

*Dues novel·les de les que em vas recomanar: a partitive nominal?*¹

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0 Introduction

Partitives have been often related in the literature to nominals that contain the same elements in the string, but in a different order: in the latter the noun immediately follows the quantifier, as illustrated in (1b).

- (1) a. dues de les novel·les que em vas recomanar partitive
two of the novels that to-me recommended_{2sg}
'two of the novels you recommended to me'
- b. dues novel·les de les que em vas recomanar
two books of the that to-me recommended_{2sg}
'two novels of the ones you recommended to me'

The difference between the partitive example in (1a) and the example in (1b) is apparently very slight and in the literature it has been claimed that they share the same basic structure. Two different types of explanation have been defended. In one, these two examples are related derivationally, this is to say, (1b) is the result of N movement applied to (1a), as is represented in (2):²

- (2) a. dues de les [novel·les] que em vas recomanar
b. dues [novel·les]_i de les t_i que em vas recomanar
- 

Another approach posits a basic structure with two nouns, the difference being which noun is phonetically realised: the lower one in (1a) and the upper one in (1b), as is illustrated in (3):

¹ An earlier version of this work was presented, under the title “*Two books of those: a partitive nominal?*”, at the *15th Colloquium on Generative Grammar* held at the Universitat de Barcelona, 4-6 April 2005. I thank the audience for all their comments and questions.

² This is proposed e.g. by Lorenzo (1995: 219) for Spanish.

- (3) a. dues ~~novel·les~~ de les novel·les que em vas recomanar
 b. dues novel·les de les ~~novel·les~~ que em vas recomanar

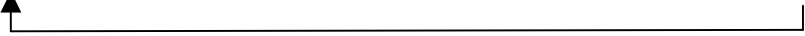

This latter approach is more commonly adopted than the former.³

However, a more careful look at data shows that these two kinds of nominals have less in common than it seems at first sight. We will claim that examples like (1b) are not partitives on the basis of syntactic as well as semantic arguments, which are given below. Indeed, the nominals in (1b) pattern with common indefinite nominals and differ from partitives with respect to:

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

Moreover: 5. Nominals like (1b) can cooccur with partitives.

The conclusion is that (1a) and (1b) are two types of nominals and need different analyses, as their differences cannot be accounted for by any unitary approach (whether (2) or (3)). We claim that partitives have a structure with a single noun in which the quantifier selects a DP and the preposition is just a licenser –see (4a)–, whereas nominals like (1b) have a structure with two nouns where the quantifier selects a NP which contains a PP modifier –see (4b).

- (4) a. $[_{DP} \text{dues}_i \text{ [de } [_{FP} [_{DP} \text{les novel·les que em vas recomanar}] [_{F^o} F^o \text{ [QP } t_i \text{]}]]]] \text{ partitive}$

 b. $[_{DP} \text{dues}_i \text{ [} [_{FP} [_{NP} \text{novel·les } [_{PP} \text{de les e que em vas recomanar}]]] [_{F^o} F^o \text{ [QP } t_i \text{]}]]]]$


In this study Catalan data is mainly used, but the conclusions reached are true of other languages, especially Romance.

In the next sections, the different behaviour of examples in (1) with respect to each point is extensively described and illustrated.

2 Type of quantifier

Nominals with an overt noun following the quantifier are subject to fewer restrictions than partitives with respect to the type of quantifier allowed, a difference which we would not expect if they were instances of the same construction, no matter which approach is taken. Catalan provides interesting data given that in this language partitives show many restrictions on the quantifier, which are not present in examples like (1b).

Observe the well-formed sentences in (5), where the nominals contain quantifiers such as *un munt* ('a pile'), *força* ('quite a lot'), approximative *uns* ('about'), *poc* ('few'), *nombrós*

³ See Bonet and Solà (1986), Ramos (1992), Brucart and Rigau (2002) for Catalan; Hernanz and Brucart (1987) for Spanish; Milner (1978) for French; Cardinaletti and Giusti (1992, 2006), Zamparelli (1998) for Italian. Other authors that propose a basic structure with two nouns for partitives are Selkirk (1977), Jackendoff (1977), Abney (1987), Delsing (1993), Sleeman (1996), Doetjes (1997), Vos (1999).

(‘numerous’), the null quantifier (or the absence of a quantifier), *molt* (‘much’) and *una mica* (‘a little’):

- (5) a. He llençat *un munt de llibres dels que guardava a l’armari.*
 have_{1sg} thrown-away a pile of books of-the that kept_{1sg} in the-cupboard
 ‘I threw away *lots of books of the ones I kept in the cupboard.*’
- b. Han vingut *força alumnes dels de primer.*
 have_{3pl} come quite-a-lot students of-the of first
 ‘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.*
 have_{3pl} fired about forty workers of-the that had_{3pl} employed
 in the last two years
 ‘*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.*
 have_{1sg} seen few films of the starred by-the brothers Marx
 ‘I’ve seen *few films of the ones starred by Marx brothers.*’
- e. En aquest llibre hi ha *nombrosos errors dels que només cometeria un mal editor.*
 in this book there has numerous errors of-the that only would_{3sg}-make a bad 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.*
 to me pleases read novels of the romantic / of the that to-you move_{3pl}
 ‘I like reading *novels of the romantic type / of the type that move you.*’
- g. Al cistell hi ha *pomes de les vermelles / d’aquelles que vam comprar l’altre dia.*
 in-the basket there has apples of the red / of-those that bought_{1pl} the-other day
 ‘In the basket there are *apples of the red variety / of the ones we bought the other day.*’
- h. He menjat *molt pastís del que ha portat ta germana.*
 have_{1sg} eaten much cake of-the that has brought your sister
 ‘I ate *a lot of cake from the one your sister brought.*’
- i. Només he comprat *una mica de vi del blanc.*
 only have_{1sg} bought a bit of wine of-the white
 ‘I only bought *a little wine of the white variety.*’

Notice that the quantifiers inside the nominals in (5) are all legitimate in common indefinite nominals, even null quantifiers –or the absence of a quantifier– as in (5fg),⁴ but they are impossible or much less acceptable in the partitive “version” of them, as shown in (6):⁵

⁴ However, the indefinite article does not behave as expected: it is not allowed in partitives and it does not work very well with nominals of the type in (5) either, although it is fine with common quantitatives, as shown in (ia,b,c) respectively:

- (i) a. *He llegit *unes de les novel·les romàntiques / unes de les novel·les que em vas deixar.*
 have_{1sg} read a_{pl} of the novels romantic / a_{pl} of the novels that to-me lent_{2sg}
- b. */ ?? He llegit *unes novel·les de les romàntiques / unes novel·les de les que em vas deixar.*
 have_{1sg} read a_{pl} novels of the romantic / a_{pl} novels of the that to-me lent_{2sg}
- c. He llegit *unes novel·les romàntiques / unes novel·les que em vas deixar.*
 have_{1sg} read a_{pl} novels romantic / a_{pl} novels that to-me lent_{2sg}

I have no explanation for the contrast between (ib) and (ic), but note that there is still a difference with respect to partitives –(ia) is completely ungrammatical–, which becomes stronger in certain examples of the sort of (ib) in which the indefinite article is more acceptable:

- (6) a. */?? He llençat *un munt dels llibres que guardava a l'armari.*
 'I threw away *lots of the books I kept in the cupboard.*'
- b. * Han vingut *força dels alumnes de primer.*
 'There came *quite a lot of the first year students.*'
- c. */?? Han acomiadat *uns quaranta dels treballadors que havien contractat en els darrers dos anys.*
 'About *forty of the workers that had been employed in the last two years* have been fired.'
- d. * He vist *poques de les pel·lícules protagonitzades pels germans Marx.*
 'I've seen *few of the films starred by Marx brothers.*'
- e. * En aquest llibre hi ha *nombrosos dels errors que només cometria un mal editor.*
 in this book there are numerous of-the errors that only would make a bad editor
- f. *A mi m'agrada llegir *de les novel·les romàntiques / de les novel·les que*
 to me pleases read of the novels romantic / of the novels that
t'emocionen.
 to-you move_{3pl}
- g. * Al cistell hi ha *de les pomes vermelles / d'aquelles pomes que vam comprar*
 in-the basket there has of the apples red / of-those apples that bought_{1pl}
l'altre dia.
 the-other day
- h. * He menjat *molt del pastís que ha portat ta germana.*
 'I ate *much of the cake your sister brought.*'
- i. * He comprat *una mica del vi blanc.*
 'I bought *a little of the white wine.*'

The contrast between the acceptability of the sentences in (5) and (6) would very difficult to explain if the nominals inside them had the same structure and were just variants of the same construction.

