

Contents

1 Introduction	1
1.1. Part structures in the semantics of natural language	1
1.2. The analogy between the semantics of plural, mass, and singular count noun phrases	6
1.3. The traditional view of part structures	11
1.4. The mass-count distinction: the extensional mereological account	16
1.5. A new notion of part structure for natural language	19
1.5.1. The information-based account of the mass-count distinction	20
1.5.2. Characterizations of integrated wholes	26
1.5.3. Formal properties of part structures	27
1.5.4. Situated part structures	29
1.6. Summary	35
Appendix: Comparison with other approaches	35
1A.1. Notions related to the notion of integrated whole in other semantic approaches	36
1A.2. The notion of integrated whole and the notion of sortal concept	37
1A.3. Related approaches to the mass-count distinction	39
2 The Formal Semantic Framework and the Treatment of Distributivity	40
2.1. General issues concerning sentence meaning	40
2.2. Compositional situation semantics for simple constructions	43
2.3. The treatment of distributivity	48
2.3.1. The problem of distributivity and types of distributivity phenomena	49
2.3.2. Ways of treating distributivity	51
2.3.3. An account of distributivity based on situated part structures and disjunctive lexical meanings	55
3 Semantic Selection, Part Structures, and Perspectives	61
3.1. The Accessibility Requirement	62
3.1.1. The basic data and the generalization	62
3.1.2. Semantic selection and perspectives	69

- 3.2. The Integrated Parts Requirement 87
 - 3.2.1. The basic data and the generalization 87
 - 3.2.2. Constructional satisfaction of the Integrated Parts Requirement 91
 - 3.2.3. Contextual satisfaction of the Integrated Parts Requirement 101
- 3.3. Other part-structure-sensitive semantic selectional requirements 102

- 4 Part Structures and Quantification 104**
 - 4.1 Quantification with plural and mass NPs 105
 - 4.1.1. A uniform treatment of plural and mass universal quantification 105
 - 4.1.2. Further predictions of the account 109
 - 4.2. Existential quantification over groups and quantities 111
 - 4.3. Focused quantifiers 116
 - 4.4. 'Generalized' part quantifiers 123
 - 4.4.1. Adjectival generalized part quantifiers 123
 - 4.4.2. Generalized part quantifiers of the type *all*-definite NP 128
 - 4.4.3. Further properties of generalized part quantifiers 131
 - 4.5. *Each other, same/different*, and part quantification 133
 - 4.5.1. Reciprocals and quantification over parts 134
 - 4.5.2. *Same/Different*, its semantic antecedent, and the part structure of its antecedent 135

- 5 Metrical and Other Lexical Specifications of Part Structures 141**
 - 5.1. The lexical meaning of frequency expressions 142
 - 5.1.1. Frequency expressions as part-structure attributes 145
 - 5.1.2. The lexical meaning of frequency expressions as a part-structure property 145
 - 5.1.3. Implications of the lexical semantics of frequency expressions 149
 - 5.2. German mass quantifiers 152
 - 5.2.1. The metrical determiner *manche(s)* 152
 - 5.2.2. German vague count quantifiers and the mass-count distinction 156
 - 5.3. Conclusions 161

- 6 Dimensions of Parts and Wholes and the Part Structure of Events 163**
 - 6.1. Multidimensional part structures of objects and events 163
 - 6.2. Integrity in different dimensions 164
 - 6.2.1. Adverbial and adnominal part-structure modifiers 165
 - 6.2.2. An account based on relativized integrity and perspectives 169
 - 6.3. Parts in different dimensions 175
 - 6.3.1. Multidimensional part structures of objects 175
 - 6.3.2. Multidimensional part structures of events 178
 - 6.4. Apparent ambiguities with vague event quantifiers and frequency expressions 182

6.5.	Apparent ambiguities with adverbs of completion	184
6.5.1.	The part-quantificational account of adverbs of completion	184
6.5.2.	The multiple readings of adverbs of completion in English	187
6.5.3.	German <i>ganz</i>	194
6.5.4.	Warlpiri quantifier preverbs	197
6.5.5.	Parameters governing the restrictions on the possible readings of expressions of completion	199
6.6.	Apparent ambiguities with concrete event quantifiers	201
6.6.1.	<i>Same/Different</i> in the internal reading	201
6.6.2.	Apparent ambiguities with predicates of concrete events	203
6.6.3.	'Floated quantifiers' ranging over event	205
6.6.4.	Binary distributive event quantifiers	206
6.7.	Conclusions	216
7	The Mass-Count Distinction for Verbs and Adverbial Quantification over Events	218
7.1.	Verbs and the mass-count distinction	218
7.2.	Adverbial quantifiers as mass quantifiers	219
7.2.1.	Adverbial simple mass quantifiers	221
7.2.2.	Frequency adverbs	228
7.2.3.	Adverbial measure-phrase constructions	229
7.3.	Pronominal reference to events	230
7.4.	N'-Conjunction with deverbal nominalizations	233
7.5.	A possible explanation of the mass-status of verbs	236
	Appendix: Clauses and the mass-count distinction	237
7A.1.	Clauses and the diagnostics of mass categories	237
7A.2.	Pronominal reference to propositions	237
7A.3.	Clauses and agreement	238
7A.4.	Plurals and concealed propositions	239
7A.5.	Requirements on the countability of situations	240
8	Concluding Remark about Part Structures and Natural Language	244
	Bibliography	245
	Index	251