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0. Introduction.

The analysis of genitive-constructions has been a particularly controversial topic, in the syntactic literature of the past two decades, and, within this larger sphere of controversy, the issue of the proper description of "postposed" genitives like a friend of John's has been especially hotly debated. As far as is now known, English is unique in having constructions of precisely this type, and it is probably partly for this reason that the construction-type has received a proportionately great deal of attention from syntacticians. Within the generative literature, for example, no fewer than six different analyses have been proposed for it, with widely varying details. Of late, though, something of a consensus seems to be growing that constructions like a friend of John's should be analyzed as underlying (or interpretive) partitives, equivalent to a friend (from out of the set) of John's friends, or one of John's friends. The present paper, however, adduces evidence showing that the partitive analysis is decidedly incorrect, and, to replace it, proposes an account which analyzes the construction in question as an underlying (or interpretive) appositive--a new, seventh account whose essential outlines, it turns out, were anticipated by Jespersen in some brief remarks that he made on this subject fully seventy-five years ago.

1. The Problem.

First, though, a few remarks should be addressed to the question of why what can be called the postposed or "double" genitive is at all problematic. Now, in, say, a friend of John's, a possessor noun-phrase marked with -s is not followed by any possessed noun-phrase, but this is not in itself unusual, since--although it is undoubtedly far more common for NP-s to be followed by an overt NP, as in John's hat--still, elliptical possessive-constructions, with unexpressed possessee, are not rare, as in Bill's hat is older than John's (where we understand 'John's hat'), or Whose book are you reading? --John's (where we understand 'John's book'). Thus, if one heard I introduced Bill's brother to a friend of John's, one could understand 'I introduced Bill's brother to a friend of John's brother'. What is unusual about the friend of John's construction, however, is the fact that we normally do not understand any additional or identical possessee to have been ellipted after John's (or its equivalent); rather, in this particular example, our first inclination is to interpret John('s) as the possessor of the earlier NP friend, in a way parallel to, but still semantically somewhat distinct from, either a friend of John, or else John's friend. The problem posed by postposed-genitive constructions then, is to explain why both -s and of occur in them, on the one hand--or, alternatively, on the other hand, why the possessor-NP (here John('s)) occurs after the possessed NP, and why the (seemingly-pleonastic) of should be present. Proposed analyses of the postposed/double-genitive, friend of John's construction must, thus, all ultimately be judged on whether they explain these particular puzzling phenomena that is, to repeat, on whether they motivate the presence of both of

-'s, and whether they predict the ordering of the -'s-marked possessor-NP after the possessed.

2. Previous (Non-Partitive) Analyses.

The first generative account of postposed genitives was that of Smith (1964), who, in fact, derived prenominal genitives from these. That is, John's friend, for example, was derived--by preposing of John's, and of-deletion--from a friend of John's, which latter construction was itself derived from the relative-clause construction (in underlying structure) a friend [John has a friend]_S by: first, a transformational conversion of this structure to a friend [the friend is John's], and, then, further transformations of relativization, relative-clause (or "Whiz"-) deletion, and of-insertion (called "Deletion II", as the second part of deletion); cf. the (over)simplified derivation in (1) below:

- (1) a friend [John has a friend]_S --(GENITIVE)-->
 a friend [the friend is John's] --(RELATIVE; DELETION)-->
 a friend John's --(DELETION II)-->
 a friend John's (---(GENITIVE ORDER-CHANGE)---)
 (John's friend)

This analysis has long since been rejected; it is possible to detail numerous reasons to do so, but, here, we have time and space to mention only the excessive power that it requires transformations to have, and the simultaneously ad hoc and obligatory nature of several of the steps involved in its derivations.

The next analysis forwarded for postposed genitives was that of Chomsky (1967/1970), also independently arrived-at by Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee (1968/1973), and repeated by Chomsky in a personal communication reported in a footnote in Emonds (1976). This postposing analysis derives, e.g., a friend of John's from *a John's friend, by NP-postposing and of-insertion; cf. (2) below:

- (2) a John's friend ((Δ)^P Δ)_{NP} --(NP-POSTPOSING)-->
 a friend (Δ)John's --(OF-INSERTION)-->
 a friend of John's

