Verb Phrase Ellipsis in Japanese

Towards a functional approach

Øyvind Kveine Haugen

Submitted in partial fulfillment (60sp) of the requirements for the degree of Master in East Asian Linguistics, Faculty of Humanities

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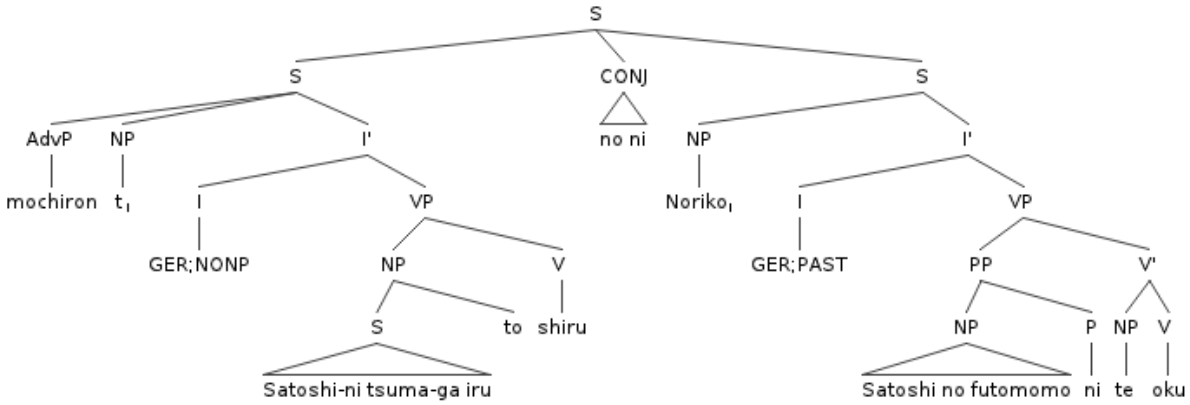

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Abstract

While it is generally assumed that an elliptical Verb Phrase must be identical to its antecedent, satisfyingly precise formulations of this phenomena have been scarce. Investigating VP ellipsis in Japanese discourse, this thesis argues for a framework based on a combination of syntax, semantics and pragmatics based on a modified version of the Minimalist Program. Special care is taken to move towards a flexible framework which later can be used for other languages as well. Through examination of contemporary literature, a number of examples is extracted and reviewed thoroughly. It is found that the theory constructed is able to answer both the question of licensing and antecedent-recovery in the examples, and could thus be a significant contribution to the discussion on ellipsis in general.

Foreword

This thesis is part of my Master of Arts studies at the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Language, Faculty of Humanities, University of Norway. The study consists of two semesters with courses, and two semesters to conduct individual scientific research and work this into a thesis. This thesis presents the results of my scientific research.

While normal progression of studies dictates that the MA program is completed in two years, I spent an additional 7 months at Sophia University (上智大学) in Tokyo, Japan during the fall of 2009. The purpose of this stay was to further my knowledge of the Japanese language in general, and to be able to conduct thesis-specific research. Unfortunately I was met by a number of restrictions leaving me unable to conduct the research I originally intended to do. This then led to a number of heated arguments between me and the Department of International Studies, and ultimately it made me leave Sophia University early. I will however not say that the time spent there was wasted, as I made several side discoveries which some day might find their way into a paper. In addition, I had the opportunity to meet a number of highly interesting people who have broadened my perspective on a number of topics not just concerning linguistics or Japan. Some of them are named below.

There are many people who contributed to the writing of this thesis, and I am very happy to acknowledge their support.

First of all, I would like to thank my parents, Frøydis Kveine and Thor Haugen for all their love and support through many years. Although they have, on numerous occations, commented that they do not fully understand my drive for knowledge, they have allowed me space to pursue my dreams without telling me to “straighten out and get a job.”

A warm thank is due to the wonderful people around the world who made my trips to Asia so enjoyable. Hiroyuki Fujimaki were always a source of academic inspiration and a good friend. Kengo Kikuchi deserves my life-long gratitude just for being who he is. Most of what I know about Japanese society comes from him. The people I practised *jūdō* with at Tokai and Sophia University. The bruises fade, but the memories never do. Scott and Jihee Whelden, Davin Schmidt, Haixu Zhao, Morgan Koyama, Min En, Choi Jong Ho and all my fellow Tokai Midnight Riders, I love you all. Chris Galardi, Jessica Y. Lee and Stanley Wang, just being around you three made Sophia seem worthwhile. I wish to see you all again soon.

Here in Norway, I wish to extend my thanks to Kine Therese Jøndal, Steffen Remvik, Magnus Bauer, Simen Bjørstad, Espen Brusveen, Lars Dahlum Johansen, Kim Robin Holm, Gabriel Hassan, Paul Johansen, Cathrine Tangstad, Martin Sætra and all the people who have been my academic input, welcome distractions, partners in crime, or simply just good friends.

A special thanks goes out to Prof. Christoph Harbsmeier for his always valuable suggestions and firm insistence on “dannelse” as the most important part of my “utdannelse”.

Final thanks goes to my advisor, Prof. Bjarke Frellesvig. Though being several hundred miles away, he has always provided clear guidelines, valuable comments and constructive criticism. His patience and invaluable assistance is the main reason why this research could be completed. Needless to say, all opinions and errors found here are my own.

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Notation

The Japanese transcriptions follow the revised Hepburn system for Romanization, where the basic transcription for the capital city of Tokyo 東京 is *Tōkyō*, not Toukyou or Tookyoo, and that the adjective 'kind, gentle' 親切 is *shinsetsu*, not sinsetu. Long vowels in loanwords, such as 'party' パーティー is transcribed *pātī*, instead of paatii, but morpheme breaks in words of Japanese or Chinese origin such as 'cause of death' 死因 is transcribed *shi'in* as opposed to *shīn* to emphasize the character pronunciation. When certain *kana* function as grammatical particles and are pronounced differently to their usual pronounciation in 'full words', they are always transcribed as they would normally be read. This means that へ (read 'e' when it functions as a directional particle), は (read 'wa' when it functions as a topic marker), and を (read 'o' when it functions as an object marker), are always transcribed *he*, *ha*, and *wo*, respectively.

Hyphens are used extensively to connect morphemes in both the Japanese transcriptions and the English word-for-word glosses in order to facilitate comprehension.

(0) *dochi kashira, nusum-are-ta no.*
which wonder, steal-passive-PAST NOM
'Which one, I wonder, was stolen'

In terms of other notations, an asterisk (*) is used to mark an ungrammatical sentence while a question mark (?) suggests that a sentence may have been accepted by some native speakers, but not others. Text with ~~strikethrough~~ (with or without square brackets [ ]) signifies omitted text.

All non-English (i.e. Japanese) example sentences are presented in their *kanji/kana* form in the Appendix.

Lastly, the list below explains some of the annotations that frequently occur throughout this paper. For the glossing of the Japanese examples, it should be noted that they are meant to be suggestive rather than descriptive.

- ACC accusative (object) marker (Japanese *wo*)
- ad most often seen in the form of "XP>ad{category}<YP". Says something about the relationship between elements in a syntactic node
- cop copula (Japanese *da, desu, de-aru, desho*)
- DAT dative marker (Japanese *ni*). Note however that the grammatical role of the particle *ni* not always is to show dative, but can also be indicative of instrument, location or the 'experiencer' in certain constructions
- DIR directional particle (Japanese *he*)
- EM emphatic particle (Japanese *ne, yo, no, sa* etc.)
- GEN genitive particle (Japanese *no*)
- GER gerund (also known as *te*-form)
- *i, (j,k,…)* trace marker(s) in syntactic representation
- INC including particle (Japanese *mo*). May take subject or topic marker role
- INSTR instrumental particle 'by means of' (Japanese *de*). Note that *de* can have several meanings, see also LOC
- LOC locative particle (Japanese *de*). Note that *de* can have several meanings, see also INSTR
- NEG negative verb inflection. Either *–nai* or *–masen* for casual or polite form
- NOM nominative (subject) particle (Japanese *ga*). Note also that *ga* can indicate the 'direct object' for stative verbals. Note again that *ga* might have the meaning of 'but' instead of being a case particle.
- NONP non-past verb inflection. Either *–(r)u* or *–masu* for casual or polite form
- PAST past tense. Either *–ta* or *–mashita* for casual or polite form
- QP question (or indefiniteness) particle (Japanese *ka*)
- TOP topic marker (Japanese *ha*). Not to be confused with subject marker, although topic and subject frequently overlap in Japanese sentences
- XP phrasal marker in X-bar scheme (X can represent any form of word class function)
- Ø elided content. Can also be marked [e]

1 Vestibulum

Using Japanese language as a base, this thesis argues (at some length) that ellipsis, from the Greek ἔλλειψις 'omission', is a (at heart) syntactic phenomenon of deletion due to repetition. However, in some cases the antecedent must be retrieved by semantic or contextual means.

This claim then rejects that language is "the set of sentences generated by the grammar" (Lyons 1972), as a language also has to be the set of sounds generated by the grammar, and more, if the grammar is so defined. It is not enough to claim, as Noam Chomsky does on numerous occasions, that a native speaker can "use and understand an infinite number of sentences" (see for instance *Cartesian Linguistics*: 53). The native speaker knows more than this. He has to. He also needs to know "how those sentences are combined into larger meaningful units – paragraphs and complete discourses" (Hinds 1976: 7), and how to deal with the meaning-units in all contexts.

Language (is used) to perform many tasks, including expressing emotions, imparting or requesting information, and making arguments. In the case of argumentation, we choose language that conveys our views and *that will be persuasive to others. The italized "and" reflects the dual purpose served by language: Language is both a vehicle (of words) and the means by which we cognitively understand concepts contained in words. (William Patry)*

However, in Chomsky's defence, he states himself in the immortal "Review of Skinner":

It is evident that more is involved in sentence structure than insertion of lexical items in grammatical frames; no approach to languages that fails to take these deeper processes into account can possibly achieve much success in accounting for actual linguistic behaviour. (Chomsky 1959, quoted from Chomsky 2008: 26)

Nonetheless, what this paper aims to do is not to take up such questions as the nature and structure of all human language, but discuss the nature of ellipsis, more specifically Verb

Phrase ellipsis (from here: VPE[1]) in Japanese. While latching on to some major theories, it does not argue for or against any 'greater truths' except that of cohesion and coherence. And while taking into account newly found evidence and discussing the most important issues concerning studies of ellipsis, it does not intend to engage fully in all the current debates.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In this introductory chapter I explain my claim in some detail, both in terms of what I mean by my wording and in terms of what the implications may be. Firstly, I will provide some examples of ellipsis, leading to a preliminary description of the phenomenon. Secondly, I offer a more careful theoretical description of what is meant by "deletion due to repetition" and "semantic and contextual retrieval". This will be done in several steps, and will hopefully spell out my thoughts about ellipsis in general. In particular, I will; i) explain my theoretical framework, and how it deviates from mainstream generative or cognitive grammar in a few essential areas; ii) argue for *repetition* to be a central notion when discussing ellipsis through explanations and examples; and, iii) discuss the syntax-semantics-pragmatics interface. What I aim to provide throughout this chapter is theoretical and empirical evidence for the basic characteristics of ellipsis in Japanese, showing that the complex theories utilized for explaining its workings in English may not be necessary. Rather, one should think more along the lines of Lobeck (1993, 1995), who aimed to unify licensing of VP ellipsis, nominal ellipsis and sluicing across languages (proposed in 1993: 789, formalized within advanced Government and Binding Theory in 1995). Based on the work by Hinds (1982) in which all (unmarked) sentence patterns in Japanese were reduced to a finite, small number of variables where the features of the VP playing a key role, I will further the notion that a simpler, more elegant solution should be adopted (although not necessarily usable for any other language).

The next chapter will review previous literature on the topic of ellipsis and its shortcomings. I will first give an overview of previous approaches to ellipsis, dividing the field into syntactic and semantic approaches (plus one interesting pragmatic approach). Key concepts that will be discussed include past approaches in dealing with semantic similarity of VPE and antecedent subjects, and the treatment of whether or not sentences with elided content have fully formed syntactic structure; if so, in what location does the deletion take

[1] Note that although the grammar employed here usually give the object as a part of the VP, in many cases what is elided is less than the full phrase. Nevertheless, we will continue to use the term VPE, but explicitly mark or write out what is actually elided in the different examples and analyses.

place. Following this, there will be an (extensive) discussion on the syntactic and semantic features of VPE, with key emphasis on differences in use of language (English versus Japanese). The evidence provided will show the need for a theory like the one outlined in Chapter 1, one which is not limited to one of the sides (i.e. syntax vs. semantics), but incorporates both syntactic and semantic features, as well as pragmatic discourse markers in order to provide a workable environment for meaning recovery. We will make two assumptions; i) that the speaker must himself be able to interpret an elliptical item before he elides one, and ii) that the speaker must assume that the addressee is able to interpret the item elided, in what might be thought of as a "Principle of Cooperation"[2]. This follows Hinds (1982) and the notion given by James McGilvray in the introduction to Chomsky's "*Cartesian Linguistics*, 3rd edition":

> *Nothing outside of context of speech or author-controlled context of writing antecedently fixes a reference – antecedently, that is, to someone's using a term to refer, and someone else interpreting what the speaker says, using whatever resources s/he has. Of course, the process of determining what another person "has in mind" can fail, although or resources often prove sufficiently reliable that it does not matter for the purpose of discourse (McGilvray 2009: 9)*

Chapter 3 will deal with the data used for this paper. After introducing the book which was selected as the example database; I will give a brief summary of its characters, plot and writing style. We will see that the book selected is a good representative for contemporary Japanese literature, as it coincides with several other, well received books such as "*The wind-up bird chronicle*" by Murakami Haruki and "*Kitchen*" by Yoshimoto Banana, and that by using this piece of discourse we should be able to make certain generalizations about the Japanese language as such. Following this section I will explain how I have proceeded to identify ellipsis in the discourse, drawing on examples from the text. Here I will give a proper analysis of empirical data for the first time using the theory explained in the previous chapters.

[2] http://debatepedia.idebate.org/en/index.php/The_principle_of_cooperation

Chapter 4 is the *pièce de résistance* of this paper. Drawing from the data collected, the case for a complete underlying syntactic structure will be furthered, and expanded upon. Furthermore, as theorized in the previous chapters, a distinction will have to be made between three major types of VPE, conveniently termed ellipsis$_{\text{syntactic}}$, ellipsis$_{\text{semantic}}$, and ellipsis$_{\text{contextual}}$ (based on Stainton 2006; further refined by Merchant 2007), to reflect the insufficiency of a theory which consists of only syntax OR semantics.

Concluding remarks in Chapter 5 will begin with a brief summary of some historical thoughts on the notion of language. It will then list some of the special properties of the approach utilized in this paper, and discuss their pros and cons. The final pages will leave the readers some open questions, as they shed light upon some of the questions raised, but not fully answered by this research.

1.1 What is ellipsis

Anyone who has achieved some degree of proficiency in the Japanese language (or any other language for that matter) should have no doubt noticed that some sentences are harder to translate than others. This is not because the learner fails to understand the words that make the sentence, nor is it because there are unknown grammar points, but because s/he instinctively feels that there are certain elements needed for full comprehension "missing". *Ellipsis* is the omission of elements that are, from the speaker/writer's point of view, inferable from the context. As a result, it leads to a mismatch between "what is said" and "what it all means", as exemplified in the following sentence:

(1) When John had to clean, he didn't want to Ø.

Here the elided content Ø is take to mean the verb '(to) clean', or in a more formal way we can say that Ø = [$_{\text{VP}}$ ~~clean~~].

English VPEs have the syntactic property of occurring under the scope of an auxiliary, regularly termed *licenser* (Lobeck 1995; Johnson 1991), as in the element *did* in "*They didn't*

search for truffles, but somebody else did Ø", Ø = [$_{VP}$ ~~search for truffles~~]. However this is not so in Japanese, as will be shown later.

Matsumiya's now somewhat old, but still very thorough book on sentence construction in Japanese contains a note on ellipsis, saying that "[t]he aim in sentence construction is to make the meaning clear. Therefore if it is not essential to the meaning, it is not necessary to have all three parts, Subject, Predicate and Supplementary Parts. Frequent omission of one or other of the three parts occurs in daily conversation" (Matsumiya, 1935: 173). Some have given cultural reasons for this omission of elements. Hidashi suggests that this is one of the peculiarities of Japanese, and that approximation devices and deliberate vagueness is not only tolerated, but rather appreciated due to "the preference in harmony in communication rather than truth-values of reality" (Hidashi, 2003). Aihara wrote on a similar line of thought already in 1992, stating:

> *Elements of sentences are often omitted in Japanese when they are obvious, or sometimes when one wants to show politeness by being indirect or somewhat ambiguous. (…) This kind of omission has its root in the great value Japanese place on human relationships, on one's belonging to social groups, rather than on individual uniqueness (Aihara & Parkes 1992: 168)*

Putting aside the correctness of these statements, we cannot deny that cultural differences can make up for some differences in use of language. However, what we will give here is neither a cultural nor a social account of Japanese, but rather a grammatical and functional outline of the language feature we have termed (VP) ellipsis. The following presents some examples which we will use to describe the phenomenon in more general terms.

(2)

a. Because Pavarotti couldn't, they asked Domingo to sing the part.
b. We want to invite someone, but we don't know who.
c. First, people began to pour out of the building, and then smoke began to.
d. Some have served mussels to Sue and others swordfish.
e. Even though Bill is thought of as a great singer, when he had to, he couldn't.

All of the above sentences are accepted as grammatical although it should be fairly obvious that they are perhaps "less than complete". By reviewing them, we find that in order to match form and meaning sentence a) should be something such as "because Pavarotti couldn't *sing* (...)", while b) should spell out that "(...) we don't know who *we want to invite*", and so on. Moving towards a formal definition of ellipsis then, we might begin with Halliday & Hasan's (1976) definition that ellipsis can be "the familiar motion that it is 'something left unsaid'. However, 'unsaid' implies 'but understood nevertheless'" (Halliday & Hasan, 1976, p. 142). This follows naturally from what we have just discussed.

However, throughout the years the phrase "but understood nevertheless" have caused a great number of scholars considerable trouble. Even early Greek philosophers spoke of a correspondence between μορφή 'form' and ένvοια 'meaning' (also 'form' and 'function' in for instance Plato's *Sophist*). But when there is no form, how do we understand the meaning? The range of explanations offered has been remarkable, yet there is little space here to dwell with all of them. Although the framework is different, here, I will simply offer one recent account which this paper aligns with respect to how the speaker understands this mismatch.

> *Cross-linguistically, ellipsis is able to affect a wide variety of categories, as well as subcategories. To retrieve the corresponding meaning, speakers can use "a multitude of means. These can range from syntactic mechanisms to an extensive additional package of semantic conditions, phonological signalling, discourse relations and contextual information." (Gergel 2009: 9)*

Furthermore, let us remember that when we talk of ellipsis, we are not "referring to any and every instance in which there is some information that the speaker has to supply from his own evidence", but "specifically to sentences, clauses, etc. whose structure is such as to presuppose some preceding item, which then serves as the source of the missing information" (Halliday & Hasan 1976).

In this way, we make a distinction between *ellipsis* and *non-sentential speech*, such as holding up two fingers and saying "Two, please. Cash" at a bar, implicitly expressing the desire to buy two beers and pay with cash instead of card. The study of non-sentential speech is in itself highly intriguing, but there is no space for such a discussion here.

1.2 What is happening

Recall the examples given in the above pages, reproduced here as (3).

(3)

a. When John had to clean, he didn't want to.
b. They didn't search for truffles, but somebody else did.
c. Because Pavarotti couldn't, they asked Domingo to sing the part.
d. We want to invite someone, but we don't know who.
e. First, people began to pour out of the building, and then smoke began to.
f. Some have served mussels to Sue and others swordfish.
g. Even though Bill is thought of as a great singer, when he had to, he couldn't.

Primary to any theory of ellipsis are the two terms *licensing* and *recovery*. Licensing is here taken to mean "the referent(s) which enables ellipsis to take place", while recovery is expanded to mean "in what way is the elided content recovered from the surrounding text/context?" Indeed, any good theory must be able to explain both concepts.

Note that by defining licensing as "the referent(s) which enables ellipsis to take place", we are taking sides in an on-going debate concerning the source of elided constituents. One side being that elided constituents are base-generated empty categories, whose content is supplied somewhere during the derivation. This is the viewpoint first suggested by Wasow (1972), where elided VPs are base-generated empty phrases. One of the strongest arguments in favour of this "interpretation method" is *strong* vs. *sloppy* identity. This is demonstrated by the following example, where d) gives the strong identity interpretation and e) the sloppy identity interpretation[3]:

(4)

a. John visits his children on Sundays and [$_{S}$ Bill does [$_{VP}$ [$_{V}$ Ø] [$_{NP}$ Ø]] too].

Here, the semantic meaning of S = 'Bill visits his children on Sundays too'

[3] I assume the readers familiarity with basic formal semantical notation and lambda calculus. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Formal_semantics_(logic) and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lambda_calculus for a brief summary.

b. John [$_{VP}$ λx (x visits his children)] and Bill (does) [$_{VP}$ [$_{V}$ Ø] [$_{NP}$ Ø]] too.
c. John [$_{VP}$ λx (x visits x's children)] and Bill (does) [$_{VP}$ [$_{V}$ Ø] [$_{NP}$ Ø]] too.
d. John$_i$ [$_{VP}$ λx (x_i visits x_i's children)] and Bill [$_{VP}$ λx (x visits his$_i$ children)] too.
e. John$_i$ [$_{VP}$ λx (x_i visits x_i's children)] and Bill$_j$ [$_{VP}$ Bill λx (x_j visits x_j's children)] too.

In the example above, we find two possible interpretations; d) "John visits John's children on Sundays and Bill (also) visits John's children on Sundays", and e) "John visits John's children on Sundays and Bill visits Bill's children on Sundays".

Let us now look at an example with sloppy/strong identity in Japanese. Only the relevant part is reproduced in parts b-d, with c) giving the strong and d) the sloppy interpretations:

(5)

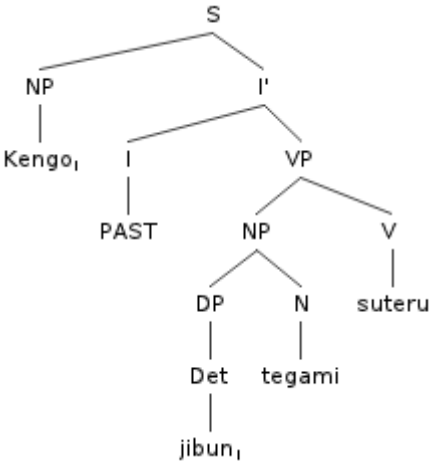
a. *Kengo-ha jibun-no tegami-wo sute-ta. Tomoko-mo Ø sute-ta.*
Kengo-TOP self-GEN letter-ACC discard-PAST. Tomoko-INC Ø discard-PAST
b. *Tomoko-mo [VP [NP [NP Ø] [NP Ø]] sute-ta]*.
c. *Tomoko-mo [VP [NP [NP jibun-no] [NP tegami-wo]] sute-ta]*.
Tomoko-INC self-GEN letter-ACC discard-PAST
'Tomoko also threw away her letter(s)'
d. *Tomoko-mo [VP [NP [NP Kengo-no] [NP tegami-wo]] sute-ta]*.
Tomoko-INC Kengo-GEN letter-ACC discard-PAST
'Tomoko also threw away Kengo's letter(s)'

Let us examine this example in more detail. Below is the syntactic representation[4,5] of the first sentence, *Kengo-ha jibun-no tegami-wo sute-ta* 'Kengo threw away his letter(s)' [6].

