NP-Ellipsis in the Nagasaki Dialect of Japanese

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1. Introduction

• In Standard Japanese (SJ), when a nominal expression is repeatedly used, the second occurrence may be reduced as in (1c), which is to be compared with the non-reduced form in (1b).

(1) a. Haruna-no kenkyuu-nitaisuru taido-wa ii ga, <SJ>
Haruna-GEN research-toward attitude-TOP good though
‘Though Haruna’s attitude toward research is good,’

b. Mariko-no kenkyuu-nitaisuru taido-wa yoku-nai. <SJ>
Mariko-GEN research-toward attitude-TOP good-not
‘Mariko’s attitude toward research is not good.’

c. Mariko-no-wa yoku-nai. <SJ>
Mariko-GEN-TOP good-not
‘Mariko’s is not good.’

• There have been two lines of analysis proposed for the reduction in question.

› NP-ellipsis: Saito and Murasugi (1990), etc.

(2) [DP Mariko-no [D' [NP kenkyuu-nitaisuru taido ] D ] ]
Mariko-GEN research-toward attitude

› The NP-ellipsis analysis would not be compatible with the traditional analysis of nominal phrases as NPs.

(3) [NP Mariko-no [N'/NP kenkyuu-nitaisuru taido ]] ]
Mariko-GEN research-toward attitude

› pronoun (+ haplology): Okutsu (1974), Li (2011), Bae (2012), etc.

› In Standard Japanese, the pro-form corresponding to the pronoun one in English is expressed as no, which happens to have the same phonetic form as the genitive marker.

(4) a. Haruna-wa akai wanpiisu-o katta. <SJ>
Haruna-TOP red one-piece.dress-ACC bought
‘Haruna bought a red one-piece dress.’

b. Mariko-wa aoi no-o katta. <SJ>
Mariko-TOP blue one-ACC bought
‘Mariko bought a blue one.’
The pronoun + haplology analysis treats the reduced nominal phrase in (1c) as follows:

(5) \[ \text{NP } \text{Mariko-no } \text{no } \text{Mariko-GEN one} \]

Assuming that nominal phrases in Japanese are not DPs but just NPs, Li (2011) and Bae (2012) argue for the pronoun analysis on the basis of the observation that in those dialects where the genitive marker and the pronoun have different phonetic forms, the pronoun does surface in their counterparts of cases like (1c).

The Nagasaki dialect of Japanese (Nagasaki Japanese: NJ): the genitive marker = \( n \); the pronoun = \( to \)

(6) a. Takuya-n \{keitai /hahaoya /taido /aizyoo\} <NJ>
   Takuya-GEN cell.phone /mother /attitude /love
   ‘Takuya’s \{cell phone/mother/attitude/love\}’
   
   b. Mariko-wa aoka to-ba katta. <NJ>
   Mariko-TOP blue one-ACC bought
   ‘Mariko bought a blue one.’

(7) Haruna-n taido-wa Mariko-n to yorimo rippayatta. <NJ>
   Haruna-GEN attitude-TOP Mariko-GEN one than good.
   ‘lit. Haruna’s attitude was better than Mariko’s one.’

Li (2011) and Bae (2012) merely point out the existence of cases like (7) in Nagasaki Japanese and some similar dialects, stopping short of showing whether reduced nominal phrases like the ones in (1c) and (7) really do not involve ellipsis.

We have undertaken to examine whether reduced nominal phrases in Nagasaki Japanese really lack ellipsis.

This presentation is an interim report of our research on Nagasaki Japanese and similar dialects. What we have so far discovered indicates that although they apparently employ the pro-form strategy, cases like (7) actually involve ellipsis.

2. Reduced Nominal Phrases in Nagasaki Japanese

Given the contrast in (8) between the sentence containing a pro-form and the sentence with ellipsis, we initially thought that the possibility of sloppy interpretation could serve as evidence for ellipsis.

(8) a. John loves his wife, and Bill loves her, too. \((\text{can mean (9a) only})\)
   b. John loves his wife, and Bill does, too. \((\text{can mean either (9a) or (9b)})\)

(9) a. Bill loves John’s wife. \(<\text{strict interpretation}>\)
   b. Bill loves Bill’s wife. \(<\text{sloppy interpretation}>\)
Sloppy interpretation is possible with *to*.

(10) a. Satsuma-n soko-n tonosama-e-n tyuusei-wa rikaidekiru batten,
    Satsuma-GEN it-GEN lord-to-GEN loyalty-TOP understandable though
    ‘Though Satsuma’s loyalty to its lord is understandable,’

b. Simabara-n to-wa rikaidekin. (*can mean either (11a) or (11b))
    Shimabara-GEN one-TOP not.understandable
    ‘lit. Shimabara’s one is not understandable.’

(11) a. Shimabara’s loyalty to Satsuma’s lord is not understandable.

b. Shimabara’s loyalty to Shimabara’s lord is not understandable.

But the English construction with the pro-form *one* does permit sloppy interpretation.

(12) I saw Janet’s beautiful picture of her cat and Jack saw Julie’s ugly one.
    ((Llombart-Huesca (2002))

We do not think that the existence of cases like (12) immediately leads to the conclusion that reduced nominal phrases in Nagasaki Japanese should be analyzed as involving pronominalization. In fact, Llombart-Huesca (2002) argues on the basis of cases like (12) that the construction with the pro-form *one* actually involves ellipsis.

