

How many *-no* s?

- ❖ **Possessive *no*** occurs in a wide variety of contexts, following **DP, PP, non-finite clauses**.
- ❖ Traditionally, **3 nos** have been recognized:

1) Genitive Case

- a) *John no [kuruma/ude]* 'John's {car/arm}'
 b) *sinrin no hakai* forest NO destruction 'destruction of the forest'
 c) *kinoo no sinbun* 'yesterday's newspaper'
 d) *NY no hakubutukan* NY NO museum 'a museum in NY'

2) Attributive Copula / Modifying Marker

- a) *Ken-to no yakusoku* Ken-with NO promise 'a promise with Ken'
 b) *tomodati no Ken* friend NO Ken 'Ken, who is a friend'
 c) *ni.satu no hon* 2.CL NO book '2 books'
 d) *titiyoa-ga haiyu no syonen* father-NOM actor NO boy 'a boy whose father is an actor'

3) Partitive *-no*

- kono hon no san.satu*
 this book NO 3.CL
 '3 of these books' (e.g., Kuno 1973)

- *no* always appears in the **same configuration**.
 [DP [... Pred (-tense)] **no** NP]
 (e.g., Kitagawa & Ross 1982)

If **no** accidental homophony,
 → **One (sub)structure** for *-no*.

Two Approaches to Unification

- **Modifying marker** (Kitagawa & Ross 1982): *-no* is inserted by the following rule:

• Mod-insertion Rule

[DP...XP(-tense) N^q] → [DP...XP(-tense) **no** N^q]
 Where the head noun is overtly realized.

cf. There is **no node in the syntax** for *-no*.
 Created post-syntactically.
 (e.g., in DM, Watanabe 2006, 2010).

- **Linker** (Den Dikken & Singhapreecha 2004): It induces **DP-internal predicate inversion**, similar to linkers like French *de*, Thai *thi*.
- ➔ **Fail** to account for the **ellipsis patterns and semantic properties** of *no*-phrases.

Pursuing better empirical coverage ...

Our proposal: (Reduced) relative clause

The Ellipsis Patterns

- 4) a. [*Taroo no taido*]-*wa* *yoi ga* [*Hanako no taido*]-*wa* *yoku-nai*.
 Taroo NO attitude -TOP good though Hanako NO TOP good-NEG
 'Taro's attitude is good, but Hanako's isn't.'
 b. * [*Hare no hi*]-*wa* *yoi ga*, [*ame no hi*]-*wa* *otikomou*.
 clear NO day TOP good though rain NO TOP feel.depressed.
 Lit. 'Although clear days are fine, I feel depressed on rainy ones.'

- Saito, Lin & Murasugi (2008)...**Only argument *no*-phrases** (and location/time), but **not modifier ones**, can raise to Spec,DP and license ellipsis.

- Watanabe (2010), Hiraiwa (2012)...**Genitive *-no*** licenses ellipsis but **not Modifying *-no***.

➔ **Neither proposal captures the facts below.**

- ❖ **Ellipsis is not restricted to argument *no*-phrases (5a) nor to genitive Case *no* (5b).**

- 5) a. [*Pinku no T-syatu*]-*wa* *atarasii ga*
 pink NO T-shirt TOP new though
 [*midori no T-syatu*]-*wa* *hurui*.
 green NO TOP old
 'Though the pink T-shirt is new, the green one is old.'
 b. [*John-to no yakusoku*]-*wa* *mamotta ga*
 with NO promise TOP kept though
 [*Ken-to no yakusoku*]-*wa* *mamora-nakat-ta*.
 with NO TOP keep-NEG-PST
 '(I) kept the promise with John, but not the one with Ken.'

➢ The Gen/Mod distinction is not supported.

Adj vs. *no*-phrases & Contrastive Focus

- Like French *de* and Thai *thi* (D&S 2004), ***no*-phrases**, but not adjectives, **must** receive a **contrastive** interpretation (6b,d).

