NP-Ellipsis in the Nagasaki Dialect of Japanese

In this study we consider reduced nominal phrases in the Nagasaki dialect of Japanese that consist only of genitive phrases and an alleged pro-form roughly corresponding to the pronoun *one* in English, and point out the novel fact that despite the presence of the pro-form, they exhibit an array of properties usually ascribed to ellipsis. In so doing, we aim to shed new light on the debate over whether NP-ellipsis is really existent in Japanese.

In Standard Japanese, the genitive case-marker and the pronoun corresponding to *one* in English happen to have the same form: *no*.

(1) a. Ken-**no** hon
        Ken-GEN book   'Ken's book'
     b. Yasui **no**-o kudasai.
        cheap one-ACC please.give.me   'Please give me a cheap one.'

In (1a), *no* functions as the genitive case-marker, suffixed to the possessor *Ken*, whereas in (1b), *no* is a pronoun and what it refers to is to be determined based on the context where the sentence is used. Saito and Murasugi (1990) consider cases like (2).

(2) [DP Hana-no rakutan]-wa   [DP Ken-no] yorimo ookikatta.
        Hana-GEN disappointment-TOP   Ken-GEN than   was.big
     'Hana's disappointment was bigger than Ken's.'
(3) the haplology analysis: [DP Ken-no ~~no~~]
(4) the NP-ellipsis analysis: [DP Ken-no [D' [NP ~~rakutan~~] D]]

(2) can be understood to mean that Hana's disappointment was bigger than Ken's disappointment, although the head noun is apparently absent from the second DP (thus, *Ken-no* 'Ken's' rather than *Ken-no rakutan* 'Ken's disappointment'). There have been two analyses put forth for the phenomenon in question in the literature: one is what we may call the haplology analysis due to Okutsu (1974), according to which the underlying form of the second DP in (2) is (3), where the pronoun *no* occurs following the genitive phrase and is deleted in order to avoid the sequence of two phonetically identical forms. The other analysis is the NP-ellipsis analysis proposed by Saito and Murasugi (1990), according to which the underlying structure of the relevant DP is (4), where the full-fledged noun *rakutan* occurs and projects an NP, which is subject to NP-ellipsis.

Although Saito and Murasugi (1990) provide an argument against the haplology analysis to motivate their ellipsis analysis, some authors including Bae (2012) and Li (2009) have recently argued in favor of the haplology analysis, in part on the basis of the fact that in some dialects of Japanese where the genitive marker and the relevant pronoun have different phonetic forms, cases corresponding to (2) actually have the pro-form. The following examples are from the Nagasaki dialect:

(5) a. Mariko-**n** taido
        Mariko-GEN attitude   'Mariko's attitude'
     b. Yasuka **to**-ba kudasai.
        cheap one-ACC please.give.me   'Please give me a cheap one.'
(6) [DP Haruna-n taido]-wa [DP Mariko-**n** *(**to**)] yorimo rippayatta.
        Haruna-GEN attitude-TOP   Mariko-GEN one   than was.good
     'lit. Haruna's attitude was better than Mariko's one.'

As shown in (5), the genitive case-marker and the pronoun in question are realized as *n* and *to*, respectively, in this dialect. Significantly, in (6), which is comparable to (2), the second DP must have both the genitive marker and the pronoun and the pronoun cannot be omitted. This should be natural under the haplology analysis, because the genitive marker and the pronoun have different forms, avoiding haplology.

Li (2009) and Bae (2012) merely point out the existence of cases like (6) and fall short of considering them in detail. We, therefore, have conducted a close examination of relevant data in the Nagasaki dialect and found the surprising fact that despite the presence of the pro-form, they do exhibit properties of ellipsis, some of which are illustrated below:

(7) Satuma-n   soko-n tonosama-e-n tyuusei-wa rikai-dekiru   batten,
     Satsuma-GEN   it-GEN king-to-GEN   loyalty-TOP understand-can though
     Simabara-n   to-wa   rikai-dekin.
     Shimabara-GEN   one-TOP   understand-cannot
     'lit. Though Satsuma's royalty to its king is understandable, Shimabara's one is not
     understandable.'
(8) Haruna-n   futari-n   otoko-n   yuuwaku-wa   umaku   itta   batten,
     Haruna-GEN   two-GEN   man-GEN   seduction-TOP well   went   though
     Mariko-n   to-wa   umaku   ikanyatta.
     Mariko-GEN   one-TOP   well   not.went
     'lit. Though Haruna's seduction of two men went well, Mariko's one did not go well.'

In (7), the subject of the second clause is reduced, and it shows ambiguity between the strict
and the sloppy interpretation: thus, it means either Shimabara's royalty to Satsuma's king or
Shimabara's royalty to Shimabara's king. In (8), the reduced subject of the second clause
may mean Mariko's seduction of the two men that Haruna seduced or Mariko's seduction of
two men, the latter of which is compatible with the situation where the set of the men Mariko
seduced was different from the set of the men Haruna seduced. The possibility of the sloppy
interpretation and the "different set" reading seems to be unexpected under the haplology
analysis, which assumes that the phenomenon in question involves pronominalization. To see
why, consider the examples below:

(9)   a.   John loves his mother, and Bill loves **her**, too.
      b.   John kissed two girls, and Bill kissed **them**, too.
(10) a.   John loves his mother, and Bill does, too.
      b.   John kissed two girls, and Bill did, too.

In (9), the second clauses contain pronouns anaphoric to the objects in the preceding clauses.
The pronoun *her* in (9a) means *John's mother*, but not *Bill's mother*. The pronoun *them* in
(9b) only means the two girls John kissed. Therefore, the facts in (7) and (8) indicate that
they should not be analyzed in terms of pronominalization, but rather in terms of ellipsis
(note that the elliptic counterparts of (9a-b) in (10) do allow the sloppy and the "different set"
reading).
    Considerations of (7) and (8) show that the mere existence of cases like (6) does not
suffice to refute the NP-ellipsis analysis. Our findings are consistent with Baltin's (2012)
claim that the dichotomy between ellipsis and pro-forms is sometimes an oversimplification,
because (7) and (8) exhibit characteristics of ellipsis despite the presence of the pro-form. We
basically apply Baltin's (2012) analysis of the British English *do* construction to NP-ellipsis
in the Nagasaki dialect. Specifically, we assume that the alleged pro-form *to* is actually an
instance of *n*, a "light noun" head comparable to *v* in the verbal projection, and that it licenses
ellipsis of its complement NP, as schematically shown below for the second DP in (6):

(11) [$_{DP}$ Mariko-GEN [$_{D'}$[$_{n}$P[$_{NP}$ ~~attitude~~] [$_{n}$ **to**]] D]]

Then, the difference between NP-ellipsis in Standard Japanese and its Nagasaki counterpart
can be reduced either to whether *n*P or NP is elided or to whether the *n* head is phonetically
realized or not. In the presentation, we plan to consider more data to decide which possibility
is correct, and also to adduce further evidence for the involvement of ellipsis in the relevant
phenomenon in the Nagasaki dialect, buttressing the claim that cases with pro-forms
sometimes have deceptive appearances and actually involve ellipsis.

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