Note also that the reason for the ungrammaticality of (6) cannot be that those quantifiers are not licensed when they are followed by an empty noun, as the grammatical examples in (7) show:⁶

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- (ii) a. ?He conegut unes noies de les que van sempre a la moda.
 have_{1sg} met a_{pl} girls of the that go always to the fashion
 'I have met some girls of the ones that always follow fashion.'
- b. ?Uns alumnes dels de primer van arribar tard a l'acte.
 a_{pl} students of-the of first arrived_{3pl} late at the-event
 'Some students of the ones in the first year were late at the event.'

⁵ Catalan partitives are quite restrictive with respect to the type of quantifiers they allow.

⁶ As the nominals are all in object position, the clitic *en* is necessary in Catalan, which is coindexed with the empty noun following the quantifier. If they were in subject position, no clitic would appear, as in (i):

- (i) a. [Uns quaranta *e*] es van manifestar davant de l'ajuntament.
 'About forty demonstrated in front of the town hall.'
- b. [Poques *e*] han estat doblades al català.
 'Few have been dubbed into Catalan.'

where *e* stands for an empty category, which can refer to *treballadors* 'workers' and *pel·lícules dels germans Marx* 'Marx brothers films', respectively. Actually, the empty category is a noun phrase given that it can correspond to a noun with modifiers. Whether it is a NP or a DP is not important for the discussion and depends on the analysis.

- (7) a. N'he llençat *un munt*.
of-them-have_{1sg} trown-away a pile
'I trow away lots of them.'
- b. N'han vingut *força*.
of-them-have_{3pl} come quite-a-lot
'There came quite a lot of them.'
- c. N'han acomiadat *uns quaranta*.
of-them-have_{3pl} fired about forty
'About forty have been fired.'
- d. N'he vist *poques*.
of-them-have_{1sg} seen few
'I've seen few of them.'
- e. A mi m'agrada llegir-ne.
to-me pleases reading-of-them
'I like reading this kind of novels.'
- f. Al cistell n'hi ha.
in-the basket of-them-there has
'There are some in the basket.'
- g. N'he menjat *molt*.
of-it-have_{1sg} eaten much
'I ate much of it.'
- i. N'he comprat *una mica*.
of-it-have_{1sg} bought a bit
'I bought a little of it.'

The wellformedness of the nominals in (8) indicates that they are the counterpart of (5) with an empty noun (rather than being true partitives, where those quantifiers would not be licensed – see (6) above):

- (8) a. N'he llençat *un munt dels que guardava a l'armari*.
b. N'han vingut *força dels de primer*.
c. N'han acomiadat *uns quaranta dels que havien contractat en els darrers dos anys*.
d. N'he vist *poques de les protagonitzades pels germans Marx*.
e. A mi m'agrada llegir-ne *de les romàntiques / de les que t'emocionen*.
f. Només n'hi ha *de les vermelles / d'aquelles que vam comprar l'altre dia*.
g. N'he menjat *molt del que ha portat ta germana*.
i. N'he comprat *una mica del blanc*.

In (8) –as in (7), see fn. 6– the clitic *en* is coindexed with the empty noun following the quantifier.

Moreover, examples like (1b) not only allow quantifiers rejected in partitives but even accept determiners which are not quantifiers such as *altre* ('(an)other'), *cert* ('certain, specific') or *determinat* ('certain, specific'), which are impossible in partitives as expected.⁷ Observe the well-formed nominals in (9) versus the ungrammatical partitives in (10):

⁷ I thank Luis Eguren for pointing this out to me with respect to Spanish –he mentioned *otro* ('(an)other') and *cierto* ('certain, specific')–, a remark which is equally valid for Catalan as shown by the examples in (9).

- (9) a. Aquest mes m'he llegit *una altra novel·la de les quatre que em vas deixar*.
 this month have_{1sg} read another novel of the four that me lent_{2sg}
 '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 of the-Anna no know_{2sg} other girls of the that come to 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...
 forget_{2sg} certain things of the that you told_{1sg} yesterday talked_{1sg} too-much
 '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.
 have_{3pl} discovered that certain pictures of-the that exhibit at-the museum are false
 'It's been discovered that certain pictures of the ones exhibited at the museum are fakes.'
- (10) a. */??Aquest mes m'he llegit *una altra de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar*.
 this month have_{1sg} read another of the four novels that me lent_{2sg}
 'This month I read *another of the four novels you lent me*.'
- b. *A part de l'Anna, no coneixes *altres de les noies que vénen a ioga*?
 apart of the-Anna no know_{2sg} other of the girls that come to ioga
 'Apart from Anna, you haven't met *other of the girls in the ioga class*?'
- c. *Oblida *certes de les coses que et vaig dir ahir*: vaig xerrar massa...
 forget_{2sg} certain of the things that you told_{1sg} yesterday talked_{1sg} too-much
 'Please forget *certain of the things I told you yesterday*: I talked too much...'
- d. *Han descobert que *determinats dels quadres que s'exposen al museu* són falsos.
 have_{3pl} discovered that certain of-the pictures that exhibit at-the museum are false
 'It's been discovered that *certain of the pictures exhibited at the museum* are fakes.'

New contrasts also appear with respect to the possibilities of internal quantifiers, as illustrated in (11):

- (11) a. Només he llegit *dues novel·les de totes les que em vas recomanar*.
 only have_{1sg} read two novels of all the that to-me recommended_{2sg}
 'I've read only *two novels of all the ones you recommended to me*'
- b. *Només he llegit *dues de totes les novel·les que em vas recomanar*. partitive
 only have_{1sg} read two of all the novels that to-me recommended_{2sg}
 'I've read only *two of all the novels you recommended to me*.'

Again, the example with the overt noun following a quantifier shows less restrictions than the true partitive: it allows the internal quantifier *tot* ('all') contrary to partitives of the sort in (11b).

However, it is not always the case that true partitives are more restricted than nominals with an overt noun following the quantifier: some partitives have no counterpart with an overt noun after the quantifier, which we take as a further argument against identifying these two types of nominals as variants of the same construction. Partitives with no counterpart are those that involve quantifiers indicating fractions or subparts as *meitat* ('half'), *terç* ('third'), *part* ('part'), etc. –see examples in (12) and (13)– and also those that contain personal pronouns instead of common nouns –see (14).