[4] I assume readers' familiarity with basic X-bar structure. For an introduction of generative grammar and the X-bar schema, see for instance Radford –"Syntax: a minimalist introduction", Cambridge University Press (1997), or Cook & Newson – "Chomsky's universal grammar: an introduction (3rd edition)", Blackwell Publishing (2007).

[5] Note that particles (postpositions) will not be explicitly spelled out in syntax trees unless absolutely needed. The reason for this stems from a discussion with Prof. Mark Teeuwen (personal communication), who asked a

(6) a.



In contrast, the underlying structure[7] of the second sentence should simply contain something like [$_S$ [$_{NP}$ *Tomoko*] [$_{VP}$ *Ø* [$_V$ *sute-ru*]]], where it is only at the very last stage that the information of whether is it her own or Kengo's letters that are thrown away is provided semantically.

The other side, with which this paper aligns, is that elided constituents are derived transformally by deletion, which leaves an empty category marked in syntactic representation

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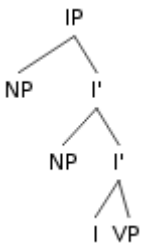
question with content similar to this: "Given that the rules of written Japanese have changed so much during the years (jfr. Classical Japanese), and given that casual, spoken Japanese almost never contains any particles; shouldn't one at least hypothetically ask the question if the Japanese language really needs them?". After arguing back and forth, I here settled on a solution where the syntactic structure is primary, but where what is non-inferable from structure is explicitly written out.

[6] Note that I give verb inflection in a separate Inflection level, as is customary in MP. It is also possible to, as some liguists do, draw this figure with NP_2 and NP_4 above I_1 and I_3 respectively, simply by positing an additional I^I representation level, like shown here.

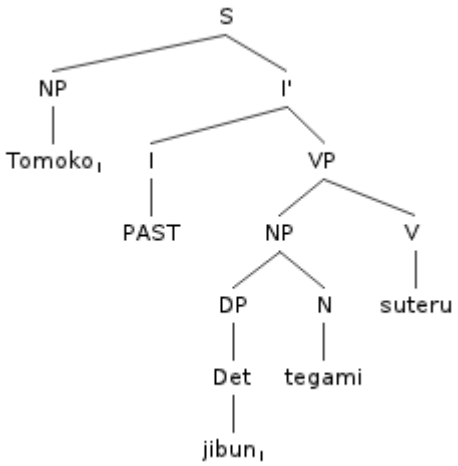


This however, does not change anything vital, as inflection in the Japanese language only affects the VP.

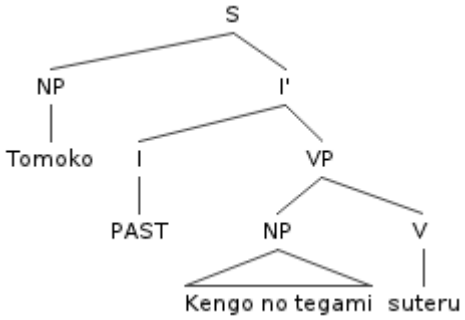
[7] This concept and the rest of my theoretical framework will be explained in more detail in the coming sub-chapter.

by Ø. Here sentences c) and d) above would be given different structures, shown below as b) and c).

(6) b.



c.



The differences in these two approaches are summarized in the following example, where b) is taken to naturally follow sentence a) in discourse:

(7)

a. John bought something.
b. Guess what.

With the interpretation approach, the structure would simply be [S Guess [CP what$_i$ [IP Ø]]], and the meaning would have to be retrieved semantically by the reader/listener in order to be "guess what the something that John bought is." In contrast to this, the deletion approach suggests that there is an underlying structure such as [S Guess [CP [IP John bought what]]]. "What" then moves out of the IP, giving a structure [S Guess [CP what$_i$ [IP John bought t$_i$]]]. When the IP is deleted by the speaker/writer at the final stages, the meaning is still syntactically present within the structure of the utterance.

Although there is no one way of determining which of these interpretations (if any) is correct given the presence of the ellipsis, I would argue that at least for Japanese, the more elegant solution is the deletion approach, which will be pursued here.

Below gives a suggestion addressing the mismatch between form and meaning in the examples given in (3); with the first sentence giving deep structure, and the second one showing 'what is said'.

(8)
   a. Because [$_{S}$ Pavarotti couldn't [$_{VP}$ sing]], they asked Domingo to sing the part.
   b. Because Pavarotti couldn't, they asked Domingo to sing the part.

(9)
   a. We want to invite someone, but we don't know [$_{S}$ [$_{IP}$ we want to invite who]].
   b. We want to invite someone, but we don't know who.

(10)
   a. First [$_{S}$ people [$_{VP}$ began to pour out of the building]], and then smoke began to pour out of the building.
   b. First people, and then smoke began to pour out of the building.

(11)
   a. Some have served mussels to Sue and [$_{S}$ others [$_{VP}$ have served] swordfish [$_{PP}$ to Sue]].
   b. Some have served mussels to Sue and others swordfish.

(12)
   a. Even though Bill is thought of as a great singer, when [$_{S}$ he [$_{VP}$ had to [sing]]], [$_{S}$ he [$_{VP}$ couldn't [sing]]].
   b. Even though Bill is thought of as a great singer, when he had to, he couldn't.

1.3 Theoretical foundations

While I understand the desire to fully formalize a notion on how and why ellipsis occurs, most of the research done on VPE has been focused on the English language, with minor derailments into other languages. Very little attention has been given to Japanese (with some notable exceptions such as Kuroda (1965), Kuno (1973), Hinds (1982), Otani and Whitman (1991, 2004), Tomioka (1997), Saito et al. (2008) *inter alia*). However, most of these accounts have areas in which they are lacking due to various reasons, with the most striking being either a lack of, or too great of an interest in formal syntax. Furthermore, it appears that all of the attempts by scholars to say something meaningful about VPE in Japanese boil down to either pragmatic accounts where antecedent-recovery is done purely in a context-dependant

case-by-case approach; or to complex formal accounts which place little or no importance on empirical findings. Clearly, the torch lit by Hinds (1982) when he wanted to "provide a framework which in turn (would) become a model of the interpretation of elided content in Japanese" needs to be carried on. I would like to argue for a formally sound theory which incorporates not only syntactic but also semantic values, yet at the same time remain as simplified and 'functional' as possible. The basic premises for this argument will be based on the following assumptions: i) basic sentence structure in Japanese is fixed as SOV with postpositions marking the case of individual fragments, and can thus be reduced to a finite (and as we will see a very small) number of possible sentence patterns; ii) syntactic representation alone over-generates elided sentences, which forces a number of additional limitations not eloquently formed; iii) a purely semantic or pragmatic account cannot be formally presented.

The basic syntax-theoretical is a hybrid version of generative grammar, with the Government and Binding theory (GB) and the Minimalist Program (MP) as discussed in Chomsky (1995) and related work as its underpinnings, although somewhat modified. The straightforward assumption in MP is that the grammar directly interacts with the levels of meaning and sound (respectively known as *logical form* (LF) and *phonological form* (PF) in more technical terms), and that it syntactically merges lexical items drawn from a neutral lexicon of a given language. I will, however, re-introduce the idea of an intermediate level which, following Hinds (1982), will be termed *deep structure* (DS) (not to be confused with D-structure in Chomsky's earlier works). The reasons for this will be clarified shortly.

Another important difference is in regards to the notion of a sentence. In MP, a 'sentence' is a phrase projecting from subject agreement, i.e. AgrSP, sketched out under a Tense Phrase (TP). In contrast, I align with the earlier Government and Binding theory and capture sentences under an Inflection Phrase (IP) or simply a 'sentence' (S). What really matters to me though, is not the name, but something captured brilliantly by Stainton in his book *Words and Thoughts*;

"Let there be a syntactic category – TP, IP, or whatever which corresponds fairly closely to the traditional notion 'sentence', but which (a) allows for sentences of various kinds, including in particular ones with unpronounced material and (b) clearly separates sentences from other expressions". Stainton (2006:14)

Furthermore, I add two things to the X-bar schema, which build upon each other in certain ways. The first is the inclusion of formal semantics, in the shape of lambda calculus focusing on verb-roles. For instance, the formal semantic roles of a Japanese transitive verb *nomu* 'to drink' would be written something like this:

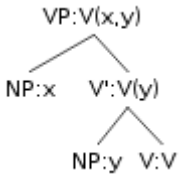
(13)

a. λx.drink(x,y)

The two syntactic trees below first give the standard way of expressing Japanese VPs (in reality, IPs) in X-bar, and then the same tree with the inclusion of semantic properties.

b.

c.



The second is the introduction of *frame theory*, developed by several cognitive linguists (perhaps the most prominent one being Fillmore) during the 1960-70's. The version we will use here was first suggested by Minsky (1975), who describes the theory's major attributes thus:

A frame (is) a network of nodes and relations. The "top levels" of a frame are fixed, and represent things that are always true in the supposed situations. The lower levels have many terminals *– "slots" that must be filled by specific instances of data. Each terminal can specify conditions its assignments must meet (...) Simple conditions are specified by* markers *that might require a terminal assignment to be a person, an object of sufficient value, or a pointer to a subframe of a certain type. (Minsky 1975: 212)*

This has certain similarities with the generative notion of *subcategorization* (i.e. the number and kinds of other words that a word selects when appearing in a sentence), although subcategorization usually denotes only the restrictions on possible arguments for phrasal heads. In addition, the notion of subcategorization is usually only concerned with syntactic arguments, completely ignoring semantic and/or pragmatic limitations. Instead of this, here we follow Fillmore (1968) and Chafe (1970) in defining a proposition (i.e. a verb) more broadly as "the locus of the sentence", and that "concepts are connected to propositions in a limited number of clearly defined case relationships", although we do not limit ourselves to only defining the possible relationships of the phrasal heads.

A simple transitive verb such as *nomu* 'to drink' then demands two terminals, one being a NP-*ga* and the other a NP-*wo*. Furthermore, the verb demands that the NP-*ga* has a certain condition (that the 'doer' is a sentient being) and that the NP-*wo* has the properties of being 'of a drinkable material'. The other way around, we can see that if we only have the NPs, for instance something like *boku-ha osake-wo Ø*, I-TOP alcohol-ACC Ø, we can surmise that the elided verb must be transitive, and that it has 'something to do with alcohol'. Whilst we might not arrive at the conclusion that the elided verb is nomu (for example, another fairly decent suggestion might be *chūmon-suru*, 'order'), it greatly reduces the number of choices available[8].

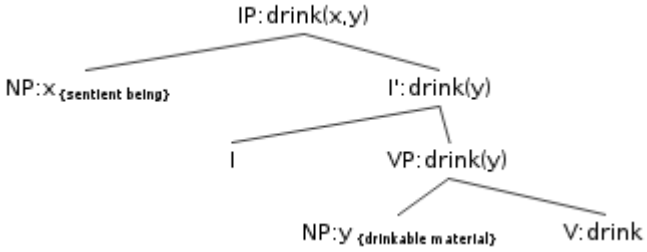
This can be implemented into the existing theory in two simple ways. We either build on the semantic structuring which for the verb nomu (again) would be: λx.drink(x,y), or we implement terminal condition restraints into the structural representation (given below in a) and b)).

(14)

a. λx.drink(x{sentient being},y{drinkable material})

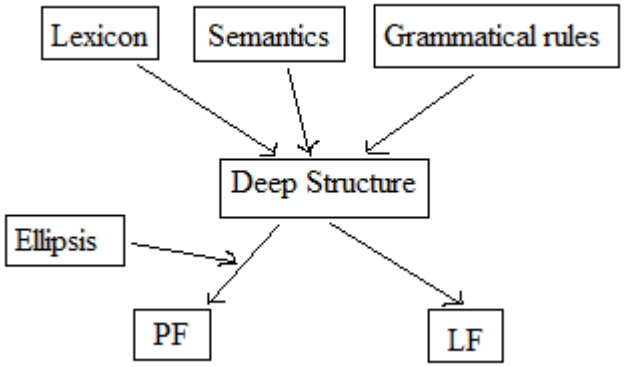
[8] Studies do show a correlation between certain nouns and verbs, such as the above NP 'alcohol' and VP 'drink', but the reasons for this seem to be primarily habitual, not directly related to linguistics.

b.



The deep structure suggested earlier then, is a sort of interjection, where lexicon, syntax and semantics come together to form a coherent sentence, and should be taken as a 'reference level' from which PF and LF spring in a matter like in the figure suggested below:

(15)



What these changes ultimately do to generative grammar as suggested in MP, is to first suggest that the traditional distinction between lexicon and grammar is mistaken. Phrased differently, although syntax is assumed to be the "base" for our analysis, there is no reason to think that there should be a strict border between syntax and other areas. In generative grammar the notion of subcategorization is considered an essential part of lexical information, in which it is thought of as part of a speaker's knowledge of the word in the vocabulary of the language. Examples as to why the minimalist approach of "lexical items feeding directly into the grammar" is dubious can be found in a wide array of topics. The most striking examples are idiomatic expressions or set phrases like 'to table a motion' (not to put a motion/suggestion on the table, but to postpone it) or *chōshi-ni noru*, lit. 'mood-DAT ride', meaning 'to be carried away; to get cocky'.

Although there is little space to fully defend this suggestion here, this paper instead aligns with the Simple Syntax Hypothesis (SSH) insofar that "the most explanatory syntactic theory is one that imputes the minimum structure necessary to mediate between phonology and meaning" (Culicover & Jackendoff, 2005). A direct consequence of this hypothesis is a richer mapping between syntax and semantics than is generally assumed.

In many ways then, what I am laying out might be considered as a form of Cognitive, or Construction Grammar (CG, also CxG). So why do I not simply use that, instead of selecting frameworks from two camps who are (in principle) very much opposing each other? As with the notion of a sentence, it does really not matter what it is called, or what 'branch' of linguistics it comes from. For one, generative grammar has drifted towards CG, now contemplating (or accepting) such notions as "usage-based" models, prototype categorization, semantic basis of grammaticality judgements, and the "continuum between lexicon and grammar" (Langacker: 423). However, far stronger is the practicality argument. As long as the framework i) allows formal representation of the underlying principles, and ii) is flexible enough to be adjusted for potential new evidence, I see no reason for being critical about implementing it.

1.4 Application to Japanese

Following standard terminology and thinking, we define English as a SVO language where the basic transformation rules are something like below:

(16)

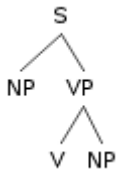
a. S → NP VP
b. VP → V NP (NP)

However, as Japanese is a verb-final language (whose basic structure is SOV), these rules must be slightly rewritten, as done in (17) below:

(17)

a. S → NP VP
b. VP → NP V

This then gives a structural representation of the two languages like this:

(18) a. English 

b. Japanese 

Furthermore, Japanese employs postpositions otherwise known as particles denoting grammatical cases such as genitive, dative and so on. This tight relationship between NPs and the postpositions allow an almost completely free word order, demonstrated by (19) below. In normal sentences, "subjects appear sentence-initially, but when other elements are emphasized, they can be moved about" (Kuno: 1973: 214).

(19)

a. *Tomoko-ga Kengo-ni hon-wo yat-ta.*
   Name-NOM name-DAT book-ACC give-PAST
   'Tomoko gave Kengo a book'
b. *Tomoko-ga hon-wo Kengo-ni yat-ta.*
c. *Kengo-ni Tomoko-ga hon-wo yat-ta.*
d. *Kengo-ni hon-wo Tomoko-ga yat-ta.*
e. *Hon-wo Tomoko-ga Kengo-ni yat-ta.*
f. *Hon-wo Kengo-ni Tomoko-ga yat-ta.*

All of the sentences listed in (19) describe the same event, namely that a person (Tomoko) gives an item (a book) to another person (Kengo). All of the sentences are also perfectly valid in Japanese (although some are less common than others). In addition to this, oral speech employs a variety of rightwards movement (beyond the verb) for emphasis, so that we can have sentences like *hon-wo yat-ta, Tomoko-ga* which literally say in very Yoda-like fashion 'gave a book, Tomoko'.

However, an 'ordinary' unmarked word order does exist. Hinds (1982), in line with cognitive grammar and its constructional schemas (and what we explained in the previous pages), states elegantly that "every verbal in Japanese has a case frame, a knowledge of which facilitates certain instances of ellipsis" (Hinds 1982: 8). With this in mind, he presents a number of examples, before boiling the information down to four basic types of sentence patterns, reproduced below with an example accompanying each type.

(20)

a. [NP *ga* NP *wo*] $VP_{TRANSITIVE}$
b. [NP *ni* NP *ga*] $VP_{ERGATIVE}$ [sic][9]
c. [NP *ga*] $VP_{INTRANSITIVE}$
d. [NP *ga* NP *ni* NP *wo*] $VP_{DITRANSITIVE}$ (ibid 1982: 17)

(21)

a. [$_{NP}$ *Mariko-ga* $_{NP}$ *sashimi-wo*] $_{VP}$*tabe-ta*
'Mariko ate some sashimi'
b. [$_{NP}$ *Kazuhiko-ni* $_{NP}$ *eigo-ga*] $_{VP}$*waka-ru*
'Kazuhiko can understand English'
c. [$_{NP}$ *doa-ga*] $_{VP}$*aite-i-ru*
'The door is open'
d. [$_{NP}$ *Yoshi-ga* $_{NP}$ *kare-ni* $_{NP}$ *are-wo*] $_{VP}$*mise-ta*
Yoshi showed that to him

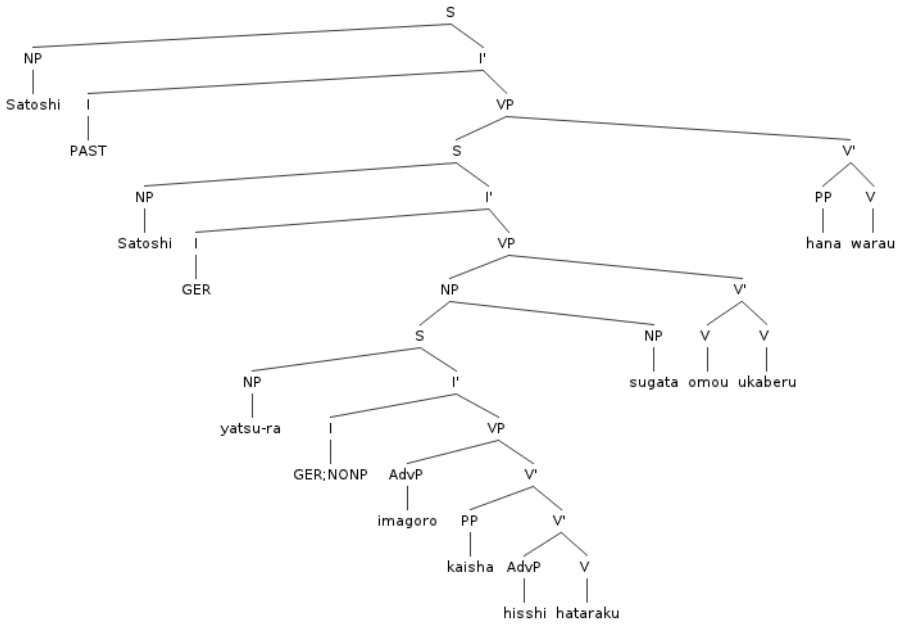
Although there might be long adverbial phrases or committed sentences within, these are the basic structures. Let us briefly demonstrate this by providing a longer sentence for analysis:

[9] The standard definition of an ergative verb is "a verb that can be either transitive or intransitive, and whose subject when intransitive corresponds to its direct/ object when transitive." (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ergative_verb, retrieved 18/02/11) The use of the term ergative here might be dubious to some, as the example given by Hinds (reproduced in (21)b) is a stative. Furthermore, Japanese ergative verbs function slightly differently to English ones, and usually appear in transitive/intransitive pairs. (For an in-depth discussion on Japanese ergative verbs, see for instance Matsuzaki's Ph.D. dissertation (2001) *"Verb Meanings and Their Effects on Syntactic Behaviors"*, which can be found at http://etd.fcla.edu/UF/UFE0000333/MATSUZAKI_T2.pdf)

(22) *Imagoro kaisha-de hisshi-ni hatarai-te-i-ru yatsu-ra-no sugata-wo omoi-ukabe-te Satoshi-ga hana-de warat-ta.*
'Around now' company-LOC frantic-DAT work-GER-be-NONP guy-PLURAL-GEN shape-ACC 'call to mind'-GER Satoshi-NOM nose-INSTR laugh-PAST

Even though this is a fairly long sentence, it can be simplified and reorganized, removing some of the contextual information. For example: [NP *Satoshi-ga*] [VP [NP *yatsu-ra-no sugata-wo*] *omoi-ukabe-te*] [VP *warat-ta*], 'Satsohi thought of the people (at the company) and laughed', can be simplified into: [NP *Satoshi-ga*] [VP *warat-ta*], 'Satoshi laughed'. The rest is just additional information, not necessary for understanding the essence of the sentence. Thus, it follows (16c) above. Structural representation of (22) at DS is given as (23) below.

(23)



This information is essential for two things. First, it tells us that the core of any Japanese sentence consists of very few items; NP(s) with or without particle(s)[10], and a verb[11], which

[10] The formulation here is taken to mean that NPs may perfectly well stand on their own without particles, which is very common in oral communication. The opposite is not the case. A particle may not be present without an explicit NP to which it is bound. However, there are certain kinds of particles that may not be elided, such as *~kara* ('from'), *~made* ('to') etc.

means that the only types of ellipsis we can find involves one or several of these three. Secondly, the above information presents us with a frame in which we can insert elided sentences and gain insight as to the features of the elided content.

Furthermore, these sentence patterns do not change as the sentence type changes[12]. As examples (24) versus (25) below demonstrates, there is no need for intricate movement-theories or multi-level representations.

(24)

a. I'm taking Bill to the party tonight.
b. Who are you taking to the party tonight?

(25)

a. *Konya-no pātī-ni Biru-wo tsure-te-ik-u.*
   Tonight-GEN party-DAT Bill-ACC 'take (living being)'-GER-go-NONP
   'I'm taking Bill to the party tonight.'
b. *Konya-no pātī-ni dare-wo tsure-te-ik-u-no*?
   Tonight-GEN party-DAT who-ACC 'take (living being)'-GER-go-NONP-EM
   'Who are you taking to the party tonight?'

This formal way of looking at sentences also enables us to say something about how we 'think language'. Anderson (1976) explains that "understanding of language requires a person to combine a general knowledge of the world with a knowledge of the structure of language and the meanings of the words and morphemes in a specific language", which in more technical terms suggests that understanding requires joint cooperation of syntax, semantics and pragmatics. We will superimpose this view on the analysis of ellipsis.

---

[11] Note two very important points here: i) that I follow Hinds (1982) and also Harbsmeier (personal communication) in defining a verbal as "any form which indicates tense; an adjective, a nominal-adjective, a noun plus suru 'do' or da 'copula', or a true verb" (Hinds: 15), and ii) that I make the distinction between a verb and a VP, as the VP in many instances contain a NP functioning as object, which may or may not be elided.

[12] The question of movement in Japanese is a debated one. Although we can speak of a certain kind of movement in embedded NPs, such as *tōdai-wo sotsugyō-shita A-san* 'Mr. A who graduated from Tokyo University' where we would posit something like [NP [S t_i tōdai-wo sotsugyō-shita] A-san$_i$] based on (17), I claim that this is mostly irrelevant to the topic at hand.

1.5 Chapter summary

Let me end this chapter with a few words about what has been said so far and their implications. This chapter has introduced the key claim of this paper, *ellipsis is a syntactic process of deletion*. By way of explaining this claim, I have introduced a series of examples of the particular phenomenon that interests me, and also laid out some constraints to the thesis' coverage, primarily on what is called non-sentential speech. I also described the underlying framework which I will use in later chapters by explaining some crucial differences between ordinary MP and the one I employ here, and the modules I combine in order to create the most suitable environment for discussing VPE. Finally, by explaining some of the key features of the Japanese, I finished laying out a foundation upon which to build the coming chapters.

