *Une pièce 3 €; les deux 5 €* 'one piece 3 €; two of them [*lit*. the two] 5 €'. As regards Spanish, the following traditional nursery rhyme is well-known:

(i) [Sp] Tres hojitas, madre, tiene el arbolé   // <u>la una</u> en la rama, <u>las dos</u> en el pie
    three little leaves, mother, has the tree // one of them [*lit:* the one] in the branch, two of them [*lit:* the
    two] in the foot

[3] See, among others, Jackendoff (1977, 109), Barker (1998) and Kayne (1994, 86).

partitive sequence. This is abstractly shown in the analysis (9b) below corresponding to the example (9a) (from Martí 2006):

(9) a. [CCat] Dues de les novel·les
                two of the novels

   b. …[$_{D/PP}$ NUMERAL$_i$ [$_{D'/P'}$ (de) [$_{FP}$ DP [$_{F'}$ F t_i]]]]

Barker (1998) rejects syntactic accounts of *Anti-uniqueness*, attributing this property instead to the semantics of (proper) partitivity that characterizes this construction. Be as it may, it is worth noting that the Old partitive constructions appear to have coexisted with determinerless partitives, which parallel their corresponding Contemporary varieties in this respect. Milner (1978, 62), with French data, points out that the numeral expressing the extension of the subset must appear bare. Ungrammaticality obtains with a definite determiner, irrespectively of whether the set to which the partition belongs has been introduced in the previous discourse, as in (10a, b) or it is overtly expressed as the object of the preposition *de* 'of' as in (11a, b), in C(ontemporary)Sp. and C(ontemporary)Cat.:

(10) a. [CSp] Abrí las cuatro cajas y puse un objeto en (*las) <u>tres</u>   (cf. (4))
            (I) opened the-FEM,PLUR four boxes-FEM and (I) put an object in (*the-FEM,PLUR) three

    b. [CCat] Vaig rebre les tres caixes però (*les) <u>dues</u> estaven trencades   (cf. (1))
              (I) received the-FEM,PLUR three boxes-FEM,PLUR but (*the-FEM,PLUR) two-FEM,PLUR were
              broken-FEM,PLUR

(11) a. [CSp] El tahúr arrojó tres cartas a Pedro y (*las) <u>dos de ellas</u> le dieron en la cara   (cf. (6))
            the gambler threw three cards-FEM to Pedro and (*the FEM,PLUR) two of them-FEM,PLUR hit
            him on the face

   b. [CCat] En Pere no ha volgut que (*l') una de nosaltres es preocupés per això   (cf. (8))
            Pere has not wanted that (*the-FEM,SING) one-FEM of us got worried about this

We will now attempt to present a hypothesis to account for the function and characteristics of the determiner-like pronoun in Old constructions of the types (1)-(8). We will show that it is a pronoun but displays the formal characteristics of a determiner. Our analysis implies that cardinal partitives do not violate *Anti-uniqueness* in any variety or stage of Romance because this restriction involves only determiners. Our constructions always satisfy *Anti-uniqueness* and comply with Milner's (1978) observation that these structures cannot be preceded by a definite determiner.

2. Determiners as pronominals. As said, the Old Romance constructions exemplified in (1)-(4) do not denote a contextually maximal set of entities. Recall that OSp. *las tres* means in (4) 'three of them', as opposed to CSp. *las tres* 'the three of them'. The construction we consider introduces a partition in which the determiner is interpreted pronominally. This pronominal reading is salient in examples (1)-(4), and also in (12) and (13), where the items *los* 'L-MASC,PLUR' and *la* 'L-FEM,SING' preceding cardinals are anaphorically linked to the numeral phrase previously introduced: 'the nine hundred men (that C's army consisted of)' in (12) and 'the four times (that X's mother was arrested)' in (13):

(12) [OSp] Constaba entonces [el ejército de Cortés] de *novecientos hombres*; <u>los ciento noventa y
            cuatro</u> entre arcabuces y ballestas; los demás de espada, rodela y lanza; …
                    (Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneyra, *Historia de la conquista de México* [1684])

Consisted then [Cortés' army] of *nine hundred men*; <u>one hundred and ninety four of them</u> [*lit:* the one hundred and ninety four] between harquebuses and crossbows; the rest of sword, shield and spear; ...