- (12) a. Ja he llegit la meitat de les novel·les que em vas recomanar. partitive
 already have_{1sg} read the half of the novels that to-me recommended_{2sg}
 ‘I’ve already read half of the novels you recommended to me’
 b. *Ja he llegit la meitat de novel·les de les que em vas recomanar.
 only have_{1sg} read the half of novels of the that to-me recommended_{2sg}
- (13) a. Part del públic que hi havia a platea va marxar a la mitja part. partitive
 part-of-the audience that there had in the-stalls left_{3sg} at the interval
 ‘Part of the audience that was in the stalls left during the interval.’
 b. *Part de públic del que hi havia a platea va marxar a la mitja part.
 part of audience of-the that there had in the-stalls left at the interval
- (14) a. una de nosaltres
 one_f of us
 b. algunes de vosaltres
 several_f of you
 c. molts d’ells
 many_m of-them_m

In the partitives examples in (14) there is no possibility of an overt noun following the quantifier.⁸

2 Noun modification

There is also a lack of parallelism between partitives and nominals with an overt noun immediately following the quantifier, with respect to noun modification possibilities: the latter admit modification of the noun by an adjective, as shown in (15), whereas true partitives do not license any noun modifier following the quantifier,⁹ as illustrated in (16).¹⁰

⁸ However, see Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006: §3.2), who postulate an empty noun even in these cases, as shown in their examples (where the empty category is represented as “[e]”):

- (i) a. Uno [e] di noi pensa che... [= ex. (115b)]
 one_{m.sg} of us thinks that
 b. Molti [e] di noi pensano che... [ex. (115c)]
 many_{m.pl} of us think that
 c. Ciascuna [e] di noi pensa / *pensiamo che... [= ex. (117c)]
 each_{f.sg} of us thinks think_{1pl} that

Cardinaletti and Giusti give no explanation of how [e] is justified nor interpreted in these examples, and one wonders what “[e]” really stands for, what its reference is, given that there is no overt noun of which it can be lexically non-distinct but an overt pronoun.

⁹ This is also pointed out by Kupferman (1999: 50), who illustrates it in French:

- (i) *Trois grandes de ces fenêtres étaient sales.
 three big of these windows were dirty

¹⁰ The only exception I know is the adjective *solo/sola* in Spanish (or the equivalent in other languages: Fr. *seul/seule*, etc.), which is admitted in partitives as shown in (ia), which contrasts with (ib):

- (i) Sp. a. He leído una sola de las novelas que me prestaste.
 have_{1sg}read one single of the novels that to-me lent_{2sg}
 ‘I have read just one of the novels you lent me.’
 b. *He leído una única de las novelas que me prestaste.
 have_{1sg}read one single of the novels that to-me lent_{2sg}
 ‘I have read just one of the novels you lent me.’

- (15) a. He llegit *una novel·la [molt divertida] de les quatre que em vas deixar.*
 have_{1sg} read a novel very amusing of the four that to-me lent_{2sg}
 ‘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.*
 rented_{3sg} a room double of the that still were-left free
 ‘(S)he rented *a double room of those that were still free.*’
- c. Va triar *un cotxe [automàtic] dels que va provar.*
 chose_{3sg} a car automatic of-the that tried_{3sg}
 ‘(S)he chose *an automatic car of those (s)he tried.*’
- (16) 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.*

A derivational approach could explain this contrast by claiming that if the noun moves up it can pied-pipe (some of) its modifiers –see (15)–, but no modifier can raise alone leaving the noun behind –see (16). So far so good. According to this approach, the basic structure from which the nominals in (15) are obtained through NP movement would be the partitive nominals in (17):

- (17) a. He llegit *una de les quatre novel·les tan divertides que em vas deixar.*
 ‘I’ve read one of the very amusing four novels you lent me’
- b. Va llogar *una de les habitacions dobles que encara quedaven lliures.*
 ‘(S)he rented one of the double rooms that were still free.’
- c. Va triar *un dels cotxes automàtics que va provar.*
 ‘(S)he chose one of the automatic cars (s)he tried.’

However, there is a crucial difference in meaning between (15) and (17), which would remain unexplained in such an approach: in (15), the adjective qualifies only the element that the quantifier picks up, not the whole set of elements referred to in the PP. This is to say, in (15a) only the read novel among the four ones is qualified as being amusing, which contrasts with (17a), where the four novels are described as amusing. Similarly, in (15b) there is no implication that all the free rooms were double (they could be or not, we only know that the one rented is double) and in (15c) the adjective *automàtic* seems to be used to identify the type

I have no explanation for the wellformedness of (ia) but this seems to be a specific property of the word *solo/sola* given that the synonym *únic/única* patterns with the rest of modifiers and triggers ungrammaticality as expected. The grammaticality of (ia) might be related to the grammaticality of *solo/sola* with elliptical nouns, again an exceptional property of this lexical item because prenominal adjectives are not licensed by a non-overt noun: Sp. *He leído una sola* vs. **He leído una única*. This could be taken as an argument in favour of the existence of an non-overt N following the quantifier in partitives. However, in Catalan, interestingly, although the equivalent *sol, sola* is licensed in noun elliptical contexts like in Spanish –although some speakers do not find it very natural, which is why I added a question mark–, in contrast it is completely rejected in partitives:

- (ii) a. ?N’he llegit una de sola.
 b. * He llegit una de sola de les novel·les que em vas deixar.

In Catalan but not in Spanish the pronoun *en* is involved, but this does not seem to explain the difference between the two languages given that French patterns with Spanish:

- (iii) a. J’en ai lu une seule.
 b. J’ai lu une seule des nouvelles que tu m’as prêtées.

of car chosen, which probably implies that the other cars were not (at least not all) automatic. If we look at (17bc), all the free rooms and all the cars tried were double and automatic, respectively. These differences in interpretation are not expected nor can they be accounted for in an analysis where the two structures are related derivationally.

Note as well the different intensifiers used in (15a) and (17a): *molt* ('very') vs. *tan* ('so'). They cannot be interchanged and we take that as further evidence against a derivational approach according to which (15) would be obtained from (17) through NP movement.¹¹

Finally, the difference in number shown by the noun is problematic too in a derivational approach, as one wonders why the noun is plural in its basic position –see (17)– but is singular once moved to the derived position –see (15): maybe it could be stated that the noun inflection for number would be determined later so that it would depend on the final position the noun would occupy.

The approach that claims a single structure with two nouns in both types of nominal fails to account also for the (15)/(16) contrast. It is worth noticing that the ungrammaticality of (16) cannot be attributed to any incompatibility of an empty noun with those modifiers, as the grammatical examples in (18) demonstrate, where *e* stands for an empty noun:¹²

- (18) a. Aquest estiu he llegit dues novel·les_i avorrides i una e_i de molt divertida.
 this summer have_{1sg} read two novels boring and one of very amusing
 'This summer I read two boring novels and a very amusing one.'
- b. Com que no quedaven habitacions_i simples, en_i va llogar una e_i de doble.
 as no were-left rooms single EN rented_{3sg} one of double
 'As there were no single rooms left, (s)he rented a double one.'
- c. Va provar un cotxe_i amb marxés i un e_i d'automàtic.
 tried_{3sg} a car with gears and one of-automatic
 '(S)he tried a car with gears and an automatic one.'

Any theory that proposes two nouns in the structure of partitives needs a condition of some sort which ensures that those two nouns are lexically identical: the subset must contain the same type of elements of the set (*three of those books* can only be interpreted as 'a subset of three

¹¹ These intensifiers have a complementary distribution in Catalan: *molt* appears in indefinite nominals whereas *tan* is its counterpart in definite nominals. Observe (i):

- (i) a. un nen molt / *tan tímid
 a boy very so shy
 'a very shy boy'
- b. aquell nen *molt / tan tímid
 that boy very so shy
 'that very shy boy'

Maybe a possible explanation could be that *molt* and *tan* are two possible realisations of the same lexical item and that how it is actually realised depends on the final position the item occupies in the structure: as *tan* in (17) because it is in the embedded definite nominal, but as *molt* in (15) because it has come out of that definite nominal and is within an indefinite nominal.

¹² The reader will have noted that in Catalan *de* must be realised in these contexts of noun ellipsis. That is just a particular property of this language which is not relevant for the discussion, for the same contrast is found in other languages, where *de* is not required: i.e. Sp. * He leído una muy divertida de las cuatro novelas que me prestaste / * Alquiló una doble de las habitaciones que todavía quedaban libres / * Eligió uno automático de los coches que probó.

books of that set of books’, so the proposed empty noun following *three* must be non-distinct from the overt noun *books*). However, given the possibility of examples with noun modifiers such as (15), which these theories would consider as partitives, the following question immediately arises: does the requirement of lexical identity apply only to nouns –as is represented in (19, 20)– or to whole NPs –see the representation in (21, 22)?¹³

If the requirement of lexical identity applies only to nouns, the ungrammaticality of (20) – which corresponds to (16)– would not be expected nor explained as only the noun is required to be identical in the two NPs and that is the case both in (19) –which corresponds to (15)– and (20).