A few words concerning the implications of my workmight be noteworthy. Studies in cognitive linguistics (see for instance Levinson 1997 or Tomasello 2003) support the idea of a stronger tie between syntax and semantics than mainstream generative grammar suggests. However, by showing that there is a gliding transition between syntax, semantics and pragmatics (pragmatics should here be taken in the sense of 'investigation of contextual data') with syntax as the 'base', I hope to play the role of mediator, and call out for a less rigid opposition between cognitive and generative grammar, but for an attitude for simply adopting what suits the situation best.

The next chapter is also, in a way, introductory. It lays out some key features of earlier approaches to the study of ellipsis, before showing their limitations and the need for a theory as I have begun to sketch here. Once that is in place, I turn to empirical evidence for showing the flexibility of my theory, which is the task of the rest of this paper.

2 Janua

I hope it is now clear what the central claim from Chapter 1 is. Much of the remainder of this paper will be spent addressing considerations for and against it. The following pages will lay out a few issues we need to resolve before moving forward. Spelled out, I mean to review relevant parts of the vast amount of literature on the topic of ellipsis, and through this review show the need for a simplified, yet comprehensive theory like the one begun to sketch in the above pages. Knowledge of the claims and choices made in Chapter 1 will be presupposed and thus left undefended, except in the sense that the elegance of the emerging picture will lend support to my convictions.

In this chapter, I will begin by giving a summary of the central ideas in literature on VPE. The literature can be divided in three groups according to the writers' 'theoretical base' – i.e. syntax, semantics or pragmatics – although some do employ elements from more than one 'base'. Much of what is said here in the first sub-chapter is merely a summary, which could be skipped by those already familiar with the academic discussions concerning ellipsis. The subsequent part is nonetheless important, as it lays out in some detail why these works are unsatisfying, particularly when dealing with Japanese. I will use both examples in English and Japanese to demonstrate this, although the primary focus will be on Japanese – the target of this study. By showing these shortcomings, we will see the need for a revised theory as discussed in Chapter 1. Sub-chapter 2.3 presents the revised theory and examples that highlight the shortcomings of other theories as well as a few key examples from actual discourse. In line with Stainton (2006), the theory will for the first time suggest the division of VPE types by the 'level' we go to for retrieval of the elided part, as opposed to their names in English, such as sluicing, stripping, gapping, etc.

2.1 A summary of previous approaches

The primary early works on ellipsis focused almost entirely on what was the custom at the time, syntax. Starting with Ferdinand de Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale* (1916), the 20th century publishing of works such as Leonard Bloomfield's *Language* (1933) and Zellig Harris' *Methods in Structural Linguistics* (1951) marked a definite step away from the

Junggrammatiker study of language on a diachronic level, as the linguists now turned towards investigating the underlying system of language (*langue* in Saussure's *Cours*) rather than the languages usage (Cours: *parole*). Although first put to words by Harris, Noam Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957) presented a coherent approach where utterances were seen to have a context-free grammar which became the foundation for linguistic studies for decades.

Using versions of the formal grammar suggested by Chomsky in *Syntactic Structures* and the later *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), Ross (1967, 1969, 1970) and Sag (1976) discovered that *gapping, VPE (proper)* and *sluicing* could all be described as the syntactic process of deletion, namely a process licensed by the presence of an (syntactically) identical antecedent, and 'controlled' by either an AUX or a +WH category. This syntactically identical antecedent would still be present in the *deep structure* of the sentence, a highly abstract concept first formulated by Postal and Katz in their *An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions* (1965). According to their theory, the deep structure contained only the 'main' parts of an utterance – i.e. nouns and verbs – and was structured based on an unmarked word order. Below are some examples from the investigations by Ross and Sag, where a) is an approximation of how the sentence would look like in the deep structure, and b) is the actual utterance (what we now call *Phonological Form* (PF)).

(26)
   a. [$_{S}$ Harry [$_{VP}$ seems] upset], but [$_{S}$ Bill [$_{VP}$ doesn't [$_{VP}$ seem] to be] upset]
   b. Harry seems upset, but Bill doesn't seem to be.

(27)
   a. [$_{S}$ Phoebe [$_{VP}$ wants to eat] something], but [$_{S}$ Phoebe [$_{VP}$ doesn't know] what [$_{S}$ Phoebe [$_{VP}$ wants to eat] something]]
   b. Phoebe wants to eat something, but she doesn't know what.

(28)
   a. [$_{S}$ I [$_{VP}$ left]] because [$_{S}$ John did [$_{VP}$ left]]
   b. I left because John did.

These discoveries have been central in the majority of later works on ellipsis, although the notion of gapping as a subfield of VPE have been challenged, notably by Kyle Johnson's

series of papers (2005, 2009 etc.). He argues that while *pseudogapping*[13] *is* proper VPE, gapping is not. It is rather a special case of what he calls 'across-the-board movement' where several VPs are coordinated through moving (or *raising*) of the verb, which is deleted to a non-specific level XP (sometimes termed 'PredP') above the coordinating phrases. Noting some of the similarities and differences between gapping and pseudogapping, (for instance, while the identity conditions on VPE[14] holds true for both gapping and pseudogapping, only pseudogapping (like VPE proper) is possible in embedded contexts), Johnson transforms Ross' and Sag's findings into modern generative grammar, stating that:

(29) An elided VP must be in Specifier of a licensing X^0.
Licensing X^0's in English include $Pred^0$.

Discussions on VPE when it comes to Japanese have been far fewer than those dealing with English. However as a result of Naoki Fukui's (1986) groundbreaking discussion on whether or not Japanese have the same functional categories as English, the subfield of sluicing has been greatly expanded over the last few years. One of the contributions to this field is Daiko Takahashi's *Sluicing in Japanese* (1994). This paper uses a combination of *Government and Binding theory* and the syntactic-semantic theories developed by Anne Lobeck (1990, 1995) and Mamoru Saito & Keiko Murasugi (1990) to discuss the presence of a +WH category in Japanese, and that the constituent deletion taking place in NPE, VPE and sluicing are licensed by a agreeing feature in either the *Inflection Phrase* (IP), *Determiner Phrase* (DP) or *Complementizer Phrase* (CP). If the constituent in the IP, DP or CP is agreeing, this then licenses ellipsis. Below is a summary of agreeing and 'not agreeing' constituents.

[13] Pseudogapping is a term borrowed from Levin (1986), explained as "gapping where the coordinated phrases must be large enough to incorporate the AUX". The following should help to explain the difference.

Gapping: Some have served mussels to Sue and others swordfish.
Pseudogapping: Some have served mussels to Sue while others have swordfish.

[14] "The clause with the ellipsis is required to have quantifier scope relations that match those in the clause holding the antecedent VP " (Johnson 2009: 3)

(30)

	Agree	Not agree
I	Tensed I	To
D	’s	A(n), the
C	+WH	That, whether

As this table brings us closer to semantic theories of ellipsis, it is useful to review Lobeck (1990, 1995) which is at the heart of much of the theory in this area. However, let me first briefly discuss some central notions in the history of semantic linguistics.

When the publishing of Chomsky’s *Syntactic Structures* and *Aspects* turned mainstream linguistics into a study of syntax, the study of meaning became more or less an obscure discipline, as all semantic notions were considered to be ‘inborn’. However, as argued by linguists who did not entirely buy into generative grammar, the simple fact that there exist metaphors and words that undergo semantic changes undermines the nativist model substantially. Some years later, Richard Montague’s pioneering work which culminated in *Universal Grammar* (1970) gave light to a treatment of language as a formal system much like first-order logic. As it then became considered possible to comprehend both the syntax and semantics of language within a single natural and mathematically precise theory, we began to see the rise of a number of competing theories, all with their own notation systems and underlying theories. Although it is not within the scope of this paper to discuss all of these theories in depth, broadly speaking, these theories can broadly be lumped into two camps; one which believes that i) the meaning of a particular sentence may be understood as the conditions under which the proposition conveyed by the sentence hold true; and the other which believes that ii) meaning corresponds with a concept held in the mind based on personal understanding.

As many semantical grammarians follow Montague in treating both syntax and semantics within the same theory, as well as having adopted the jargon employed by generative grammatics, it is sometimes difficult to see precisely where the ‘alliance’ of a proposal lies. However, what is important is not the formal notation used, nor the ‘camp’ to which the grammarian belongs, but the acceptance that both syntax and semantics has a role to play when dealing with actual instances of language.

Let us now turn back to Lobeck. The primary idea is to revive the notion of looking at ellipses as pronouns based on an analysis of binding and antecedent reference, and consider all three kinds of ellipsis sites (NPE, VPE and sluicing) as being filled with a silent non-arbitrary pro, which is present from deep structure, and interpreted either at surface structure, or at LF. What licensing and identification of elided content rely on is a form of 'strong agreement', which is defined as equivalent to the head X0 (or phrase with which X0 agrees) morphologically realizing agreement in a number of cases. A more formalized version of this claim is given below.

(31) Licensing and identification of *pro*
An empty, non-arbitrary pronominal must be properly head-governed, and governed by an X-0 specified for strong agreement[15].

In his Ph.D. dissertation *The Syntax of Silence* (2001), Jason Merchant further investigates the field of sluicing, particularly identity requirements – the second of the three concerns written out in the original paper by Ross (1969)[16]. Merchant explains that while earlier approaches

[15] The two terms "head-government" and "strong agreement" might be necessary to formalize. Let us therefore look at Lobeck's definitions (most of which are taken from, or modified from Rizzi 1990):

Head-government
X head-governs Y iff
a. X is a head
b. X m-commands (broader version of c-command) Y
X = {[±V, ±N], AGR, Tense}
a. No barrier intervenes
b. Relativized Minimality is respected

Strong agreement
An X-0 is specified for "strong agreement" iff X-0, or the phrase or head with which X-0 agrees, morphologically realizes agreement (feature sharing with another X-0 or XP under government) in a productive number of cases.

[16] The three concerns given by Ross (1969):

have successfully described parts of the licensing conditions, the elided IP (or VP for that matter) must be identical in meaning to the antecedent, although not necessarily identical in form. Furthermore, that the elliptical structure seems to be subject to an additional, stronger requirement than simple deletion due to repetition. Reviewing the focus analysis and the notion of GIVEN as discussed by Roger Schwarzschild in his 1999 paper *GIVENness, AvoidF and other Constraints on the Placement of Accent*, Merchant explains this "stronger requirement" with the notion of *e-GIVEN*, a mutual entailment condition that holds between the antecedent IP/VP and the elided IP/VP. This mutual entailment idea is the heart of Merchant's contribution to the question of the relationship between the antecedent and the elided material in ellipsis, as it can explain examples like the one below (given as 22 in Merchant 2001), which a 'normal' Focus hypothesis would misinterpret.

(32)

a. [S Abby [VP [VP left] after [S Ben did [VP leave]]]]], and [S Carla did [VP leave after Ben did [VP leave]]] too.
b. Abby left after Ben did, and Carla did too.

The concept of e-GIVENness is formalized below.

(33) E-GIVENness
An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo[17] ∃-type[18] shifting,
A entails F-clo(E), and
E entails F-clo(A)

(i) the nature of ellipsis

(ii) the identity requirement for ellipsis, and

(iii) the mechanism by which ellipsis ameliorates island violations.

[17] Generally, to say "A equals B modulo C" means "A and B are the same except for differences accounted for or explained by C.

[18] ∃ is used in symbolic logic to indicate existential quantification.

(34) Focus condition on VP-ellipsis

A VP α can be deleted only if α is e-GIVEN

As one should have noticed, the above pages have discussed some key properties of representative works dealing with some form of ellipsis in a syntactic or semantic fashion. However, there are accounts which do not fit properly into either of these boxes. The (in)famous work *Cohesion in English* (1967) written by M.A.K. Halliday, the father of *Systemic Functional Grammar* (SFG)[19], is one such example of such an account of language. According to Halliday, "A language is interpreted as a system of meaning, accompanied by forms through which the meaning can be expressed". That which makes any length of text meaningful and understandable is something he calls *texture*, or cohesion, which is explained to be a number of linguistic devices. Ellipsis is one of these, also coined "substitution by zero" (1967: 142). Although the relation between substitution and ellipsis is taken to embody the same fundamental relation between parts of a text they are two different kinds of structual mechanisms.

Focusing purely on verbal ellipsis, Halliday defines some essential traits for a verbal group. He states: "there is only one lexical element (in a verbal group), and that is the verb itself. (...) The whole of the rest of the verbal group expresses systemic selections, choices of an either-or type which must be made whenever a verbal group is used" (*ibid*. 167). According to him, these systemic selections are:

(35)

a. Finiteness: finite or non-finite
   if finite: indicative or imperative
   if non-finite: modal or non-modal
b. Polarity: positive or negative, and marked or unmarked

[19] SFG is a linguistic model which stands in radical opposition to formal (≈ generative) grammar, as it is primarily concerned with the choices the grammar makes available to speakers/writers. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Systemic_functional_grammar or http://www.isfla.org/Systemics/ for more information.

c. Voice: active or passive
d. Tense: past or present or future (recursively)

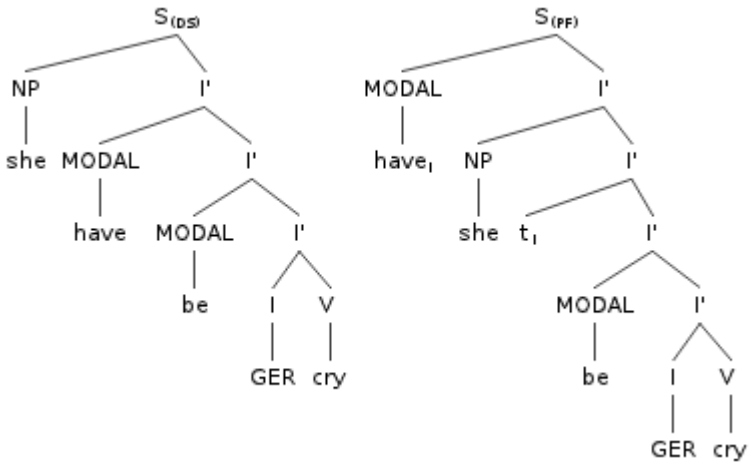
This then, allows for a broad definition; there are two types of verbal ellipsis, either *lexical* or *operator* (i.e. 'verbal operator', referring to the above systemic selections). Lexical ellipsis occurs 'from the right', in that it always involves omission of the final word (the lexical item), where operator ellipsis is 'from the left' in that the lexical item is untouched, only the operators are omitted. I give here an example of the differences of these two types, where b) and c) are responses to a).

(36)

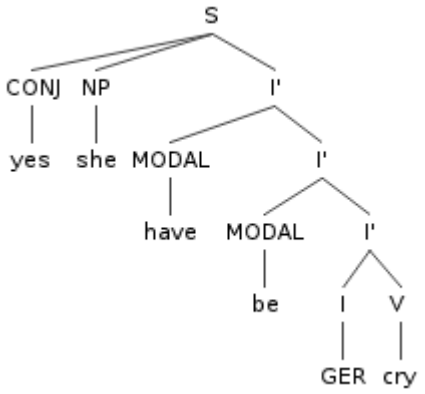
a. Has she been crying?
b. Yes, she has (lexical ellipsis)
c. No, laughing (operator ellipsis)

(37)

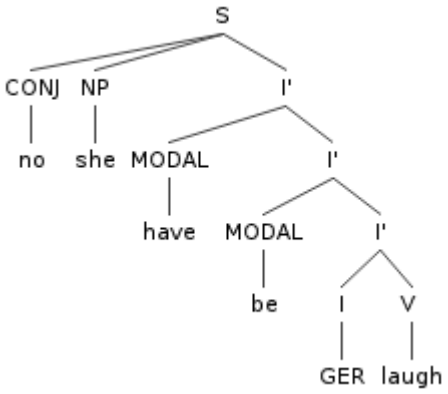
a.



b.



c.



The following pages of the book carefully investigate each of the above selections in terms of finiteness, polarity, etc. before summarizing the findings thus (*ibid.* 192):

(38)

	Lexical ellipsis	*Operator ellipsis*
Polarity	N.A. (always expressed)	not presupposed
Finiteness and modality	N.A. (always expressed)	presupposed
Voice	presupposed	presupposed (can be repudiated under certain conditions)
Tense	not presupposed (except last order selection in compound tense	presupposed unless repudiated
Lexical verb	presupposed	N.A. (always expressed)

Robert Stainton in his book *Words and Thoughts* (2006) on the other hand, discusses some theoretical foundations which would place him in a murky area between generative and cognitive linguistics, but rarely alludes to any actual grammatical analysis beyond the introductionary chapters. Stainton's book focuses quite thoroughly on what we might call

sub-sentential speech, defined as "a phenomenon of 'core grammar', where usage isn't genre-specific in any way: examples where speakers appear to utter, willingly and often by design, fully grammatical linguistic expressions which happens to be less-than-sentential" (2006: 5-6). His argumentation is built upon the following two premises (P1 and P2):

(39) *Premise 1:* Speakers genuinely can utter ordinary words and phrases in isolation and thereby perform full-fledged speech acts.
Premise 2: If speakers genuinely can utter ordinary words and phrases in isolation and thereby perform full-fledged speech acts, then such-and-such implications obtain.
Conclusion: Such-and-such implications obtain.

Stainton. defines a sentence as "formatives headed by INFL and ones projected from these" (*ibid*. 15, quoting Grimshaw 1991). This then is used to formally capture the meaning of "use in isolation" from P1; namely that an "expression counts as used in isolation when it is the maximal node of the whole token: i.e. the token itself is not itself a proper part of a larger tree token" (*ibid*. 15). "Use in isolation" is here taken to mean any utterance not within a larger "token", or linguistic (syntactic) structure. Stainton further defines three different kinds of 'sentences', all depending on their form and scope:

(40) Three senses of 'sentence'
a. $\text{Sentence}_{\text{syntactic}}$: an expression with a certain kind of structure/form
b. $\text{Sentence}_{\text{semantic}}$: an expression with a certain kind of content/meaning
c. $\text{Sentence}_{\text{pragmatic}}$: an expression with a certain kind of use ((10) in *ibid.* 31)

Likewise, there should then be natural to speak of three kinds of ellipsis, namely *syntactic*, *semantic* and *pragmatic* (although the term 'pragmatic ellipsis' is introduced with a certain amount of hesitation). The full distinction between the three kinds of ellipsis is given below:

(41) Three senses of 'elliptical sentence'
a. Elliptical $\text{sentence}_{\text{syntactic}}$: an expression that has the structure/form of a $\text{sentence}_{\text{syntactic}}$, but is pronounced just like a $\text{subsentence}_{\text{syntactic}}$ (e.g. a structure

that is headed by INFL, but whose phonological "spell-out" is identical to that of a lexically headed phrase)

b. Elliptical sentence$_{semantic}$: an expression that has the content/meaning of a sentence$_{semantic}$, but the structure/form of a subsentence$_{semantic}$ (e.g. an expression that encodes the same propositional character as a complete sentence, but whose syntax is lexical)
c. Elliptical sentence$_{pragmatic}$: an expression that is neither a sentence$_{syntactic}$ nor a sentence$_{semantic}$, but can nevertheless be used in isolation to perform a speech act (e.g. a plain old word, which is somehow used un-embedded to communicate a proposition)

Jason Merchant in the 2007 paper *Three types of ellipsis?* expands on this notion. He takes as his starting point how we standardly conceive an utterance as consisting of a 4-tuple, which follows a general pattern. The first member of the 4-tuple is the phonological representation P, the second the syntactic S, the third the semantic M, and the fourth the 'speech act content' CSA. The following demonstrates this line of thought[20]:

(42) Abby left.
< /æbi lɛft/, [S [NP Abby] [VP left]], left(abby), [[left(abby)]]M;g;w;i = 1 >
< P;S;M;CSA >

Merchant notes that the last three parts of the 4-tuple correspond to what we normally take as sentences in a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic sense. Furthermore, he suggests that there are certain direct interactions between these four levels of representations, as shown below, which give rise to "various analytical options" such as the matter at hand here, namely ellipsis.

[20] I follow Merchant's conventions for notation unless otherwise noted.

(43) P ⇔ phon S
S ⇔ sem M
M ⇔ prag A (*ibid.* 3)

When discussing semantic and/or pragmatic ellipsis, Merchant makes specific references to two somewhat intertwined theories not explicitly applied by Stainton (although very similar to what he uses as 'his' premises), namely *slot-filling*[21] and *script*[22]. Merchant also claims that these are "linguistic elements" (should this not instead be called *discourse* elements?) which can trigger phenomena such as non-linguistic antecedent usage such as "those look good on you" (said when seeing a (female) friend trying on a pair of jeans). However, treatment of Stainton's "pragmatic ellipsis" is more or less skipped, as Stainton himself says that the term adds nothing at all to the analysis, and is mostly there for "rhetorical balance: we have syntactic, semantic, and therefore also pragmatic 'ellipses'" (Stainton: 38). His conclusion is as following: "Stainton's real goal here is to show that at least 'moderate' contextualism is correct: to put it in terms most familiar to linguists, this is the claim that context (and pragmatics) determines at least part of what is said (or 'sentence meaning') in addition to what is meant (or 'speaker meaning')". (Merchant 2007: 12-13)

2.2 The need for a revised theory

The following section will review some of the primary shortcomings found in the literature discussed in Subchapter 2.1. Through the revision we will find that the earlier approaches are

[21] Slot-filling is one of the most basic premises of a dialogue system. The 'user' has his/her purpose, and knows almost all information necessary to complete the task. An example might be telemarketing etc, where there are certain 'rules' of conduct, and 'expected' values.

[22] The notion of script here is fairly similar to what I call *frame*. Merchant refers to Schank and Abelson (1977) in that "[i]n following a script, the participants know and can anticipate the actions (including the utterances) of the others following the same script, and can plan accordingly. In such a context, certain particular linguistic phrases can be expected: they are 'given', though not by the immediate actually spoken linguistic precedents, but rather by mutual knowledge of the script being followed" (*ibid.* 43).

overly reliant on either theory or empiricals, and are sometimes perhaps lost in the intricate movement theories and terminology.

As the previous subchapter, this part will go through the literature in a literary fashion, while critically examining usability of each for dealing with the Japanese language. Beginning with Sag (1976), we might briefly say that his finalized theory for VP ellipsis (deletion in his thesis) consisted of two parts: a schema for what can or cannot be elided, and a linguistic principle called *RAOAP*. The schema simply states that there can only be ellipsis when there is an identical copy of a VP 'X' earlier on in the sentence, and that the position before the elided VP must be occupied by an AUX. This allows sufficient explanations for sentences containing a form of auxiliary, for instance, "Peter's moving to New York, but I don't know if Mary will". The second part of Sag's argument, the RAOAP, which hypothesizes that target predicates are only maximized according to a given choice of context predicates, is built on Ross's (1964, 1967) *island constraints*[23]. The motivation for this revision of Chomsky's *A-over-A principle* is based on issues like the increased options of affecting target predicates in deletion constructions (like VP ellipsis). However, both of these parts of argument are invalid when it comes to dealing with Japanese. For one, there is no obligatory stranding of AUX in VPE. Neither is there any consistency in relation to the RAOAP, because the reason for re-forming the A-over-A principle in the first place is stated by Bresnan (1976) to be because "VP Deletion leaves behind a finite or non-finite auxiliary element" (1976: 17). Since VPE in Japanese does not leave behind any overt AUX, finite or non-finite, we can leave this behind in our analysis.

