

## A Silent Noun in Partitives

This paper proposes a new analysis of the partitive construction in English (1a) and Japanese (1b) that also extends to puzzling Japanese construction (1c) that superficially looks like the reverse of a partitive. We argue that all three are derived from a structure like (2), which has two nouns, by phonetic deletion of one of the nouns.

**English Partitives:** Prior discussions of partitives (Ladusaw 1982, Keenan and Stavi 1986, Matthewson 2001) have generally sought to assimilate partitives to non-partitive quantifiers consisting of a determiner and a single noun head. We propose that partitives always contain two head nouns, one of which is silent. Our analysis of (1a) is shown in (3). We call the two noun heads *Part-Noun* and *Whole-Noun* as shown in (3). In (1a), the part-noun is deleted at PF, which can be licensed with the whole-noun as the antecedent like other ellipsis (cf. Rooth 1992).

We assume the lexical entry for *of* given in (1). This lexical entry is independently needed for examples like (5). Because the first argument of *of* must be of type *e*, quantificational DPs are blocked in this position as shown by (6) (cf. Ladusaw 1982).

Three pieces of evidence show that our analysis is superior to analyses with a single noun head:

**1: Pronounced Part-Nouns:** (7) shows that the part-noun can be deleted in English partitives if the lower determiner is a NP-deletion licensing demonstrative. Furthermore, while examples like (8) feel redundant, it is possible in (9) to pronounce both noun heads of the partitive. For (7), (8), and (9), the lexical entry for *of* in (4) is independently required.

**2: Determiner Sensitivity:** NP-deletion is not licensed by the determiners *the*, *every*, and *no* as shown by (10) (cf. [lobeck95]). (11) shows that the same determiners also cannot occur as the higher determiner in a partitive.

**3: Part-Noun Variability:** If a different antecedent for noun deletion is salient or can be accommodated, our proposal predicts that the deleted part-noun can be different from the whole-noun. (11) and (12) corroborate this prediction: (11) allows an interpretation where *most* quantifies over parts of papers. In (12), the singular whole-NP leaves only such an interpretation possible as a single book doesn't have any true book-parts.

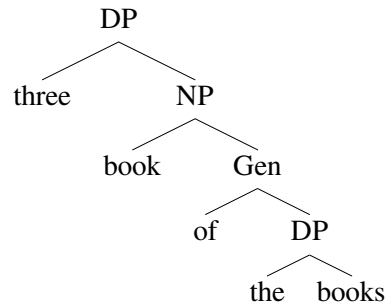
**Japanese:** Japanese has a regular partitive (14a), which shares all the properties of the English partitive. We assume the analysis in (14b), which is analogous to English except for the word-order.

Consider now the Japanese example (15a), where the quantifier seems to bear Genitive case. Within general theories of nominal quantification (Barwise and Cooper 1981, Matthewson 2001, ...), (15a) is a puzzle because the quantifier seems to be an argument of the noun. We propose that (15a) is derived from a partitive structure, but involves deletion of the whole-noun rather than the part-noun as shown in (14b). Our analysis allows the whole-noun to be different from the overt part-noun as shown in (15). Therefore, we predict that while the true partitive (14a) presupposes the existence of four or more books, (15a) only has the vacuous presupposition that something else other than three books exist.

**Further Evidence:** With *hotondo* ('most'), the normal Japanese partitive in (17) allows quantification over parts of a book just like the English (13) does. The reverse partitive in (18), however, does not allow this interpretation. This follows from our analysis, because the part-noun *hon* (book) is pronounced in (18) and therefore quantification must be over books. For the same reason, the missing interpretation of (18) is also absent in the English (19) as opposed to (13).

- (1) a. three of the books  
b. hon-no san-satsu  
book-GEN three-Classifier  
c. san-satsu-no hon  
three-Classifier-GEN book

(2)



(3) three [ books of the books ].  
part-noun whole-noun

(4)  $\llbracket \text{of} \rrbracket (x^e)(P^{et})(y^e) = 1$  iff.  $P(y) = 1$  and  $y$  is a proper part of  $x$

(5) a. John read three books of that pile.

b. John read three pages of those books.

(6) \*three of every/each/most/no book(s)

(7) John read only three books of all those ~~books~~ that were assigned.

(8) ??John read most books of the books.

(9) John read only three books of all the books Mary recommended.

(10) a. John read all/most/three/those/none ~~books~~ of the books.

b. \*John read the/every/no ~~books~~ of the books.

(11) a. Sue read all these books, but John didn't read all/most/three/those/none ~~books~~

b. \*Sue read all these books, but John didn't read the/every/no ~~books~~

(12) This term, John has to write four papers. By now, each paper is almost finished.

a. He wrote most ~~parts~~ of the papers.

(13) John read most ~~parts~~ of the book.

(14) a. John-wa hon-no san-satsu-o yonda  
John-TOP book-GEN three-CI-ACC read

b. [ book-GEN [ three  $t_{DP}$  ~~book~~ ]<sub>DP</sub> ]<sub>DP</sub>

(15) a. John-wa san-satsu-no hon-o yonda  
John-TOP three-CI-GEN book-ACC read

b. ... san-satsu [<sub>WholeDP</sub> ~~hon~~ ]-no hon ...

(16) ... san-satsu [<sub>WholeDP</sub> ~~none~~ ]-no hon

'... three books of all the stuff ...'

(17) a. John-wa hon-no hotondo-o yonda  
John-TOP book-GEN most-ACC read

'John read most parts of the book(s).'

'John read most of the books.'

b. [ book-GEN [ most  $t_{\text{book}}$  ]<sub>DP</sub> ]<sub>DP</sub>

(18) a. John-wa hotondo-no hon-o yonda  
John-TOP most-GEN book-ACC read

'John read most of the books.'

\*'John read most parts of the book(s).'

b. ... hotondo [<sub>WholeDP</sub> ~~hon~~ ]-no hon ...

(19) \*John read most book of that.

**Selected Reference:** MATTHEWSON, LISA. 2001. Quantification and the nature of crosslinguistic variation. *Natural Language Semantics* 9.145–189.