(19) [→15]

- a. He llegit una novel·la molt divertida de les quatre ~~novel·les~~ que em vas deixar.
- b. Va llogar una habitació doble de les ~~habitacions~~ que encara quedaven lliures.
- c. Va triar un cotxe automàtic dels ~~cotxes~~ que va provar.

(20) [→16]

- a. * He llegit una ~~novel·la~~ de molt divertida de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar.
- b. * Va llogar una ~~habitació~~ de doble de les habitacions que encara quedaven lliures.
- c. * Va triar un ~~cotxe~~ d’automàtic dels cotxes que va provar.

In contrast, if the requirement of identity applies to whole NPs, that could account for the ungrammaticality of (16) if its basic structure is (20), because in it the two NPs are not identical, or maybe even also if its basic structure is (21), where the NPs contain the same lexical material but part of it is overt in the upper NP and part of it is overt in the lower NP:

(21) [→16]

- a. * He llegit una ~~novel·la~~ de molt divertida de les quatre novel·les ~~tan divertides~~ que em vas deixar.
- b. * Va llogar una ~~habitació~~ de doble de les habitacions ~~dobles~~ que encara quedaven lliures.
- c. * Va triar un ~~cotxe~~ d’automàtic dels cotxes ~~automàtics~~ que va provar.

An extra requirement would be needed that ensured the whole NP to be overt or covert, as shown in (22) –which corresponds to the well-formed (15), with the upper NP overt and the lower NP covert– or conversely in (23) –which corresponds to the well-formed (17):

(22) [→15]

- a. He llegit una novel·la molt divertida de les quatre ~~novel·les~~ ~~tan divertides~~ que em vas deixar.
- b. Va llogar una habitació doble de les ~~habitacions~~ ~~dobles~~ que encara quedaven lliures.
- c. Va triar un cotxe automàtic dels ~~cotxes~~ ~~automàtics~~ que va provar.

¹³ See the *lexical non-distinctness requirement* of Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006: §3.3.4), a particular kind of co-indexing that plays a role in the licensing of silent elements in the nominals we are discussing. As they explicitly state, those silent elements are NPs (not just nouns), but as their data contains no noun modifiers one wonders how they would account for the contrast (15) vs. (16). Other analyses in the same line are less explicit: they do not formalise any condition of lexical identity and only mention the need for the two nouns to be lexically non-distinct, in general by contrasting partitives with the *among* construction, which does not have that requirement (this is shown by the well-formedness of examples like *three dictionaries among those books* or *two policemen among those people*).

Again, in the partitive examples (25a) and (26a) all the rooms and all the musicians are double and foreigners, respectively; whereas in (25b) and (26b) there is no such an implication and, on the contrary, the presence of the adjective modifying the noun which follows the quantifier seems to imply that the other rooms or musicians are not double or foreigners (at least not all of them).

3 Adjacency

Related to the possibilities of noun modification discussed in the previous section, another aspect in which partitives and indefinite nominals with a noun following the quantifier differ has to do with adjacency or, in other words, the possibility of inserting an element before the preposition *de*: partitives require the quantifier to be adjacent to the preposition, unlike nominals with an overt noun after the quantifier. An example of this contrast is (15a) and (16a), repeated here as (27a) and (27c) for convenience:

- (27) a. He llegit una novel·la *molt divertida* de les quatre que em vas deixar. (=15a)
 b. He llegit una novel·la de les quatre que em vas deixar *molt divertida*.
 c. * He llegit una de *molt divertida* de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar. (=16a)
 d. He llegit una de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar *molt divertida*.

The modifier *molt divertida* ('very amusing') can appear both after the noun –(27a)– or at the end of the whole nominal –(27b). In partitives this modifier can appear only in final position: see (27c) vs. (27d).

Syntactically we take this contrast to indicate that (27ab) contain two noun modifiers of *novel·la*, an AP (*molt divertida*) and a PP (*de les quatre que em vas deixar*), which can appear in any order: the sentences can be paraphrased as 'I read a novel which was very good fun and which belongs to the set of four novels that were lent to me'. In the partitive nominals –see (27cd)–, the PP and the AP cannot switch places, from which we infer that there is only one noun modifier, the AP, which must be the most peripheral element

The same contrasts obtain with a relative clause –here *que m'ha encantat* ('which I loved'):

- (28) a. He llegit una novel·la *que m'ha encantat* de les quatre que em vas deixar.
 b. He llegit una novel·la de les quatre que em vas deixar *que m'ha encantat*.
 c. * He llegit una *que m'ha encantat* de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar.
 d. He llegit una de les quatre novel·les que em vas deixar *que m'ha encantat*.

The fact that (28a) admits a relative clause between the noun and the PP contrary to (28c) reinforces the idea that the PP in (28ab) is a noun modifier in contrast with (28cd). As a modifier, the PP can be paraphrased by a relative clause with *be* in nominals with an overt noun following the quantifier –see (29ab)– but not in partitives –see (29cd):¹⁴

¹⁴ See Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006: § 3.1) for a discussion on how to analyse this PP and their arguments for not considering it as a complement of N (because it is predicative) nor as an adjunct –an optional partitive PP such as *among*– (because it is more restrictive). They claim that the optional partitive PP (with preposition *tra/fra* 'among' in Italian) can be introduced by *di* ('of') only if fronted in Italian.

A possibility of analysis of the examples with an overt N following Q would be to consider them as an instantiation of the *among* construction and extend the cases where this "optional partitive" can contain the preposition *di* to the position adjacent to the noun, but only in quantitatives. It is not clear though why universal Q or demonstratives should reject the optional PP with *di* but admit the PP with *among*. Maybe it has

- c. *Un dels gossos ben entrenats sempre seu a la primera.*
 one-of-the dogs well trained always sits immediately
 ‘One of the well-trained dogs always sits immediately.’

The most natural interpretation of (32a) is as a generic statement and (32b) can have the same generic reading: in that case (32b) could be paraphrased as ‘a dog, if it has the property of being well trained, then it always sits immediately’. In contrast, that interpretation is impossible in (32c), where the partitive nominal forces a specific reading: it can only refer to a particular dog, named e.g. Tim, which belongs to a particular set of dogs that share the property of being well trained. Certainly, the nominal in (32b) –and even (32a)– can also have this specific reading in the appropriate context, but the relevant property here is that it admits a generic interpretation contrary to partitives.

Similar examples are given in (33):

- (33) a. *Una noia que vagi sempre a la moda no es posaria aquest jersei.*
 a girl that goes_{subj} always to the fashion not would_{3sg}-wear this jumper
 ‘A girl that always follows fashion would not wear this jumper.’
 b. *Una noia de les que van sempre a la moda no es posaria aquest jersei.*
 a girl of the that goes_{ind} always to the fashion not would_{3sg}-wear this jumper
 ‘A girl of those that always follow fashion would not wear this jumper.’
 c. *Una de les noies que van sempre a la moda no es posaria aquest jersei.*
 a of the girls that goes_{ind} always to the fashion not would_{3sg}-wear this jumper
 ‘One of the girls that always follow fashion would not wear this jumper.’
 ‘A girl that always follows fashion would not wear this jumper.’

Again, (33b) can have a generic interpretation equivalent to (33a)¹⁶ (meaning ‘no girl that always follows fashion would wear this jumper’ or ‘a girl, if she is of the fashion-conscious type, would not wear this jumper’), whereas the partitive nominal in (33c) has a specific reading and only refers to a particular fashion-conscious girl, e.g. Jane.