(13) [OSp] …prendieron cuatro veces a tu madre,…y aun <u>la una</u> le levantaron que era bruja …

(Fernando de Rojas, *La Celestina*. [XV-XVI Cents.])

(they) arrested your mother four times,... and yet <u>one of them</u> [*lit*: the-FEM,SING one-FEM,SING] accused her of witchcraft

We have also seen that this pronominal-determiner can also "double" the most embedded DP in constructions of the types (5)-(8) above. Old Romance varieties, thus, exhibit an element with the interpretation of a pronoun but with the formal characteristics of a determiner. All cases conform to a peculiar agreement pattern: the determiner-pronoun does not agree with its linguistic antecedent or with its overt "doubled" constituent (the embedded DP). It agrees with the cardinal numeral in number and also in gender (overt in the numeral "one"). This pattern surfaces in cases like (6), (8) and (13),[4] which show the numeral *un/una* 'one-MASC/FEM' preceded by the singular *lo* or *la* 'L- MASC/FEM,SING'. Despite being singular, they are anaphorically related to the plural expression that denotes the set being partitioned. In our view, this formal agreement pattern may be accounted for under checking requirements imposed by the computational operation Agree, together with the locality conditions that apply to Move. Our account is coached under a proposal for partitives that we develop next.

2.1. The partitive structure. We follow the general lines of the structure for partitives proposed in Eguren (1989) according to whom the expression denoting the subset (the cardinal numeral in our case) is the head of the construction. Under this view, present day examples like (14a, b) conform to the abstract structure (14c), where the cardinal numeral takes the partitive preposition *de* 'of' as a complement. The preposition subcategorizes for a DP denoting the set to which the partition applies:

(14) a. [CCat] Dues de les dones
　　　　　 two-FEM of the women

　　 b. [CSp] Uno de ellos
　　　　　 One-MASC of them-MASC

　　 c. [$_{Card}$ CARD [$_P$ P$_{PART}$ [$_D$ …]]]

We adopt, from both Eguren (1989) and Martí (2002, 2006), the idea that partitives do not contain two NPs, one of which is, or may be, phonologically null. More concretely, the cardinal numeral does not have a phonologically null nominal complement but directly selects a partitive preposition phonologically realized as *de* 'of'. This amounts to saying that (14a) does not correspond to 'Two [~~women~~] of the women' under this account. Martí discusses several phenomena showing that two-NP structure configurations correspond to non-partitive constructions, which contrast with partitives with respect to quantifier licensing, modification, distribution and interpretation.[5]

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[4] See also the OSp. example (4), parallel to (12) and (13), where the determiner pronoun is interpreted anaphorically, as well as the OCat. (7).

[5] The two NP structure has been proposed, with several variants, in Milner (1978), Zamparelli (1998) and Cardinaletti & Giusti (2006), among many others. Eguren's and Martí's "single-NP" proposal, together with the partitive interpretation of the preposition that relates the subset and the set, has also the advantage of addressing

2.2. Doubling. We have shown that the Old equivalents of examples of the types (14a, b) appear preceded by a clitic pronoun that formally surfaces as a determiner (see (5)-(8)). Recall that this pronoun has to be interpreted as a plural, linked to the embedded DPs in all partitive structures. This suggests that the embedded DP represented in (14c) may conform to a doubled "big DP" structure, similar to those proposed in Torrego (1995, 217), Uriagereka (1995, 81) and Cecchetto (2000, 111), among others, for clitic doubling and clitic left dislocation (CLLD) structures. For concreteness, we adopt a configuration similar to Torrego's structure (her (21c)), where the doubling pronominal (to which we will now refer to simply as "clitic") merges with the doubled DP denoting the set being partitioned:

(15)   [$_{BIG\,DP}$ clitic [$_{D'}$ D NP]]

Empirical evidence shows that the doubling clitic in the 'big DP' specifier shares with this DP gender features together with definiteness. It does not share case with it, unlike its clausal clitic doubling counterpart. Person and number features are not shared either between the clitic and its "doublee" in the initial configuration (15), as shown in examples such as (8) where *lo un de nos* [lit: *l*-MASC,SING one-MASC of us-MASC] simply means 'one of us'.

