

# Agreement and the Restructuring of the Japanese Pronominal System<sup>\*</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

In English, demonstratives bear number agreement with the noun that follows, i.e. *these books*/\**these book*, *this book*/\**this books*. Modern Japanese is said to be a language which lacks number agreement; plurality is specified either on demonstrative or noun. When the noun is [+human], plurality is specified on the noun with the plural suffix *tati* (1b). When the noun is [-human], it is specified on the demonstrative with the suffix *-ra* (2b).

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- (1) a. sono gakusei      b. sono gakusei-**tati**  
       that student      that student-Pl  
       ‘that student’    ‘those students’
- (2) a. sono hon            b. sore-**ra**-no hon  
       that book            that-Pl-Gen book  
       ‘that book’         ‘those books’

The demonstrative *sono* ‘that’ and *sore-ra-no* ‘that-Pl-Gen’ as shown in (1-2) function as modifiers with genitive *no*. This paper motivates both synchronic and diachronic analyses of demonstratives/pronouns in construction with an appositive NP, parallel to English [*we/these students*] as in (3).

- (3) a. \*[<sub>DP</sub> ware gakusei]      b. [<sub>DP</sub> ware-ra gakusei (-tati)]  
       I    student                    we-Pl student-Pl

Under the DP hypothesis, Abney (1987) analyzes determiners and pronouns as the functional head D, selecting a complement NP as in [<sub>DP</sub> we/the [<sub>NP</sub> linguists]]. This paper argues that Japanese demonstratives project up to DP, and that there is number agreement inside DP. It also presents evidence that personal pronouns in Old Japanese (8th century) contain an Agreement projection (AgrP) inside an extended nominal projection. Loss of AgrP leads to the result that personal pronouns have an internal structure similar to demonstratives.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Demonstratives in Modern Japanese

### 2.1. Split DP Hypothesis

Whitman (1981) and Fukui (1995) point out a striking difference between demonstratives in Japanese and English: As shown in (4-5), Japanese demonstratives can occur after an adjective or a genitive modifier, but English counterparts are unacceptable.

- (4) a. [Akai **kono/sono** huku] o karita.  
       red this/that Gen clothes Acc borrowed  
       ‘\*I borrowed red this/that clothes.’
- b. [John no **kono/sono** huku] o karita  
       John Gen this/that Gen clothes Acc borrow  
       ‘\*I borrowed John’s this/that clothes.’
- (5) a. [Akai **kore/sore**] o karita.  
       red this/that Acc borrow  
       ‘\*I borrow red this/that.’

<sup>1</sup> The periodization for Japanese: Old Japanese (abbreviated ‘OJ,’ approximately 700–800), Early Middle Japanese (‘EMJ’ 800–1200), Late Middle Japanese (‘LMJ’ 1200–1600), Early Modern Japanese (‘EModJ’ 1600–1800).

- b. [John no **kore/sore**] o karita.  
 John Gen this/that Acc borrow  
 ‘\*I borrow John’s this/that.’

These differences can be explained by positing an extended structure for demonstratives. In recent research, it has been proposed that demonstratives are not unanalyzable categories, but rather decompose into three morphological elements: definite, deictic and noun, as shown in (6) (cf. Kayne and Pollock (2009), Giusti (2001) among others):

- (6) a. that book: *th-* (definite) *-at* (deictic) book (noun)  
 b. this book: *th-* (definite) *-is* (deictic) book (noun)  
 c. this/that: *th-*(definite) *-is/at* (deictic) THING (noun)

Kayne and Pollock (2009) decompose the bare English demonstratives *that* and *this* into *th* (definite), *at/is* (deictic), and an unpronounced noun labeled THING. Giusti (2001) suggests that both pronouns and demonstratives in Romance and Germanic languages project up to the maximal projection: they originate in AgrP and move to Spec, DP in the extended nominal projection to check the definite feature. This is shown in (7).