This account can--albeit with some difficulty--be made compatible with the principles and assumptions of current "trace-theory" versions of Chomsky's (Revised) Extended Standard Theory (EST--cf. Chomsky (1972, 1977)), but it has the defect of being based on a deep structure that cannot be allowed to surface. That is, either the NP-postposing transformation must be made obligatory in just this case, or else one needs a surface-filter (cf. Chomsky and Lasnik (1977)) to rule-out *a John's friend--and both of these moves are disallowed (or at least disfavored) by the basic principles of trace-theoretical EST. A variant of this analysis proposed by Siegel (1974), although it avoids these accretions by deriving a friend of John's from John's friend, necessitates a special kind of spellout-rule that inserts a in the wake of the postposing of John's, and so has its own undesirable ad hoc paraphernalia; cf. the sample Siegel-type derivation given below, in (3):

- (3) [[- Def][[John]^{NP₁} [Gen]^{Case}_{NP₂}]^{DET} friend ^{NP} =
 [[- Def][John's]] friend Δ --(NP-MOVEMENT)-->
 [[- Def] t] friend John's --(OF-INSERTION)-->
 [[- Def] t] friend of John's --(SPELLOUT)-->
 a friend of John's

And, finally, all variants of this type of analysis share the common fault that they force one to view the presence of both -s and of in surface-structure--as well as the ordering of, say, John's after friend--as essentially accidental.

3. The Current, Partitive Analysis and Its Defects.

In light of these problems attendant upon the postposing analysis, the currently-favored account of the friend of John's construction seems to be the partitive analysis, first proposed by Jackendoff (1968/1969), repeated by Jackendoff (1977), and (also) reformulated by Dresher and Hornstein (1976/1979). This analysis, to repeat, derives a friend of John's from the equivalent of a friend of John's friends (i.e., with of more in its etymological sense of 'off, from (among)'), and thus motivates both the of and the -s, as well as the "postposed" position of John's, in this example. Jackendoff's earlier analysis derived a friend of John's from a friend of John's ones (where ones = 'friends') by a general transformation of ones-Deletion cf. the following (4):

- (4) a friend of John's ones --(ONES-DELETION)-->
 a friend of John's

Jackendoff's later (1977) analysis, however, involves no deletion; rather, the underlying structure for a friend of John's is a friend of John's PRO, where PRO is essentially a free variable with arbitrary reference later interpreted as coreferential with friend and--more importantly--as plural, although this latter fact does not appear to have been noticed by Jackendoff, who fails to formulate the special rule that would presumably be needed for this. Jackendoff (1977) also considers the possibility of inserting of into the construction transformationally (rather than having it be present underlyingly), but reaches no firm conclusion, on this matter, and ultimately decides to leave the question open.

Dresher and Hornstein definitely opt for transformational insertion of of, but the main point of difference between their analysis and Jackendoff's (later one)--and between their and all other analyses--is that they propose a leftward movement of friend. That is, for them, the underlying structure of a friend of John's is something like a Δ John's friend (where Δ , "delta", is--as above--an empty node); friend is moved forward to the empty node by NP-preposing (more precisely, "Move NP"), but, in accordance with the trace-theory of movement-rules in current EST, leaves behind a trace (for a precise characterization of what this means, see Chomsky (1977)). Of, to repeat, is inserted by a later, minor but very general, transformation, and the rules of semantic interpretation that later operate analyze the construction as a partitive one--which they are able to do because when surface-structure is converted into Logical Form (again, cf. Cho

sky (1977)), the trace can be interpreted as coreferential with friend; cf. (5) below for the relevant parts of the derivation:

(5)	[a	$\overset{\text{NP}}{\Delta}$]] ^{NP}	[John's friend]] ^{NP}	--(NP-MOVEMENT)-->
	[a friend]			[John's t]	--(OF-INSERTION)-->
	[a friend]		of	[John's t]	

However, like Jackendoff (1977), Dresher and Hornstein (1976/1979) fail to note that a partitive interpretation for the example in question (and, mutatis mutandis, for any example of the construction at issue) would require the trace after John's, here, to be interpreted as plural--for (the equivalent of) a friend of John's friends is needed, it will be recalled; a friend of John's friend makes no sense as a partitive. Nevertheless, it is not clear how plurality of the trace is to be achieved. If the interpretation of traces of singular NP's as plurals is not allowed, then, in order to work, Dresher and Hornstein's analysis will additionally require the NP-Movement (the fronting) of the plural friends--and a concomitant conversion of the fronted NP to a singular, a rather strange and ad hoc specification.