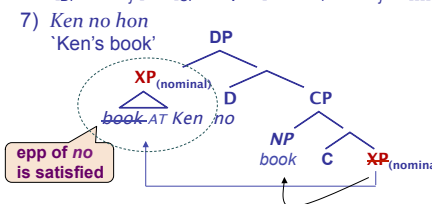
- 6) a) *aoi* {umi/seetaa} b) *ao no* {*umi/seetaa}
 'blue_A {sea/sweater}' blue_N NO {*sea/sweater}
 'blue (not red) sweater'
 c) *siroi* {yuki/kooto} d) *siro no* {*yuki/kooto}
 'white_A {snow/coat}' white_N NO {*snow/coat}
 'white (not red) coat'

Proposal

- no*-phrases are (reduced) subject relatives.**
- *no* is a **type of D** (cf. Koike 1999, Whitman 2001) merging with C_(no)-ie, Kayne's (1994) **relatives**
- C_(no) merges with a complement **varying in size**, minimally containing a **subject predicate SC**, and provides an **A'** position.
- Semantics & syntax depend on the **complement structure** of C_(no) (i.e., **small clauses**, built from (silent) **elementary predicates** such as, **AT, FROM, IN, TO, FOR**).
- *-no* has an **epp feature** requiring a **nominal specifier**. → **"prenominal" relatives**

Proposed structure

[_{DP} Pred_i [_{CP} [_{no} [_{NP}_i C_i [... _{NP}_j Pred_j ...]]]]]



- **Subject relativization** followed by raising of the **remnant predicate** to Spec,*no* (similar to D&S's predicate inversion).

Our analysis predicts...

- ***no*-phrases can be clausal:**
 [*hon_T-ga* [*hon_T-no hyosi*]-*ga* *pinku*] *no* *hon*_i
 cover-NOM pink NO book
 'a book whose cover is pink'
 (**possessor-raising** followed by **relativization**)
- ***no*-phrases can contain a finite predicate as long as the epp feature is satisfied:**
 [*piza atui* *(*dake*)_N] *no* *piza*
 hot only NO pizza
 'pizza which is only hot'
- **Word order difference reflects the difference in underlying structures!**
Ken no tomodati vs. *tomodati no Ken*
 'Ken's friend' 'Ken, who is a friend'

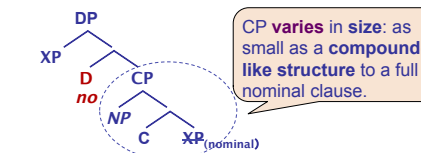
It further predicts...

- **Unrestricted recursion**
 → Property of **"subject" relatives**
 [[*NY no biziyutukan*] *no* [*Pikaso no* [*hana no e*]]]
 NY NO museum NO Picasso NO flower NO picture
 'Picasso's picture of a flower in a museum in NY'

Ellipsis Generalization

Proposal: Ellipsis is only possible in relatives of a certain size (i.e., where a **"focus" region** is available): larger than the **inflectional & compound regions** in Tsai's (2013) sense.

- Cases not allowing ellipsis are often realized as **[N N] compounds** in other languages.
 ex. **Mandarin:** *yu-tian*
 'rain-day'



Conclusion and Further directions

- ❖ **Towards a minimalist account:**
 Properties must follow from merge, lexical properties of *-no* and C_(no) interacting with independently motivated principles.
- ❖ *-no* is a type of **D** introducing a **(reduced) subject relative** containing **small clauses** with **elementary predicates** (and **Focus**).
- ❖ *-no* is in the **syntax**, *not* post-syntactic.
- ❖ *-no* can form a structure that behaves **like compounds** with respect to **ellipsis**.
- ❖ **Not all elementary predicates** seem available (e.g., Cause)
 → The reason needs to be explained.
- ❖ **Ellipsis structure & mechanism** need further research, as do **Typological** differences.

Selected References

- ♦ Kitagawa & Ross (1982) Prenominal modification in Chinese and Japanese. *Linguistic Analysis* 9.1, 19-53.
- ♦ Den Dikken, M. & Singhapreecha, P. (2004). Complex noun phrases and linkers. *Syntax* 7:1, 1-54.
- ♦ Saito, M., Lin, T.H.J., & Murasugi, K. (2008). N'-ellipsis and the structure of noun phrases in Chinese and Japanese. *J.EAL.* 17(3), 247-271.
- ♦ Tsai, W.T.D. (2013) Rethinking Formal Licensing. *19th International Congress of Linguistics*.