- (7)  $[_{DP} DP(Dem)_i [_D+def [_{AgrP} t_i [_{Agr} [_{NP} \dots ]]]]]$   
 $[_{DP} DP(Pron)_i [_D+def [_{AgrP} t_i [_{Agr} [_{NP} \dots ]]]]]$

Roberts and Roussou (2003) propose a similar analysis, where demonstratives originate in the Number projection and move to Spec, DP.

- (8)  $[_{DP} that/those_i [_{NumP} t_i [_{NP} \dots ]]]$

I will show that the NumberP analysis is particularly suited to Modern Japanese (ModJ). Fukui’s data in (4-5) indicate a basic difference between Japanese and English: Japanese demonstratives need not move to Spec, DP, suggesting the structure in (9).

- (9) a.  $[_{DemP} so [_{Dem} no]]$   
 b.  $[_{DemP} so [_{Dem} re]]$   
 c.  $[_{DP} \emptyset [_{akai} [_{NumP} [_{DemP} sono] [_{NP} huku]]]]$

I hypothesize that as in (9a-b) both *no* and *re* are heads of DemP and thus are in complementary distribution; that is, *sore-no* is unacceptable. As we have seen, unlike their English counterparts, Japanese demonstratives can appear lower than adjectival or genitive modifiers. This fact is explained by the structure in (9c), where the demonstrative remains to the right of modifiers, below DP.

Failure to raise to Spec, DP correlates with an interesting semantic property of Japanese demonstratives. In Giusti’s (2001) system, the demonstrative must raise to check a definite feature on D. Thus they allow only a

definite reading in Germanic and Romance languages. However in certain contexts, Japanese demonstratives appear not to be specified for definiteness. The idea that *sono/sore*, unlike English *that*, have no specification of definiteness is supported by the fact that *sono/sore* can have a non-referential, specifically a bound variable interpretation (10a-b), as pointed out by Hoji (1991).

- (10) a. ?Daremo<sub>i</sub>-ga **sono** hito<sub>i</sub>-no hon-o sute-ta  
 everyone-Nom that person-Gen book-Acc throw away-Past  
 ‘Everyone<sub>i</sub> threw away that person<sub>i</sub>’s book.’  
 b. Nanimo<sub>i</sub> [[[**sore**<sub>i</sub>-o tyuumon-sita] hito]-no uti]-ni(-wa)  
 nothing that-Acc order-Past person-Gen house-to(-Cont)  
 todokanakatta  
 did not arrive  
 ‘Nothing<sub>i</sub> arrived at the house of the person who had ordered that<sub>i</sub>.’

The English demonstrative *that* is inherently specified for the features [definite] and [deictic], and hence a non-referential/indefinite reading is not allowed. Japanese *sono/sore* ‘that,’ on the other hand, is specified only for the feature [deictic], which may be interpreted as meaning “derivable from the discourse context.”

The structure of demonstratives becomes relevant to the analysis of pronouns in ModJ when we consider the arguments of Hoji (1991) regarding *kare*. Hoji shows that unlike *so*-type demonstratives, the *a*-type demonstratives, *are/ano* ‘that’ and third person *kare* ‘he’ cannot be construed as bound variables. The examples in (11) are taken from Hoji (1991).

- (11) a. \*Daremo<sub>i</sub>-ga [<sub>NP</sub> [<sub>S</sub> **kare**<sub>i</sub> ga tukut-ta] omoty<sub>a</sub>] o kowasi-ta  
 everyone-Nom he Nom make-Past toy Acc break-Past  
 ‘Everyone<sub>i</sub> broke the toy that he<sub>i</sub> had made.’  
 b. \*Daremo ga<sub>i</sub> **ano** hito<sub>i</sub> no hon o sute-ta  
 everyone Nom that person Gen book Acc throw away-Past  
 ‘Everyone<sub>i</sub> threw away that person<sub>i</sub>’s book.’  
 c. \*Nanimo<sub>i</sub> [[[**are**<sub>i</sub>-o tyuumon-sita] hito]-no uti]-ni(-wa)  
 nothing that-Acc order-Past person-Gen house-to(-Cont)  
 todoka-nakatta  
 arrive-not-Past  
 ‘Nothing<sub>i</sub> arrived at the house of the person who ordered that<sub>i</sub>.’