Aside from this problem with the plurality of the second instance of the possessed NP, though, the Jackendoff- and Dresher/Hornstein-type analysis relies only on independently-motivated rules: of syntactic transformation ("Move NP", of-Insertion, etc.--depending on the particular analysis) and semantic interpretation (for partitives, like, e.g., one of John's friends). But it crucially depends on constructions of the type a friend of John's always having a partitive sense.

Unfortunately for the partitive analysis, it is clear that postposed/double-genitive constructions often do not have such a sense. In that big mouth of yours, for example, we hardly interpret that phrase as meaning that one of your big mouths. Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee (1973) argue in this direction, as does Chomsky (quoted in Emonds (1976)), and, as early as 1905, Jespersen pointed out that the postposed-genitive construction "is ... used extensively where no partitive sense is logically possible, as in ... 'that poor old mother of his', etc. When we now say 'he has a house of his own', no one would think of this as meaning 'he has one of his own houses'." As this last example shows, this non-partitive sense of the friend of John's construction is not limited to phrases with demonstratives--in fact, in such a sentence as No daughter of mine (will ever marry a Rosicrucian), it is not only not presupposed that "I" have more than one daughter, but also not even presupposed that "I" have any daughters at all.

4. A New Analysis.

Given that the partitive analysis of postposed genitives falls down completely on such examples as those just mentioned, and given the failings of the other analyses previously offered for them, what is one left with? The null hypothesis is, of course, still available--in this case, that a friend of John's and the like are simply examples of a base-generated construction of the form (DET) NP of NP's, generable either in one step, as a special kind of NP (as in (6) below), or in more than one step, with -s as an optional element at the end of NP's (which can obviously show up at the end of PP's with of) (cf. (7) below):

- (6) NP → { ... (DET) ... (ADJ)* N ...
 NP of NP's
 ⋮
 }
- (7) NP → ... (DET) ... (ADJ)* N (PP) ...-'s
 PP → ... P NP ...
 E.g.: [a friend [of John's]^{PP}]^{NP}

However, both of these null-hypothesis solutions entail giving up the attempt to motivate--and, hence, explain--the presence of both -'s and of in the construction under discussion, and the ordering of the -'s-marked NP after what it seems to be acting as the possessor of. On this analysis, then (which appears to be that of traditional grammar/s, and is a likely one for a purely surface-oriented approach like Form-Content Analysis--for details of this theory, cf. Kirsner (1977) and references therein), the prime explananda of the postposed genitive must be claimed to be accidental; there is then nothing to explain (only something to describe). Yet there really does seem to be something to be explained, in the friend of John's construction.

Fortunately, there is another possible analysis for the construction, one that has not before been advocated in the generative-syntactic literature, that provides such explanation. This analysis is based on the fact that, rather than being partitive, the semantics of the postposed-genitive construction seem to link up the postposed genitive with the prenominal modifiers, very much in the manner of Chomsky's and Stockwell, Schachter, and Partee's *a John's friend. Thus, a friend of John's is a (singular, indefinite) friend (who is (also)) John's friend. But, just as appositive relative clauses can be seen as consisting of a conjunction (or at least a juxtaposition) of two main clauses, so a postposed genitive like a friend of John's can be described as the juxtaposition of a friend and John's friend: i.e., a friend, John's friend--an appositive.

Here, the -'s is clearly motivated by a following (underlying or interpreted) NP; now, only of needs to be accounted-for--and, for this, we have recourse to the appositive of that occurs in, for example, the month of May, the concept of neutralization, etc. And, once again, Jespersen (1905/1968) turns out to have been the first to reach this conclusion: "[i]n phrases like 'a friend of my brother's' ..., ... of is rather to be classed with the appositional use in the three of us = 'the three who are we'; the city of Rome = 'the city which is Rome'" (p. 173-174). One may argue, then, that the of in postposed genitives has no possessive semantics associated with it--at least, not in the usual way--but is, instead, the same of that shows-up more or less obligatorily in appositives like the above, as well as optionally in, say, the notion (of) "rule of grammar", his home state (of)/, South Dakota, etc., or in "expressive qualitatives" (cf. Milner (1978) and references therein for an extensive discussion of this construction in French) like, e.g., that idiot of a senator, that crook of a president, (He's) a gem of a centerfielder, etc. (also possible in many other languages; cf. French un imbécile de gendarme 'an imbecile of a policeman', mon crétin de mari 'my cretin of a husband', une horreur de robe 'a horror of a robe').