4.2 Existential constructions

In an existential context, which requires a non-specific nominal, partitives are not licensed as expected –see (34c) and (35c)– but the nominals with a noun following the quantifier are, as illustrated in (34b) and (35b) (this data is in Spanish¹⁷ because in Catalan the *definiteness effect*¹⁸ does not apply in *there*-sentences and no contrast would show up):

- (34) a. *En el despacho hay una estufa antigua.*
 in the study there-has a fire antique
 ‘In the study there is an antique fire.’
 b. *En el despacho hay una estufa de las antiguas.*
 in the study there-has a fire of the antique
 ‘In the study there is a fire of the antique type.’

¹⁶ In this case, the generic reading is the only one available in (33a) given that the verb inside the relative clause is subjunctive.

¹⁷ I thank Josep M. Brucart, M. Lluïsa Hernanz and Àngel Gallego for their help with Spanish data.

¹⁸ The so-called definiteness effect has in fact more to do with specificity than with definiteness as the examples in (34) and (35) prove.

- c. * En el despacho hay *una de las estufas antiguas*.
 in the study there-has one of the fire old
 *‘In the study there is one of these specific antique fires.’
- (35) a. Hay *muchas hormigas aladas* en mi jardín.
 there-are many ants winged in my garden
 ‘There are many winged ants in my garden.’
 b. Hay *muchas hormigas de las aladas* en mi jardín.
 there-are many ants of the winged in my garden
 ‘There are many ants of the winged type in my garden.’
 c. *Hay *muchas de las hormigas aladas* en mi jardín.
 there-are many of the ants winged in my garden
 *‘There are many of these very winged ants in my garden.’

The nominals *las antiguas* in (34b) and *las aladas* in (35b) have a type interpretation: they denote a class of fires or ants, not a set of elements as is the case in partitives –see (34c) and (35c). The PP is then interpreted as a property of the noun (similar to a classifier adjective as in (34a) and (35a)),¹⁹ which allows a non-specific interpretation of the whole nominal as required in the existential construction.

However, that “kind of” meaning is not always available in the PP (the nominal inside cannot have a type reading) and then the result is not wellformed, although the partitive version of it is always more degraded. Compare (36a, 37a) with (36b, 37b):

- (36) a. ?? Encima de la mesa hay *dos libros de los tres que compré esta semana*.
 on of the table there-have two books of the three that bought_{1sg} this week
 ‘On the table there were two books of the three I bought this week.’
 b. * Encima de la mesa hay *dos de los tres libros que compré esta semana*.
 on of the table there-have two of the three books that bought_{1sg} this week
 ‘On the table there were two of the three books I bought this week.’
- (37) a. ?? En la UCI hay *un chico de los que hirieron ayer en la manifestación*.
 in the UCI there-has a guy of the that injured_{3pl} yesterday in the demonstration
 ‘In the intensive care unit is a guy of those who got injured yesterday in the demonstration.’
 b. * En la UCI hay *uno de los chicos que hirieron ayer en la manifestación*.
 in the UCI there-has one of the guys that injured_{3pl} yesterday in the demonstration
 ‘In the intensive care unit is one of the guys who got injured yesterday in the demonstration.’

A paradigm similar to (34) and (35) can be found in Catalan when the verb *tenir* ‘have’ is used existentially:

¹⁹ Note that *antigua* in (34a) can also behave as a qualitative adjective, as indicated by the possibility of admitting the superlative suffix *-ísima* or of being modified by a gradable adverb such as *muy* ‘very’: *En el despacho hay una estufa antiquísima / muy antigua* (‘In the office there is a very old fire’). This is not the case with *aladas* in (34b), which can only work as a classifier adjective and is always interpreted as a property that characterises a type of ants.

- (38) a. Tinc *un cotxe petit*.
 have_{1sg}-got a car small
 ‘I’ve got a small car.’
- b. Tinc *un cotxe dels petits*.
 have_{1sg}-got a car of-the small
 ‘I’ve got a car of the small type.’
- c. *Tinc *un dels cotxes petits*.
 have_{1sg}-got one of-the cars small
 ‘I’ve got one of the small cars.’

(38a) and (38b) are equivalent, they denote the existence of a car of a certain type (small), but (38c) is ungrammatical under that existential reading as the partitive denotes a specific car.²⁰

4.3 Donkey sentences

Donkey sentences are another context where non-specific nominals are required and they show the same pattern as we saw above in existential sentences: partitives are rejected in them as expected –see (39c)–, in contrast with nominals with an overt noun after the quantifier –see (39b)–, which are fine if they have a non-specific reading.²¹

- (39) a. Tothom qui té *un company de feina molt xerraire* procura evitar-lo.
 everyone who has a colleague very talkative tries avoid-him
 ‘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 who has a colleague of-the that not keep-quiet_{3pl} tries avoid-him
 ‘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 who has one of-the colleagues that not keep-quiet_{3pl} tries avoid-him
 *‘Everyone that has one of the very colleagues who do not keep quiet, tries to avoid him.’

(39a) and (39b) have a very similar reading –the indefinite nominal is interpreted as a free variable– and the PP *dels que no callen* in (39b) has a “kind of” interpretation. That reading is not possible in partitives –see (39c)– and the result is ungrammatical.

²⁰ Of course the sentence would be acceptable if the verb was not interpreted existentially but as meaning possession, with a secondary predication or not:

- (i) a. Tinc un dels cotxes petits.
 (= ‘Among a contextualised set of small cars, one is in my possession’)
- b. Tinc un dels cotxes petits espatllat.
 (= ‘I have several cars and among the small ones there is one which is broken’)

The sentence in (ia) is equivalent to *Un dels cotxes petits és meu* (‘One of the small cars is mine’); (ib) contains a small clause where *espatllat* (‘broken’) is predicated from *un dels cotxes*.

²¹ Like before, if the PP cannot get a “kind of” interpretation and therefore the whole nominal has a specific reading, then it is not licensed in the donkey sentence:

- (i) *Tot el qui té *un company de feina dels que es van emborratxar a la festa*, procura evitar-lo.
 all the who has-got a colleague of-the that got-drunk in the party tries avoid-him
 * ‘Everyone that has got a colleague of those who got drunk in the party tries to avoid him.’

4.4 Quantifier scope

Further evidence of the semantic differences between partitives and nominals with a noun following Q is provided by contexts of non-selective binding, where an indefinite has to be interpreted under the scope of an external operator. Observe (40a), taken from Picallo (1994: 155),²² and compare it to (40bc):

- (40) a. En la majoria dels casos, si *una calaixera resistant* ha durant trenta anys,
in the majority of-the cases if a chest resistant has lasted thirty years
en durarà uns altres trenta.
CL will-last_{3sg} a_{pl} other thirty
'In the majority of cases, if *a resistant chest* has lasted for thirty years, it will last for thirty more.'
- b. En la majoria dels casos, si *una calaixera de les resistents* ha durant trenta anys,
in the majority of-the cases if a chest of the resistant has lasted thirty years
en durarà uns altres trenta.
CL will-last_{3sg} a_{pl} other thirty
'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
in the majority of-the cases if one of the chests resistant has lasted thirty
anys, en durarà uns altres trenta.
years CL will-last_{3sg} a_{pl} other thirty
??/* 'In the majority of cases, if *one of the resistant chests* has lasted for thirty years,
it will last for thirty more.'

The nominal in italics in both (40a) and (40b) have a weak interpretation, for is interpreted as a variable under the scope of the quantified adverbial *en la majoria dels casos* ('in the majority of cases'): the examples can be paraphrased as 'the majority of resistant chests that have lasted for thirty years last for thirty more'. In contrast, the sentence in (40c) containing a partitive is degraded because it does not allow a weak interpretation of the nominal: *una de les calaixeres resistents* refers to a specific chest and therefore cannot be interpreted as a variable. This result is similar to that obtained by Picallo (1994: 154ff) with indefinite nominals containing a prenominal qualitative adjective in Catalan, which obligatorily have a specific reading like partitives:²³

- (41) ??/*En la majoria dels casos, si *una resistant calaixera* ha durant trenta anys, en durarà uns altres trenta.

