Pro-form *no* in Japanese

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Synopsis

Saito and Murasugi (1990) provide an NP-deletion analysis for Japanese.

The example (1) involves the movement of a possessor phrase (e.g., *Mariko-no* "Mariko-Gen") into the spec of DP with deletion of the NP complement (e.g., *taido* "attitude") of D in the second nominal.

(1) Haruna-no taido-wa   Mariko-no ~~taido~~   yorimo rippadatta. (SJ)

Haruna-Gen attitude-Top Mariko-Gen attitude than good

'lit. Haruna's attitude was better than Mariko's.'

Standard J

(1) Haruna-no   taido-wa   Mariko-no   yorimo   rippadatta.
    Haruna-Gen   attitude-Top   Mariko-Gen   than   good

Nagasaki J

(2) Haruna-n   taido-wa   Mariko-n   **to** yorimo   rippayatta.
    Haruna-Gen   attitude-Top   Mariko-Gen.one than   good
    'lit. Haruna's attitude was better than Mariko's one.'   (M&T 2016)

Maeda and Takahashi (M&T) (2016) defend the NP-ellipsis analysis by applying haplology, deleting one of the consecutive *no*s as in (3).

(3) a. Mariko-no   taido   →   b. Mariko-no no   →c. Mariko-no
        Mariko-Gen attitude   Marko-Gen one

M&T(2016) treat that pro-form *no* (*to*) as an -n head containing what Merchant (2001) calls the E(llipsis)-feature, as in (4).

They also assume that the n head *to* instructs PF not to pronounce its complement.

(4) a. $[_{DP}$ Mariko-n $[_{D'} [_{nP} [_{NP}$ ~~taido~~N] *to$_n$*] D]] (NJ)   (M&T 2016)
    b. $[_{DP}$ Mariko-no $[_{D'} [_{nP} [_{NP}$ ~~taido~~N] *no$_n$*] D]] (SJ)

Hiraiwa (2016)

He develops a light noun analysis using haplology, as in (5), where light nouns, including *no* (*to* in NJ), occupy n position, and (1) and (2) can be analyzed as in (6).

(5) [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{n}$P XP *n*] D]]   (Hiraiwa 2016)
(6) a. [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{n}$P Mariko-n   *to$_n$*] D]] (NJ)
    b. [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{n}$P Mariko-no   *no$_n$*] D]]   (SJ)

Proposal

・I show that *to* with the E(llipsis)-feature in M&T (2016) is not identical with the traditional pro-form, for the following reasons.

 1) The conventional pro-form occurs with a relative clause (RC) and in a context with no linguistic antecedent.

2) The pro-form cannot refer to a respected person.

These points can be made because the ordinary pro-form *to* is irrelevant to deletion.

・I show that Hiraiwa's (2016) light noun analysis directly represents data found in the dialect of Nagasaki city (NC) and on the nature of the pro-form, while M&T's analysis requires an additional explanation regarding the *n* genitive in NC.

to in M&T (2016) : having different properties from the genuine pro-form

The pro-form *no* (*to* in NJ) also occurs with an RC.

Because the movement of the RC into the spec of DP is not involved, the condition that NP-deletion can occur only when the Spec agrees with the head is not satisfied in (7b).

To occurring with an RC does not involve NP-ellipsis (see also Miyamoto 2016).

Nagasaki J

(7) a. Mariko-n-to   (Noun Phrase)   b. Mariko-ga   mita   to (RC)
     Mariko-Gen-one   Mariko-Nom   mita   one

    'lit. Mariko's one'   'the one Mariko saw'

to in M&T (2016) : having different properties from the genuine pro-form

NP-ellipsis requires a linguistic antecedent, while the pro-form does not (see Lasnik and Saito 1992).

[Context: At the bookstore, Hanako is asking a clerk.] (see also Saruwatari 2016)

(8) Hanako: Excuse me, I'm looking for Haruki Murakami's *(new one).

(9) Hanako: Murakami Haruki-n   to-ba   sagashi   toru   to   batten.   (NJ)

     Murakami Haruki-Gen   one-Acc   look.for   Prog   Fin   though

     'lit. I'm looking for Haruki Murakami's one.'