Now, it must be admitted that the proper analysis of appositive constructions in general is still being debated, in generative syntax, and many key issues are still open questions: what the different structures are for restrictive and non-restrictive types (e.g., my Uncle Maurice; Holmes the detective vs. my uncle, Maurice; Holmes, the detective, respectively); what is the head, and what is modifier (Specifier, or even Determiner); whether of in appositives should be present underlyingly, or transformationally inserted. However, even pending a definitive answer to these questions, and, in fact, regardless of the particular answers arrived-at, it does seem clear that apposition is the relevant notion for analyzing what is going on in postposed genitives, and, thus--to repeat and summarize--the proper analysis of a friend of John's, e.g., must be the appositive a friend, John's friend (in a syntactic framework allowing EQUI-type deletions under identity) or, more likely, a friend, John's PRO (in an interpretive framework)--in underlying form, that is. This analysis involves, of course, the transformational insertion of of. While some recent work in EST no longer advocates of-insertion in cases like that of the destruction of the city (from putative underlying (the) destruction the city, parallel to (someone) destroyed the city), but postulates underlying of, this is less attractive in the case of the "alternations" with and without of in appositives (like, e.g., the rule (of) Passive), mentioned above. The reason for this is that the two kinds of appositives are much more clearly the same construction --in some intuitive sense--and having a rule of of-insertion to differentiate them at surface structure allows one to capture this generalization with a quite general rule (one that apparently may apply to all appositives (and perhaps even all NP-NP juxtapositions) when they do not surface separated by intonational commas).

At any rate, there is no reason to suppose that NP-movement applies, in postposed-genitive constructions; Dresher and Hornstein's (1976/1979) use of it there represents a gratuitous invocation of the "free ride" principle. It is true that "Move NP" can figure in an appositive account of the friend of John's construction, but its use there is no more motivated than in a construction like Bill's hat is older than John's (mentioned above, in the Introduction to this paper), where the derivation of this from Bill's Δ is older than John's hat by movement is, while undeniably possible, still egregiously convoluted and counterintuitive, since one must allow for phrases like Bill's is older than John's, where movement cannot be motivated, in any case. But, while movement can be ruled out, for postposed genitives, it does not seem possible to make a principled choice between having an underlying PRO, and having an underlying NP in its place that is deleted under identity with the first NP in the construction. Thus, the derivation of a friend of John's could be either that in (8) below, or that in (9):

- (8) a friend, John's PRO --(OF-INSERTION)-->
 a friend of John's PRO
- (9) a friend, John's friend --(OF-INSERTION)-->
 a friend of John's friend --(DELETION UNDER IDENTITY)-->
 a friend of John's

(The deletion rule will obviously involve a goodly number of constraints on its operation; among them, one on recoverability. Since there is no time or space to go into these, here, it is perhaps better to favor the derivation with PRO, as the less problematic.)

The appositive analysis of postposed/double genitives like a friend of John's, then, makes use of truly independently-motivated structures that explain the occurrence of both of and -'s, in the construction, as well as the postposed position of the -'s-marked NP; it also accounts for the precise semantics of the construction, and suffers from none of the defects of previous analyses. On all these grounds, it seems clearly to be preferred.

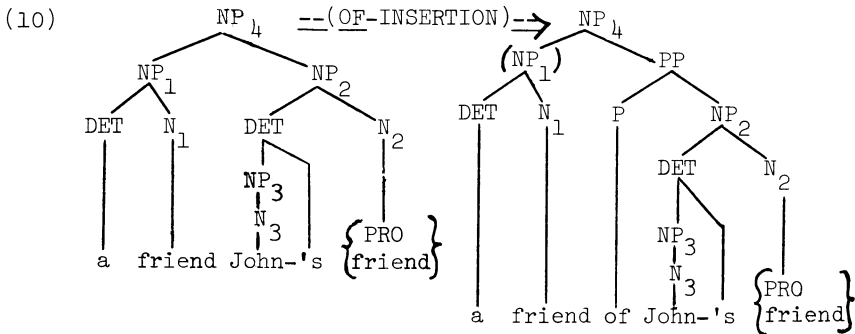
5. Residual Questions and Considerations.