Given that *kare* ‘he’ behaves like the demonstrative *are/ano* ‘that,’ Hoji proposes that *kare* is not a pronoun but a demonstrative.

Ueyama (1998) and Hoji, Kinsui, Takubo and Ueyama (2003) propose that *a*-type demonstratives are strictly ‘referential’ in the sense that they

must denote a specific individual known to the speaker, whereas *so*-type demonstratives can refer to an individual that the speaker does not know at all. But in such cases *so*-type demonstratives require a linguistic antecedent. Thus in (12), *a-itu* can be used without a linguistic antecedent, but *so-itu* cannot.

- (12) (Situation: The detective is looking for a man. He somehow believes that the man should be hiding in a certain room. He breaks into the room and asks the people in the room.)

[**A-itu**/**#So-itu**]-*wa do-ko-da?*  
that-guy -Top which-place-Copula  
'Where is [**he**]?'

The difference between *so*-NPs and *a*-NPs is formally analyzed in terms of the notion "D-indexing" (13) by Ueyama (1998).

- (13) a. *So*-NPs cannot be D-indexed (at least when the target object is not visible at the scene).  
b. *A*-NPs must be D-indexed, and marked as [Distal].

The fact that *a*-type demonstratives disallow an indefinite reading (11) and are inherently referential (12) suggests that *a*-type demonstratives, but not *so*-type demonstratives, have a [D] feature.

Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) argue that Romance languages possess two types of pronouns; strong pronouns and deficient pronouns (see Section 3.1.). They claim that strong pronouns, but not deficient pronouns, are inherently referential, and are licensed at a different position within the extended nominal projection. Under the split DP hypothesis, *a*-type demonstratives and *so*-type demonstratives have structures (14a-b) in parallel with strong and deficient pronouns in Romance languages.

- (14) a. [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>DemP</sub> ka-re] [+Def [<sub>NumP</sub> t [<sub>NP</sub> ... ]]]] (strong)  
b. [<sub>NumP</sub> [<sub>DemP</sub> so-re] [<sub>NP</sub> ... ]] (deficient)

*A*-type demonstratives originate in Spec, NumP and move to Spec, DP to check their referential feature, while *so*-type demonstratives that lack referential features stay in Spec, NumP.

## 2.2. Plural *-ra*

The view that DPs in Japanese may contain a NumberP projection is not new (cf. Kawashima 1994 and Watanabe 2006). The existence of NumberP is evidenced by the behavior of the plural suffix *-ra*. The plural *-ra* is used in so-called associative plural constructions:

- (15) [<sub>DP</sub> **Hiroko ra** gakusei 3nin/tati] no kiboo  
 Hiroko PI student 3 CI/PI Gen hope  
 ‘the hope of Hiroko and the three/other students’

Associative plurals are nominal expressions that designate a group by naming its most salient member, meaning ‘X and other people associated with X’. Vassilieva (2008) argues that the *protagonist X* in an associative construction is a referential modifier and has a [D] feature. It starts out in a modifier projection and moves to the specifier of DP, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>DP2</sub> **X**]<sub>i</sub> D° [<sub>NumP</sub> Num° [**+PI**] [<sub>NP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> N° [**+Hum**]]]]]

Following Vassilieva (2008), I assume that the functional features [+hum], [+pl] and [+D] are spelled out by the morphological component as the suffix *-ra*. The claim that elements X preceding *-ra* are in Spec, DP is supported by the fact that they must be either names or pronouns which are inherently referential; common nouns do not appear with *-ra*, as shown in (17).

- (17) \*?[\***gakusei ra** (waka-mono)] no kiboo  
 student-PI young-people Gen hope  
 ‘the hope of the young students’

The protagonist X and *-ra* always appear in the left peripheral position within the extended nominal projection:

- (18) a. \*gakusei 3nin/tati Hanako ra no kiboo  
 student 3 CI/PI Hanako PI Gen hope  
 ‘the hope of Hanako and the three students’  
 b. \*Hanako tati gakusei ra no kiboo  
 Hanako PI student PI Gen hope

As discussed below, I assume with Whitman (2001) that the functional head within DP invariably takes its complement on the right. (15) is then derived by movement of the entire NP to Spec, NumP (19).

- (19) [<sub>DP</sub> Hanako [<sub>D</sub> ra] [<sub>NumP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> gakusei]<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Num</sub> 3nin/tati] t<sub>NPi</sub>]]

The protagonist *Hanako* appears in Spec, DP whose head is spelled out as *-ra*. The D head *-ra* selects NumP whose head can either be morphologically null or spelled out by the numeral or the plural form *tati*.

Demonstratives plus *-ra* have the same structure as associative plurals except that they require the following nominal not to be a [+count] singular. The following nominal can be a mass noun (20a-b), or, if it is [+count], plurality must be overtly specified by adding a numeral classifier (20c).

- (20) a. [<sub>DP</sub> *kore/sore ra sigen gomi*] *no haiki basyo*  
           this/that PI recyclable trash Gen dispose place  
           ‘the place to dispose these recyclable trash’  
       b. [<sub>DP</sub> *kore/sore ra hon-rui*] *no oki basyo*  
           this/that PI book-kind Gen put place  
           ‘the place to put these kinds of books’  
       c. [<sub>DP</sub> *kore/sore ra hon \*(san-satu)*] *no oki basyo*  
           this/that PI book three-Class Gen put-place  
           ‘the place to put these three books’

In section 2, we saw Hoji’s (1991) argument that third person *kare* is not a pronoun but a demonstrative. Interestingly, *kare* behaves exactly like demonstratives in that the appositive NP without the overt plural suffix *tati* is deviant (21).<sup>2</sup>

- (21) a. ??[<sub>DP</sub> *kare ra gakusei*] *no kiboo*  
           he PI student Gen hope  
           ‘The hope of them students’  
       b. [<sub>DP</sub> *kare ra gakusei-tati*] *no kiboo*  
           he PI student PI Gen hope  
           ‘The hope of them students’

Unlike English, Japanese is said to be a language which lacks agreement. The (un)acceptability of (20-21), however, clearly indicates that demonstratives trigger number agreement between the D head *-ra* and the NP that it selects.

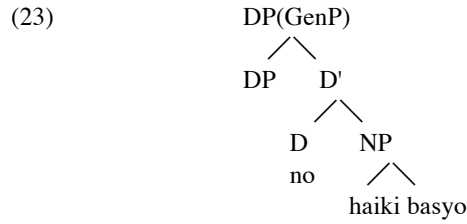
In parallel to the associative plural construction (19), I argue that demonstratives contain NumP. The D head *-ra* selects NumP specified for [+Plural]. The NP (Mass/Plural) moves to Spec, NumP:<sup>3</sup>

- (22) [<sub>DP</sub> [<sub>DemP</sub> *kore/sore/kare*] [<sub>D</sub> *ra*] [<sub>NumP</sub> NP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>Num+Mass</sub> *tati*] t<sub>i</sub>]]

Examples (20) then have a structure in which the entire DP appears in Spec, DP(GenP), as represented in (23).

<sup>2</sup> I owe this observation to Atsuro Tsubomoto (p.c.).

<sup>3</sup> Recall that *kore/sore* ‘this’ decompose into two elements: *ko/so* (deictic) in Spec(DemP) and *-re* the head of DemP (see (9)).



Assuming the split DP hypothesis, this section has argued that demonstratives, including third person *kare* in ModJ, have a structure in which DP is made up of two layers; the higher layer is specified for definiteness, and the lower layer is specified for number.

### 3. Personal Pronouns in the History of Japanese

#### 3.1. Cardinaletti and Starke (1999)

Romance languages possess three classes of pronouns: strong, weak and clitic pronouns. The latter two are classified together by Cardinaletti and Starke (1999) as “deficient.” Cardinaletti and Starke propose that the three classes of pronouns are associated with distinct heads inside the extended nominal projection. CP,  $\Sigma$ P and IP are common to nominal and clause structure (24).

- (24) [<sub>CP</sub> Strong [ <sub>$\Sigma$ PL</sub> Weak [<sub>IP</sub> Clitic [<sub>LP...</sub>]]]],  
 where LP= Lexical Projection (NP/VP)(Cardinaletti and Starke 1999)

Strong pronouns are licensed at the highest functional projection, which hosts case and referential features. Weak pronouns have a polarity feature which is licensed at what Cardinaletti and Starke call  $\Sigma$ P. Clitic pronouns are licensed at the lowest functional projection, IP, which contains agreement features. Deficient pronouns, both weak and clitic, lack the highest functional projection, and thus, according to Cardinaletti and Starke (1999:192), they appear in a derived position in the clause to recover these features.

Recall that demonstratives have a number specification and Number projects to an independent projection, NumP. Personal pronouns differ from demonstratives in that they are specified for language-specific phi-features, including person, number and gender features. In order to incorporate Cardinaletti and Starke’s basic insight into the two layered split DP structure of demonstratives proposed in section 2, I assume with Guisti (2001) that personal pronouns contain AgrP. Strong pronouns are compositionally derived by movement of Agr to D to check their definite/referential features. Deficient pronouns, which lack definite/referential features, originate inside NP



and move up to Agr to check their phi-features. The structural positions of strong and deficient pronouns are represented in (25).

(25) [<sub>DP</sub> Strong [<sub>AgrP</sub> Deficient [<sub>NP</sub>...]]]

### 3.2 A Tripartite Pronominal System in Old Japanese<sup>4</sup>

ModJ pronouns are distinctive compared to their Indo-European counterparts in that there is a large inventory of pronominal forms which originate as nouns: e.g. *watakusi* ‘I’ < ‘private,’ *boku* ‘I’ < ‘servant,’ *kimi* ‘you’ < ‘lord’. It has been pointed out by a number of researchers that these pronouns behave like nouns: they can be coordinated with nouns such as *kimi to Taroo* ‘you and Taroo’, and modified by adjectives as in *kawaii kimi* ‘cute you’ (cf. Fukui 1995). Cardinaletti and Starke indicate that strong pronouns in Romance languages can be coordinated with nouns, but they cannot be modified by adjectives. The noun-like properties of *watakusi* ‘I’ and *kimi* ‘you’ indicate that the syntactic status of these pronouns remains that of a noun.

In contrast to ModJ pronouns, Whitman and Yanagida (2009) and Yanagida (2010) argue that OJ (8th century) has three classes of pronouns equivalent to those in Romance languages, as illustrated in (26):<sup>5</sup>

(26) Tripartite Pronominal Systems in OJ (8th century)

	clitics	weak pronouns	strong pronouns
1st person	<i>(w)a</i>		<i>(w)a-re</i>
2nd person	<i>na</i>		<i>na-re</i>
demonstrative	<i>si</i>	<i>so/ko</i>	<i>so-re/ko-re</i>

The full forms with *-re* such as *(w)a-re* ‘I’ and *na-re* ‘you’ are strong pronouns. Examples (27a, b) are taken from the *Man’yôshû* (MYS):

(27) a. Koromo no pimo wo **are** tokame yamo (MYS 3585)  
 clothes Gen string I untie  
 ‘Would I untie the string of the garment?’

<sup>4</sup> The current study of pronouns is based on three electronic text corpora: the *Nihon Koten Bungaku Honbun* database (National Institute of Japanese Literature), *Man’yôshû Kensaku* (Yamaguchi University), and the Oxford Corpus of Old Japanese, as well as the editions by Nakanishi (1978-1983), Kojima et al. (1995) and Ogihara et al. (1979). This paper follows in general the transcription and glossing conventions for Old Japanese in Frellesvig and Whitman (2008)

<sup>5</sup> Yanagida (2007) and Whitman and Yanagida (2009) argue that Old Japanese was a split active language. These three classes of Old Japanese pronouns correlate with active alignment.

- b. **Nare** waga te pure-nana...oti kamo (MYS 4418)  
 you I.Gen hand touch-not fall Q  
 ‘Will you fall... though my hand never touches you?’

Strong pronouns often appear morphologically unmarked as in (27). Importantly, strong pronouns never appear with genitive *no* or *ga*; that is, (*w*)*are-ga* and (*w*)*are-no* are not found in the OJ corpus.<sup>6</sup> As explained later in detail, I suggest that strong pronouns and genitive may not co-occur because they occupy the same functional head position in the extended nominal projection.

(*W*)*a* and *na*, which are the deficient counterparts of *ware* and *nare*, on the other hand, must be accompanied by genitive *ga*, as in (28), when they appear in subject position within a clause or DP.

- (28) a. Kwopwi wo **wa ga** suru (MYS 2311)  
 Love Obj I Gen do  
 ‘I am in love.’
- b. **Na ga** nake-ba... (MYS 3785)  
 you Gen cry-Cond  
 ‘when you cry...’

Unlike strong pronouns, deficient pronouns cannot be left morphologically unmarked. The case feature of deficient pronouns must be overtly realized by a case particle. This may be attributed to the general properties of deficient pronouns proposed by Cardinaletti and Starke: “deficient elements are necessarily in a case-assigning position at S structure (to recover case) (1999:192).” Like their clitic counterparts in Romance, *wa* and *na* only appear as core arguments of a clause.

According to Cardinaletti and Starke, while strong pronouns must have referential features, deficient pronouns lack these features; thus they can be interpreted as referential only if they are associated with a (non-deficient) antecedent, through coreference. OJ *so/ko*, the deficient counterparts of *sore/kore*, are weak pronouns. As Hashimoto (1966) points out, they only appear in contexts where a specific antecedent is present in the preceding discourse:

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<sup>6</sup> This fact is also pointed out by Frellesvig (2010).

- (29) Uwe-si ta mo maki-si patake mo asagoto ni sibomi kare  
 planted paddy too sowed field too morning.each Loc wither dry.up  
 yuku **so wo** mi-reba kokoro wo itami (MYS 4122)  
 go that Obj see-when heart Obj hurt  
 ‘The paddy that I planted and the fields that I sowed wither and dry  
 up morning by morning. When I see that, my heart aches.’

The demonstrative *ko* may be used deictically, but as Hashimoto points out, *ko* tends to refer to the previously mentioned element in a given discourse. In (30) *ko* refers to the moment or situation when the speaker sitting alone, thinks:

- (30) Pitori wite mono omopu yopi-ni pototogisu **ko yu** naki wataru  
 alone sit thing think evening-Loc cuckoo this from cry pass  
 ‘In the evening as I think of things sitting all alone, a cuckoo passes  
 by (through this scene) crying.’ (MYS 1476)

### 3.3. The DP Structure of OJ Pronouns

In OJ strong pronouns never appear with genitive *ga*, while deficient pronouns must be marked by genitive *ga*. Assuming with Kayne (1994) that *ga* is a functional head that takes a complement to its right (see also Whitman (2001)), Yanagida (2005) argues that *ga* in OJ is the head of AgrP, and that pronominal clitics are directly left-adjoined to *ga*. This is represented in (31) (head adjunction is represented by “=,” as in *wa=ga*).

- (31) [<sub>AgrP</sub> [<sub>Agr</sub> *ga*] [<sub>NP/VP</sub> (w)a ...]] [<sub>AgrP</sub> [<sub>Agr</sub> (w)a<sub>i</sub>=*ga*] [<sub>NP/VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> ...]]

Evidence for the view that *ga* appears in the lowest functional category within DP is that *wa/na* accompanied by genitive *ga* must appear immediately adjacent to both the nominalized (*rentai*) verb (28a), repeated in (32a) and to the head noun as in (32b):

- (32) a. Kwopi wo **wa=ga** suru (MYS 2311)  
 love Obj I Gen do  
 ‘I am in love.’  
 b. Ayu no **si=ga** pata (MYS 4191)  
 sweetfish Gen it Gen fin  
 ‘the sweetfish, their fins’

The idea that OJ genitive *ga* is the head of AgrP captures the word order restriction. The structure (31) is also consistent with Cardinaletti and Starke’s approach: under their analysis, clitics appear in the functional category specified for agreement, which appears immediately above NP or VP.

I suggest that strong pronouns are not unanalyzable categories but compositionally derived by movement within the extended nominal projec-

tion. The spellout of agreement, *wa/na* moves from inside NP/VP to Agr-head and subsequently to D to check the definite feature.

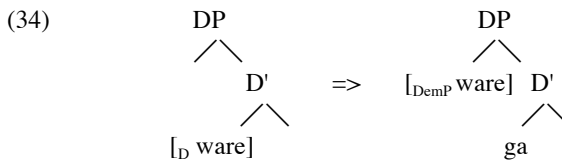
## (33) Strong Pronouns

$$[{}_{\text{DP}} \text{re } [{}_{\text{AgrP}} [{}_{\text{Agr}} \text{wa}_i] [{}_{\text{NP}} \text{t}_i \dots]]] \rightarrow [{}_{\text{DP}} \text{wa}_i \text{-re } [{}_{\text{AgrP}} [{}_{\text{Agr}} \text{t}_i] [{}_{\text{NP}} \text{t}_i \dots]]]$$

The fact that OJ *ware* does not appear with genitive *ga* is accounted for by the assumption that *ga* originates in Agr. The presence of genitive *ga* in Agr blocks the movement of *wa/na* to the D-head, possibly due to the Head Movement Constraint (HMC).

The tripartite pronominal system of OJ almost completely disappeared in Early Middle Japanese (EMJ), after 800. Deficient pronouns - both weak and clitic pronouns - were lost and replaced by their strong counterparts (*ware/kore/sore/kare*). The clitic *wa* came to be used only in the conventionalized form *waga* 'my'.

Recall that in OJ *ware* and *ga* do not co-occur; this is not attested until LMJ. Yanagida (2010) argues that the emergence of *ware-ga* is due to the loss of Agr in DP. Once *ware* surfaces in D and its deficient counterpart is lost, learners are no longer presented with evidence that *ware* contains an agreement projection. AgrP is consequently lost. The loss of AgrP then leads to the categorial reanalysis of *ware* as demonstrative (DemP). This involves a reanalysis of the left peripheral head as Spec, DP, as represented in (34).



In OJ through MJ, the syntactic status of *ware* is D. Once *ware* appears in Spec, DP, it comes to be able to co-occur with *ga*. The reanalysis of (34) may be motivated by the fact that Japanese is overwhelmingly a head final language. When no overt specifier is realized, the preponderance of head final structures may lead learners to reanalyze phrase-initial heads as specifiers. We see below that the relevant categorial change leads to an increase in semantic/pragmatic significance.

### 3.4. Intrapersonal Pronoun Shift

OJ *ware/waga* underwent what Whitman (1999) calls "intrapersonal pronoun shift" whereby first person pronoun came to refer to second person (i.e. the hearer). According to Whitman (1999), intrapersonal pronoun shift is widely observed in East Asian languages that lack agreement, and in the case of shift from first to second person, it is always mediated by a diachronic stage where the pronoun has a reflexive function SELF. This

may, in fact, be the case in Japanese. *Ware* is used as reflexive comparable to *zibun* ‘self’. (35) is from the EMJ text *Ise-Monogatari*.

- (35) Iyasikara-nu wotoko **ware**-yori pa masari taru pito wo omopikakete  
 low rank-not man self-than Top higher Imper person Acc adore  
 tosi pe-keru  
 time pass-Past  
 ‘A man not of low rank fell in love with a person of rank higher than  
 himself, and time went by.’

In OJ *ware* simply appears as a neutral first person pronoun. But *ware* started to be used in a reflexive function, not limited to first person, in EMJ. Once *ware* could be used to refer to the second person, it came to convey various stylistic and sociolinguistic implicatures. In LMJ *ware* (second person) is used towards people ranking lower on the social scale. Ultimately, as in (36), it came to carry a derogatory implicature (cf. Nakamura et al. (1982)).

- (36) Itu **ware** ga ore ni sake o kureta zo (Kyôgen, *Kofi muko*)  
 when you Nom me Dat sake Acc give Past Foc  
 ‘When did you give me sake?’

I propose that intrapersonal shift is a byproduct of the diachronic process by which a pronoun loses its agreement features (i.e. is depersonalized). Attainment of a reflexive meaning is a result of losing the specific person features borne by Agr.

### 3.5. Pronoun/Demonstrative Plus *-ra*

In OJ the suffix *-ra* functions as a diminutive. (For OJ diminutive *-ra*, see Nakamura et al. 1982.)

- (37) a. **Kwo-ra** ga ipyedi yaya ma dopoki wo (MYS 302)  
 Dim-Pl Gen home road a little far Excl  
 ‘The road where the maid goes home is still far’  
 b. **pata kwo-ra** ga yoru piru to ipa-zu yuku miti (MYS 193)  
 field Dim-Pl Gen night day that say-not go road  
 ‘the road where farmers go day and night’

The plural denotation of *-ra* is not fully developed in OJ; thus, NP-*ra* can have either singular (37a) or plural (37b) reference. Importantly, the suffix *-ra* never appears with pronouns or demonstratives; that is, *ware/nare-ra* and *kore/sore-ra* are not found in the OJ corpus (cf. Frellesvig 2010). This is due to the fact that pronouns/demonstratives are Ds in OJ. Given that *-ra* is the head of DP, as discussed in section 2, they cannot be followed by *-ra*. The pronoun/demonstrative with the plural *-ra* begins to appear in Middle Japanese (MJ) texts. (38) is from *Utsubo monogatari* (c. 980):

- (38) [**Ware-ra** ga ko] wa oya ni masaru nasi  
 I-Pl Gen child Top ancestor Dat surpass not  
 ‘My children do not surpass their ancestors.’

*Ware-ra* has the same structure as ModJ demonstratives *sore-ra* ‘that-Pl’ or *kare-ra* ‘he-Pl’ in that it has a full DP structure throughout its history. While the strong pronoun *ware* and *ga* do not co-occur in OJ through MJ, (38) shows that the plural form *ware-ra* can appear with *ga* in MJ. The entire DP structure of (38) is represented in (39), parallel to ModJ (23).

- (39)
- ```

      DP(GenP)
     /  \
    DP   D'
  ware-rai /  \
   'I-Pl' D   NP
          ga  ko
              'child'
  
```

*Ware-ra* projects to DP and appears in Spec, DP headed by *ga*. In OJ, the genitive *ga* heads AgrP, but it appears in D in EMJ after Agr is lost.

#### 4. Summary

In this paper, I have argued that ModJ demonstratives, including third person *kare*, have a structure in which D selects NumberP, and that demonstratives trigger number agreement with the NP they select. Following the split DP hypothesis, this paper also argues that D in the projection containing OJ strong pronouns selects AgrP. I have discussed the loss of AgrP in terms of evidence provided by the demise of deficient pronouns, intrapersonal shift from first person to second person, mediated by a reflexive function, and the emergence of *ware* with the D head *ga* and the corresponding plural form *ware-ra*.

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