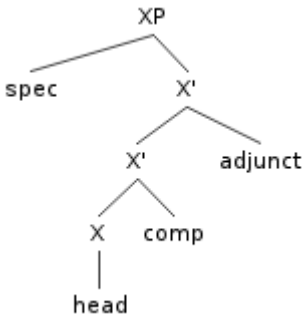
Takahashi's paper on sluicing in Japanese presents three distinct arguments: i) that the agreeing functional category [+wh] Comp exists in Japanese, ii) that optional overt *wh*-movement exists in Japanese, and iii) that the evidence suggests a one-to-one relationship between Spec and Head. As there is no space here to fully argue for and against each of these claims, we will focus on the parts important for our theory on VPE. Firstly, the foundation of Takahashi's argument is based on Lobeck (1990) and Saito and Murasugi (1990), who noted a similarity between N'-deletion, VP-deletion and Sluicing in that the elliptic constituent is licensed by a functional head that agrees with its specifier. Here Takahashi makes the logical

[23] This means that no process or relation of type X may simultaneously involve elements both inside and outside a constituent of type Y.

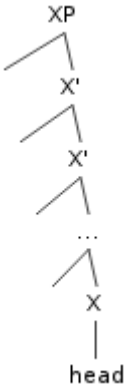
step that if i) Japanese has sluicing, and ii) the functional licensing approach to ellipsis has universal validity, then sluicing should be licensed the same way as in English, in other words by means of "IP-ellipsis licensed by the [+wh] Comp, which agrees with a *wh*-phrase in its specifier position" (Takahashi: 265). Here, I agree with the first argument that Japanese has sluicing (although I do not necessarily feel the need to call it by this term). With regards to the second claim; a simple example such as *Mary-ga nanika-wo kat-ta rashii-ga, boku-ha nani-wo-ka wakara-na-i* 'It is likely Mary bought something, but I don't know what' easily shows that ellipsis has taken place in the [*nani-wo-ka*] part, which carries the meaning 'what did (she) buy?' In this sense, I agree with Takahashi in that a +wh in what we might call complement position allows for sluicing, but I believe his reasoning to be a bit imprecise.

Compared to English, which has fairly rigid structure and a number of rules when it comes to how a phrase can look (exemplified below), Japanese simply has the head to the right, with a free number of complementing elements stranded on the left side.

(44) a. English:



b. Japanese:



These elements can be moved around at will, or they can be elided if there is a salient antecedent near-by. Takahashi follows Lobeck in calling this a form of *Spec-Head agreement*, which is correct, but overly difficult. Why not simply say that it is the 'modular' feature of Japanese which allows for unproblematic movement, thus again allowing for sluicing. This, I take it, is also the reason why Japanese also allows *multiple sluicing*[24].

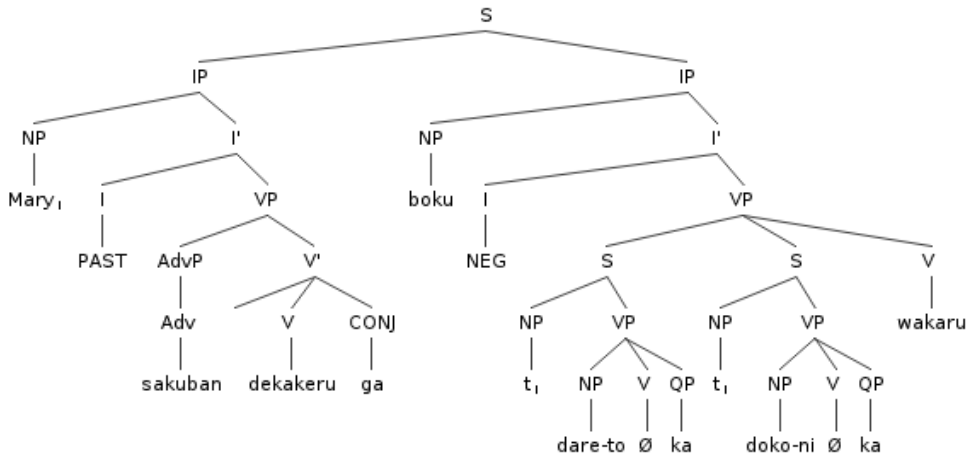
[24] Multiple sluicing is a phenomena where, as the name implies, several +wh elements are stranded. An example of this is *Mary-ga sakuban dekake-ta ga, boku-ha dare-to-ka doko-ni-ka wakar-anai* 'Mary went out last night, but I don't know where or with whom'. This should have the following DS:

The two papers by Johnson set out to examine what he calls gapping and pseudo-gapping, which in order does and does not include AUX in the process. Remember the examples given in the previous section, “Some have served mussels to Sue and others swordfish” versus “Some have served mussels to Sue while others have swordfish”. Through a series of expansions of these examples over the notion that gapping and pseudo-gapping seem to invoke different scope relations as well as different limitations on where they can and cannot occur, he concludes that “gapping, is NOT ellipsis. It arises when vPs have been coordinated through the VP-movement indicated here (v being moved up to a non-specific level XP above the coordinating vPs).” However, as fine as a piece of linguistics this is, is it a relatively meaningless discussion for Japanese.

(45)

a. *Ikutsuka-ga Sue-ni mūru-wo habe-ru to ikutsuka-ga kajiki-wo Ø*
   Some-NOM Sue-DAT mussels-ACC serve-NONP and some-NOM swordfish-ACC Ø
   ‘Some have served mussels to Sue and others swordfish’
b. *Ikutsuka-ga Sue-ni mūru-wo habe-ru (no) kinai ikutsuka-ga kajiki-wo Ø*
   Some-NOM Sue-DAT mussels-ACC serve-NONP (NOM) during/while some-NOM swordfish-ACC Ø
   ‘Some have served mussels to Sue while others have swordfish’

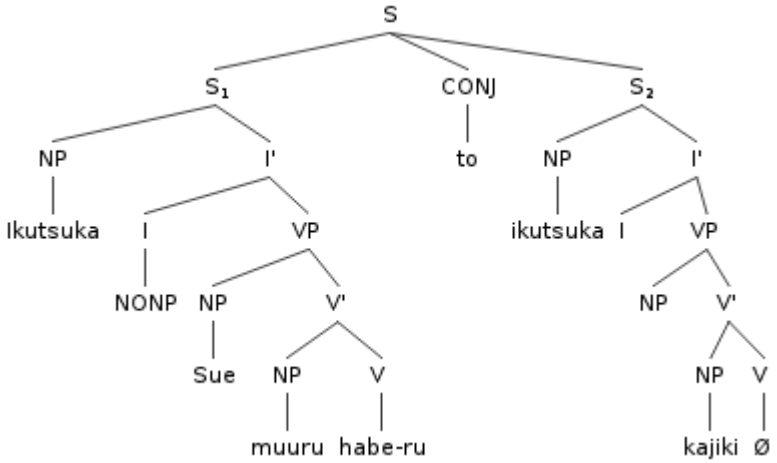
We see, like earlier, that Japanese does not employ the AUX category, and furthermore that the difference achieved in these examples is due to grammatical construction (*to* versus *kinai*). Thus, their structure will be the same.



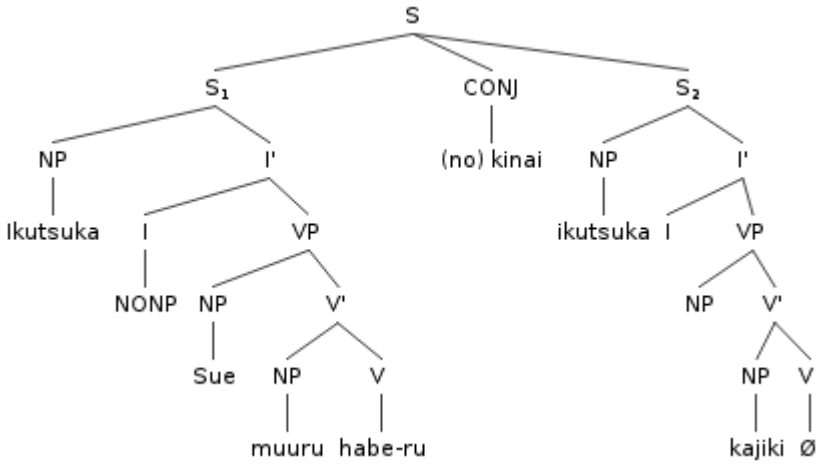
(Ø = dekakeru)

(46)

a.



b.



The following piece of literature is Lobeck's unifying proposal. As much can and has been said about the book[25], I will simply summarize the content and move on to some problematic areas. Lobeck argues that elided categories in IP (VP Ellipsis), DP (N' Ellipsis), and CP (Sluicing) are empty, non-referential pronominals, subject to the same licensing and identification conditions as referential *pro*. Furthermore, she proposes that both types of empty pronominals must be licensed under head-government to satisfy the *Empty Category Principle* (ECP)[26], and be identified through *strong agreement*. For ellipsis, agreement makes

[25] See, for instance, a review made by Liliane Haegeman in *Language*, Vol.72, No.3 (1996). Available at http://www.jstor.org/pss/416284 (first retrieved 22/03/11)

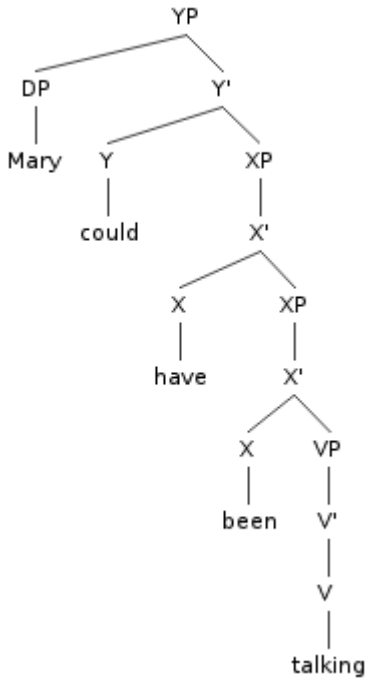
[26] Repeated here for simplicity: "The ECP: [*e*] must be properly governed" (Lobeck 1995: 3)

the empty category visible to interpretive processes of reconstruction. These licensing and identification conditions derive the result that ellipses are complements of *functional categories* DET (DP), COMP (CP), and INFL (IP), but not of *lexical categories*. However, as noted by Chisholm (2003), there are weaknesses in the theory, as shown in the example below. (a and b are listed as (93) in Lobeck 1995, a version closer to my way of doing syntactical analysis is given as c).

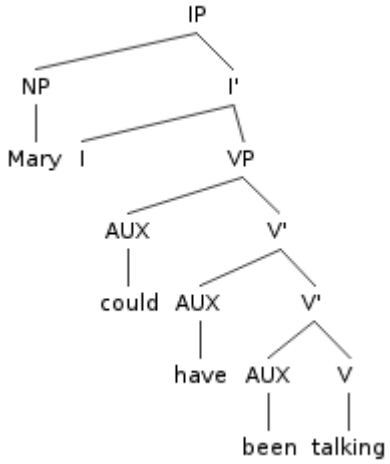
(47)

a. Bob wasn't talking, but Mary could have been talking

b.



c.



Chisholm states: "Regardless of the specific syntactic theory, if ellipsis is licensed by strong agreement features, you must locate the same strong features on both XPs and the VP above, since all three phrases are valid candidates for ellipsis." Since agreement features are located on some kind of functional head (perhaps something like what is termed [I] in my analysis), the only option in sentences like these is to have the INFL category (covert or overt) for each of the AUX[27].

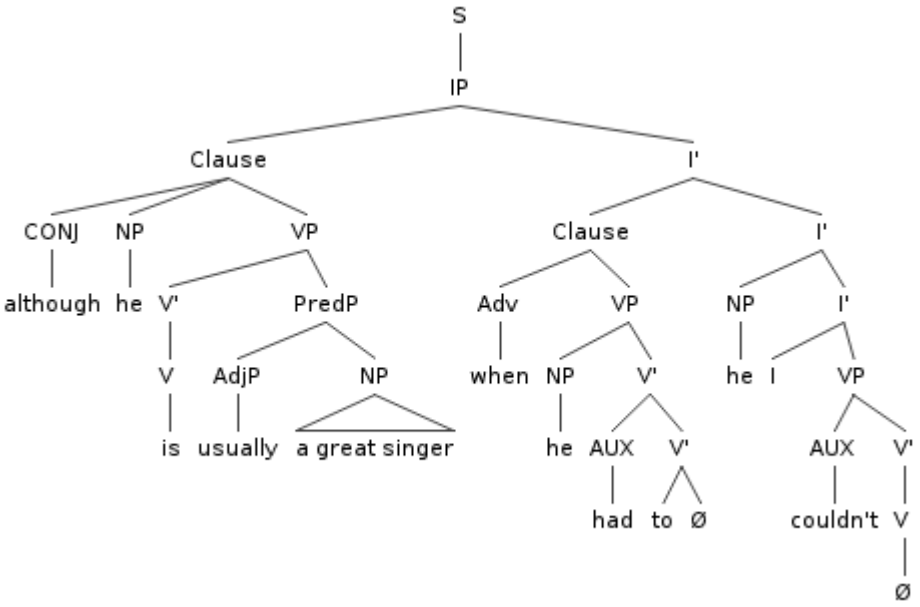
27 Note, coincidentally, that if we exchange the 'but' with 'so', like "Bob wasn't talking, so Mary could have been talking", we have a larger potential for tense variation in the elided (main) verb. For instance, if we end the

Chisholm instead highlights Merchant's identity condition – which we will deal with in a moment – as a better solution. However, let us briefly discuss other issues with Lobeck's theory. Although the theory argues that all VPE, NPE and sluicing can be "pragmatically controlled" (p.25), there is little clarity as to what this actually means here. Most of the book is dedicated to the functional features that allow ellipsis to take place, and these are indeed primarily syntactical/semantical. Although the agreeing feature of "to" allows for some solutions of the ellipsis seen in sentences like "Although he is usually a great singer; when he had to Ø, he couldn't Ø" (see below for an analysis of this example), it does not allow for the type of pragmatic instances of VPE which we frequently find in Japanese (see for instance the example on pragmatic/discourse VPE in section 2.3).

(48)

a. Although he is usually a great singer; when he had to Ø, he couldn't Ø

b.



The ellipsis above has to be done in two separate steps. The first step involves the semantic values of {singer$_{noun}$} and a verb in the first of the two elided slots to be identical, which then licenses the ellipsis in the second sub-clause. The second step is deletion due to repetition. The obvious choice would of course be the verb "to sing", however something like "to

sentence at AUX$_1$, i.e. "Bob wasn't talking, so Mary could Ø", the elided part could vary from simple "talk" via "have talked", to "could have been talking".

perform" can be said to work equally well. Another option is that the two elided slots can be filled with two different verbs, i.e. for instance "(...) when he had to [sing], he couldn't [perform (well/at all/like we hoped/etc)]. Neither of these options can be said to have been incorporated in Lobeck's theory.

Merchant (2001) derives ellipsis from the a mutual entailment condition holding between the antecedent VP and the elided VP , or said in different words, the checking of a morpho-syntactic feature on the elided constituent (called the *E-feature*) against the 'licensing head'. According to Merchant, when something then qualifies as *e-GIVENness,* this then issues the instruction to delete the given word/constituent at PF. The methodology of this work cannot easily be refuted. Ever since Fiengo & May (1994), who first proposed that the identity condition on VP Ellipsis was a two part relation, consisting of i) a syntactic identity condition on antecedent and elided VPs, and ii) a semantic identity condition between the first VP and the second, there has been attempts to find a suitable framework which incorporates both these elements. One of the difficulties has been, in Merchant's words (2001: 6), that "deletion accounts are often assumed to require that a morphosyntactic identity condition holds between the deleted structure and some antecedent." However, he goes on to state that "[t]his is by no means, however, a necessary assumption (...) (and) that there is nothing inherently contradictory in building a theory of ellipsis that imposes a semantic identity requirement on a PF operation" – a viewpoint on which I have more or less built this paper. However, in Japanese, the notion of e-GIVENness[28] – a requirement for ellipsis – is insufficient. Ellipsis can easily happen even in cases where we would be hard-pressed to say that e-GIVENness is achieved, as the example below shows (note that this is superfluous, a more thorough analysis is found in section 2.3).

(49)

a. *A, sō da, ano, koronbasu daigaku-no on'na-no ko, kodomo um-are-ta rashī zo.*
b. *dare-no kodomo-ka wakat-ta no?*
c. *sore Biru-no kodomo rashī n da kedo ne.*
d. *yappari.*

[28] Repeated here is the two conditions needed for licensing of ellipsis:

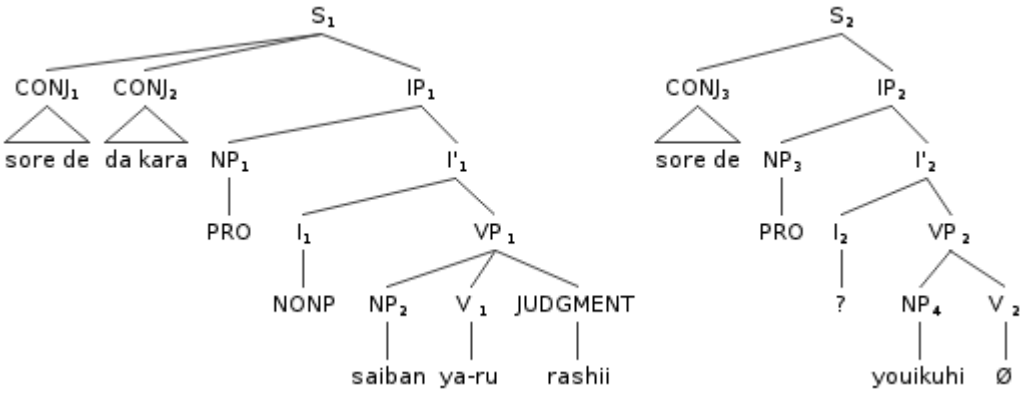
a. E-GIVENness: "An expression E counts as e-GIVEN iff E has a salient antecedent A and, modulo ∃-type shifting, i) A entails F-clo(E), and ii) E entails F-clo(A)"

b. Focus condition on VP-ellipsis: "A VP α can be deleted only if α is e-GIVEN" (Merchant 2001: 26)

e. *sore-de, dakara, saiban-wo yar-u rashī.*
f. *sore-de, yōikuhi-wo Ø.*
g. *un.*

A_1: 'Ah, now that I remember, that girl from Columbus University, apparently she had a child' B_1: 'Do you know whose child it is?' A_2: 'It seems to be Bill's, but I'm not sure' B_2: 'I knew it' A_3: 'So, uhm, apparently there's gonna be a trial' B_3: 'for the expenses?' A_4: 'Yeah'

(50)



As we can see, there is no immediate salient antecedent which can license the ellipsis in sentence f). The antecedent must be pragmatically, or more specifically extralinguistically retrieved. This is something which Merchant's theory does not allow. Thus, the theory either needs to be revised or atleast expanded upon.

Taking a large step backwards in time, the following section will review the theory laid out in Halliday & Hasan (1967). Looking back at the list presented in (38), and the preceding quote, Halliday was limiting a VP to only having a single lexical verb from the start. Everything else was simply "systemic selections, choices of an either-or type which must be made whenever a verbal group is used" (Halliday & Hasan: 167). This then, allowed VPE to be broken down further into two types, either *lexical* or *operator* ellipsis, depending on if it was the lexical verb itself or features such as finiteness, tense or polarity that was omitted. Although this is a highly useful distinction for languages which use operators for modification of the lexical verb, it cannot be successfully used when dealing with Japanese. Instead of preposed operators, the Japanese language uses verb inflections. Furthermore, the lack of personal inflection (i.e. 3rd person 's' etc) which blocks English examples like "- Were you singing? – No, I wasn't", makes this theory unsuited for discussing Japanese VPE.

Finally we turn to the book by Stainton (2006) and Merchant's (2007) application of the thoughts found therein. Briefly repeating some of the discussion, we define three types of sentences, namely:

(51) *Three senses of 'sentence'*

a. $\text{Sentence}_{\text{syntactic}}$: an expression with a certain kind of structure/form
b. $\text{Sentence}_{\text{semantic}}$: an expression with a certain kind of content/meaning
c. $\text{Sentence}_{\text{pragmatic}}$: an expression with a certain kind of use ((10) in Stainton: 31)

Stainton states more or less explicitly that it is 'c', utterances which have no links in the immediate syntactic surroundings, which is his area of interest. This type of utterance can then (following Stainton and Merchant) be analysed at three different levels, namely syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. The original work by Stainton can nevertheless only be seen as conceptual, as there is little actual analysis. The paper by Merchant attempts to remedy that by performing painstakingly meticulous analysis of a number of examples, at the same time plugging some of the holes in the original theory. However, the conclusion reached is that syntactic ellipsis cannot function on its own, but must be supplemented by a semantic approach of "slot-filling" and discourse theories. I quote from his conclusion:

"I think the basic intuition is that when there is a parallel syntactic antecedent available, it must be used (leading to the case and voice effects discussed). When a script is available, its modes must be used. When none is available, then and only then can other mechanisms (for case assignment, etc.) be used, and then and only then is the semantic ellipsis device triggered." (Merchant 2008: 48)

2.3 Creating a theory of source/target relations

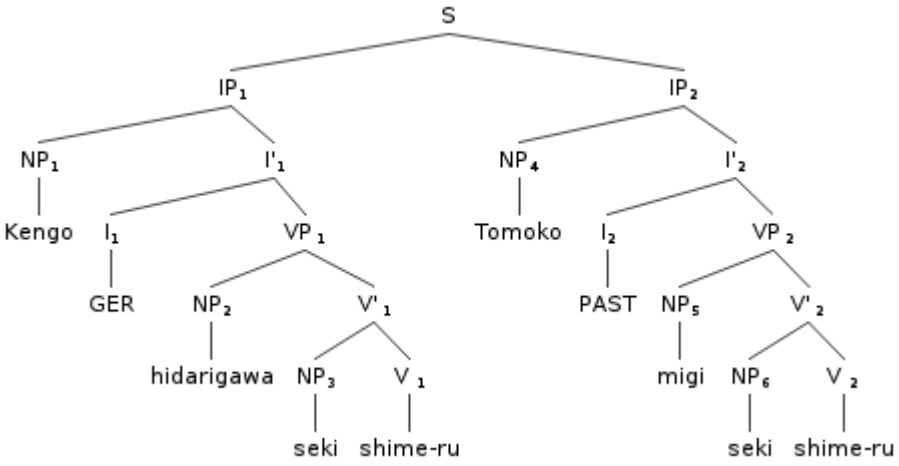
As seen from the previous Subchapter, the earlier literature on VPE is less than optimal when trying to say something meaningful about the Japanese language. However, building on the foundation from Chapter 1, we will come to see that a theory built on a firm syntactic background, then expanded using semantic and pragmatic tools to account for the cases not solvable by syntax, can be used to justify the great amount of VPE in Japanese discourse. The

following pages will build upon the outline of Chapter 1, presenting a few examples of how the theory is put together and how it can be used.

Beginning with simple *gapping* in Japanese, exemplified by (52) below, we will further the theory of combined syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features when dealing with VPE in Japanese.

(52) *Kengo-ha hidarigawa-ni Ø, Tomoko-ha migi-ni seki-wo shime-ta*
Name-TOP 'left side'-DAT Ø, name-TOP right-DAT seat-ACC take-PAST
Ø = [seki-wo shime-te], seat-ACC take-GER, 'occupy a seat'
'Kengo occupied the seat on the left, and Tomoko the one on the right'

(53)



As $V^{I}_{1} = V^{I}_{2}$, ellipsis is possible.

So far, so good. No need for further complications like "Hankamer's No-Ambiguity Condition" or "Principle of Minimal Distance". Let us therefore move to another type of ellipsis, namely *sluicing*. The existence of sluicing in Japanese have been debated for some time, as it do not follow the rules usually attributed to sluicing in English[29].