The "big-DP" structure represented in (15) above merges with the partitive preposition *de* 'of', which assigns, or checks, the case of the DP.[6] The clitic does not receive from --or check case with-- the preposition, being on the DP specifier position. The clitic remains therefore "visible" for movement and must raise to a suitable environment where its formal features can be checked and valued, as well as deleted if uninterpretable. The closest structural position, and minimal link of the chain formed by movement, is the specifier of the partitive preposition:

(16)   … [$_{PP}$ clitic$_i$ P [$_{BIG\,DP}$ t$_i$ [$_{D'}$ D NP]]]

Such a position can hypothetically be a suitable environment for feature checking when the complex syntactic object (16) merges with the cardinal numeral. The numeral is selected with its corresponding number and gender features (overt or covert) and also with whichever
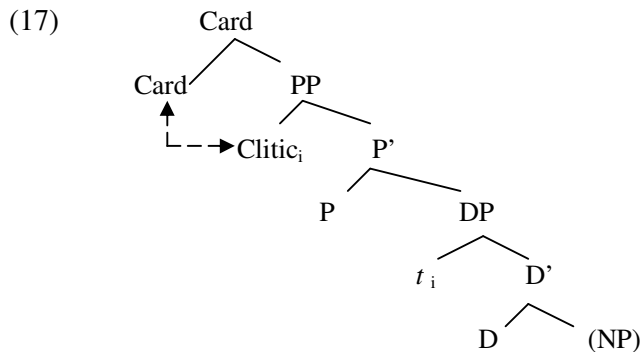
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a problem that arises with relational nouns in the two-NPs hypothesis. Barker (1998, 681), with data from English, points out at an interpretive difference reproduced in Catalan examples (i) and (ii):

(i) [CCat] Dos dels sis col·legues d'en Pere
        two of the six colleagues of (the) Pere
(ii)   Dos col·legues dels sis col·legues d'en Pere
        two colleagues of the six colleagues of (the) Pere

In (i), a subset out of the set of six individuals that constitute the totality of Pere's colleagues is denoted. This interpretation does not obtain in (ii), where the relation expressed is different. Unlike in (i), the two colleagues in (ii) are not necessarily Pere's colleagues, but only colleagues of his colleagues. Barker claims that the English equivalents to (i) and (ii) contain two different but homophonous prepositions *de* 'of'. We adopt his insight and assume that the first *de* is a partitive P, meaning 'out of' or 'among', licensed by the numeral. This P relates the numeral with the DP that denotes the set being partitioned. The preposition *de* 'of' in (ii) is a possessive genitive case marker licensed by an "upstairs" NP, overt or null, which is the complement of the numeral. The two-NP configuration relates two expressions with a possessive (not a partitive) preposition.

[6] We assume that the DP is endowed with a structural partitive case but, as far as we can tell, our analysis would not change if the DP case is inherent. Antilla & Fong (2000) report that the part-whole relation can be expressed by two overt morphological cases on the embedded DP constituent in Finnish partitive constructions: partitive and elative. The case alternation is related to the type of determiner of the subcategorized DP.

structural case corresponds to the syntactic function of the whole partitive complex. In the following configuration, the clitic and the cardinal numeral can match their case and number feaures:

(17)

Card
├── Card'
│   └── →Clitic$_i$
└── PP
    └── P'
        ├── P
        └── DP
            ├── t_i
            └── D'
                ├── D
                └── (NP)

Recall that this clitic displays the formal features of a determiner, hence a proclitic in Western Romance languages. From its syntactic position in (17), the determiner-pronoun (the clitic) morpho-phonologically incorporates to the (phonologically robust) cardinal head. The process discussed applies both to overt clitic doubling configurations as in (5)-(8) and configurations of the types (1)-(4) above. In the latter, a PP deletion analysis (similar to VP deletion in sentential structures) must be posited.