(10) Hanako: Murakami Haruki-ga   kaita   to-ba   sagashi   toru   to   batten.   (NJ)

     Murakami Haruki-Nom   wrote   one-Acc   look.for   Prog   Fin   though

     'lit. I'm looking for the one that Haruki Murakami wrote.'

(11) Hanako: Whose book is selling best in this shop?

     Clerk: Haruki Murakami's (new one).

to in M&T (2016) : having different properties from the genuine pro-form

The pro-form *to* (or *no* in SJ) in (7) cannot refer to a person who is respected. If *to* is only a realization of the ellipsis feature, it does not have this restriction. Thus, what M&T call "the alleged pro-form *to*" must be different from the genuine pro-form.

Nagasaki J

(7) a. Mariko-n-to   (Noun Phrase)   b. Mariko-ga   mita   to (RC)

   Mariko-Gen-one   Mariko-Nom mita   one

      'lit. Mariko's one'   'the one Mariko saw'

▪ In NC, only when the head noun is a light noun (such as *toki, tokoro,* and the pro-form *to*), the genitive marker must be *-n*.

▪ When the head noun is an abstract noun (such as *taido* "attitude"), the genitive marker should be *-no*.

(12) Haruna-**no** taido-wa Mariko-**n** to yorimo rippayatta. (NC)

(13) the case where *-n* is used in NC (see also Saruwatari 2016)

a. Hanako n/*no toki

   Hanako Gen time

   'Hanako's time'

c. Osaka n/*no mon

   Osaka Gen person

   'Osakan'

b. Hanako n/*no tokoro

   Hanako Gen place

   'Hanako's place'

d. Kobe n/*no niki (NC)

   Kobe Gen around

   'around Kobe'

Although *to* in (12) is not the traditional pro-form given in M&T's analysis, the *n* genitive marker must appear in NC as other light nouns.

(12) Haruna-**no**   taido-wa   Mariko-**n** **to**   yorimo rippayatta. (NC)
      Haruna-Gen   attitude-Top Mariko-Gen.one than   good
   'lit. Haruna's attitude was better than Mariko's one.'

If *to* were the realization of the E(llipsis)-feature and if it instructed PF not to pronounce its complement *taido,* the genitive marker preceding *to* would be *no* in NC, and it would not need to be *n* here.

Importantly, although pro-forms do not stand for abstract nouns (as stated in Okutsu 1974), they do so when used in a natural context with a comparison of two (or more) things (as Kinsui 1994).
Therefore, *to* (no) in (1), (2), and (12) can be considered to be the traditional pro-form.

(1) Haruna-no   taido-wa   Mariko-**no**   yorimo   rippadatta. (SJ)
(2) Haruna-n   taido-wa   Mariko-n **to**   yorimo   rippayatta. (NJ)
(12) Haruna-no   taido-wa   Mariko-n **to**   yorimo   rippayatta. (NC)
     Haruna-Gen   attitude-Top   Mariko-Gen.one   than   good
  'lit. Haruna's attitude was better than Mariko's one.'

▪ Hiraiwa's (2016) analysis, in which light nouns such as *to* (*no* in SJ) occupy the n position, as in (6), can capture the *-n* genitive in NC.
▪ M&T's (2016) analysis requires an additional explanation for the *-n* genitive and its connection to other light nouns.

(5) [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{n P}$ XP n] D]]   (Hiraiwa 2016)
(6) a. [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{n P}$ Mariko-n to_n] D]] (NJ)
    b. [$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ [$_{n P}$ Mariko-no no_n] D]]   (SJ)

Conclusion

- I first showed that *to* in M&T's (2016) analysis has different properties from the genuine pro-form.

The ordinary pro-form *to* is irrelevant to deletion.

- I also presented a set of data from NC that Hiraiwa's (2016) light noun analysis accounts for but for which M&T (2016) would require an additional explanation.

(12) Haruna-**no**   taido-wa   Mariko-**n to**   yorimo rippayatta.
     Haruna-Gen   attitude-Top   Mariko-Gen.one   than   good

   'lit. Haruna's attitude was better than Mariko's one.'   (NC)

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