Similarly, in (42) the nominals in italics can be interpreted under the scope of the other quantified nominal *dues noies* ('two girls') in (a) and (b) but not in (c):

- (42) a. Dues noies van llegir *un poema satíric de Salvador Espriu*.
two girls read_{3pl} a poem satirical of Salvador Espriu
'Two girls read *a satirical poem by Salvador Espriu*.'

²² Example (40a) is adapted from an example in Heim (1982) by Picallo.

²³ (41) is equal to (40a), but with the adjective *resistent* in prenominal position.

- b. Dues noies van llegir *un poema dels satírics de Salvador Espriu*.
two girls read_{3pl} a poem of-the satirical of Salvador Espriu
'Two girls read *a poem of the satirical type by Salvador Espriu.*'
- c. Dues noies van llegir *un dels poemes satírics de Salvador Espriu*.
two girls read_{3pl} one of-the poems satirical of Salvador Espriu
'Two girls read *one of the satirical poems by Salvador Espriu.*'

The nominals in italics in (42a) and (42b) have two possible readings: (i) a weak reading (they are under the scope of *dues noies* and therefore interpreted as a variable: each girl reads a different poem) and (ii) a strong reading (they are out of the scope of *dues noies* and have a fixed denotation: the two girls read the same poem). As expected, the partitive in (42c) only has the strong reading.

4.5 Copular sentences

The two types of copular sentences, adscriptive and equative, constitute a good test to see that partitives and nominals with a noun after the quantifier do not pattern alike: the former are licensed in equative copular sentences in parallel with definite nominals –although with some difference as we will see– whereas the latter can only be accepted in adscriptive copular sentences, like indefinite nominals in general.

Let's describe briefly the properties of the two types of copular sentences first. Observe the paradigm in (43):

- (43) a. L'Oriol és *cuiner*.
'Oriol is a cook.'
- b. L'Oriol és *un cuiner*.
'Oriol is a cook.'
- c. L'Oriol és *el cuiner*.
'Oriol is the cook.'

(43a) and (43b) are adscriptive copular sentences –the nominal in italics is interpreted as a property that indicates the class to which the subject belongs–, and (43c) is an equative copular sentence –the nominal in italics is referential and identifies the individual that the subject denotes. Syntactically, the nominal predicate in adscriptive sentences is realised as a bare nominal or an indefinite nominal, whereas in equative sentences it is a definite nominal.

The different type of nominal predicates correspond to different interrogative words and behave differently with respect to order possibilities. So the predicate of adscriptive sentences can be the answer to a *Què* ('what') question but not to a *Qui* ('who') question, whereas the predicate of equative sentences behaves the other way round, as shown in (44):

- (44) a. Què és l'Oriol? És *cuiner* / *un cuiner* / * *el cuiner*.
what is the-Oriol? is cook a cook the cook
'What is Oriol? He's a cook / the cook.'
- b. Qui és l'Oriol? És * *cuiner* / * *un cuiner* / *el cuiner*.
who is the-Oriol is cook a cook the cook
'Who is Oriol? He's a cook / the cook.'

With respect to order possibilities, the predicate of adscriptive sentences cannot precede the verb –see (45ab)–, contrary to the predicate of equative sentences –see (45c).

- (45) a. *Cuiner és l’Oriol.
 b. *Un cuiner és l’Oriol.
 c. El cuiner és l’Oriol.

We will see now how partitives and the nominals with a noun after the quantifier we are discussing behave in copular sentences. There is a contrast between (46) and (47):

- (46) a. L’Albert Adrià és *un dels cuiners que fan cuina creativa*.
 the-Albert Adrià is one of-the cooks that do cooking creative
 ‘Albert Adrià is *one of the cooks who do creative cooking.*’
 b. L’Albert Adrià és *un dels cuiners que han treballat al Bulli*.
 the-Albert Adrià is one of-the cooks that have worked at-the Bulli
 ‘Albert Adrià is *one of the cooks who have worked at the Bulli.*’
- (47) a. L’Albert Adrià és *un cuiner dels que fan cuina creativa*.
 the-Albert Adrià is a cook of-the that do cooking creative
 ‘Albert Adrià is *a cook of those who do creative cooking.*’
 b. L’Albert Adrià és *un cuiner dels que han treballat al Bulli*.
 the-Albert Adrià is a cook of-the that have worked at-the Bulli
 ‘Albert Adrià is *a cook of those who have worked at the Bulli.*’

The nominals in italics in (46) have a partitive interpretation –they are true partitives– and denote a specific individual which belongs to a particular set of individuals. The examples in (46) behave like equative copular sentences, although they have an indefinite nominal as a predicate, for there is a sort of identification between two individuals, they correspond to the *Qui* (‘who’) question –see (48)– and the nominal in italics is accepted in preverbal position –see (49):

- (48) a. Qui és l’Albert Adrià?
 És *un dels cuiners que fan cuina creativa / han treballat al Bulli*.
 b. Què és l’Albert Adrià?
 # És *un dels cuiners que fan cuina creativa/ han treballat al Bulli*.
- (49) a. *Un dels cuiners que fan cuina creativa* és l’Albert Adrià.
 b. *Un dels cuiners que han treballat al Bulli* és l’Albert Adrià.

In contrast, the nominals in italics in (47) pattern with common indefinite nominals and form adscriptive copular sentences. The tendency of a “kind of” reading for the PP becomes stronger in the copular construction: in (47a) it is the only available reading according to our judgments and even the PP in (47b) is interpreted as a property denoting a class of cooks (those with the experience of having worked at the Bulli, a restaurant famous for its creative cooking, which means a class of cooks with a certain style of cooking).

The examples in (47) behave like typical adscriptive copular sentences: they correspond to the *Què* (‘what’) question –see (50)²⁴ and do not allow the indefinite nominal to be in preverbal position –see (51):

²⁴ For some reason the answer to the *qui* question in (50a) does not seem to be as unacceptable as it was the answer with a partitive to the *què* question in (48b), but what matters is that there is still a contrast between (50a) and the completely acceptable and more natural (50b), and especially a strong contrast between (48b)

- (50) a. Qui és l'Albert Adrià?
És un cuiner dels que fan cuina de creació / dels que han treballat al Bulli.
b. Què és l'Albert Adrià?
És un cuiner dels que fan cuina de creació / dels que han treballat al Bulli.
- (51) a. * Un cuiner dels que fan cuina de creació és l'Albert Adrià.
b. * Un cuiner dels que han treballat al Bulli és l'Albert Adrià.

4.6 Presupposition of existence

The specific reading attributed to partitives is related since Enç (1991) to 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. Indefinite nominals with a noun following the quantifier do not have such an implication –see (52a) and (53a).

- (52) a. La Marta ens va explicar un acudit dels seus: se'l va inventar en aquell moment!
the Marta to-us told a joke of-the hers SE-it made_{3sg}-up in that 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: she made it up then!'
- (53) At a bakery:
a. – Dóna'm un llonguet dels grossos.
give-me a roll of-the big
'Can I have a roll of the big type, please?'
– Ho sento, no me'n queda cap, només en tinc dels petits.
it sorry_{1sg} not to-me is-left none only CL have_{1sg}-got of-the small
'I'm sorry, I have none left, I only have some of the small type.'
b. – Dóna'm un dels llonguets grossos.
give-me one of-the rolls big
'Can I have one of the big rolls, please?'
– Ho sento, no me'n queda cap, només en tinc dels petits.
it sorry_{1sg} not to-me is-left none only CL have_{1sg}-got of-the small
'I'm sorry, I have none left, I only have some of the small ones.'