It is preferable if we can find unequivocal evidence for ellipsis.

Extraction is basically permitted out of elliptic parts (sluicing, pseudogapping, VP-ellipsis with passive/raising).

(13) a. ... \[XP \alpha X \beta\] ...

b. ... \[XP \alpha X t\beta\] ...

c. ... \[XP \alpha X t\beta\] ...

Internal arguments can survive reduction in question. (See Kimura (1994) for comparable data in SJ.)

(14) a. Haruna-n piano-n toriatukai-wa teineiya kedo,
    Haruna-GEN piano-GEN handling-TOP careful though
    ‘Though Haruna’s handling of the piano is careful,’

b. Mariko-n to-wa sozatuya ne.
    Mariko-GEN one-TOP rough PART
    ‘lit. Mariko’s one is rough.’

c. Mariko-n furuuto-n to-wa sozatuya ne.
    Mariko-GEN flute-GEN one-TOP rough PART
    ‘lit. Mariko’s one of the flute is rough.’

(15) \[DP \text{Mariko-GEN} [DP \text{flute-GEN} [D' [... [NP \text{flute-handling} to] D]]] \] (for (14c))

\[\]
Takahashi (2008b) shows that NP-ellipsis in Japanese obeys scope parallelism in the sense of Fox (2000) basically in the same way as VP-ellipsis in English. (See also Takahashi (2008a).)

(16) Azia-no ikka-koku-no taitei-no sosiki-kara-no Asia-GEN one-country-GEN most-GEN organization-from-GEN dattai-wa mitomerareta. (ONE > MOST) <SJ> withdrawal-TOP was.approved. ‘One Asian country’s withdrawal from most organizations was approved.’

(17) Taitei-no sosiki-kara-no azia-no ikka-koku-no most-GEN organization-from-GEN Asia-GEN one-country-GEN dattai-wa mitomerareta. (ONE >/< MOST) <SJ> withdrawal-TOP was.approved. ‘lit. From most organizations one Asian country’s withdrawal was approved.’

(18) a. Azia-no ikka-koku-no taitei-no sosiki-kara-no Asia-GEN one-country-GEN most-GEN organization-from-GEN dattai-wa mitomerareta ga, (ONE > MOST) <SJ> withdrawal-TOP was.approved though ‘Though one Asian country’s withdrawal from most organizations was approved,’

b. yooroppa-no ikka-koku-no-wa mitomerarenakatta. (ONE > MOST) Europe-GEN one-country-GEN-TOP was.not.approved <SJ> ‘one European country’s was not approved.’

(19) a. Taitei-no sosiki-kara-no azia-no ikka-koku-no most-GEN organization-from-GEN Asia-GEN one-country-GEN dattai-wa mitomerareta ga, (ONE >/< MOST) <SJ> withdrawal-TOP was.approved though ‘lit. Though from most organizations one Asian country’s withdrawal was approved,’

b. yooroppa-no ikka-koku-no-wa mitomerarenakatta. (ONE >/< MOST) Europe-GEN one-country-GEN-TOP was.not.approved <SJ> ‘one European country’s was not approved.’

(20) a. [DP one Asian country’s [NP withdrawal from most organizations ]] ...
   [DP one European country’s [NP withdrawal from most organizations ]] ...

b. [DP from most organizations [DP one Asian country’s [NP withdrawal \_tp]] ] ...
   [DP from most organizations [DP one European country’s [NP withdrawal \_tp]] ] ...

c. [DP from most organizations [DP one Asian country’s [NP withdrawal \_tp]] ] ...
   [DP from most organizations [DP one European country’s [NP withdrawal \_tp]] ] ...

↑ argument ellipsis
↑ NP-ellipsis
NP-ellipsis is indeed available in Nagasaki Japanese, where reduced nominal phrases in question are composed of genitive remnants and the alleged pro-form. That such expressions exist in some dialects does not serve to refute Saito and Murasugi’s (1990) NP-ellipsis analysis.

3. An Analysis and Implications

● In Nagasaki Japanese, the pro-form to does not co-occur with overt nouns.

(22) a. * Haruna-n taido-wa Mariko-n taido to yorimo rippayatta. Haruna-GEN attitude-TOP Mariko-GEN attitude one than good. ‘lit. Haruna’s attitude was better than Mariko’s one attitude.’

b. * Haruna-n taido-wa Mariko-n to taido yorimo rippayatta. Haruna-GEN attitude-TOP Mariko-GEN one attitude than good. ‘lit. Haruna’s attitude was better than Mariko’s one attitude.’

● The pro-form to is below the #/classifier head.


b. Mariko-wa [Isaka-n to ni-satu]-ba katta. Mariko-TOP Isaka-GEN one two-CL-ACC bought ‘lit. Mariko bought Isaka’s two ones.’
4. Conclusion

(I) Reduced nominal phrases with the alleged pronoun to in Nagasaki Japanese involve NP-ellipsis.

(II) The alleged pronoun is actually an n head containing an E-feature for NP-ellipsis, so that it never co-occurs with overt nouns.

(III) The nominal phrase in Japanese cannot simply be NP: it must contain the projection of a functional head that licenses NP-ellipsis, though it is left open to identify the categorial status of the functional head.
References