We are well aware that this account raises a number of problems. One of them is the specific implementation of the feature matching operation between the cardinal numeral and those of the "determiner-pronoun". Another problem is that we have also assumed that the case assigned by the partitive preposition to the big DP is not transmitted to the clitic in its specifier, as opposed clitic doubling or CLLD in sentential structures. We have suggested that lack of case-checking in its most embedded position is what triggers the movement of the "determiner-pronoun" (the clitic) towards the environment of the numeral. An anonymous reviewer suggests to us that our clitic may be a weak pronoun, in the sense of Cardinaletti & Starke (1999), that raises from [Spec, PP], as in (17) above, to [Spec, CardP] to check features with the Cardinal head. Independently of whether we classify this element as a weak pronoun or as a clitic, and of which particular specifier position does it occupy at Spell-Out, it is more intriguing in our view that this pronoun concords with the cardinal numeral in a determiner-like fashion. Some empirical evidence available seems to point out that clitic-cardinal agreement in Old Romance partitive construction is not only in gender and number, as our examples show, but extends to (abstract) case also. As is well-known, case inflections were partially lost in Vulgar Latin, and demonstratives gradually acquired the features of definite determiners. Consider the following example (from Lapesa (1992, 494)):

(18) [VLat]. … frexit castitates filias uiris idoneis et ad <u>illa una</u> mattauit
                              [1016, *Col Docum. León*, III, 741:310]
            raped chaste daughters (to) suitable men and ILLA one killed
            'He raped the chaste daughters of suitable men and he killed *one of them*'

This sentence exemplifies in Vulgar Latin the construction we have discussing, since *illa una* has the partitive interpretation 'one of them' (that is, *one*-FEM *of them*-FEM), as in (4) above. Overt case agreement (dative) obtains between *uiris* and *idoneis.* Covert case agreement

occurs between *illa* and *una.* Insertion of the preposition *ad* (unavailable in classical Latin for direct objects) allows its complement to avoid overt accusative case inflection.[7]

One might be tempted to argue that determiner-like clitics in the Old Romance partitive construction we are dealing with are the overt expression of the specificity features that have been claimed to be a property of partitive constructions. In the next section we will argue against this possibility.

3. Partitive complements and specificity. QPs in partitive structures have generally been associated with the interpretive property of specificity. Enç (1991, 10) argued that these constructions are necessarily specific, and claimed that this property is crucial to account for the impossibility of partitives in existential *there-be* sentences. The existence of languages where specificity has a morphological realization in nominal constructions[8] might suggest that the Old partitive determiner might be associated with specificity. However, this association is not exceptionless, either in Contemporary or in Old Romance. In fact, present day constructions show that non-specific partitive interpretations are natural, as shown by examples (19a, b) and (20):

(19) [CSp] a. Cuando un hombre y una mujer conviven, muere <u>uno cualquiera de ellos</u> y tienen
             hijos en común…
               when a man and a woman live together, dies one whichever of them and (they) have
                children in common …

           b. De las cuatro cosas que te ofrece, escoge <u>dos cualesquiera de ellas</u>, las que quieras.
              of the four things that (s/he) offers, choose two whichever of them, the (ones) that (you) want

(20) [CCat] El cavaller va atacar el genet amb tanta força que li va fer perdre <u>un dels estreps</u>
             de la sella
               the knight attacked the horseman with such strength that (he) to-him made loose one of the
                stirrups of the saddle

The partitives in (19a, b) with the indefinite *cualquiera/cualesquiera* 'whichever-SING/PLUR' following the numeral can only be interpreted as non-specific.[9] The example (20) is ambiguous with respect to (non)-specificity. The stirrup selected from the set *els estreps de*

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[7] Giusti (2001, 167) suggests that the bi-syllabic elements of the ILLE paradigm occupied a specifier position. The loss of their first syllable in the transition from Latin to Romance (i.e. (IL)LE) triggered its subsequent reanalysis as a head. In light of all the previous discussion, the Vulgar Latin example (18) appears to support Giusti's conjecture.