The well-formedness of (52a) indicates that the PP *dels seus* does not refer to an existing list of jokes, but has a “kind of” reading (*un acudit dels seus* means ‘a joke of the kind of jokes she usually tells’, e.g. political or racist...): there is no presupposition of existence implied and therefore no contradiction to a statement that denies a previous existence, as is the case in (52b) with a partitive.

In (53a), a customer asks for one roll of a certain type (i.e. big) and the answer that none is left is completely adequate: there is no presupposition of existence involved, contrary to (53b). Note also in (53a) the shop assistant's claim that only rolls of the small type are left by using the bare nominal [e *dels petits*], with a null quantifier –or absence of quantifier–, which has no partitive counterpart.

and (50b).

From the contrasts shown in (52) and (53), we conclude that only real partitives are inherently presuppositional: the construction in itself implies partition and, therefore, presupposition of existence. That is not the case in nominals with a noun following the quantifier, which tend to get a “kind of” reading of the PP –as in (52a) and (53a)– whenever possible. When the PP does not get a “kind of” reading –see (54)–, a presupposition of existence is involved but as it is in indefinite nominals such as (55) with N modifiers *de la classe* and *de la meva biblioteca privada*.

- (54) a. tres nens dels que van a la meva classe
 three children of-the that go to my class
 ‘Three children of those of my group-class.’
 b. molts llibres dels que formen la meva biblioteca privada
 many books of-the that constitute the my library private
 ‘Many books of those that constitute my private library.’
- (55) a. tres nens de la classe
 three children of the class
 ‘three children in my class’
 b. molts llibres de la meva biblioteca privada
 many books of the my library private
 ‘many books from my private library’

As stated in the introduction, we claim that the examples in (54) assimilate to (55) and not to true partitives for the notion involved in (54) is more that of characterising the elements denoted by the Ns by giving the information that they belong to a group of individuals than a partition formally expressed. The PP can be considered as a N modifier in both (54) and (55) which provides extra information about the nouns. So the presupposition of existence is not connected to the notion of partition as it is in partitives, which are presuppositional by definition.

4.7 Vague quantifiers

As has been noted in the literature, in partitive nominals vague quantifiers acquire an interpretation which is proportional to the size of the set from which the quantifier picks up a subset. Consider (56):

- (56) a. L’Abel s’ha llegit *moltes novel·les de misteri* aquest estiu.
 the-Abel SE-has read many novels of mystery this summer
 ‘Abel read many mystery novels this summer.’
 b. L’Abel s’ha llegit *moltes de les novel·les que li vaig deixar*.
 the-Abel SE-has read many of the novels that him lent_{1sg}
 ‘Abel has read many of the novels I lent him.’

In (56a) it is stated that Abel read a large number of mystery novels in general terms. The particular number of novels could vary depending on how much Abel likes reading or other factors, but it must be a reasonable high number. In contrast, in (56b) it does not need to be a large number at all, but the sentence only tells us that it is some more than the half of the number of novels that were lent to him. For example, in a situation where Abel had read 4 or 5 novels, (56a) would not be very adequate as 4 or 5 is not a very big number that justifies the use of *moltes* in general terms. However, in (56b) the adequacy would depend on the number of novels that had been lent to him: if it were 20, then the sentence would not be appropriate as

4 or 5 is a small amount with respect to 20, but if the number of novels lent had been 6 instead, then *moltes* would describe adequately that situation as 4 or 5 is more than the half of 6.

Observe now (57), which is like (56) but with the quantitative and the partitive replaced with an indefinite nominal with a noun following the quantifier of the type we are discussing:

- (57) a. L'Abel s'ha llegit *moltes novel·les de les de misteri* aquest estiu.
 the-Abel SE-has read many novels of the of mystery this summer
 'Abel read many novels of the mystery type this summer.'
 b. L'Abel s'ha llegit *moltes novel·les de les que li vaig deixar*.
 the-Abel SE-has read many novels of the that him lent_{1sg}
 'Abel has read many novels of those I lent him.'

(57a), with a “kind of” reading of the PP, works exactly as (56a): we expect Abel to have read a high number of novels in general terms. More interesting is the example in (57b), where, although the embedded nominal does not have a type reading, one tends to interpret Abel as having read a large number of novels as well, and the PP adds the information that those many novels he read were lent to him by me.

Similarly, in (58) the quantifier *un* (‘one’) is interpreted in relation to the number in the embedded nominal in partitives –see 58a–, but not in nominals with a noun after the quantifier –see 58b:

- (58) a. La Marta ha explicat *només un dels quatre acudits que li vaig dir ahir*.
 the Marta has told only one of-the four jokes that her told_{1sg} yesterday
 'Marta told only one of the four jokes I said to her yesterday.'
 b. La Marta ha explicat *només un acudit dels quatre que li vaig dir ahir*.
 the Marta has told only one joke of-the four that her told yesterday
 'Marta told only one joke which was one of the four I said to her yesterday'

(58a) does not imply that only one joke was told in total, whereas (58b) does, a single joke which happens to be one of those learnt yesterday. This contrast is illustrated in (59):

- (59) a. Entre el munt d'acudits que ens ha fet escoltar, la Marta ha explicat
 among the pile of-jokes that us has made listen-to the Marta has told
només un dels quatre acudits que li vaig dir ahir.
 only one of-the four jokes that her told_{1sg} yesterday
 'Among the pile of jokes she made us listened to, Marta told only one of the four jokes I had said to her yesterday.'
 b. ??/* Entre el munt d'acudits que ens ha fet escoltar, la Marta ha explicat
 among the pile of-jokes that us has made listen-to the Marta has told
només un acudit dels quatre que li vaig dir ahir.
 only one joke of-the four that her told_{1sg} yesterday
 'Among the pile of jokes she made us listened to, Marta told only one joke which was one of the four I had said to her yesterday.'

(59a) is well-formed despite the fact that Marta has told a lot of jokes because the sequence *només un* (‘only one’) refers only to the set of four jokes, whereas that does not seem to be the case in (59b).

5 Cooccurrence with partitives

Partitives do not seem to allow recursiveness, though the well-formed sentences in (60) contain an indefinite nominal (in italics) with a quantifier followed by two PPs that look like “partitive” PPs:

- (60) a. *Un [dels companys de la feina] [dels que no callen mai]*m’ha fet una visita:
 one-of-the colleagues of-the that not shut-up never to-me-has made a visit
 quin mal de cap!
 what ache of head
 ‘One of the colleagues of those never shut up (=of the very talkative type) visited me:
 what a headache!’
- b. *Un [dels companys de la feina] [dels que em van presentar ahir]* m’ha
 one-of-the colleagues of-the that to-me introduced_{3pl} yesterday me-has
 convidat a sopar.
 invited to have-dinner
 ‘One of the colleagues of those I was introduced to yesterday has invited me for
 dinner.’

The examples in (60) do not contain recursive partitives as the interpretation is not that of a sub-set of a sub-set of a set, but a partitive which is modified by a PP which could be paraphrased by a relative clause of the sort in (61), no matter if the PP has a “kind of” reading – as in (60a)– or not –as in (60b):

- (61) a. *Un dels companys de la feina que és molt xerraire* m’ha fet una visita.
 one-of-the colleagues that is very talkative to-me-has made a visit
 ‘One of the colleagues who is very talkative visited me.’
- b. *Un dels companys de la feina que resulta que me’l* van presentar ahir
 one-of-the colleagues that results that to-me-him introduced_{3pl} yesterday
juntament amb altres m’ha convidat a sopar.
 together with others me-has invited to have-dinner
 ‘One of the colleagues that happens to be among those I was introduced to yesterday
 has invited me for dinner.’