It has long been assumed that Japanese lacks syntactic +wh movement, which has lead scholars like Fukui (1986) to the conclusion that Japanese lacks argument between a functional category and its specifier. Other linguists (Nishigauchi 1990 *inter alia*) argue that

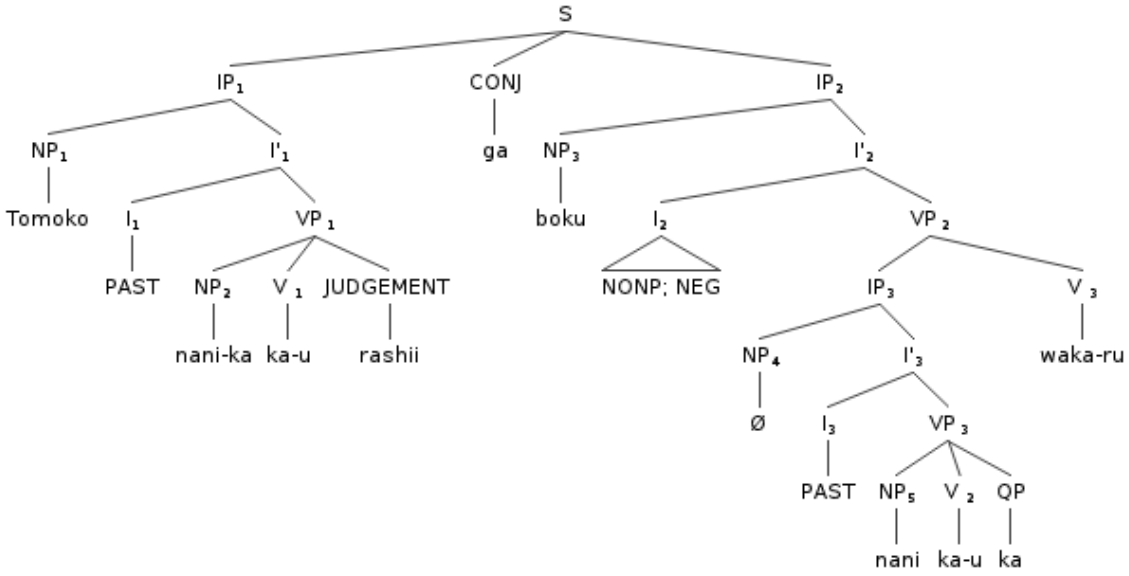
[29] Sluicing in English strands a WH-question, like in the example *John's bought something, but I don't know what Ø, Ø* = [~~John has bought~~]

in Japanese, WH-phrases are licensed at LF through government by the Question Particle (QP) so that the IP-adjoined position can count as a 'landing site' for +wh movement.

However, it may make sense to eliminate the notion of government all together – as Chomsky (1994) in fact did – in favor of a simpler theoretical notion of relations between the different categories. Here, we will build on Takahashi (1994), who states "[a]n elliptic constituent must be a complement to an appropriate head" (1994: 277). Let us now examine a case of sluicing in Japanese.

(54) *Tomoko-ga nani-ka-wo kat-ta rashī-ga, boku-ha nani-wo Ø ka wakar-anai*
Name-NOM what-QP-ACC buy-PAST likely-but, I-TOP what-ACC Ø QP know-NEG
Ø = [kat-ta], buy-PAST, 'bought'
'It is likely that Tomoko bought something, but I don't know what'

(55)



The notation PRO here at NP_4 simply indicates NP ellipsis[30], with the elided content = NP_1 = [*Tomoko ga*]. More relevant to the topic, again we see that $V_1 = V_2$, which licenses VPE.

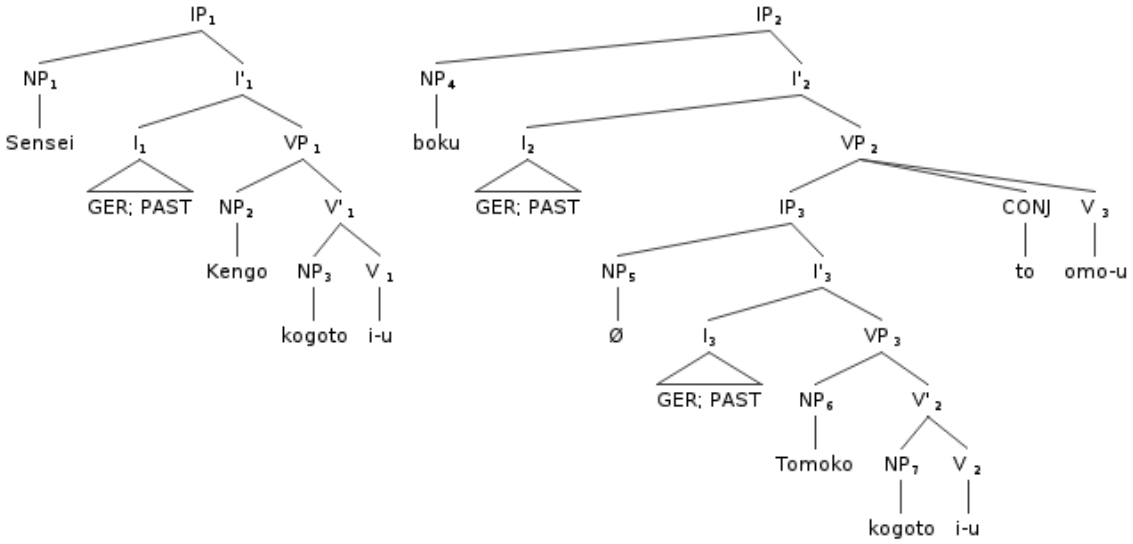
[30] Or pro-drop, also commonly referred to in linguistics as zero or null anaphora, a phenomenon in which certain classes of pronouns can be omitted when they are in some sense pragmatically inferable.

Although some scholars (Fukaya, Hoji, *inter alia*) tends to view sluicing as a special case of *stripping*, exemplified below, we see that the processes licensing the ellipsis are the same.

(56)

a. *Sensei-ga Kengo-ni kogoto-wo it-te-ita yo*
   Teacher-NOM name-DAT scolding-ACC say-GER-PAST EM
   'The teacher was scolding Kengo'
b. *Boku-ha Tomoko(-ni) Ø (da) to omot-te-ita yo*
   '1st.pers.pron'-TOP name(-DAT) Ø (cop) that think-GER-PAST EM
   'I thought (it was) Tomoko (that he was scolding)'

(57)



$NP_5 = NP_1 = [$*sensei ga*$]$. Furthermore, $V^I_1 = V^I_2$, which licenses VPE and the possible insertion of copula.

So far we have established that stripping, sluicing and gapping in Japanese utilize the same processes for their VPE, namely a salient syntactic match somewhere immediately nearby. At this point, a simple theory of syntax, perhaps something like the one suggested by Sag (1976) should have been sufficient. However, what happens when we investigate another phenomenon extremely frequent in Japanese, namely what is known as *contextual deletion*, here exemplified by (58) and (59) below?

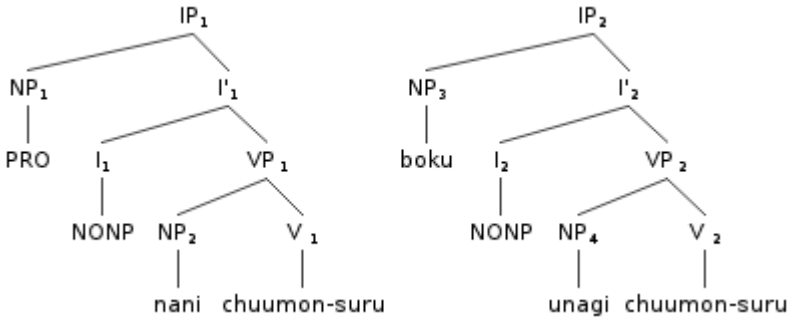
(58) *Nani-wo chuumon-suru no? Boku-ha unagi da*
What-ACC order-do EM? I-TOP eel cop-NONP
(59) *Kengo-ha sushi-wo tabe-ta. Tomoko-mo dat-ta*
Name-TOP sushi-ACC eat-PAST. Name-INC cop-PAST

It should be obvious that the two people Kengo and Tomoko in (59) did the same thing, i.e. eat sushi. However, investigation of the second sentence *Tomoko-mo dat-ta* alone gives of very few purely syntactic clues as to why. In (58) as well, the literal translation of sentence two is simply 'as for me, (am) eel'. The ellipsis, or verbal substitution as we also might call this, must then be licensed by semantics.

If we look at (58) intuitively, sentence one is understood as 'what are you ordering?'. Sentence two should then be a direct reply to this question, meaning something like 'I'll have (=order) eel'. In other words, the copula *da* must carry the semantic value 'order' (*chūmon-suru*).

In English, the equivalent example might be, for instance, *Al voted for the democrats. John did too.*, where we have seen in earlier chapters that *did* both license the VPE and carry the semantic meaning of voted for the democrats. I take 'contextual deletion' in Japanese to be a two-step process; i) syntactically licensed VPE; and ii) insertion of an element (usually COP or *suru* 'to do') carrying the same semantic properties as the elided VPE. We'll represent this formally below, using (58) as guide:

(60)



Step 1: $V_1 = V_2$, which licences VPE. Furthermore, we can say for IP_1,

(61) P_1(PRO) = order(PRO,*nani-wo*)[31]

In more general terms, we can say that for the verb *to order*$_{\text{TRANSITIVE}}$,

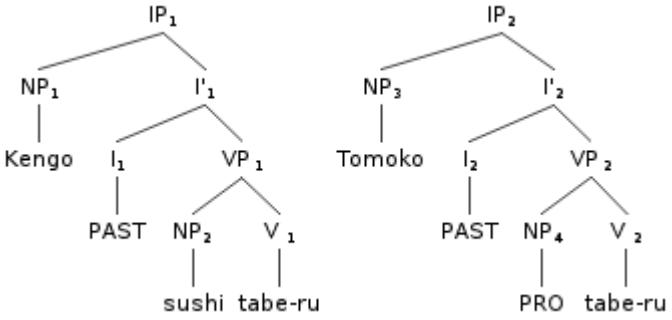
(62) P = λx.order(x,y)

The sentence *boku-ha unagi-wo Ø*, with Ø = [*chūmon suru*], is perfectly fine on its own. By simply dropping the object particle we arrive at *Boku-ha unagi*, which also very well can exist on its own in casual speech. At this point we have the second step; insertion of copula as a substitute for the VP. Given that the context of the situation gives P_1(Ø) = P_2(*boku*), we get:

(63) $P_1 = P_2$ => λx.order(x,y) = λx.copula(x,y)

Going back to (59), the syntactic representation is given here as (64):

(64)



PRO = NP_2 = [*sushi wo*]. Furthermore, $V_1 = V_2$, which licences VPE, then the copula is inserted. In this case we get

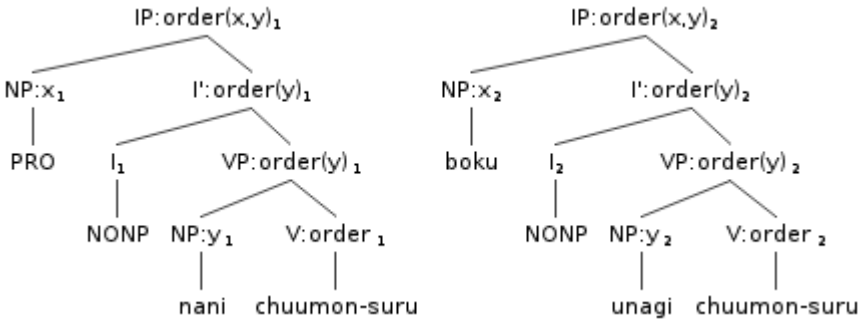
(65) λx.eat(x,y) = λx.copula(x,y)[32]

[31] P here represents the properties the VP must carry. Subscript 1 and 2 signifies sentence.

[32] A colleague has suggested that all of the properties in the elided VPE are present in the remaining particle *mo*. Although this is an intriguing thought, there are few language opportunities in which to test the theory. For this

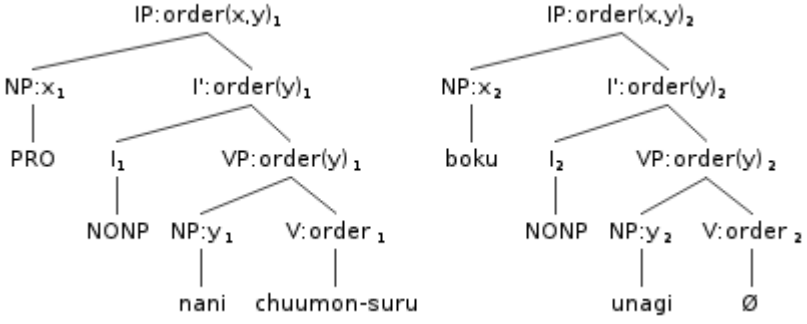
Although what is done here for the two examples is a fairly common way of describing semantic ellipsis, the next step in forming a fully functional theory framework for resolving ellipsis is to implement this semantic representation given above to the X-bar schema. For clarification, below is (60) presented again with the inclusion of semantic values.

(66)



We here make the assumption that even after VPE, the semantic values of the verb are present, which give the intermediate stage (67)

(67)



Following this is the (optional) particle ellipsis and (again, optional) insertion of copula.

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reason, I will refrain from making any speculations as to its validity. One might, however, assume that *mo* forces the $VP_1 = VP_2$ reading of pretty much any basic sentence pair.

The final step of building the theory asks the question: "what if there are no immediate antecedents from which to deduce the properties of the elided VP?" This is crucial, as it moves the theory out of the shallow waters where examples are carefully selected or created. Empirical studies suggest that VPE can occur with the antecedent appearing numerous sentences away, as well as with no VPE at all. One example of this should suffice.

(68)

a. *A, sō da, ano, koronbasu daigaku-no on'na-no ko, kodomo um-are-ta rashī zo.*
b. *dare-no kodomo-ka wakat-ta no?*
c. *sore Biru-no kodomo rashī n da kedo ne.*
d. *yappari.*
e. *sore-de, dakara, saiban-wo yar-u rashī.*
f. *sore-de, yōikuhi-wo Ø.*
g. *un.*

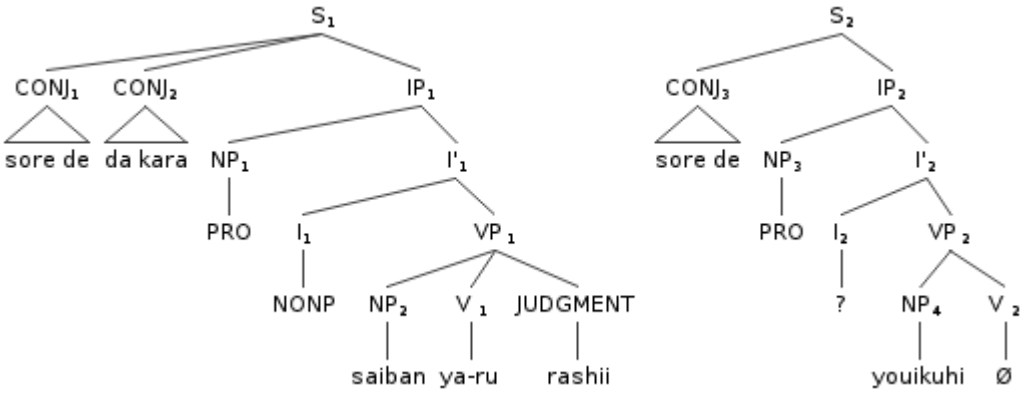
A: 'Ah, now that I remember, that girl from Columbus University, apparently she had a child' B: 'Do you know whose child it is?' A: 'It seems to be Bill's, but I'm not sure' B: 'I knew it' (A: 'Yeah')

I cut the translation two sentences short for a reason which will be explained momentarily. For now, let us look at word-for-word translations and tentative suggestions to syntactic structures for sentence e) and f) given below.

(69)

a. *sore-de, dakara, saiban-wo ya-ru rashī.*
'and, because of that', 'therefore', trial-ACC do-NONP seemingly.
b. *sore-de, yōikuhi-wo.*
'and, because of that', 'child-rearing expenses'-ACC

(70)



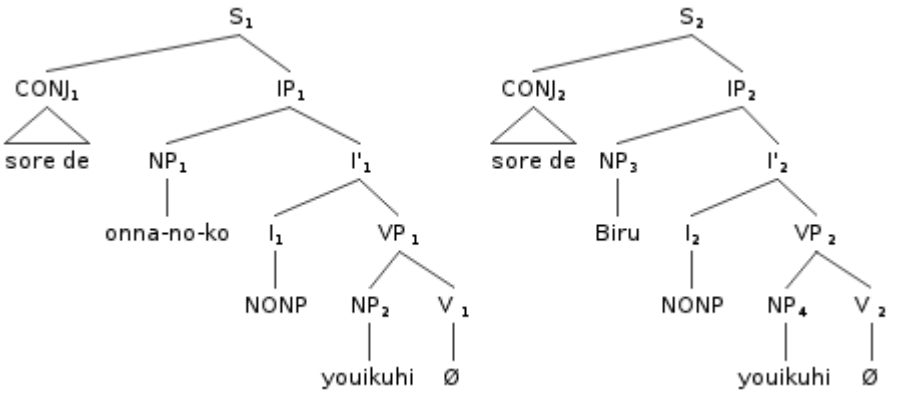
Here we have three empty categories that need to be filled;

- the 'doer' of NP_1 (and possibly by extension NP_3);
- the tense of I_2; and
- V_2.

Attempts to posit that $V_1 = V_2 =$ *yar-u* is immediately found invalid, due to the semantic fact that one does not 'do' child-rearing expenses.

The easiest of these three to answer is the second, as we should be able to assume $I_1 = I_2 =$ NONP without any loss. However, the remaining two are troublesome for several reasons. Looking upwards at the earlier discourse, we have two options; one is 'the girl from Columbus University', the other is 'Bill'. The selection will directly influence iii), as one might for instance imagine that 'the girl' will go to court to get Bill to pay his share of the expenses involved in rearing a child, while 'Bill' might go to court to avoid paying. Thus we can assume two versions of sentence B3, shown as S1 and S2 respectively.

(71)



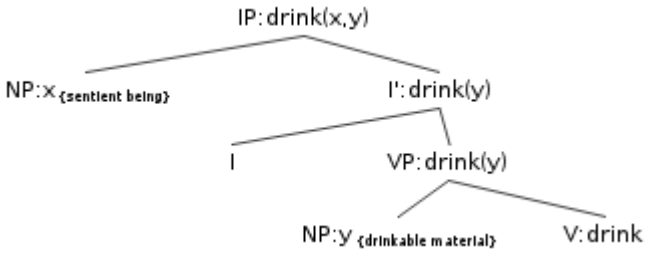
We are still not able to fill the empty verbal slot(s). However, with the introduction of two additional elements from chapter 1, namely Minsky's *frame theory*[33] (1975) and the *case frames*[34] suggested by Hinds (1982) we should get a step or two closer to the truth.

As explained in chapter 1, these two elements can be implemented into the existing theory in two simple ways. We either build on the semantic structuring which for the verb *nomu* would look like this: λx.drink(x,y), or we implement terminal condition restraints into the structural representation. Below follow a repetition of the idea, given as a) and b) respectively:

(72)

a. λx.drink(x{sentient being},y{drinkable material})

b.



If we now go back to sentence B3, we have the explicit NP-*wo yōikuhi(-wo),* which require a 'doer', in the shape of a person (or an institution if the elided verb is 'to pay'). With this assumed presence of a NP-*ga*, this is now firmly established as a 'type-I' sentence, which means that the elided VP must be transitive. Furthermore, the semantic properties of the NP-

[33] A frame is taken to be "a network of nodes and relations working not only on a syntactic (like sub-categorization in generative grammar) level, but also on a syntactic or contextual level, expanding (if necessary) of a broader, cognitive level of understanding". One usually speaks of *terminals*, or "slots" that must be filled by specific instances of data, and that there are conditions as to what kind of assignment that can go into each slot.

[34] The four case frames suggested for Japanese are reproduced here:

I.	[NP *ga* NP *wo*]	$VP_{TRANSITIVE}$
II.	[NP *ni* NP *ga*]	$VP_{ERGATIVE}$
III.	[NP *ga*]	$VP_{INTRANSITIVE}$
IV.	[NP *ga* NP *ni* NP *wo*]	$VP_{DITRANSITIVE}$

ga plus the NP-*wo* limits the possible verbs greatly. Formally, the properties for the elided verb now look like this:

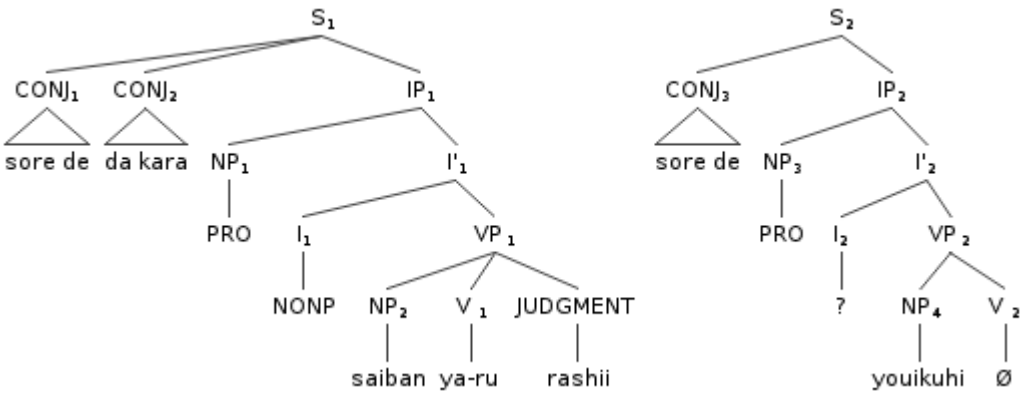
(73) λx.Ø(x{sentient being},y{money})

Below then follow a tentative list of verbs possible, given the various options for NP-*ga* 'doer':

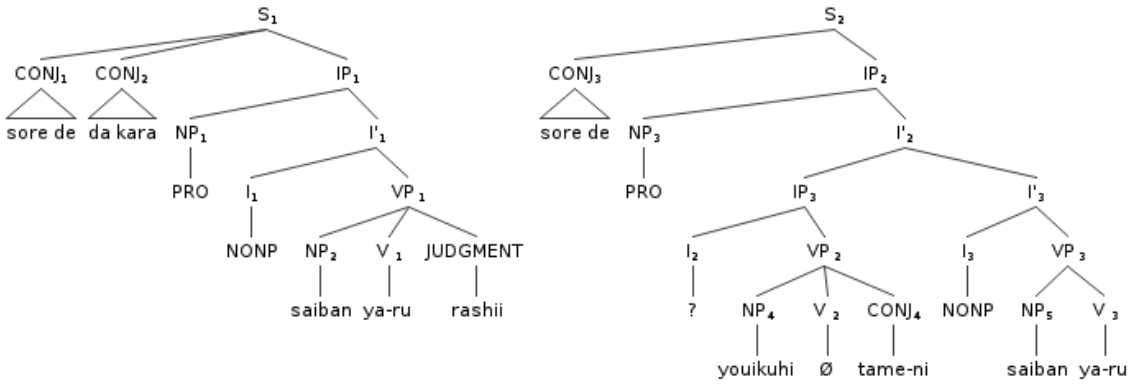
- x = *on'na-no* ko 'girl'. VP can be: *morau* 'receive', *jūyō-suru* 'demand', *hoshigaru* 'desire, covet', etc.
- x = Bill. VP can be *sakeru* 'avoid', *imu* 'refrain from', etc.
- x = institution (however not likely due to context). Primary candidate for VP: *harau* (or *harai-dasu*) 'pay (out)'.

However, there is (at least) one other way of looking at this case, although it does not necessarily make things easier to figure out. Recall (71), given again as (74):

(74)



What if S_2 included a VP at LF that was equal to VP_1 in S_1? This is presented below.



(75)

This requires the insertion of a conjunction *tame-ni* 'for the sake of', but by doing so we see that $I'_1 = I'_3$, which allows us to say that repetition licenses the VPE of the main verb, and that the elided verb at V_2 is secondary information not really needed, as by simple substitution of the accusative marker *wo* to the particle *no* we arrive at a fully understandable sentence without the need to know who the 'doer' is, nor what the verb assumed to be at V_2 is. The correctness of this line of thought, however, is difficult to judge.

To summarize then, the above pages have outlined a theory for explaining licensing and recovery of VPE, beginning with the assumption that the elided clause is fully formed syntactically. VPE is assumed to be deletion due to repetition of content, but when there is no syntactically equal antecedent (= referent), we must look at semantic and pragmatic values of the remaining elements of the sentence, using (for consistency) formal semantic representation expanded with condition markers as given by frame theory. For simplicity's sake, we might term the different instances of ellipsis something like Stainton's ellipsis$_{\text{SYNTACTIC}}$, ellipsis$_{\text{SEMANTIC}}$ and ellipsis$_{\text{PRAGMATIC}}$ (although I think I prefer the term 'contextual' for the last type of ellipsis), depending on what "level" of understanding we need to refer to in order to find the copy of the elided content.

Moving back a bit, this shows that Takahashi's comment that "[a]n elliptic constituent must be a complement to an appropriate head" (Takahashi: 277) is on the right track, although too narrow. When adjusted for the evidence given above, a more including comment like the one I give here might be better, but still not perfect.

(76) An elliptic constituent must be a complement to, or a repetition of, an appropriate head. The following condition apply:

In case of repetition, the term ‘appropriate head’ is here taken to mean ‘identical’, by syntactic, semantic or pragmatic values

2.4 Chapter summary

Let me again end this chapter with some comments as to what have been said and the implications thereof. Beginning with a somewhat formal review of the earlier literature on VPE, I have shown that most of it is unusable when dealing with the Japanese language. The remaining pieces have some good in them, but are either too narrow in their approach, or are distorted by other means. This I prove by using pieces of regular Japanese discourse, taken from either textbooks of the Japanese language, academic texts on aspects of it, or regular pieces of literature.

Albeit, to claim that most of the great scholars before me are wrong might seem a bit harsh, I hope that the examples given will inspire the reader to plow on. In the following chapter I provide more examples supporting my claim, as I present the data used for the actual analysis.

Before that however, let me briefly discuss the implications of this chapter. So far, I have been overly critical of the earlier literature. This does not automatically mean that I disagree with all of their work. I have been influenced greatly by the work commented upon here, particularly the work by Merchant (2001, 2007) which is outstanding in a number of ways. My comments simply point out (albeit possibly in a harsh tone) that one should not be too quick to say that “this is the way it is in English, and since all languages ultimately are the same (according to UG[35] (or cognitive grammar)), it must also be so for every other language”. A theory laid out through an analysis submitted for English, or for French, or for Chinese, might not be directly transferable to any other language, although a lot of people seem to want it to be so.

[35] Universal Grammar, a theory in linguistics that suggests that there are properties (usually thought of as rules of grammar) ‘hard-wired’ into the brain, and thus manifest without being taught.

3 Atrium

The following chapter aims to present some empirical data upon which to assess the validity of the theory laid out in the previous Chapters. For this paper, I have selected a written corpus, albeit the corpus could easily also have been oral. What matters most is not the content of the corpus (i.e. the meanings of the sentences, or which cultural or social topics that are discussed), but that the corpus must be representative for the type of language we wish to discuss – a value-statement I judge in the coming pages. The first Sub-chapter explains some details concerning the corpus selected, such as plot, writing style and general content. Following this is an extract of discourse (plus a rough translation) which will be investigated, as I draw out examples of VPE and analyse them.

3.1 The data

As explained briefly in the introduction, the primary concern of this paper is to evolve from purely hypothetical discussions into dealing with empirical evidence. I selected for my analysis the book "*sono toki made sayonara*" which was, at the time, number four on the "Top Sellers" list at one of Tokyo's major book chains, *Kinokunya*. The book belongs to the fiction genre, is written primarily for a young audience and is judged to be a fairly representative example of contemporary Japanese writing based on its popularity and comparison to other authors. The book's author, Yusuke Yamada, debuted in 2001 with the book "*Real Onigokko*" (adapted as a movie in 2008), and have since produced a number of fictional tales, where in many occasions the main character(s) find themselves involuntarily involved in a situation where the limits of what a human will or will not do is explored to the extreme.

The book chosen for this paper, "*sono toki made sayonara*" ('good-bye until then'), is the authors first attempt to break free from this genre and into something he refers to as *kandō-saku* (lit. '(emotionally) moving works'), however he does keep some of the supernatural

elements[36]. The following sections will explain in greater detail some of the key elements of the book.

3.1.1 Main characters

- Mori Satoshi 森悟
  Main character. Works for a Tokyo publishing company.
- Gotōda Natsuo 後藤田夏夫
  Extremely popular writer. Satoshi is his contact person.
- Kawada Noriko 川田紀子
  Satoshi's assistant. The two of them are having an extra-marital affair.
- Aki 亜紀
  Satoshi's wife. Dies in a train accident early in the book.
- Yūta 裕太
  Satoshi's and Aki's son. At the time of the book, he is 4 years old.
- Miyamae Haruko 宮前春子 / Kanzaki Kazue 神崎一恵
  Mysterious woman claiming to an old friend of Aki. Later revealed to be a sort of paranormal medium, who can contact the spirit world and connect with people who are already dead.
- Nakamori Yukio 中森幸夫
  Satoshi's father-in-law.
- Nakamori Tae 中森多恵
  Satoshi's mother-in-law. Dislikes Satoshi with a passion.
- Taniguchi 谷口
  Police detective involved in the death of Satoshi's wife.

3.1.2 Plot

The book opens with a small group of people sitting at a high-end hostess bar[37]. Besides the hostesses, the people there are writer sensation Natsuo Gotōda; Satoshi Mori from the

[36] It recently became known to me that the Japanese company WOWOW produced a TV special of the book, which aired Feb. 14th 2010, however I have not been able to procure a copy of this work. (source: http://www.wowow.co.jp/pg/release/000886/index.php , retrieved 08/02/11)

[37] A hostess bar, or kyabakura キャバクラ (collapsed form of 'cabaret club') is a common feature of Asian night-time entertainment industry where the employed women, commonly known as kyabajou キャバ嬢, serve drinks,

editorial department of a publishing company; and Satoshi's assistant Noriko Kawada whom he is having a secret affair with. Natsuo, who are in the midst of writing a new novel, is enjoying himself being pampered on the company's bill. Upon inquiry, Natsuo tells them that although he usually writes love stories, the topic of his current book was inspired by the earthquake who had struck Fukushima just a few days earlier. We later learn that this earthquake took the life of Satoshi's wife Aki, who had been traveling by train to *Jōmyō-ji* temple, renowned for its ability to rejuvenate people's marriages. She was traveling with their child Yūta at that time; however the child survived the accident.

Satoshi, whose life is solemnly focused around his work, decides to let his parents-in-law take responsibility for raising his son. However, from a single visit from a certain female, the situation develops in an unexpected fashion. Haruko Miyamae, who claims to be an old friend of Aki, comes to Satoshi's apartment late one evening, saying that she has been entrusted with the task to make Satoshi capable of being both a good man and a good father. Thus he needs to be able to cook, clean and all sorts of homely things; things which he previously have had absolutely no interest in. Combined with Satoshi being fired from the publishing company due to losing the only copy of Natsuo's new script, this then give room for a number of heated arguments between Haruko and Satoshi over his ability to take care of his son. Eventually though, Satoshi warms up to Haruko.

However, in the end we learn that Haruko, whose actual name is not Haruko but Kazue Kanzaki, is a psychic medium possessed by the late Aki (Satoshi's wife). Before the earthquake, the two of them were in the same train heading for *Jōmyō-ji* temple. The two of them met accidentally when Aki dropped her wedding ring inside the train, and then got to know each other. When the earthquake then occurred, all of Aki's attention was on protecting her son, thus not being able to save her own. From this point on, she explains that it all seemed like a very vivid dream. Kazue entered and says that "if you (Aki) has unfinished business in this world, you can use my body as your own". When Aki then opens her eyes, she has full control over Kazue's body.

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light cigarettes, and serve as partners for light conversation for the customers. Hostesses have been categorized as the *'geishas* of modern Japan', and indeed one can find a lot of similarities, for instance as to some being extremely talented in music, song, etc and are employed at high-end clubs, while others are simply a pretty face who flirts extensively or agrees to sexual relations with a customer.

For the "unfinished affairs", Aki heads towards home in Kazue's body, in which she stays for more or less the duration of the plot. When Satoshi finally realizes that the strange woman is indeed Aki, and the three of them are supposed to live together happily ever after, Aki says that she has to return the body to Kazue. Satoshi then hands over a marriage registration to Aki/Kazue, with his name "Mori Satoshi" already written in. It's not like they were ever divorced, but Satoshi brought it to convey his true feelings.

Just before leaving this world, Aki says profoundly "We might meet again", and "Goodbye until then" 『その時までサヨナラ』 (the title of the book). At that moment, both Satoshi and Yūta lose consciousness. When they wake up, it is in their own apartment, six hours later. On the table is Aki's wedding ring. In other words, during the six hours in which Satoshi and Yūta were unconscious, she had visited one more time.

Underneath the ring is the marriage registration sheet, with Aki's name written next to Satoshi's. Thus the story ends.

3.1.3 Style & content

The purpose of this sub-section is to give a brief review of the writing style employed by Yamada Yusuke in *sono toki*, as well as a discussion about the content. Throughout the book, there is a division between narrative and dialogue in roughly a 66%-33% relationship. A close examination of the first 5 chapters (55p) reveals the following structure:

(77)

Total amount of text:	915 lines (100%)
Narrative:	609 lines (66,55%)
Dialogue:	299 lines (32,68%)
"Other" (internal monologue, quotes from memory, referred speech etc.):	7 lines (0,77%)

This is very close to other fiction books by other modern writers[38] which if nothing else should further the fact that the book is representative for modern Japanese fiction. The writing style (tense etc.) is also fairly similar to other contemporary pieces of Japanese fiction, and almost all of the narrative is written in past tense, a common feature for prose. The extract below exemplifies.

(78) *Satoshi-ha yonaka-no Shinjuku-wo arui-te-iru. Ik-i-tsuke-no bā-wo de-ta ato dat-ta. Iya-na koto-wo wasure-yō-to tsuyo-i sake-wo nan-hai-mo aot-ta-ga, yo-u koto sura deki-na-kat-ta.*
'Satoshi walked the streets of Shinjuku in the middle of the night after leaving his regular bar. In order to forget the unpleasant things (he had experienced today), he had gulped down several strong drinks, but it looked like he couldn't even get properly drunk'

Sono toki also use parts of the plot to make statements about the culture in which it is sold. As should be understood from the plot description given above, the main character Satoshi and his wife have far from a good relationship. Although the divorce rate in Japan is fairly low, lower than many Western countries – 2.11 pr 1,000 population (2004) as compared to 2.41 in Norway and 3.6 in USA39 – this does not translate into happy marriages. With the enormous pressure of work applied to the Japanese *salaryman* and a low percentage of female participating in the labor stock, many couples do not see each other more than maybe a few hours in the late evenings or during Sundays. According to Yoko Itamoto, a Tokyo marriage counselor, 70% of divorces in Japan are initiated by women, also saying that "lack of communication with their husband" is a primary reason for divorce[40]. Many couples, including Satoshi and Aki also have their separate bedrooms. The following extract is from the end of the book, where Aki (in Kazue's body) is speaking to Satoshi.

[38] 67,3% narrative in a random 50-page selection (p.105-155) of Haruki Murakami's *Nejimaki-dori Kuronikuru* 'The Wind-Up Bird Chronicle' (1997), 69,1% narrative in a similar random selection (p. 60-110) from Yoshimoto Banana's *Kicchin* 'Kitchen' (1988).

[39] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Divorce_demography (retrieved 2011/04/21)

[40] http://articles.sfgate.com/2008-01-20/news/17151392_1_divorce-rate-marriage-wife (retrieved 2011/04/21)

(79) *Bekkyo-shite-i-ru aida, watashi-ha shinken-ni nayan-da. Ichiji-ha rikon-wo kangae-ru kurai jishin-wo ushina-ku-shi-te-i-ta kedo, yappari Yūta-no tame-ni, mō ichido anata-to yat-te-ik-ō-to kime-ta no.*
'While we lived in our separate rooms, I seriously struggled. At one point I lost all confidence and even thought about getting a divorce, but after all I decided to give it one more try with you, for Yūta's sake'

In addition, the low birth rate (1.37 as of 2009, compared to 1.85 in Norway and 2.06 in USA[41]) adds to the image of Japan as a "love-lacking" society. In the beginning of *sono toki*, Satoshi is a prototypical Japanese workoholic, who delegates all house-keeping and domestic chores to his wife, while he works long hours, go out drinking after work and carry out an affair with a younger woman working at his office. However, under the stern guidance by the stranger Kazue who insists that it is better for a child to live with a parent instead of the grandparents, he is 'remolded' into a loving father and husband.

Another interesting topic which this book touches upon is a special property of the Japanese society. After his assistant gets robbed of the manuscript of Gotoda's new novel, Satoshi is confronted with the archetypical Japanese concept of *sekinin* 'responsibility', and is consequently demoted to a desk job far from his former responsibilities. Below follows an extract from this section of the book.

(80) *" Gotōda-san-ha, tantō-wo kae-nakereba uchi-de-ha kak-ana-i-to it-te-kita. Tōmen-ha watashi-ga tantō-suru koto-ni shi-ta."*
Satoshi-ha Inoue-no kotoba-ga kik-oe-nakat-ta.
"Shikashi furasshu memorī-wo naku-shita-no-ha watashi-de-ha naku..."
Inoue-ha saegit-ta.
"Gotōda-san kara shi-te-mire-ba, kimi-no buka-ga naku-shi-ta-to shi-te-mo, kimi-no sekinin-to torae-ru-yo."
Inoue: "Mr. Gotoda has said that unless we change his contact person, he will not write for this company any more. For the moment we have decided that I'll be in charge of him."
'Satoshi could not hear Inoue's words.'

[41] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_sovereign_states_and_dependent_territories_by_fertility_rate (retrieved 2011/04/21)

Mori: ”But, the person who lost the flash drive wasn’t me…”
’Inoue interrupted him.’
Inoue: ”If you look at it from Mr. Gotoda’s side, then although it was your subordinate who lost the drive, it’s still your responsibility.”

This is fairly typical of the Japanese workplace, and I suspect that the notion of *sekinin* ties directly into why it is so difficult at times to get straight and exhaustive answers from some Japanese people, as they have had to perfect the art of being *aimai* ’vague; ambiguous’. They know that if what they have said or done only is slightly off, they have to face the consequenses in a matter completely different from what is common in Western society.

3.2 Identifying ellipsis in discourse

This section will take a look at an actual piece of discourse and investigate how ellipsis is recognized in it. The following is an extract from the first couple of pages from *sono toki*. A rough translation follows after the extract.

Extract:

Ginza-sekai-ni-ha bā-ya kurabu-ga hoshi-no kazu-hodo-mo a-ru-ga, kare-ra-ha kōkyū ryōri-ya-de shokuji-wo sumase-ta ato, hi’iki-ni shi-te kurabu-ni ashi-wo hakon-de-ik-u. Naka-de-mo yūmei-na-no-ga, Ginza nana-chō-me-no ikkaku-ni aru “Kurabu Manami” da. Koko-ha Ginza-de ichi, ni-wo tataka-u kōkyū kurabu-de, chāji, tsumari seki-ni tsui-ta dake-de nana man-ha suru-to i-u. Ippanjin-ni-ha totemo haire-na-i mise de-aru.

“Manami”-ha zenkoku-de-mo yūmei-na sushi-ya-no tonari-no chika ikkai-ni aru. Renga-de tsuku-rare-ta rasenjō-no kaidan-wo ori-te-ik-u-to, kokoro ochi-tsuk-u piano-no nama-ensō-ga kikoe-te-ku-ru. Tennai-ha yonjū tsubo to sore-hodo hiroku-na-i-ga, hosutesu-ha jō-ni nijū-sanjū-mei-ha iru. Nijū-dai kō-han kara sanjū-dai zen-han-ga o’oku, tsubuzoroi-da. Sasuga kōkyū kurabu to at-te. Min’na utsukushi-sa-ni migak-i-wo kake, yubisaki-ni made ki-wo tsukat-te-i-ru. Mochiron sekkyaku mo ichiryū de-aru. Kotoba-dukai-ya o-sake-no tsukur-i-kata-ha mochiron, saibun-ni made me-wo kubar-ase-te-i-ru. Otoko-no atsuka-i-mo jitsu-ni uma-i. Otoko-ga yorokob-u kotoba-ya shigusa-wo shir-i-tsukushi-te-i-ru. Kibishi-i kyōiku-wo uke-te-i-ru-no-ga yoku wakar-u.

Seken-de-ha fukeiki-to i-ware-te-i-ru-ga, sonna mono-ha uso-da-to-demo i-u you-ni “Kurabu Manami”-ha konya-mo manzeki-de nigiwat-te-i-ta. Kyaku-ha genojin, supōtsu-

senshu, seijika, zaikaijin-to, doko-wo mi-te-mo ōmono bakari. Sono naka-ni, ure-ni ure-te-iru ren'ai shōsetsuka – Gotōda Natsuo-no sugata-mo at-ta. Kotoshi sanjūni-sai-ni nar-u kare-ha, kyonen-no haru-ni bungeikai-de motto-mo ken'i-no aru shō-wo jushō-shi ninki-ni hi-ga tsui-ta. Shō-wo tot-te ichi-nen-han-no aida-ni san-bon-no shōsetsu-wo hap'pyō-shi-ta-ga, izure-mo nijū kara nijūgo man bu-wo ur-i-ag-e, kikan-no bunko-mo subete-ga gojū man bu-wo koe-ru-to-i-u kyōi-teki-na sūji-wo tatak-i-dashi-te-i-ru. Genzai, bungeikai-de motto-mo ikioi-ga aru-no-ha Gotōda Natsuo-darō.

Mori Satoshi-ha, Gotōda Natsuo-ni tsui-te-i-ru hosutesu-no tonari-ni suwat-te-i-ru. Gotōda-to hosutesu-ga tanoshi-sō-ni shabet-te-i-ru-no-wo yokome-ni tabako-wo sut-te-i-ta. Mori Satoshi-ha kōbunsha dai'ichi-henshūbu-ni tsutome-ru Gotōda Natsuo-no tantō-henshūsha de-aru. Hyaku-hachi senchi-no uwazei-ni ōrubakku-no otoko-ga, kurabu-de gurasu-wo katate-ni tabako-wo sut-te-i-ru-to yō-ni na-ru. Kare-ga sak'ka-to it-te-mo dare-mo utaga-i-ha shi-na-i darō. Satoshi-ha Gotōda-no mae-de-mo enryo-ha shi-na-kat-ta. Kigen-wo to-ru koto-mo ki-wo tsuka-u koto-mo na-i. Gotōda-to-ha sore kurai naga-i tsuk-i-a-i-na-no da.

Translation:

Although there are as many bars and clubs in the Ginza area as there are stars in the heavens; after eating at a high-class restaurant, these guys went to their regular club – the famous "Club Manami", always battling for the title as Ginza's number one – located at a certain corner in Ginza's district seven. The charge, in other words what you have to pay just to get to your seat, is 70.000 yen. It is a place where no commoners can enter.

"Manami" is located one floor below the ground, just next to a famous sushi shop. Walking down the helical brick steps, one can hear the calming sounds of live piano music. Although the shop is far from large, only about forty *tsubo*[42], there are about twenty-thirty hostesses, most of them in their late twenties, early thirties, in uniform excellence. As should be expected from a high-class club. All of them finely polished, carefully applying time even to their fingernails. Of course, their way of treating customers is also first-class. Keeping a watchful eye on even the smallest things, their words and way of mixing drinks is exquisite. The men respond with joyful words and relaxed behaviour. One can tell that these women have been thoroughly educated.

[42] 1 *tsubo* ≈ 3,3 m^2

Although the world is supposed to be in a business recession, one would never have guessed by the way "Manami" was crowded with people. Tonight, like every other night, is a success. All the seats are occupied by big names; entertainers, athletes, politicians, financiers and so on. In the midst, one can also see the stature of hugely popular love story novelist Natsuo Gotoda. Recently having turned 32, he won the most valued award of the literary world last year. About a year and a half later, he has published three novels, all selling at least seventy-five thousand copies, bringing the total number above the wonderful sum of five hundred thousand sold books. There should be no doubt that these days, no man has more momentum within the literary world than Natsuo Gotoda.

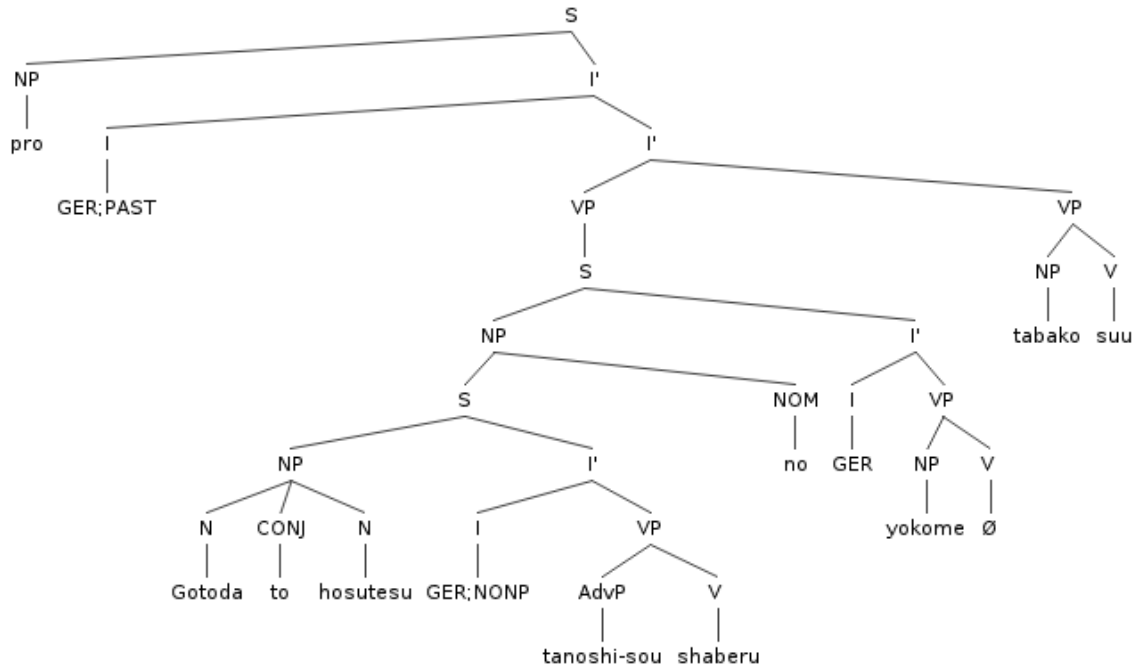
Next to the hostess assigned to his table sits Satoshi Mori, the representative from Gotoda's publisher. His stature is quite impressive, around one-hundred-and-eighty centimetres, and sporting a *ōrubakku*[43]. Looking at the two from the corner of his eye, Satoshi holds a glass in one hand and a cigarette in the other. No-one would probably doubt he could be a writer as well. Although in front of Gotoda, Satoshi neither made an attempt to constrain himself, nor to humour, or even pay attention to, his client. That's how long the two had known each other.

Let us now look in more detail at this piece of text to see if there are instances of VPE in it. After a quick scan searching for sentences that on the surface lacks verbs, I propose to look closer at the following sentences:

(81) *Kotoba-dukai-ya o-sake-no tsukur-i-kata-ha mochiron, saibun-ni made me-wo kubar-ase-te-i-ru.*
(82) *Kyaku-ha genojin, supōtsu-senshu, seijika, zaikaijin-to, doko-wo mi-te-mo ōmono bakari.*
(83) *Gotōda-to hosutesu-ga tanoshi-sō-ni shabet-te-i-ru-no-wo yokome-ni tabako-wo sut-te-i-ta.*

[43] A *ōrubakku* is a hairstyle particularly favoured by a certain type of flamboyant, 'tough-guy' Japanese males (and apparently also females, although this is rare). It refers to semi-long hair being combed or brushed straight back from the front, then held in place by large amounts of hairspray, wax etc. It may in certain cases resemble a "MacGyver-style" mullet. An example of prominent people with a *ōrubakku* is the former Japanese Prime Minister (1996-1998) Ryutaro Hashimoto.

The last example is the most interesting one here, and is represented syntactically below, although (81) and (82) also might be said to contain instances of ellipsis[44].



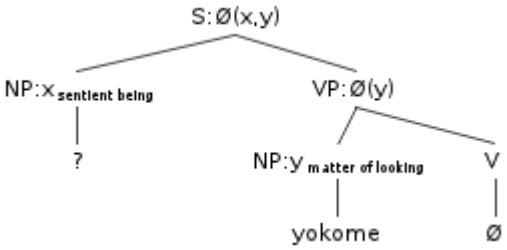
(84)

As we can see, the surface structure lacks a verb following *yokome*, lit. 'side' and 'eyes', meaning 'sidelong glance'. However, it is not syntactically clear which verb has been elided, since semantic boundaries forbids insertion of the closest verbs which would give **yokome-ni shaberu* 'speak in sidelong glance' or **yokome-ni suu* 'smoke in sidelong glance'. However, by taking into account the semantic frames (summary of line of thought given below, also see chapter 4 for a more thorough analysis) of the words present, we arrive at the conclusion that the verb must have something to do with seeing, for instance *miru* 'to see; look' or *nozugu/ukagau*, both meaning 'to peek; to sneak a look at'.

[44] I posit that both sentences are lacking a copula – after the adverb *mochiron* 'sure; certainly' and the common word/postposition *bakari* 'only; nothing but'. Note that it is possible to assign a different reading to (81), saying that the comma after *mochiron* is only there for stylistic purposes and that the phrase should read "even the smallest aspect of (their) use of words and way of mixing drinks had obviously been carefully refined".

(85) Frame properties of *yokome*
Requires a sentient being with eyes as 'doer'
Requires a verb that can cooccur with 'eyes' and 'sidelong glance'

(86)



3.3 Chapter summary

This chapter has been a brief view into the empirical data which forms the basis for this paper. Beginning with a brief summary of how the book was selected, its characters and plot, I gave a discussion on the topic of writing style. It has been shown that the book is similar in language style and degree of 'dialogue versus narration' to other popular contemporary pieces of Japanese fiction. Furthermore, it has been shown that the book touches upon a number of interesting social phenomena which have been debated, but far from exhaustively studied[45].

The following chapter will dig deeper into the data and perform thorough analysis of key examples, showing how the theory presented in earlier chapters accounts for structural ambiguity and cases not covered by the previous literature.

[45] For marriage in Japan; see for instance Joy Hendry, *Marriage in Changing Japan: Community & Society*, Routledge Series, 2010. Also http://factsanddetails.com/japan.php?itemid=619&catid=18 or Wendy Tokunawa, *Marriage in Translation: Foreign Wife, Japanese Husband*, 2011.
For a introduction to family life in Japan, see for instance Hashimoto & Traphagan, *Imagined Families, Lived Families: Culture and Kinship in Contemporary Japan*, New York Press, 2008.

4 Thesaurus

With a fully formed theory and a presentation of the data behind us, it is finally time to begin the actual analysis. As the earlier examples have shown, the theory still holds true, but how will it cope with actual pieces of discourse?

As the corpus used for this paper provided a huge number of cases for analysis, I do not have the space required to show all of it here. Instead I have selected a representative number of cases which I submit as evidence for my theory. These are given by order of appearance throughout the text.

Allow me a small digression before we move towards the main part. Throughout my work on this paper, I have come to notice a somewhat peculiar phenomenon. Due to the structure of Japanese words, most of verbs are easily "reduced" to nouns by simply removing everything but their verb stem; i.e. a verb *ageru* 'to raise; to elevate; to increase' is changed into a noun *age*. However, in these cases they usually combine with their object and drop the object particle, creating a complex noun such as *neage* 'price hike; mark-up' which in turn can be turned into a verb again, not by adding the earlier removed verb ending(s), but by *suru* 'to do' or copula *da*. In *sono toki*, I have recorded in total 19 occurrences of this – that a NP plus a verb is "reduced" to a complex NP – not a great number by any means, but worth mentioning. Here is an example (boldface marks the word in question):

(87) *Yohodo kyoumi-no sosorareru mono-ga me-ni tobi-kondekita no darou. Sore-ha ittai nani-ka. En'nai-wo aruki-mawaru kyarakutaa kamoshirenai. Dochira-ni se yo, jibun-tachi futari-de-ha* ***o-teage*** *datta.*
'It seemed, after all, that something had sparked (his) interest and drawn (him) away, but what on earth could it be? One of the theme characters wandering around in the park perhaps? Either way, with just the two of them it was hopeless.'

I have opted to not count these towards the end number of "occurrences of VPE" unless the sentence ends on just such a noun; omitting COP, suru or another verb, something which happens only three times.

4.1 What did the analysis show

A thorough reading of *sono toki* gives a full number of VPE occurrences at fifty-nine (yes, 'only' 59). Though this number is lower than originally expected – not accounting for the possibility of me overlooking something – it gives a good amount of examples to test the theory against.

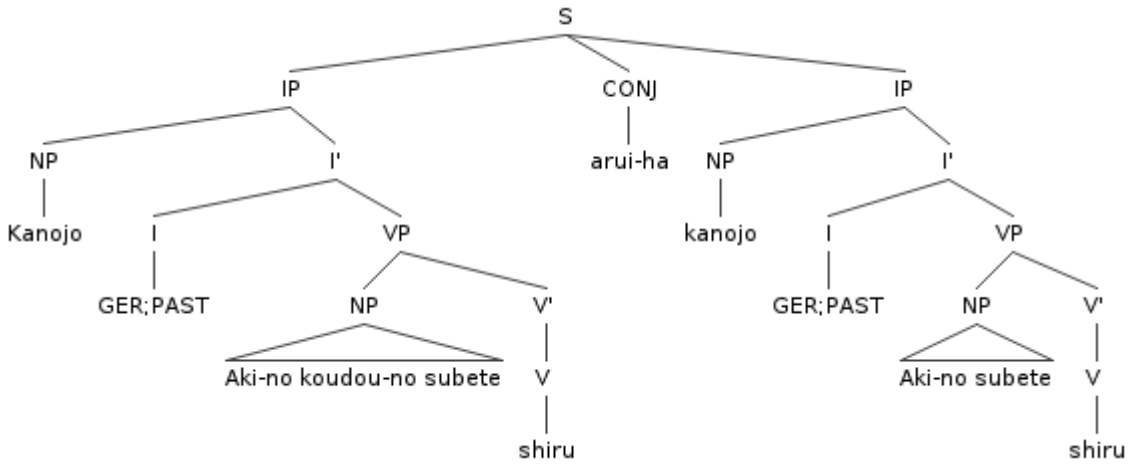
4.1.1 Case #1

The first example I submit for testing the theory is a relatively straight-forward case.

(88) *Kanojo-ha Aki-no kōdō-no subete, arui-ha Aki-no subete-wo shi-tte-i-ta no ka*
She-TOP name-GEN conduct-GEN entirely, or-TOP name-GEN entirely-ACC know-GER-be-PAST EMP QP
'Did she know everything about Aki's doings, or even concerning Aki herself?'

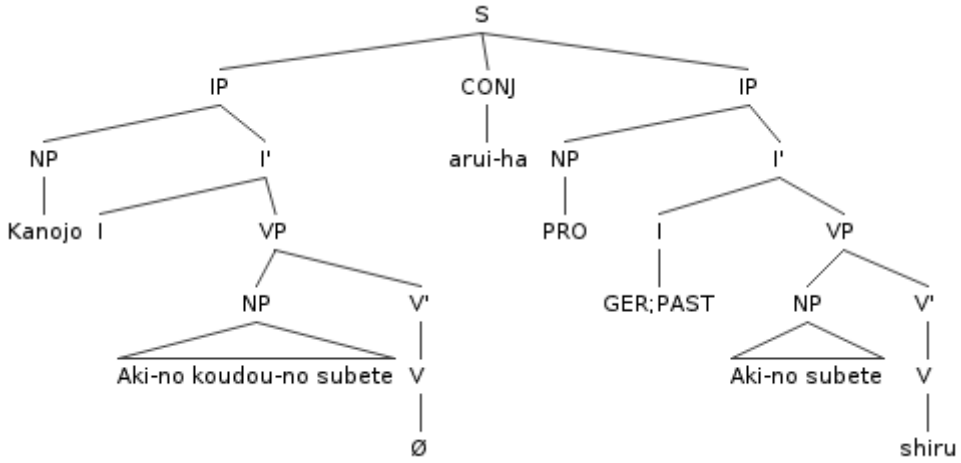
I take this to be a typical *gapping* sentence, with the following deep structure (final particles omitted).

(89)



VPE is licenced by the repetition of the verb *shiru* 'to know', thus yielding the following phonological form (PF) after also performing NPE of the subject in IP_2.

(90)



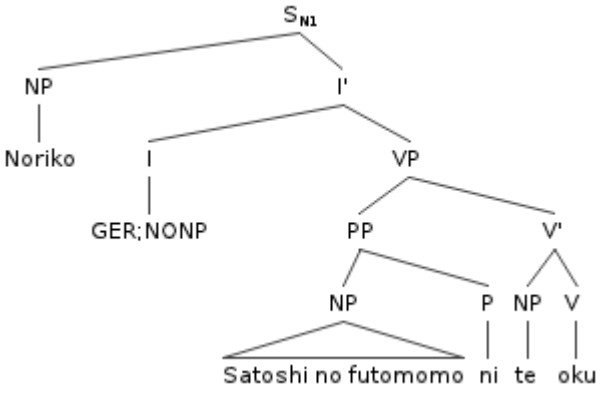
As we can see, this is successfully able to explain how gapping occurs in Japanese at a purely syntactic level. As in total, 16 of the total 59 cases of VPE in *sono toki* are analyzed as instances of what commonly goes by either *gapping* or *sluicing*, which can be resolved without the involvement of semantic or discourse analysis. I thus label these examples *ellipsis*$_{SYNTACTIC.}$ As this type of VPE is extremely straight-forward, I will not provide any more examples of this kind, and rather move on to the more interesting cases.

4.1.2 Case #2

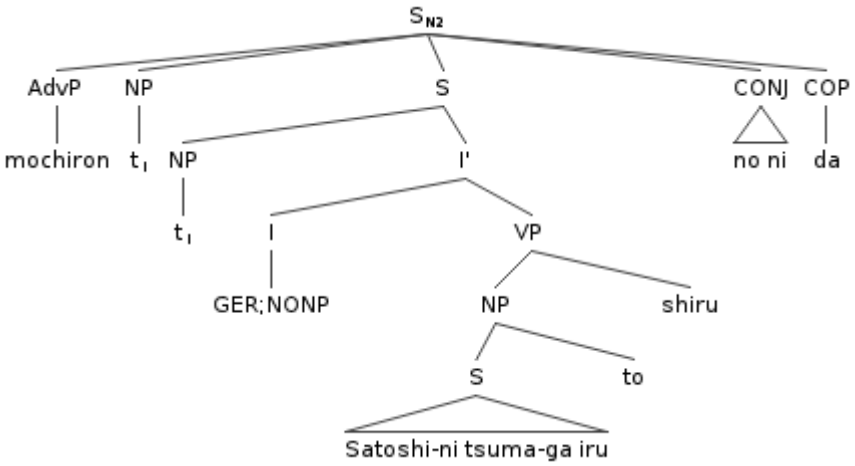
(91) *"Mori-san-no koto, zutto suteki-da to omot-te-mashi-ta."*
Noriko-ha Satoshi-no futomomo-ni te-wo oi-te-it-ta. Mochiron Satoshi-ni tsuma-ga ir-u to shit-te-i-ru no-ni, da.
A1: name-honorific-GEN thing, 'all along' lovely-COP 'connecting particle' think-GER-PAST (polite)
Narrative: name-TOP name-GEN thigh-DAT hand-ACC place-GER-be-PAST. Certainly name-DAT wife-NOM exist-NONP 'connecting particle' know-GER-be-NONP 'in spite of', COP
A1: 'I've always thought you (Mori) were lovely'
Narrative: 'Noriko placed her hand on Satoshi's thigh, despite knowing very well that he had a wife'

What I propose here is a closer look at the copula da in the second part of the narrative extract. It seems clear to me that this cannot simply be a copula, nor should it be misplaced in any way. Below are the PF structures of sentence one and two of the narrative.

(92)



(93)



I take the semantic values of COP here to be the entire 'action' in the previous sentence, i.e. *Satoshi-no futomomo-ni te-wo ok-u* 'to lay (a/one's) hand on Satoshi's thigh', thus giving the complete (semantic) translation of sentence 2: 'Noriko placed her hand on Satoshi's thigh even though she certainly knew that Satoshi had a wife'. This gives the formal semantic values of COP *da* as:

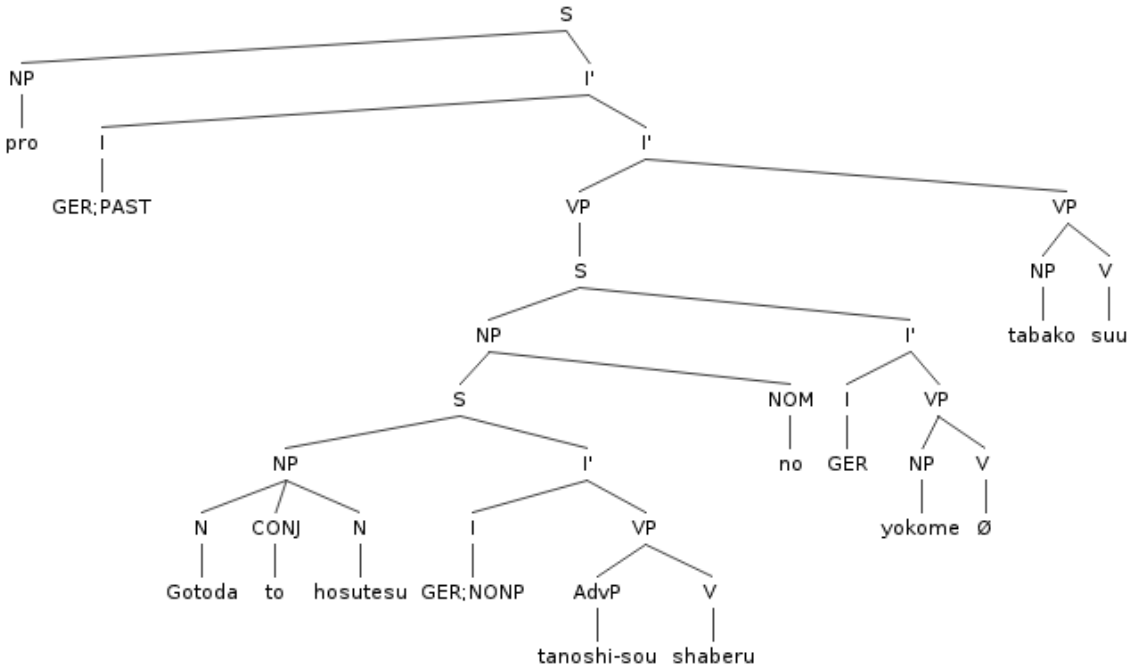
(94) $\lambda x.COP(x) = \lambda x.place(Noriko,hand)$

As hypotesized in the earlier chapters, accepting that substitution of a verb or a VP with either *suru* ‘to do’ or COP *da* is a two-step process involving deletion due to repetition allows us to grasp the meaning of these types of sentences. We call occurrences like this *ellipsis*$_{SEMANTIC}$, due to the fact that it can only be properly resolved by including the semantic values of the words present in the immediate discourse context.

4.1.3 Case #3

(95) *Gotōda-to hosutesu-ga tanoshi-sou-ni shabe-tte-iru-no-wo yokome-ni tabako-wo su-tte-ita*
name-INC hostess-NOM fun-seemingly-DAT converse-GER-NONP-NOMINAL-ACC sideways glance-DAT tobacco-ACC smoke-GER-PAST
'In the corner of (his) eye, (he) watched the hostess and Gotōda converse pleasantly whilst smoking a cigarette'

Note here that immediately, we see the lack of a explicit 'doer', something which is very frequently seen in Japanese. In this case, the subject is implicitly transferred from the previous sentence, which reads *Mori Satoshi-ha, Gotōda Natsuo-ni tsui-te-i-ru hosutesu-no tonari-ni suwat-te-i-ru* "Next to the hostess dispatched to entertain Gotōda Natsuo sat Mori Satoshi." with Satoshi being marked as topic. In this case, since there is no 'other' explicitly marked subject, topic and subject roles coincide. However, more to the point, in the above example we have a fairly clear case of VPE. Below is a structural representation of the sentence at PF.



(96)

What I propose (as seen in the syntactic tree) is that the seemingly simple sentence contains three "levels" or subsentences. The first contains the information which belongs with the main lexical verb, namely 'to smoke'. The third contains the information that the two people (Gotōda and the hostess) were having fun, talking together. The remaining level, however, is incomplete in that there is no explicit lexical verb to which the 'sidelong glance' attaches. Let us then attempt an analysis.

As we laid out in earlier chapters, gapping, sluicing etc. cannot happen without a salient antecedent in the immediate discourse. On a syntactical basis then, we should look for something which can attach to the word 'sidelong glance'. However, due to some peculiarities in the Japanese language, we must be careful. *Yokome-ni miru*, literally 'sidelong glance-DAT look', does not mean to literally look at something through the corner of one's eyes. Instead, it has taken on a more figurative, idiomatic role of 'pass through', 'set something aside' or 'supervise something'[46].

This is then a premium example of why dealing with ellipsis "in the real world", outside of theory can be extremely difficult. Language as a social phenomenon is never stagnant, but always changing. On one hand, we have recent usages of *yokome* as 'put aside' in

[46] http://kotobank.jp/word/横目

(97) below[47], and at the same time we have example sentences like (98), where *yokome* can be taken to mean 'pass through'[48].

(97) *Raibaru-tachi-ga renshū-de ase-wo nagas-u-no-wo yokome-ni, rāmen, katsudon --- to ibukuro-he nagash-i-ko-mu wake-to-ha?*
'What is the reason behind these rivals putting aside practice to pour ramen, katsudon and so on into their stomachs?'

(98) *Shōgakkou-wo yokome-ni mi-te, kita-he susu-mu-to ma-mo-naku-ni eki-ni tsuk-u*
'If you pass through the elementary school and continue north, you'll be at the station in no time'

Clearly, the semantic field of this expression is considerably larger than simply the sum of its words. And, as the immediate discourse has no suitable syntactic match (the near-by verbs being *suwaru* 'to sit', COP *desu*, *utagau* 'to doubt, distrust', and *suru* 'to do'), we are not dealing with a simple case of deletion due to repetition of a syntactically identical element. Thus, the necessity of a theory that incorporates semantical and pragmatical values is confirmed by actual data. What I propose as an answer here is a pragmatic 'reduction' of words actually uttered, whilst, at the same time, the full meaning of the compound is being retained. In some ways then, this corresponds to deletion of copula or *suru* as I have discussed in earlier segments. This is then also an example of $ellipsis_{SEMANTIC}$.

4.1.4 Case #4

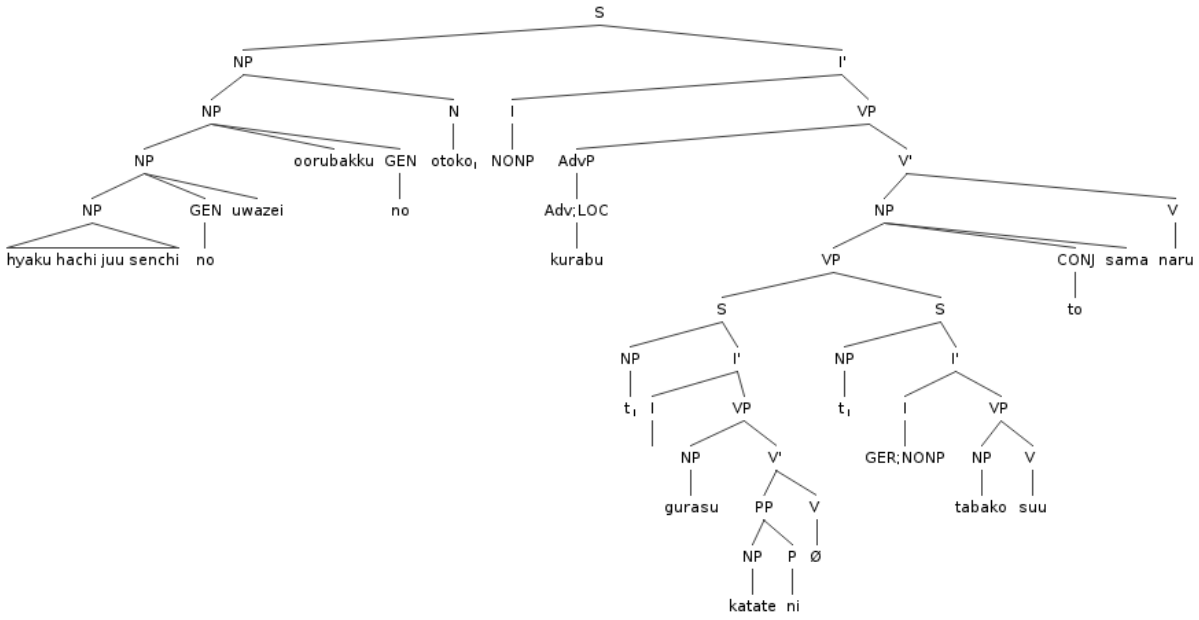
(99) *Hyaku-hachi-jū senchi-no uwazei-ni ōrubakku-no otoko-ga, kurabu-de gurasu-wo kata-te-ni tabako-wo su-tte-iru-to sama-ni naru.*
180 cm-GEN stature-DAT 'allback'-GEN man-NOM, club-LOC glass-ACC one hand-DAT tobacco-ACC smoke-GER-NONP-result appearance-DAT become-NONP

[47] taken from a newspaper article from 2010, http://www.zakzak.co.jp/sports/etc_sports/news/20101009/spo1010091305004-n1.htm

[48] taken from Yahoo Answers http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q1228899407

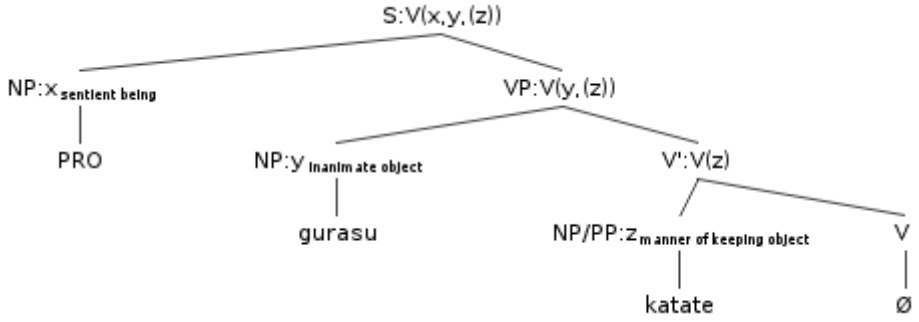
'The 180cm tall man with the 'allback' hairstyle was sitting in the club (holding) a glass in one hand, smoking'

Syntactical breakdown of the sentence at PF level is taken to be as follows.



(100)

In a way, this example is quite similar to the previous one in that the VPE has taken place within an embedded sentence. Similarly, the embedded sentence ends on a NP which here functions as a PP in that it modifies the action (which is unpronounced). Finally, there is (again) no immediate verb present which can take place in the elided verbslot. This is another case of pragmatic deletion. However, here we do not have to worry about the existence of idiomatic phrases. There can be no other reasonable explanation than Ø = [$_{VP}$ *motsu*] 'to hold, carry' due to the limitations of the other two elements in the frame. The figure below explains.



(101)

Note here that the ‘z’ value here does NOT imply that the elided verb should be ditransitive. Rather, it points to the fact that also the NP/PP *katate-ni*, ‘in one hand’, helps restrict the value of the verb. For these reasons, I propose that this and similar instances of VPE should be called *ellipsis*$_{CONTEXTUAL}$, as we have to turn not only to the semantic properties of the words in the discourse context, but also towards a more ’abstract’ understanding of language in use.

4.1.5 Case #5

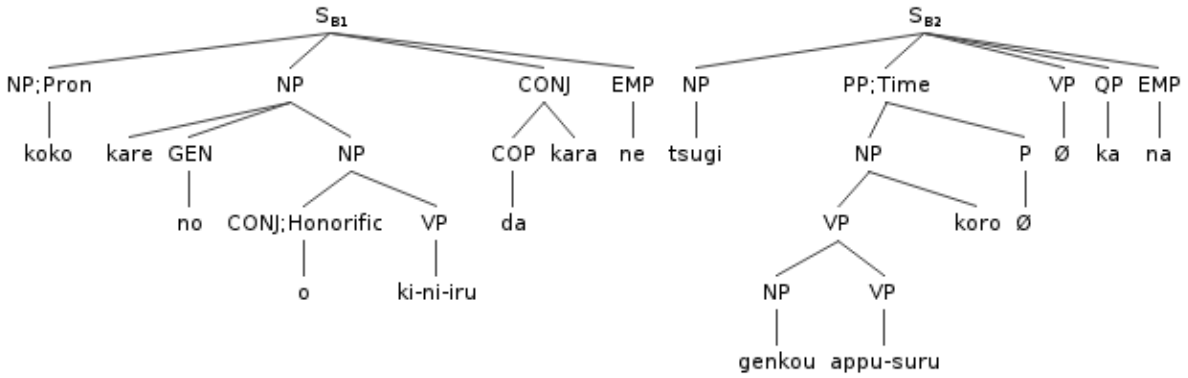
(102)

a. *itsumo itsumo arigatō gozaimas-u. Mata irashi-te kudasa-i ne.*
b. *koko-ha kare-no o-ki-ni-ir-i da-kara ne. Tsugi-ha genkō-ga appu-shi-ta koro ka na*
c. *O-machi-shi-te-i-mas-u*
   A: always always thank you (honorific). Again come (polite)-GER ‘please do’ EMP
   B: here-TOP him-GEN honorific-favorite therefore EMP. next-TOP manuscript-NOM ‘being finished’-do-PAST time QP EMP (male)
   C: honorific-wait-do-GER-be-NONP (polite)
   A: ‘It’s always a pleasure having you here. Please come again’
   B: ’Well, after all this is his favorite place. I guess the next time will be after the manuscript is finished’
   C: ‘We’ll be (here) waiting’

This extract is filled with polite expressions which, in a sense, do not contribute much to the actual meaning. However, since *keigo* 敬語 ’honorific speech’ is not the topic for this paper, let us look at the instance(s) of ellipsis. Besides expecting a *tokoro* 所 ’place’ after the *o-ki-ni-*

iri NP (which in fact is taken to be a reduced form of VP *ki-ni-iru* 'to be pleased with') in b), I also propose that there is an instance of VPE in the second sentence. However, there are two alternatives as to which position that VP is elided from.

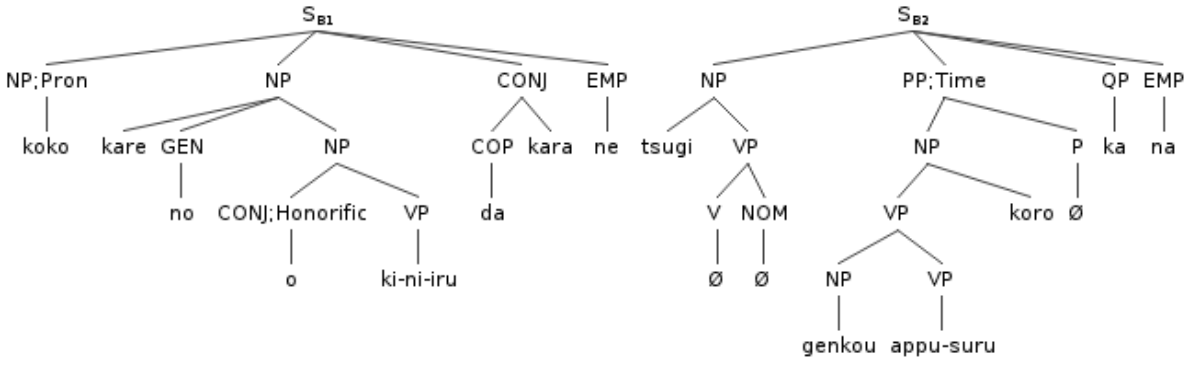
Alternative 1:



(103)

In this case, I assume that the sentence SB2 follows a relatively straight-forward pattern of NP-NP-VP.

Alternative 2:

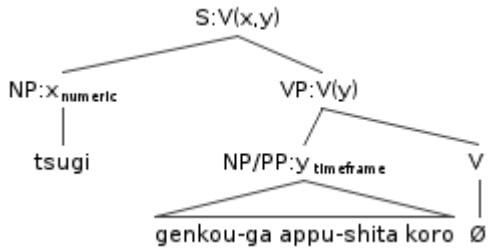


(104)

Here, I assume slightly more complex structure, in that the elided verb is placed within the first NP. This forces an additional element in that the verb must be nominalized in order to make a grammatical sentence. In both cases I expect the elided verb to be the same, Ø = [$_{VP}$

kuru] ‘to come’. The reason for this is schematized below (given in ‘alternative A’ form, both as it is the most ‘economical’ and since I personally feel this is the more likely structure).

(105)

a. 

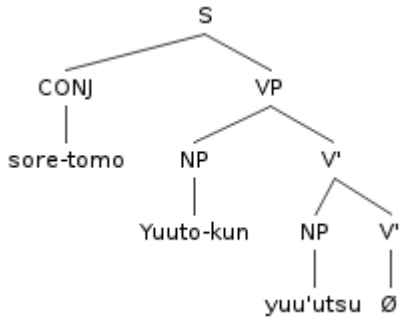
b. Properties of the elided verb:
Must be able to form grammatical sentence with the two conditions listed in a (x being NUMERIC, y being TIMEFRAME).
Must be able to form grammatical sentence with a sentient being as subject

4.1.6 Case #6

(106) *Hontō-ni chanto kaji-wo nara-u tsumori nan des-u ka? Sore-to-mo Yūto-kun-wo yū’utsu-ni?*
Really properly ’domestic chores’-ACC learn-NONP intention EMP COP QP? Or name-SUFFIX-ACC depression-DAT?

I intentionally leave out a ‘proper’ translation here, as we will come to see that grasping the meaning of the second sentence is quite difficult unless one considers the surrounding discourse. The first sentence is quite straight-forward, and should be taken to mean something like ‘do you honestly intend to learn how to do housework properly?’. The second sentence is syntactically represented below (PF form)

(107)



Looking back at the sentence patterns given by Hinds in (20) in chapter 1, which I reproduce below for convenience, we see that the presence of an accusative marker immediately limits the type of sentence that this can be to either containing a transitive or a ditransitive verb, and furthermore that the presence of the dative marker points to the elided verb being ditransitive.

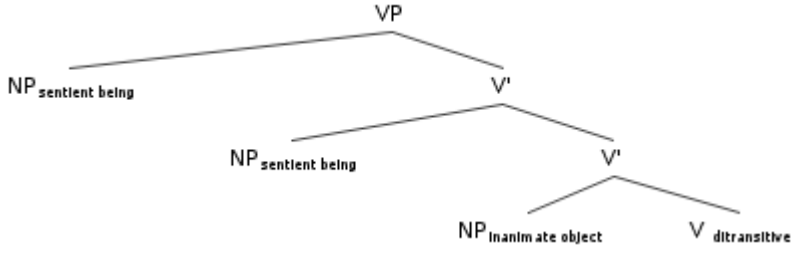
(108)

a. [NP *ga* NP *wo*] $VP_{TRANSITIVE}$
b. [NP *ni* NP *ga*] $VP_{ERGATIVE}$ [sic]
c. [NP *ga*] $VP_{INTRANSITIVE}$
d. [NP *ga* NP *ni* NP *wo*] $VP_{DITRANSITIVE}$

However, there are some issues with this interpretation. Consider the following:

(109) *Meari-ga Tomu-ni bīru-wo age-ta*
name-NOM name-DAT beer-ACC give-PAST
'Mary gave Tom a beer'

(110)



As we can see, the normal way of interpreting ditransitive sentences is to take the dative marked object as the indirect, in this case the recipient. Switching these two would give a grammatical, though somewhat strange sentence, 'personifying' the beer:

(111) ? *Meari-ga Tomu-wo bīru-ni age-ta*
name-NOM name-ACC beer-DAT give-PAST
?'Mary gave a beer Tom'
OR (slightly more expanded) ?'Mary gave Tom (as a gift) to a beer'

This would then – when transferred back to (106)-(107) – mean that we interpret the sentence as 'giving Yūto to (a personified) depression', which in my view, feels extremely unnatural. Thus, I feel that we must look outside of the sentence. From the story we have learned that Satoshi, the person being addressed in (106), is a fairly lousy father, spending all his time at the office. Furthermore, that the relationship between him and his wife suffers greatly from this. When the wife of Satoshi later dies, it is natural for the 4-year old boy Yūto to be extremely sad, and Satoshi at first thinks about sending Yūto away to live with his parent-in-law. However, as things develop, Satoshi start to learn how to take care of his son and general chores, and Yūto starts to be a bit more 'happy' as he starts to connect with his father. The extract is taken from this time frame.

Thus, I suggest that we have to limit the range of possible verbs that can be inserted. We are looking for a (di)transitive verb which, when inserted would give a sense of blame, provoking a reply by Satoshi: *wakatta!* '(I) understand!'. My suggestion would be Ø = [$_{VP}$ *te-watasu*] 'to hand over; to surrender'.

4.2 Conclusion

As the above pages have shown, we can glean a number of interesting things from the data used here. First, the piece of Japanese discourse used as data for this paper has a surprisingly small amount of gapping or other types of ellipsis$_{syntactic}$ sentences, where there is a salient, exact antecedent present in the immediate discourse. There were only 16 instances over a total

of 316 pages. These instances are all, without exceptions, present in the narrative sections of the text.

Second, we should discuss the number of occurrences ellipsis$_{\text{semantic}}$ as I have defined it, namely occurrences where we either i) have sentences that can be supplemented by either copula or suru ‘to do’ in order to achieve a full structural meaning, or ii) have a semantically salient antecedent in the immediate discourse. In most cases this antecedent is a NP. This is predominant in oral communication (conversation), especially in cases where the participants are worked up about something or find themselves in an extremely casual environment.

Third, the number of occurrences of ellipsis$_{\text{contextual}}$, i.e. ellipsis that cannot be resolved without ‘using’ the nearby discourse, is the largest with a total of 36. These occurrences are also without exceptions found in narrative sections.

More importantly, however, is the fact that the theory was able to more or less successfully explain the instances of VPE found in the text. And in the few cases where a concrete solution could not be found, viable suggestions were provided. It should be clear that any single-focused theory, looking only at syntax or semantics, would not give results like this.

5 Symposium

The following pages are meant as a summary of the findings throughout the paper, comments upon my own work, and some open questions which are beyond the scope of this project.

5.1 How far have we gotten?

The insights gained by early linguistic research on ellipsis, starting with Ross's 1967 work on variables in syntax, and more specifically islands, can be summarized as i) that ellipsis should be able to shed light upon the correspondence between form and meaning, as the two are in mismatch when sentences have undergone ellipsis, and ii) that distributional facts lead us to expect to find structural elements corresponding to the perceived interpretations, such as for instance a clausal source for the stranded wh-phrase in sluicing, or NP complements for determiners, clitics etc. that have been "promoted" to phrasal head in NPE. These findings hold true even today. Moreover, they inspired generations of linguistic research, at first almost entirely dominated by syntax.

The one-sided focus on syntax has certainly provided a number of important insights. The work done by Noam Chomsky and others on the notion of language as more than just a series of actions and reactions, for one, has led the way into fascinating new discoveries. However, I hope to have demonstrated throughout this paper that it is important to "move on". Yes, syntax is important, but only as one component among several which together make up what we call language. All of these components – morphology, semantics, phonetics, and others – contribute to the complexity, creativity and abstractness of language, and each of them pose potential problems for our understanding. To further echo Culcover & Jackendoff, we need to acknowledge that "it is no longer considered a success to show that some bizarre phenomenon can be accounted for by expressing it in terms of a sufficiently abstract theory of syntax. Success lies in showing how the properties of the phenomenon are properly parcelled out among syntax, semantics, phonology, morphology and the interfaces between them" (2005: 531). In much the same way, Jason Merchant concluded in 2008 that:

"I think the basic intuition is that when there is a parallel syntactic antecedent available, it must be used (leading to the case and voice effects discussed). When a script is available, its modes must be used. When none is available, then and only then can other mechanisms (for case assignment, etc.) be used, and then and only then is the semantic ellipsis device triggered." (Merchant 2008: 48)

The present study has attempted to apply this to Japanese, and show that it is important to acknowledge the seamless cooperation between syntax, semantics and discourse/pragmatics when investigating VPE.

5.2 Special properties

As I have tried to stress during the pages presented here, it is my firm conviction that a combination of syntax, semantics and discourse analysis is the only way to graduate from simply theorizing, as actual living language is far from identical to "what is grammatically sound".

My original intention was to capture the notion of ellipsis within a Systemic Functional framework[49], but very early it became clear to me that much of what needed to be said about ellipsis, and in particular VPE, needed sound(er) syntactical underpinnings. I thus turned to generative grammar, in hope that what started to crystallize in my head could be captured in the X-bar scheme. And to a large extent, it could. However, when I started to work with actual data, I again noticed the conceptual shortcomings. Then, rather than trying to find another framework, I decided to implement whatever I needed to make X-bar as 'functional' (in lack of a better word) as possible. The result can be seen in this paper. At a very late stage I was made aware of constructional grammar as suggested by Charles Fillmore and George Lakoff, which seems to be able to do more or less the same as what this fusion of ideas that I created can, only more elegantly. It may very well be, then, that this paper will be

[49] see, for instance, http://minerva.ling.mq.edu.au/resource/VirtuallLibrary/Publications/sfg_firststep/SFG%20intro%20New.html written by M.A.K Halliday & Christian Matthiesen

re-worked at a later stage, using a different framework. Nevertheless, at the moment I feel satisfied with what I have achieved.

Furthermore, I wish to discuss the aspect of using written material instead of a speech corpus as data material. My teacher Christoph Harpsmeier (paraphrasing von Humbolt) said during a class in 2010 that "since speech is clearly primary, one should not do any form of analysis on dead (i.e. written) corpus unless absolutely necessary", a point which have come back to haunt me on more than one occasion. Indeed, written language is more "dead" than speech. Furthermore, one should note that language, as a whole, is notoriously ‘anthrosentric’, in other words ‘focused on man’. One should be able to say without much doubt that these two reasons combined make for a potentially large difference between written and spoken language. Because of this, it might have been more fruitful to conduct an investigation into ellipsis in oral communication. However, written material is a better source in one important aspect. Published material have been through a rigorous editing process, thus ensuring that the examples of ellipsis I have found are “proper”, i.e. that they are not simply the case of underspesification due to tone of voice, gestures, common knowledge, or any of the other things that accompany oral communication.

Tying into this is the fact that I base my paper on (a comparatively small amount of) empirical research, which seldom can be used to prove anything universal. New evidence can always show up to overturn my results. Of course, I do not expect this to happen; I myself am quite convinced that my claim is true. But I remain mindful of the fact that the argument presented here rests on frail ground.

5.3 Where do we go from here?

In principle, ellipsis is an optional linguistic device. There is no part of discourse that needs to be omitted. Thus, what is omitted is omitted by choice – conscious or not – and what is omitted could, (again) in principle, always have been explicitly stated instead. Further studies should then take into account what the reasons for utilizing ellipsis are, as they might give insight into the way we use language beyond what this simple descriptive thesis can do.

Furthermore, it is important to remember that before the mass translation of European books during the early parts of the 20th Century, there was no requirements within the

Japanese language with regards to what we now take as obligatory; such simple things as punctuation, case marking and correspondence between subject and predicate[50]. In this aspect, it is difficult to say anything concrete about whether or not something is actually elided.

Looking at the old proverb 'speech is silver, silence is golden', we might say that silence – i.e. ellipsis – is proper communication, and that having to put things into words should be considered second-rate. Nevertheless, somehow finding the meaning of that which is unpronounced is still necessary for us to communicate with each other.

[50] For a discussion, see for instance Komori Yōichi – *Nihongo no kindai* 'Modern Japanese', Iwanami Publishing Company (2000), pp. 112-113 (小森陽一「日本語の近代」岩波書店、2000 年)

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Appendix

(0) どっちかしら、盗まれたの

(5) 賢吾は自分の手紙を捨てた。智子も捨てた。

(19)

a. 智子が賢吾に本をやった
b. 智子が本を賢吾にやった
c. 賢吾に智子が本をやった
d. 賢吾に本を智子がやった
e. 本を智子が賢吾にやった
f. 本を賢吾に智子がやった

(21)

a. 真理子が刺身を食べた
b. 一彦に英語が分かる
c. ドアが開いている
d. 吉が彼にあれを見せた

(22) 今頃会社で必死に働いている奴等の姿を思い浮かべて悟が鼻で笑った

(25)

e. 今夜のパーティーにビルを連れて行く
f. 今夜のパーティーに誰を連れて行くの？

Footnote p.39: メアリーが昨晩出掛けたが、僕は誰とかどこにか分からない

(45)

a. 幾つかがスーにムウルを侍ると幾つかがカジキを
b. 幾つかがスーにムウルを侍るのきない幾つかがカジキを

(49)

a. あ、そうだ、おの、コロンバス大学の女の子、子供生まれたらしいぞ。
b. 誰の子供か分かったの？
c. それビルの子供らしいんだけどね。
d. やっぱり。
e. それで、だから、裁判をやるらしい。

f. それで、養育費を。

g. うん。

(52) 賢吾は左側に、智子は右に席をしめた。

(54) 智子が何かを買ったらしいが、僕は何をか分からない。

(56)

a. 先生が賢吾に小言を言っていたよ。

b. 僕は智子にだと思っていたよ。

(58) 何を注文するの？僕はウナギだ。

(59) 賢吾は寿司を食べた。智子もだった。

(78) 悟は夜中の新宿を歩いている。行き付けのバーを出た後だった。嫌なことを忘れようと強い酒を何杯も煽ったが、酔うことすら出来なかった。

(79) 別居している間、私は真剣に悩んだ。一時は離婚を考えるくらい自信を失くしていたけど、やっぱり裕太の為に、もう一度あなたとやっていこうと決めたの。

(80)

a. 後藤田さんは、担当を替えなければ内では書かないと言ってきた。当面は私が担当することにした。

b. 悟は井上のことが聞こえなかった。

c. しかしフラッシュメモリーをなくしたのは私ではなく…

d. 井上は遮った。

e. 後藤田さんからしてみれば、君の部下がなくしたとしても、君の責任ととらえるよ。

Extract from 3.2:

「銀座世界にはバーやクラブが星の数ほどもあるが、彼等は高級料理屋で食事を済ませた後、贔屓にしてクラブに足を運んでいく。中でも有名なのが、銀座七丁目の一角にある「クラブ麻奈美」だ。ここは銀座で一、二を争う高級クラブで、チャージ、つまり席に着いただけで七万はするという。一般人にはとても入れなう店である。「麻奈美」は全国でも有名な寿司屋の隣の地下一階にある。レンガで作られた螺旋状の階段を下りていくと、心落ち着くピアノの生演奏が聞こえてくる。店内は四十坪とそれほど広くないが、ホステスは常に二十三十名はいる。二十代後半から

三十代前半が多く、粒揃いだ。さすが高級クラブとあって。皆美しさに磨きをかけ、指先にまで気を遣っている。もちろん接客も一流である。言葉遣いやお酒の作り方はもちろん、細分にまで目を配らせている。男の扱いも実に巧い。男が喜ぶ言葉や仕草を知り尽している。厳しい教育を受けているのがよくわかる。

世間では不景気と言われているが、そんな物は嘘だとでもいう様に「クラブ麻奈美」は今夜も満席で賑わっていた。客は芸能人、スポーツ選手、政治家、財界人と、どこを見ても大物ばかり。その中に、売れに売れている恋愛小説家・後藤田夏夫の姿もあった。今年三十二歳になる彼は、去年の春に文芸界で最も権威のある賞を受賞し人気に火が付いた。賞を獲って一年半の間に三本の小説を発表したが、いずれも二十から二十五万部を売り上げ、既刊の文庫も全てが五十万部を越えるという驚異的な数字を叩い出している。現在、文芸界で最も勢いがあるのは後藤田夏夫だろう。

森悟は、後藤田夏夫に付いているホステスの隣に座っている。後藤田とホステスが楽しそうに喋っているのを横目にタバコを吸っていた。森悟は講文社第一編集部に勤める後藤田夏夫の担当編集者である。180 センチの上背にオールバックの男が、クラブでグラスを片手にタバコを吸っている様になる。彼が作家といっても誰も疑いはしないだろう。悟は後藤田の前でも遠慮はしなかった。機嫌をとることも気を遣うこともない。後藤田とはそれくらい長い付き合いなのだ。」

(81)　言葉遣いやお酒の作り方はもちろん、細分にまで目を配らせている。

(82)　客は芸能人、スポーツ選手、政治家、財界人と、どこを見ても大物ばかり。

(83)　後藤田とホステスが楽しそうに喋っているのを横目にタバコを吸っていた。

(87)　よほど興味のそそられるものが目に飛び込んできたのだろう。それは一体何か。園内を歩き回るキャラクターかもしれない。どちらにせよ、自分たち二人ではお手上げだった。

(88)　彼女は亜紀の行動のすべて、あるいは亜紀のすべてを知っていたのか。

(91)

a. 森さんのこと、ずっと素敵だと思ってました。

b. 紀子は悟の太股に手を置いていった。もちろん悟に妻がいると知っているのに、だ。

(95)　後藤田とホステスが楽しそうに喋っているのを横目にタバコを吸っていた。

(97)　ライバルたちが練習で汗を流すのを横目に、ラーメン、カツどん…と胃袋へ流し込む訳とは？

(98)　小学校を横目に見て、北へ進むとまもなく駅に着く。

(99)　百八十センチの上背にオールバックの男が、クラブでグラスを片手にタバコを吸っていると様になる。

(102)

a. いつもいつもありがとうございます。またいらしてくださいね。

b. ここは彼のお気に入りだからね。次は原稿がアップしたころかな。

c. お待ちしています。

(106)　本当にちゃんと家事を習うつもりなんですか？それとも裕太君を憂鬱に？

(109)　メアリーがトムにビールをあげた。

(111)　？メアリーがトムをビールにあげた。