While the appositive analysis of the friend of John's construction is clearly preferable to the partitive and other analyses, it would be dishonest for anyone to claim, or even hint, that it is incapable of receiving further refinement/s, or that it does not raise a number of interesting questions which motivate a search for further answers. First of all, there is the query: if a friend of John's, for example, is an appositive, with a surface structure (like) a friend of John's (PRO), where one interprets friend in the place of PRO (or \emptyset), so that one effectively has a friend, John's friend-- then why does a friend of John's friend (where friend is actually present, in surface structure) not have this interpretation? Why does this latter construction require non-coreference of the first and the second friend, whereas a friend of John's does not? If one has to answer that the friend of John's appositive construction has a special interpretive rule associated with it, then apposition loses much of its generality--and, hence, its appeal--as an explanation for the phenomena that make the construction problematic, for one is then much closer to the null-hypothesis solution: the phrase-type a friend of John's is just a special, idiosyncratic construction, with (at least some) unique properties.

However, there is another possible answer, one that has to do with the rule of Disjoint Reference (cf. Chomsky (1977) and Lightfoot (forthcoming)). According to Lightfoot, Disjoint Reference "specifies that [under certain conditions,] no two NPs may be interpreted as intersecting in reference"; that is, "[i]n a configuration NP_i X NP_j, NP_i is non-anaphoric to NP_j". Disjoint Reference accounts for the ungrammaticality of *I washed me, for example (I and me co-refer by their very nature); for the non-coreferentiality of the two instances of John in (normal utterances of) John saw John, for instance, and for why the set of soldiers is not interpreted as including the officers in, e.g., All the soldiers hate the officers. In regard to appositive (postposed/double) genitives, it seems that Disjoint Reference blocks coreference in a friend of John's friend, where two friend's are physically present, as it were, but not in a friend of John's, where one instance of friend is present only as PRO, or has been deleted. (The comma intonation of a friend, John's friend seems to remove that phrase from the sway of Disjoint Reference, which given the coreference in that crook of a president-- might perhaps be better termed Disjoint Sense (and Reference).) This answer to the first query regarding the appositive analysis of postposed genitives

is thus not entirely unproblematic, itself, but it does appear to be a promising avenue for research.

A second and potentially much more interesting query involves the constituent structure of the friend of John's construction; specifically, the position of of within it, as well as in "expressive qualitatives" like that crook of a president, just mentioned again, and in other appositives like the month of May, also mentioned above--hence, this query raises the issue of the syntactic position of of within the hierarchical structure of appositives (where it appears) in general. The question is, essentially: In a friend of John's, is of John's a prepositional phrase, or not? (If of is transformationally inserted--the analysis that has been favored, here--then this obviously refers (only) to surface structure; if of is present underlyingly, then it concerns underlying structure, but this will also be the surface structure, for of, since it is unaffected along the path there, on a no-insertion analysis.) Because transformational insertions (as well as deletions) are not constrained to be structure-preserving (in the sense of Emonds (1970), revised as Emonds (1976)), there is no necessary reason why insertion of of into an "appositive" genitive should entail the simultaneous creation of a PP-node to dominate it and the NP(-position) following it, but this is perhaps the first analytical move that comes to mind, since most prepositions in English surface structure occur inside PP's, especially when they are in NP's. Thus, one should perhaps first consider the characterization of the derived constituent structure produced by of-insertion in an appositive genitive in (10) below:



One way to test the validity of the proposed structure (on the right above) is to see whether the putative derived prepositional phrase acts like other phrases whose PP-hood is clear beyond any doubt; for this, one may perform extraction tests on the phrase in question; of John's, here. With indisputable prepositional phrases in similar constructions, it is clearly possible to extract (by Wh-Fronting/Movement) either the object of the preposition (which "strands" the preposition) or the whole PP (= "pied-piping"); this is illustrated by the sentences in (11), where NP-objects of prepositions containing possessives have been chosen--in several cases--in order to provide a better comparison with appositive genitives:

- (11) I know the names of three books.
 How many books do you know the names of?
 What do you know the names of?
 Of how many books do you know the names?
 Of what do you know the names?
 This is the key to the eighth door.
 Which door is this the key to?
 What is this the key to?
 To which door is this the key?
 To what is this the key?
 John has written books about many people's fathers; I wonder whose (father) this one is about.
 Whose is this one about? (whose = whose father)
 About whose is this one?
 John is a friend of Bill's friend; I wonder whose (friend) Bill is a friend of.
 Whose is Bill a friend of? (whose = whose friend)
 Of whose is Bill a friend?

