Quantificational expressions in Japanese can be expressed in many forms and two of them contain a linker-like element no, which also appears as a genitive marker, as in (1a) and (1b). Sauerland & Yatsushiro (2004; S&Y hereafter) have advanced a unified treatment of no in (1a, b), assuming that (1b) – a reverse partitive in S&Y’s terms – is derived from (1a) by adjoining #-CL or QP to the left of NP (no is a partitive no, which denotes a part relation). In contrast to S&Y, this talk shows that various properties of (1a&b) are better captured by assigning them different underlying structures: while (1a) is a partitive containing 2 NPs including a silent PartN, (1b) is not. Attributive vs. predicative uses of #CL/QP also play an important role.

Not requiring plural marking on common nouns, Japanese hon can be interpreted either as a singular or plural noun ‘book(s).’ Thus, QPs like (2a) are ambiguous with readings (i) and (ii). The puzzle is that (2b) is not ambiguous: hon must be understood as plural books. Why does such a contrast arise if (2b) is derived from (2a)? S&Y propose that in (2a) silent PartN can be understood as CONTENT or BOOKS while in (2b), PartN is overt and a CONTENT reading is unavailable. Although their account successfully explains this contrast, many problems remain.

**S&Y’s Problems:** First of all, (1b) being a partitive is counterintuitive to native ears. When presented out of the blue, (1a) presupposes the availability of more than 3 books, while (1b) does not. In fact, (1b) is felicitous in context where only 3 books are available. (4) is a counter example to Baker’s proper partitivity (1998): it is strange if Ken has more than 3 daughters. Further, the silent whole noun in reverse partitives, if it exists at all, can never be independently modified. In (5a), the 2 NPs can be independently modified by different numbers (2, 10). However, moving [2-CL] to derive a reverse partitive results in ungrammaticality, as in (5b). Thus, there is no evidence of a silent WholeNP in reverse partitives.

**Proposal:** Although agreeing with S&Y that (1a)-type partitives involve 2 NPs, my proposal differs from theirs in terms of the structure of (1b) and the nature of no. As for no, I adopt Ishizuka & Koopman’s (2016: I&K hereafter) proposal that no is a type of D selecting a reduced relative CP ([D CP] Kayne 1994) as its complement and requiring a nominal specifier (this results in predicate inversion). Their motivation for the reduced relative analysis comes from (6a&b): like Thai t′ii and French de, no requires a contrastive interpretation and cannot be used when alternative choices are unavailable. I&K take this ‘contrastive focus’ property as evidence for no-phrase being reduced relatives. Significantly, I found the similar contrast with ‘moon’ vs. ‘star’, as in (7) (the number of ‘moon’ is always ‘one’, unlike stars), and conclude that no in (1b) is the same no in (6a). A subject relativization followed by a predicate inversion yields canonical QPs, as (8a) shows. A question is where the ‘part of’ interpretation in (1a) comes from. Extending I&K’s idea to partitives that the semantic diversity of no-phrases comes from a set of silent elementary predicates contained (e.g., AT, TO, FOR, IN), my proposal is that partitives like (1a) contain silent predicate AMONG (see 8b). Support for this comes from Mandarin Taiwanese: Mandarin uses linker ‘de’ in partitives, but the predicate is overt: shu zhong de san ben ‘book among DE 3 CL’ ‘three of the books’. This suggests that languages differ in the inventory of silent predicates (e.g., English clearly allows silent AMONG).

Lastly, under the proposed analysis, the contrast observed with hotondo ‘most’ in (2a,b) comes from the fact that hotondo is used attributively in (2a), while predicatively in (2b). When used attributively, hotondo licenses silent BOOKS and CONTENT, as in (9a). In contrast, as shown in (9b), it is only predicative of its subject hon ‘books’, when used predicatively.

The proposed analysis not only unifies Japanese no in modifier and QP contexts, but paves the way to understand the crosslinguistic distribution of linker-like elements in partitives.
Data

(1) a. NP no {#-CL/QP} (e.g., hon no san-satu, ‘3 of the books’) 
b. {#-CL/QP} no NP (e.g., san-satu no hon, ‘3 books’)

(2) a. hon-no hotondo
   book-no most
   i) ‘most of the books’  ii) ‘most (content) of the book’ (i.e., a mass partitive) 
b. hotondo-no hon
   most-NO book
   i) ‘most of the books’  ii) ‘most (content) of the book’

(3) a. [[book\(\text{whole}\)-no CONTENT\_(part)]\(\text{most}\ Indian\)](silent NPs are in small caps)
   i) ‘most of the books’  ii) ‘most (content) of the book’ (i.e., a mass partitive) 
b. [[most \(\text{content}\) of the book\(\text{whole}\)-no book\(\text{part}\)]\(\text{most}\ Indian\)]
   i) ‘most (of the) books’  ii) ‘most (content) of the book’

(4) Ken-no san-nin-no musume-wa bengosi-da.
   Ken-NO 3-CL-NO daughter-TOP lawyer-COP
   ‘Ken’s three daughters are lawyers.’
   Structure: Ken’s [3 \(\text{t}\) \(\text{CL}\) \(\text{j}\)] [KEN’S DAUGHTERS], no daughter\(\text{p}\)\(\text{i}\) \(\text{t}\)j]

(5) a. [zyu-satu BOOK\(\text{whole}\)-no no BOOK]
   i) ‘2 of (the) 10 (books)’
   b. [ni \(\text{t}\) \(\text{i}\) satu] BOOK\(\text{whole}\)-no BOOK
   ‘2 books’

(6) a. (i) ao-no \{seeta/*sora\} (ii) siro-no \{kooto/*yuki\}
   blue-no \{sweater/*sky\} white-no \{coat/*snow\}
   ‘blue \{sweater/*sky\}’ ‘white \{coat/*snow\}’
   b. (i) aoi \{seeta/sora\} (ii) siroi \{kooto/yuki\} ⇒ No contrast with color adjectives.

(7) Konya-wa tuki hito-tu /hito-tu-no {\*tuki/hosi} mo mi-e-nai.
   tonight-TOP {moon 1-CL /1-CL-NO {moon/star}} also cannot see
   Lit. ‘(We) cannot see even one {moon/star}.’

(8) a. \[\(\text{t}\) \(\text{i}\) san-satu\(\text{no CP}\) {hon, san-satu\(\text{no}\)}}
   3-CL no book
   ‘3 books (lit. books that are 3)’
   b. \[\(\text{t}\) \(\text{i}\) AMONG hon\(\text{no CP}\) \{BOOK, AMONG hon\(\text{no}\}\} san-satu
   AMONG book NO 3-CL
   ‘3 of the books (lit. 3 (books) that are (among) the books)’

(9) a. “Kinoo katta hon yonda?”
   Did you read the book (you) bought yesterday?’
   ‘Most (content/books)’
   b. “Utyu-ni kansuru hon-wa?”
   ‘Where are the books about the universe?’
   Lit. ‘The book over there are most.’

Selected References: