Pronouns in Japanese

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1 Introduction

In this paper, I discuss some properties of Japanese pronouns in the light of the DP-hypothesis (Abney1987). Having observed some interesting paradigms of the pronoun inside the noun phrase, I will propose an analysis in which Japanese pronouns are accounted for as a DP.

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2, I will briefly look at Abney's discussion of English pronouns as a "lexical determiner" and show some similarities between English pronouns and Japanese pronouns. In section 3, I will examine the property of the Japanese pronoun inside the simple noun phrase. I will show some interesting examples of the pronoun inside the simple noun phrase which cannot be modified by the Numeral Classifier. I will show also some more interesting examples of the pronoun inside the DP including the Numeral Classifier Phrase. I will thus claim that the Japanese pronoun as a determiner phrase appears in the adjoined position to the DP.

2 Pronouns in English and Japanese

In this section, I look at English and Japanese pronouns according to Abney(1987)'s "DP-Hypothesis." As far as I know, Japanese pronouns have not been fully investigated in the light of his hypothesis. This is because Japanese has been widely assumed to be a head final language, and lacks a determiner corresponding to *the* or *a* (Fukui 1986).

I will start with general properties of the English pronoun. Then, I will compare the Japanese pronoun with the English pronoun, and show similarities between them.

2.1 English Pronouns as a Lexical Determiner

Abney claims that the noun phrase has a functional element "D", identified with the determiner, and it heads the noun phrase. He notes that the functional element "D" is identified not only with the determiners like *the, a,* etc, but also with the

"lexical determiners" like pronouns because they do not have to precede any NP complement.

He discusses three properties according to which the English pronoun behaves as a lexical determiner. The first is that the pronoun is distinguished from, for example, proper nouns. The pronoun does not follow any nominal specifier, such as other determiners, possessors, etc., as shown in (1)and (2). Proper nouns, however, can be preceded by nominal specifiers as shown in (3) and (4):

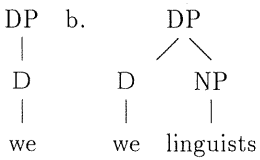
(1) *[the she that I talked to] was nice.
(2) *[my she]
(3) [the Mary that I talked to] was nice.
(4) [my Santa Clause] has always been good to me.

The second is, as Postal(1966) observes, that some personal pronouns behave like determiners. They can modify other nouns in some situations as shown in (5), (6), and (7):

(5) I Claudius
(6) we tradesmen
(7) you idiots

The third is that in the noun phrases, both the pronoun and the determiner bear the grammatical features 'person', 'number', and 'gender', which Chomsky(1981) has called "Phi-features". Notice that in English, only pronouns indicate case. He assumes that it is the determiner position where these grammatical feature of the noun phrase appears.

Following these facts shown above, he assumes that pronouns and determiners can fall in the same category "D" and it heads the noun phrase in English. The similarities between the determiner and the pronoun are also noted by, for example, Jackendoff(1977) and Emonds(1985). The internal structure of the pronoun and the determiner is analyzed as follows:

(8) a. 

b.

It follows that we can account for the similarities between determiners and pronouns if we adopt the analysis of the pronoun as a determiner shown in (8).

2.2 Pronouns in Japanese

Let us turn now to Japanese. Japanese also has many pronouns. Some of them are shown below:

	singular	**plural**
1st person	*watasi (watakusi)*	*watasitachi (watakusitachi)*
2nd person	*kimi (anata)*	*kimitachi (anatatachi)*
3rd person male	*kare*	*karera*
3rd person female	*kanojo*	*kanojora*

As far as third person pronouns are concerned, a large number of studies have discussed their properties in terms of the Binding Theory. The other pronouns, however, have not been fully investigated.

As a beginning, I will compare Japanese pronouns with English pronouns. As seen in 2.1, Abney shows three properties of English pronouns. First, English pronouns do not follow any nominal specifier shown in (1) and (2). Similar to English pronouns, Japanese pronouns do not follow some noun specifiers: e.g. possessor, quantifiers.[1]

(9)	*watasi-no	anata	
	1st.sg.-Gen	2nd.sg	'my you'
(10)	?*takusan-no	karera	
	many-Gen	3rd.pl.	'many they'

Secondly, some personal pronouns behave like determiners and modify other nouns in English, shown in (5), (6), and (7). Similar to English, some Japanese pronouns can modify other nouns.

(11)	watakusi	Oga	
	1st.sg.	Oga	'I Oga'
(12)	Kimitachi	juugyouin	
	2nd.pl.	worker	'You workers'

Thirdly, English pronouns show "Phi-features," and they indicate case. We should notice that here is a difference between English pronouns and Japanese pronouns. As opposed to English, Japanese pronouns do not display case themselves but rather need case-markers in the same way as other nominals do.[2]

[1] As in English, adjectives in Japanese can precede pronouns such as in (i) and (ii) shown below:

(i) yasasii anata
kind you
(ii) binbouna watasi
poor I

Although it is debatable whether adjectives in Japanese can be accounted for as a modifier of the pronoun, I leave this problem open. See also note 5.

[2] There is a Case Marker Dropping phenomenon in Japanese. I will leave the details to Tateishi(1989).

(13)	*watasi*-ga	heya-o	soujisita.	
	1st.sg.-Nom	room-Acc	cleaned	'I cleaned the room'
(14)	Taro-ga	*watasi*-o	nagutta.	
	Taro-Nom	1st.sg.-Acc	hit	'Taro hit me.'

On the basis of data shown thus far, I assume that Japanese pronouns and English pronouns have some properties in common, though not all are identical. In section 3, I will look more carefully into the properties of Japanese pronouns.

3 Japanese Pronouns and Numeral Classifiers

In this section, I examine the properties of the Japanese pronoun in terms of the DP-Hypothesis. My argument is based on the distribution of pronouns inside the noun phrase. In the following discussion, I will observe some interesting paradigms of the simple Noun Phrase and the Numeral Classifier Phrase which include the pronoun. I will argue that the Japanese pronoun fall into the category of a DP.

First, I shall outline here briefly a property of the Numeral Classifier (henceforth, NC) according to Miyagawa(1989). In Japanese, a Numeral Classifier (called "Numeral Quantifiers" in Miyagawa's study) is used when we count people, things or animals. Each NC consists of a numeral and a classifier. There are over 150 kinds of classifiers in Japanese. A classifier is chosen depending on the type of the object to be counted. When we count people, for example, we choose the classifier *-nin*, which follows the numeral. When we count three people, the NC is as follows:

(15)	*san*	*- nin*
	3	- Classifier (henceforth, 3-Class)

There are 2 kinds of construction in which the NC appears. The one is, the NC with *-no* (Genitive-case marker) appears as a prenominal modifier of the NP, such as (16). The other is, the NC appears in the separated position from the NP, such as (17). Miyagawa proposes that if the NC is separated from the NP, it is a predicate of the NP, and the NC and the NP must c-command each other under the theory of predication:

(16)	[*san-nin-no*	gakusei]-ga	kita.	
	3-Class-Gen	student Nom	came	'Three students came.'
(17)	Gakusei-ga	*san-nin*	kita.	
	Student-Nom	3-Class	came	'Three students came.'

In section 3.1, I will examine the relationship between the pronoun and its 'prenominal modifier' NC in the simple noun phrase. In 3.2, I will examine the relationship between the pronoun and its 'predicate' NC in the Numeral Classifier Phrase.

3.1 Japanese Pronouns in Simple Noun Phrases

In recent years, the structure of the simple noun phrase shown in (18) has been widely accepted(Murasugi 1991, Kubo1996):

(18) [DP [D' [NP san-nin(-no) [N' gakusei]] D]]
3-Class(-Gen) student 'three students'

Let us start with (18). I assume that in the simple noun phrase, the N incorporates into the D, and the Genitive case is checked off by the [N-D] complex in a Spec-Head configuration . As shown in (19), the N *gakusei* incorporates into the D, and the NC san-nin moves up to the Specifier position of the DP (henceforth, "Spec(DP)") to enter into a Spec-Head configuration with the [N-D] complex and the Genitive case is checked off.

(19) [DP san-nin$_j$-no [D' [NP t_j [N' t_i]] [Ni-D gakusei]]
3-Class-Gen student 'three students'

Next, observe (20). The pronoun *watasitachi* follows the NC *san-nin-no.* As opposed to (19), (20) is ungrammatical:

(20) **san-nin-no* *watasitachi*
3-Class-Gen 1st-pl. 'three of us'

Notice that 'three us' is ungrammatical in English. This can be explained by saying that, because the pronoun 'us' is a determiner within the DP hypothesis, it cannot be modified directly by the numeral quantifier 'three'. As shown in the English translation of (20), 'of' must be inserted between the numeral quantifier and the pronoun in this case in English. The important point to note is that the Japanese pronoun cannot be modified by the NC, either, even if the Genitive case marker *-no* is inserted. I must account for here why the pronoun *watasitachi* cannot be modified by the NC-Gen *san-nin-no.*

In section 2, I observed that the Japanese pronoun and the English pronoun have a lot in common. If the Japanese pronoun is a DP, the ungrammaticality of (20) can be analyzed as follows.

Since the pronoun *watasitachi* is not an N, the head N of the NP in (20) is empty. If the head N is empty, the incorporation of N into the upper head D does not occur. Consequently, the Genitive case feature of the NC *san-nin* cannot be checked off in the Spec-Head configuration and the derivation is cancelled.[3]

[3]Miyagawa(1993) discusses the possibility of the Genitive feature checking in Spec(DP) at LF regarding "*ga/no* Conversion" . Suppose that the Genitive feature of the noun phrase inside the relative clause is checked off by the [N-D] complex. When the pronoun is modified by the relative clause modifier, we predict that the Genitive case inside the relative clause is not checked off because the pronoun is not N, and hence the [N-D] complex does not appear in the structure as

There is good evidence to show the difference between a N such as *gakusei* and a pronoun such as *watasitachi*. Murasugi(1991) compares two examples of relative clauses shown below in (21) and (22). In (21), the demonstrative *kono* precedes the relative clause [*hyousi-ga akai*], while in (22), the relative clause [*hyousi-ga akai*] precedes the demonstrative *kono*:

(21) kono [hyousi-ga akai] hon
this cover-Nom red book
'this book whose cover is red'

(22) [hyousi-ga akai] kono hon
cover-Nom red this book
'this book, whose cover is red'

According to Murasugi(1991), the relative clause [*hyousi-ga akai*] in (21) is interpreted as a Restrictive Relative Clause. On the other hand, the relative clause [hyousi-ga akai] in (22) is interpreted as a Non-restrictive Relative Clause. From the difference of interpretation, Murasugi concludes that Restrictive relative clauses are adjoined to NP, and Non-restrictive Relative Clauses are adjoined to DP.[4] (21) and (22) are thus respectively analyzed as follows:

(23) [DP kono [D' [NP hyousi-ga akai [NP hon]] D]]
(24) [DP hyousi-ga akai [DP ... [DP kono [D' [NP hon] D] ...]

Turning now to the pronoun, her conclusion makes it possible to distinguish the pronoun *watasitachi* from an N such as *gakusei* "student". Let us start with the Relative Clause modifying *gakusei*:

(25) [me-ga aoi] gakusei
eye-Nom blue student 'the student whose eyes are blue'

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we have discussed in this section. However, some Japanese speakers accept the example such as (i)shown below, in which the subject inside the relative clause bears the Genitive case:

(i) ?[me-no aoi] watasitachi
eye-Gen blue 1st. pl.

The problem of "*ga/no* Conversion" inside the relative clause modifying the pronoun is left open here.

[4]Murasugi(1991:90) has the following generalizations:

a. Possessor NP can appear NP internally, say, in the NP adjoined position.
b. Restrictive relative clauses are adjoined to NP.
c. Non-restrictive relative clauses are adjoined to DP.
d. The determiner-like elements are in the DP SPEC position.

As for the NC (called "Quantifiers" in her analysis), she supposes that the NC is in the head position of the phrase :"Quantifier Phrase" .

(25) can be interpreted as either a Restrictive Relative Clause or a Non-restrictive Relative Clause. This follows from the fact that *gakusei* can be analyzed as either a N or a DP because Japanese lacks particles corresponding to the determiners "the", and "a". These two interpretations are illustrated in (26) and (27) respectively:

(26) [DP [D' [NP me-ga aoi [NP gakusei]] D]]
(27) [DP me-ga aoi [DP [D' [NP gakusei] D]

Next, observe the Relative Clause modifying the pronoun *watasitachi*:

(28) [me-ga aoi] watasitachi
eye-Nom blue 1 pl. 'we, whose eyes are blue'

In (28), the Relative clause has only the interpretation of a Non-restrictive relative clause. Therefore, (28) is analyzed as follows:

(29) [DP me-ga aoi [DP watasitachi]]

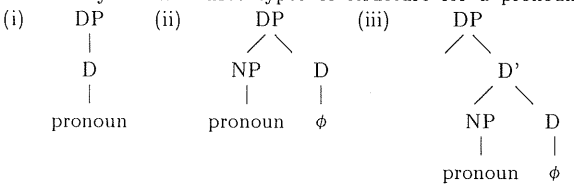
From these facts, I claim that the Japanese pronoun is a DP and it should be distinguished from the N [5]. Viewed in this light, the Non-restrictive Relative Clause which adjoins to the DP can be regarded as the only possible modifier of the pronoun. Hence, no NP appears with a pronoun.

3.2 Pronouns inside the Numeral Classifier Phrases

In 3.1, I have claimed that the Japanese pronoun is a DP, not a N. Hence, it cannot be modified by the NC-Gen *san-nin-no* which is generated in Spec(NP).

In this section, I will look at some supporting paradigms for my analysis. In those paradigms, the pronoun appears in the position adjoined to the DP which includes the Numeral Classifier Phrase(henceforth, NCP). I will demonstrate that the pronoun shows different distribution from the N not only in the simple noun phrase as discussed in 3.1, but also in the NCP. They will serve as additional evidence that the Japanese pronoun is a DP.

[5] We may assume three types of structure for a pronoun such as (i)(ii)(iii) shown below:



In note 2, I raised the question about adjectives which can modify the pronoun. If those adjective are assumed to be a modifier of the pronoun, the (iii) may be the structure of the Japanese pronoun. However, Jackendoff(1977) claims that an adjective poor in a phrase like poor John is assumed to be a Non-restrictive (called "appositive" in his analysis) modifier. This recalls that the Non-restrictive Relative Clause is adjoined to the DP in Murasugi(1991)'s analysis. If the adjective which can modify the pronoun is accounted for as a "Non-restrictive" adjective, we assume that it is adjoined to the DP in the same way as (29). I leave this question open.

3.2.1 Kitahara(1993)'s NCP analysis

As we have seen in section 2, there is a construction in which the NC can be separated from the NP in Japanese. To explain the phenomenon, Kitahara (1993), following Miyagawa(1989), assumes that the NC heads its own maximal projection the NCP, and the NC is dominated by the DP and dominating the NP. Kitahara assumes that Japanese is a head-final language, and the D appears at the end of the noun phrase. From this point of view, he proposes the following structure of the Japanese nominal phrase including its NC.

(30) [DP [D' [NCP [NC' NP NC]] D]]

Based on this structure of the NCP, let us look at his unified account on the structure of the DP including the NCP.

According to Kitahara(1993), there are three types of NCP phrases in Japanese. He demonstrates the derivation of each type of NCP within the Checking theory (Chomsky 1992). The meanings of the three types of NCP are almost identical. Let us start with Type I. Based on the structure (30), Type I is analyzed as follows:

Type I: "NP-Acc NC"

(31)	Taro-ga [DP	gakuseii-o	[D' [NCP t'$_i$ [NC' t_i	san-nin]]	D]]
	Taro-Nom	student-Acc		3-Class	
	shoutaisita.				
	invited				

'Taro invited three students.'

In Type I, the Accusative case particle -o is attached to the NP "gakusei," and the NC follows the NP-*o*. Within Checking theory, Kitahara supposes that the "NP-Acc" is base-generated in the complement position of the NC, and it has the case feature [+Acc]. First, It moves to Spec(NCP) to enter into a checking relation with the NC, and then, the NP-o moves further to Spec(DP) where [+Acc] is checked off.

Next, Type II is analyzed as follows:

Type II: "NP NC-Acc"

(32)	Taro-ga [DP [NCP	gakusei*i* [NC' t_i	san-nin-o]]$_j$ [D' t_j D[+Acc]]]
	Taro-NOM	student	3-Class-Acc	
	shoutaisita.			
	Invite		'Taro invited three students.'	

In type II, the Accusative case particle *-o* is attached to the NC *san-nin* and the NC-*o* follows the bare NP gakusei. In (32), the NC has the case feature [+Acc]. The bare NP is base-generated in the complement position of the NCP. First, the bare NP moves to the Spec (NCP) to enter into a checking relation with the NC. Then, the NCP moves to the Spec(DP) where [+Acc] is checked off.

Finally, Type III is analyzed as follows:

Type III: "NC NP-Acc"

(33) Taro-ga [$_{VP}$ [$_{NCP}$ t'$_i$[$_{NC'}$ t$_i$ san-nin]]$_j$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{DP}$ gakuseii-o [$_{D'}$ t$_j$ D]]
Taro-NOM 3-Class student-Acc
shoutaisita].
invited
'Taro invited three students.'

In type III, the bare NC *san-nin* precedes the NP-Acc *gakusei-o*. The part of the derivation of Type III is almost identical to that of Type I. As shown in (33), the NCP moved into Spec(DP) is scrambled out of the DP and adjoined to some upper node.

In the following section, I will adopt Kitahara's analysis of the NCP. However, some revision is needed in order to take into account the fact that pronouns do not appear in the same position as the noun.

3.2.2 Japanese Pronouns and Numeral Classifiers

Let us now return to the Japanese pronoun. In this section, I will examine the relationship between the NCP and the pronoun. Compare two examples of Type II shown below: Type II:

(32) Taro-ga [gakusei san-nin-o] shoutaisita.
Taro-NOM student 3-Class-Acc invite
'Taro invited three students'

(34) Taro-ga [watasitachi 3-nin-o] shoutaisita.
Taro-NOM 1st.pl. 3-Class-Acc invited
'Taro invited three of us'

(32) includes a NP *gakusei* "student" , and (34) includes a pronoun *watasitachi* "us" . In the case of Type II, the NP and the pronoun can appear in the same position preceding the NC-Acc.

Next observe the examples of Type I and Type III.

Type I:

(31) Taro-ga [gakusei-o san-nin] shoutaisita.
Taro-NOM student-Acc 3-Class invited.

(35) ?*Taro-ga [watasitachi-o san-nin] shoutaisita.
Taro-NOM 1st.pl.-ACC 3-Class invited.

Type III:

(33) Taro-ga [san-nin gakusei-o] shoutaisita.
Taro-NOM 3-Class student-Acc invited

(36) ?*Taro-ga [san-nin watasitachi-o] shoutaisita.
Taro-NOM 3-Class 1st.pl.-Acc invited

The pronoun *watasitachi-o* in Type I(35) and Type III(36) does not appear in the position where the NP *gakusei-o* do in (31) and (33). If we regard the Japanese pronoun merely as a NP, we cannot explain why the pronoun *watasitachi-o* in (35) and (36) does not parallel the NP *gakusei-o* in (31)and (33). It is clear that the pronoun is not a NP, and it does not appear in the complement position of the NCP.

Two points need to be solved. The first is, the bare pronoun *watasitachi* in Type II can precede NC-Acc. It parallels the behaviour of the bare NP *gakusei*. The second is, the pronoun *watasitachi-o* cannot precede nor follow the bare NC *san-nin* in Type I and Type III.

We can use the fact that the pronoun *watasitachi* is a DP, which is a different category from a NP. Given the position of the pronoun inside the DP, there appears to be an additional node higher than the base structure (30) proposed by Kitahara. The revised structure is as follows[6]:

(37) [DP pronoun [DP [D' [NCP [NC' NP NC]] D]]

I assume that the Japanese pronoun is adjoined to the DP when it co-occurs with the DP. The pronoun optionally appears in the adjoined position and modifies the whole DP.[7]

We can now analyze the examples (34),(35), and (36), following the revised structure(37). First of all, I analyze Type II.

Type II: "Pronoun NC-Acc"

(34) Taro-ga [DP watasitachi [DP [NCP san-nin-o]$_i$ [D' t$_i$ D[+Acc]]] shoutaisita.

In (34), the bare pronoun *watasitachi* is adjoined to the DP. The NC *san-nin* does not have a complement. The head NC which has [+Acc] feature moves to Spec(DP) to enter into the Spec-Head configuration with the head D.[8]

Next, consider Type I (35). In (35), since the NC *san-nin* has no case feature, it stays in the complement position of the DP and does not move to Spec(DP). As for the pronoun *watasitachi-o*, since it is the DP itself, it cannot enter into a

[6]As pointed out to me by J. Emonds, this structure predicts that Ns should occur freely with DP. I leave the problem untouched.

[7]I have no explanation for the checking relation between the pronoun and the NC, and also, the pronoun and the D in the structure shown in (37). If I assume that the head NC incorporates into the D, the feature of the pronoun may be checked off by [NC-D] in a Spec-Head configuration, since the position of the pronoun is assumed to be in the checking domain of D. However, this assumption raises the question of whether the [NC-D] complex has something to do with Genitive-case checking. Added to this, we have the structures of the partitive construction and the pseudo-partitive construction which include the NP with Genitive case marker. I leave these problems for future research.

[8]In Type II, not only the NP but also the pronoun appear without any case particle. Regarding these "bare" NP and "bare" pronoun, I cannot say for certain whether they have some "null" case, or they have the structure of a DP and some checking relation exists inside them. This calls for further investigation.

checking relation with the head D. Therefore, the [+Acc] feature of the head D is left unchecked and the derivation is cancelled.

In the final place, consider Type III (36). Kitahara proposes that Type I and Type III are derived from the same structure, and, in the case of Type III, the NCP is scrambled out of the complement position of the DP and adjoined to some upper node. However, the derivation of Type I is already cancelled, as we have seen in (35). Therefore, we can see that the derivation of (36) is also cancelled in the same way as Type I.

I would like to add an interesting example of Type II in which both the pronoun and the bare NP can precede the NC in the same noun phrase at the same time. The sentence can be analyzed as follows.

(38) Taro-ga [$_{DP}$ watasitachi [$_{DP}$ [$_{NCP}$ gakuseii
Taro-Nom 1st.pl. student
[$_{NC'}$ t'$_i$ san-nin-o]$_j$ [$_{D'}$ t$_j$ D[+Acc]]] shoutaisita.
3-Class-Acc invited
'Taro invited three students of us.'

First, the bare NP *gakusei* in the complement position of the NCP moves to Spec(NCP) to enter into a checking relation with the NC. Secondly, the NCP moves to Spec(DP) and the [+Acc] feature is checked off there and the derivation converges. This example gives support to my account that the Japanese pronoun is adjoined to the DP.[9]

4 Conclusion

In section 2, I examined the properties of Japanese pronouns compared with English pronouns according to Abney's analysis. In section 3, we discussed the distribution of Japanese pronouns and the NC inside the simple noun phrase and the DP including the NCP. The distribution of the pronoun is quite different from the noun's inside both the simple noun phrase and the DP including the NCP. It follows that Japanese pronouns are DPs, and are adjoined to the DP and modify the whole DP.

[9]A question arises as to Type I and Type III: do both the NP and the NC co-occur in Type I and Type III, as well? Although some native speakers accept the examples shown below, I have not checked with so many Japanese speakers whether they accept them:

Type I: "pronoun NC-Acc"
(i) ?Taro-ga [watasitachi gakusei-o san-nin] shoutaisita.
Taro-Nom 1st.pl. student-Acc 3-Class invited
Type III: "NC pronoun NP-o"
(ii) ?Taro-ga [san-nin watasitachi gakusei-o] shoutaisita.
Taro-Nom 3-Class 1st.pl. student-Acc invited

I leave these examples for future research.

The proposed analysis gives a new insight into the previous analyses of the noun phrase structure in Japanese.

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日本語の代名詞

大賀 京子

日本語の代名詞（例:私たち）は、統語的に他の名詞とは異なる分布を見せる。本稿では特に以下の例を考察した。

(1) 三人の学生
(2) *三人の私たち
(3) 先生は学生を三人招待した。
(4) ?*先生は私たちを三人招待した。

(1)(3)は、「学生」という名詞が用いられており、どちらの例も問題なく許容されるが、(2)(4)では「学生」のかわりに「私たち」という代名詞が用いられており、この場合は(1)(3)に比べ許容度が明らかに悪くなっている。このような現象をふまえ、本稿では日本語の代名詞は『限定詞句』(DP)であり、『名詞句』(NP)とは異なる範疇に属することを主張した。

この主張により以下ような例も説明が可能となる。

(5) 先生は学生三人を招待した。
(6) 先生は私たち三人を招待した。

ここでは「学生」でも「私たち」でも許容されるが、統語的には「学生」と「私たち」は異なる位置に生じていると考えられる。まず(5)では[学生三人を]は一つの数量詞句となる。「学生」は名詞句として数量詞句の指定部に位置し、主要部である数量詞「三人を」を修飾している。一方(6)では、「三人を」が指定部の無い数量詞句であり、「私たち」は一つの限定詞句として数量詞句に付加されている。