However, although one can extract from regular of-genitives (regardless of whether they refer to people or not), as in (12) below, one cannot extract from appositive genitives; thus, the examples in (13) form a sort of minimal pair with the last set of examples in (11): if the of in the postposed genitive construction is part of a prepositional phrase, then the two sets of examples should be structurally identical (they are certainly lexically identical)--and yet one can extract in the case in (11), but not in that in (13).

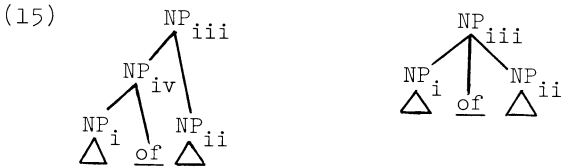
- (12) Hardness is a property of diamonds.
 What is hardness a property of?
 Of what is hardness a property?
 Bill is a friend of John.
 Who(m) is Bill a friend of?
 Of who(m) is Bill a friend?
 (13) Bill is a friend of John's.
 *Whose is Bill a friend of?
 *Of whose is Bill a friend?

If, on the other hand, of John's, in a friend of John's, etc., is not a prepositional phrase, then that explains why extraction is impossible in (13). Furthermore, it seems that the non-PP behavior of of + NP combinations in appositive genitives is paralleled by their similar behavior in other appositive constructions--cf. (14):

- (14) I saw our crook of a president yesterday.
 *Who(m)/What did you see our crook of (a) yesterday?
 *Of who(m)/what did you see our crook yesterday?
 It happened in the month of May.
 *What did it happen in the month of?
 *Of what did it happen in the month?

The conclusion to be drawn from all this appears to be that the of'

in of-appositives does not form a constituent with the following NP-- certainly not a PP. As a result, the derived constituent structure of the friend of John's construction, along with that of expressive qualitatives and the month of May construction, must, apparently, be one of the two structures in (15) (here, reduced to their essentials):



Either structure will suffice to present a configuration in which Ross's (1967) A-over-A Constraint (in its original form, or else in some much more recent equivalent formulation in EST) will rule out extraction of an embedded NP, and in which the general prohibition against movement of non-constituents will block the extraction of of + NP_{ii}. There are few considerations which bear on the choice between the alternatives in (15), but parallelisms of the structure on the left with certain quantifier expressions favor it (the [[NP of] [NP]] configuration) over the other.

Akmajian and Lehrer (1976) demonstrate that there are NP's with quantifiers in which the quantifier phrases (QP's) end, in surface structure, with (a transformationally-inserted) of: e.g., a number of books = [[[a number]_{NP} of]_{QP} [books]_{NP}]_{NP}; cf. the agreement facts in a number of books ?was/were found there yesterday. Some NP's can be structured/interpreted either in this way, or with of as part of a PP --with the NP preceding of as the head of the construction: cf., e.g. a herd of elephants was/were approaching at full speed. Given these structures and this variation, Akmajian and Lehrer point out that this all is the result of an ongoing historical process whereby NP's denoting measures or units are gradually reinterpreted as QP's--and that part of this process is the downgrading of of, formerly the introducer of a PP modifying the measure/unit-NP head, into an essentially meaningless element at the end of (a) QP, when the object of the PP is upgraded into the head of the whole NP (thus, in the above examples, books and elephants have come to be the heads, and not number and herd, respectively--at least potentially).

Knowing the existence of these phenomena, and of the similar downgrading--and phonological reduction--that has occurred in sort of > sorta, lot of > lotta, etc., one is inclined to view the appositive/postposed genitive and other of-appositives as having undergone the same reduction of of to an essentially meaningless element. And, thus --although it is difficult to say precisely why--it seems (at least to this author) that the [[NP of][NP]] structure above more closely captures this downgrading of of than the structure [[NP][of][NP]].