So we take the cooccurrence of the two PPs in the nominals in italics in (60) as an indication that the second PP is of a different sort: a noun modifier just as an AP or a relative clause could be. This claim is supported by the fact that the PPs cannot be interchanged, as illustrated by the ungrammatical examples in (62) (recall the discussion on adjacency in § 3):

- (62) a. **Un [dels que no callen mai] [dels companys de la feina]* m’ha fet una visita.
 b. **Un [dels que em van presentar ahir] [dels companys de la feina]* m’ha convidat a sopar.

So our conclusion is that in (60) a PP modifier has been added to a partitive nominal. What happens if a PP of that sort is added, instead to a partitive, to the non-partitive version with a noun following the quantifier? Observe (63):

- (63) a. *??/*Un company [dels de la feina] [dels que no callen mai]* m’ha fet una visita.
 one colleague of-the of the work of-the that not shut-up never to-me-has made a visit
 ‘One colleague among those at work of those never shut up (=of the very talkative type) visited me.’

- b. *??/*Un company [dels de la feina] [dels que em van presentar ahir] m'ha*
 one colleague of-the of the work of-the that to-me introduced_{3pl} yesterday me-has
 convidat a sopar.
 invited to have-dinner
 'One colleague among those at work of those I was introduced to yesterday has
 invited me for dinner.'

Again the nominals with an overt noun following the quantifier show a different behaviour with respect to partitives: this is expected if the PP in the former acts as a noun modifier itself, as we had concluded above. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (63) can be considered then as evidence that the two PPs are of the same sort given that they cannot cooccur.

(64) further illustrates the contrast between partitives and nominals with an overt noun following the quantifier with respect to allowing or not a PP modifier.

- (64) a. He *llegit molts [dels llibres del programa][dels que el professor*
 have_{1sg} read many of-the books of-the syllabus of-the that the lecturer
ens va recomanar].
 to-us recommended_{3sg}
 'I read many of the books in the syllabus among those the lecturer had recommended
 to us.'
- b. *??/* He llegit molts llibres [dels del programa][dels que el professor ens va*
recomanar].
 'I read many books of the ones in the programme among those the lecturer had
 recommended to us.'

(64a) is parallel to the examples in (60): a partitive nominal is modified by a PP and the result is grammatical; in contrast, (64b) does not contain a partitive but an indefinite nominal with a noun after the quantifier and both PPs work as noun modifiers. As suggested above, the cooccurrence of two PP modifiers of the same type could be the reason why (64b) is odd (as it would be in an example like * *la casa de fusta de pedra* lit. the house of wood of stone, 'the stone wooden house'). In any case, what we find interesting is that the contrast shown in (64) is a further evidence of the difference in behaviour between partitives and nominals with an overt noun.²⁵

²⁵ Cardinaletti and Giusti (2006: § 3.1) deal with the possibilities of adjacency of what they call "selected partitive PP" (always with preposition *di* 'of') and "adjunct partitive PP" (normally with preposition *tra/fra* 'among', but sometimes with *di*). These authors state that "the adjunct partitive can only be introduced by *tra/fra* and not by *di* if it is adjacent to the noun phrase" (*di* is only possible when the adjunct partitive appears in sentence-initial position). Observe (i) (= their (104)), where the first PP is a selected partitive and the second is an adjunct partitive (the brackets and bold are ours):

- (i) a. Ho letto molti libri di storia [**di** quelli che mi avevi consigliato] [**tra** quelli in programma].
 have-1sg read many books of history of those that to-me had-2sg recommended among those in
 syllabus.
 'I've read many books on history of those you had recommended to me among those in the syllabus.'
- b. *Ho letto molti libri di storia [**di** quelli che mi avevi consigliato] [**di** quelli in programma].

Cardinaletti and Giusti do not give any explanation of the distribution of *di* in adjunct partitive PPs and the impossibility of *di* inside the nominal looks like an *ad hoc* property to us. Interestingly, (ib) resembles very much our examples (63) and (64b), which are also odd: they all contain an overt noun following the quantifier and we attributed the ungrammaticality to the cooccurrence of two PP modifiers of the same sort. We would give the same account of the ungrammaticality of (ib): contrary to Cardinaletti and Giusti, we do not consider "molti libri di storia di quelli che mi avevi consigliato" as a real partitive –or as containing a "selected partitive

6 Conclusions

To sum up, in this paper both syntactic and semantic evidence has been provided against considering indefinite nominals such as *tres llibres dels que em vas recomanar* (‘three books of those you recommended to me’) as instances of partitive nominals, despite their apparent similarity with true partitives like *tres dels llibres que em vas recomanar* (‘three books of those you recommended to me’). Data presented showed that those nominals behave as ordinary indefinite nominals, this is to say, they pattern with quantitatives and differ from partitives in allowing all kinds of quantifiers and noun modifiers in the structure and in being ambiguous, when possible, between a specific and a non-specific reading. As a consequence of their semantic possibilities, they can have a generic reading, can be licensed in existential contexts and “donkey” sentences and can be interpreted under the scope of other quantified expressions (all this in contrast with partitives, which cannot). Moreover, they can be the nominal predicate of adscriptive copular sentences unlike partitives, which can only form a sort of equative copular sentences. Finally, they do not inherently imply any presupposition of existence and vague quantifiers are not interpreted relative to the embedded DP as is the case in partitives.

Some more examples –see (65) and (66)– will serve as a final illustration of the difference in meaning between these nominals and real partitives: the former normally express a quantity of elements and the PP provides some extra information, which tends to be interpreted as a kind, whereas partitives denote particular individuals and the notion of partition is inherently involved.

- (65) At a shop, in front of a group of tables:
- a. A casa tinc *una taula d’aquestes*, és molt pràctica.
at home have_{1sg} a table of-these is very practical
‘At home I have a table of this type, it is very practical.’
 - b. # A casa tinc *una d’aquestes taules*, és molt pràctica.
at home have_{1sg} one-of-these tables is very practical
‘At home I have one of these very tables, it is very practical.’

The nominal in italics in (65a) does not refer to any particular table in front of the speaker, but denotes a table similar to them that the speaker has at home: here the PP *d’aquestes* has a “kind of” reading meaning ‘of this type’. In contrast, the nominal in italics in (65b) refers to a particular table of that group of tables in the shop and therefore the sentence is odd as it claims that the table is at the speaker’s home, which is impossible.

- (66) És gaire plena, la sala? Hi ha gaire gent?
is very full the room there has many people
‘How full is the room? Are there many people?’
- a. Hi ha *molts professors de primer* i *alguns alumnes meus* i prou.
there has many lecturers of first and some students mine and enough
‘There are many first year lecturers and some students of mine and that’s it.’

PP”, in their terms–, but as containing a noun modifier like “di quelli in programma”. In contrast, (ia) is well-formed because the PP with *tra* is a different kind of constituent.

The wellformedness of (ii) in Italian, with a true partitive –similar to our examples (60) and (64a)–, supports our view and contradicts Cardinaletti and Giusti’s predictions (under their analysis one would expect (ii) to be ungrammatical just like (ib), contrary to fact):

- (ii) Ho letto molti [di quelli libri di storia che mi avevi consigliato] [di quelli in programma].

- b. *Hi ha molts professors dels de primer i alguns alumnes dels meus i prou.*
 there has many lecturers of-the of first and some students of-the mine and enough
 ‘There are many lecturers of those in first year and some students of those I teach and that’s it.’
- c. # *Hi ha molts dels professors de primer i alguns dels meus alumnes i prou.*
 there has many of-the lecturers of first and some of-the my students and enough
 ‘There are many of the first year lecturers and some of my students and that’s it.’

(66a) and (66b) are adequate answers to a question about quantities, but not (66c) containing a partitive as the nominals in italics refer to specific individuals rather than to quantities. (66c) would be an adequate answer to a question which asked who is in the room: *Qui hi ha, a la sala?* (‘Who is in the room?’).²⁶

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²⁶ Of course, with a specific reading of the nominals, (66a) and (66b) would also be adequate answers to this question about “who?”, but what is relevant here is the paradigm in (66).

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