[8] See, among others, Enç (1991) and Aboh (2002) with data from Turkish and Gungbe respectively. Norwegian definite enclitic article has also been argued to be [specific], while its prenominal counterpart is only [definite]. See Julien (2005) and Svenonius and Ramchand (to appear) on this topic.

[9] The constructions that include *cualquiera/qualsevol* are ungrammatical in contexts that require expressions interpreted specifically. These are the subject of : (a) locative sentences with *ser-hi* 'be-there', (b) possessive 'be-POSS' predicates and (c) that of small clauses (see Rigau 1988) :

(i) a. [CCat] Un (*qualsevol) dels nois no hi és
               one (*whichever) of the boys not there-is
    b. [CCat] Dues (*qualsevols) de les caixes són seves
               two (*whichever) of the boxes are his/her/theirs
    c. [CSp] El tribunal ha considerado tres (*cualesquiera) de las enmiendas inconstitucionales
               the court has considered three (*whichever) of the amendments unconstitutional

la sella 'the saddle's stirrups' does not have to be a particular one of the (usually two) that a saddle has. Examples (19a, b) have been modeled after the Old Spanish (21a, b) respectively. The latter display the determiner-pronoun, in spite of the fact that they can be interpreted neither as definite nor as specific:

(21) a. [OSp] ..., quando marido & muger biuen en uno & muere después <u>el vno qualquierd'ellos</u>, &
an fijos en uno, et…
(1284. Anonimous, *Libro de los Fueros de Castiella*)
…, when husband and wife live in one and dies after one [*lit*. the one] whichever of them and
have children in one, and…

b. [OSp] ... que escoga en dos cosa que le manda <u>la vna qualquier d'ellas</u> que quisiere.
(1491. Anonimous, *Siete Partidas de Alfonso X*. BNM I 766)
.. that (s/he) choose in two things that (s/he) to-him/her sends, one [*lit*. the one] whichever of
hem that (s/he) wants

Finally, cardinal partitives with *cualquiera/cualesquiera* 'whichever-SING/PLUR', as in (19a, b) above, behave like partitives without such a modifier in existential *there-be* constructions. Both are ungrammatical in this environment, as shown in (22):

(22) [CSp] *Hay tres (cualesquiera) de las vacas en el prado.
there are three (whichever) of the cows in the meadow

The general unavailability of (22), with or without the modifier, suggests that specificity is not the right notion to appeal to in order to rule out cardinal partitives in existential sentences. Non-specific interpretations of both present day numeral partitives and their Old Romance counterparts are attested, and both are equally natural.

4. Conclusion. In this paper we have made the following claims:

(i) Old Romance apparently displays the structure «determiner + cardinal numeral» with a partitive interpretation: the determiner stands for the set from which the partition is made, and the cardinal stands for the quantificational subset. Both elements agree in gender, number and, we claim, also case.
(ii) This clitic is a full definite pronoun able to double the complement of the partitive PP. It originates as the specifier of a big-DP selected by a partitive prepositional head. The latter is the complement of the cardinal numeral.
(iii) The clitic raises to the checking domain of the cardinal numeral, agreeing with it in formal features. This matching operation gives the clitic pronoun the "look" of a determiner. Given that determiners are proclitics, the clitic pronoun occupies the corresponding morpho-phonological position preceding the numeral.
(iv) Neither the Old Romance partitive construction nor its present-day counterpart are necessarily specific. Thus, "definiteness effects" triggered by partitive constructions are not related to specificity.

We may now raise the obvious question of why the old «determiner + cardinal numeral» construction does no longer exist in Western Romance. One may speculate that it is possibly present syntactically, but with a phonologically null definite pronoun. Our conjecture may be related to the apparent definiteness triggered by partitives. In fact, the effect might be a straightforward consequence of the syntax of this construction.

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