To be sure, although I have just spoken of the historical downgrading of of in postposed genitives and other appositives, I have not yet presented any evidence for a source construction where of was more upgraded, less syntactically--and, presumably, semantically--reduced; only evidence that of, in such constructions, is synchronical--

ly rather meaningless. But that hinted-at diachronic study must be the subject of another paper, since this discussion already comes at the end of the present one. For now, suffice it to say that the early attestations of the friend of John's construction--which occur in Chaucer's time, and perhaps earlier--are all ones that are consistent with a partitive interpretation (i.e., do not require an appositive one; cf. the Chaucerian (Middle English equivalent of) an old fellow of yours), so that the appositive interpretation (and, hence, structure) may well have arisen via a reinterpretation of the partitive, since their semantics overlap, in most cases. On the other hand, given that postposed (postnominal) 's-marked genitives occur, from Old English into ME, the possibility that the appositive genitive arose as some kind of blend of the two cannot be totally discounted (cf. friend mine, a friend of me vs. a friend of mine).

But, in any case, regardless of what the correct account of the past development of the friend of John's construction is, I hope to have shown, here, that the correct account of the present status of such postposed/double genitives is not the partitive or any other previous generative analysis, but a reformulation, in generative terms, of Jespersen's (1905/1968) appositive analysis.*.1

FOOTNOTES

* This paper stems, ultimately, from a(n extremely long) footnote in a paper of mine (Janda (1978)) on the history of the (Modern) English 's-genitive, especially its reanalysis--for a time--as the ME his-genitive; the analysis first tried to stand on its own in a presentation to the UCLA Syntax and Semantics Seminar on May 1, 1979, and an earlier version of the present form of this paper was presented at the Ninth Annual California Linguistics Association Conference (CLAC) at California State University, Sacramento, on May 5-6, 1979. For both positive and negative, but always helpful, comments at various early stages, I am grateful to Steve Anderson, Joe Emonds, Júlia Horváth, Paul Kiparsky, Will Leben, Mike Rochemont, Paul Schachter, Bob Stockwell, Steve Weisler, and others; and, at BLS VI, to George Bergman, Donald Frantz, and Henry Thompson.

1. There are a number of points relating to the friend of John's construction which, though they do relate to the phrase-type, do so so peripherally that they are best banished to footnotes.

First of all, it has been pointed out to me that, for some speakers, a friend of mine is grammatical, but a friend of me is not. I do not share this judgment, but, for those who do, it does not seem to mean anything more than that they have a filter proscribing this particular phrase--it does not seem likely that a friend of John and I/me would be bad for them, for instance. This particular phenomenon may perhaps relate to the (un)grammaticality of (Give it) to her and me, e. (vs. ... her/she and I), but, at any rate, it certainly has no immediate bearing on the question of the proper analysis of postposed genitives.

Second, several people have asked whether the analysis of a friend of John's, etc. can and/or should be related to that of constructions like

(He's not) too good of a quarterback, for example, which seems to be a more colloquial variant of (not) too good a quarterback; the reminiscent point of similarity being, obviously, the unexpected occurrence of of. The origin of this latter construction ((not) too good a ..., etc.) was probably very different from that of appositive genitives and other appositives, but it is, in fact, possible to analyze this phrase-type, too, as an appositive--in the following way: [[too good]_{AP} [PRO]_{NP} of]_{NP} [a quarterback]_{NP}]_{NP} (where PRO can, of course, be replaced by Δ , if one favors an analysis with deletion under identity, discussed briefly--in regard to appositive genitives--above). The newer construction differs from appositive genitives in having the ellipted NP in the first conjunct of the appositive, rather than in the second (which would seem definitely to rule out a movement analysis, here), and in necessarily (or perhaps only definitionally) containing an adjective in that first conjunct--and maybe a very limited set of adjective modifiers, as well--but the fact that it appears to be an appositive with of and a(n underlyingly or interpretively) repeated NP far outweighs those dissimilarities. However, the different origin alluded to above is that the (not) too good of a ... construction may have resulted from a reanalysis of (not) too good a ... as containing a reduced form of of, instead of a, with a subsequent supplying of the missing a. This scenario is, admittedly, quite speculative, but I know of no other.

The (not) too good of a ... construction, then, may well bear on the analysis of appositive genitives and appositives in general, but more in the way of providing independent motivation for rules or structures (e.g., of-insertion?) than in the way of being amalgamable with the latter, or of providing direct evidence regarding them. It certainly deserves further, closer investigation.

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