Redundant *Hito*, Polite *Kata*, and Derogative *Yatsu* in Japanese: Human-Denoting Light Nouns as a Window into Noun Phrase Structure[*]

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This article demonstrates that even languages like Japanese, where functional heads and hierarchical syntactic structures they carry about are hard to identify, indeed have much elaborate structure. The present interest is fine structure of nominal phrases, and clues to the investigation come from expressions which can be called "human-denoting light nouns," that is, semi-lexical nouns such as hito*, * kata*, and * yatsu*, all of which denote human beings. Of importance in light of syntactic analysis is the fact that (i) they can occur "redundantly" in a position following full-lexical nouns that denote human beings themselves (e.g.,* gengogakusha *'linguist,'* Amerika-jin *'American' etc.) and that (ii) the occurrence of these light nouns obeys subtle but consistent selectional restrictions. The goal of the present article is to lay down the basic data, which to my knowledge have been little noticed in the formal syntactic literature, and to point out that there is a lot of work for us Japanese syntacticians to do in this vast domain.*

Keywords: [+human], diminutives, Indexicality, associativity, proper names, pronouns

1. Introduction

Japanese is known to have various kinds of "light nouns," or "semi-lexical nouns" (Corver and van Riemsdijk (2001)), as exemplified below.[1]

(1)　a.　Otoko-no *ko*-ga　　naiteiru.
　　　　man-Gen kid-Nom is.crying
　　　　'A boy is crying.'
　　b.　Hanako-wa　omatsuri-no *toki*-ni tokei-o　　　nakushita.
　　　　Hanako-Top festival-Gen time-at watch-Acc　　lost
　　　　'Hanako lost her watch at the time of the festival.'

Some instances of these light nouns occur in categories other than noun phrases: in postpositional phrases (2a), or in verbal/predicative phrases (2b).

(2)　a.　Kuruma-no　*mae*-de　kodomo-ga　　　asonderu.
　　　　car-Gen　　　front-at　child-Nom　　　is.playing
　　　　'A child is playing in front of a car.'
　　b.　Watashi-wa　Amerika-ni　itta *koto*-ga aru.
　　　　I-Top　　　　America-to　have.been
　　　　'I have been to America.'

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[1] Case particles are glossed as follows throughout the text, just for the expository purposes and without any significant theoretical commitments: *–ga* '-Nom,' *–o* '-Acc,' *–no* 'Gen,' *–ni* 'Dat,' alongside with the topic marker *–wa* '-Top.'

There are many instances of this sort, which provide a crucial insight into the phrase structure of Japanese nominal phrases.

Among various uses of light nouns in Japanese are what might be called "redundant" light nouns, which will set the scene for the discussion advanced in the present article. Consider the examples in (3).[2]

(3) a. Hanako-ga   Taroo-no *koto*-o   nagutta.
         Hanako-Nom Taro-Gen *koto*-Acc   punched
         'Hanako punched Taro.'
     b. Onomimono-no *hoo*-wa   ikaga shimasu   ka?
         drink-Gen   *hoo*-Top   how   do.POLITE Q
         'What would you like for your drink?'
     c. Seijika-no   *hito*-ga   nanika   sakendeiru.
         politician-Gen *hito*-Nom something is.shouting
         'A politician is shouting something.'

What is remarkable of the above examples, sharply contrasting with the examples such as (1) and (2), is the fact that the light nouns are "redundant," or in other words, that the sentences come out perfectly acceptable, without change in interpretation, even when the light nouns are absent. In this article, I will use this optional occurrence as a diagnostic property for "redundant" light nouns, with more precise characterization being a topic for future research.

(4) a. Hanako-ga   Taroo-o nagutta.
         Hanako-Nom Taro-Acc punched
         'Hanako punched Taro.'
     b. Onomimono-wa ikaga shimasu   ka?
         drink-Top   how   do.POLITE Q
         'What would you like for your drink?'
     c. Seijika-ga   nanika   sakendeiru.
         politician-Nom something is.shouting
         'A politician is shouting something.'

Interpretive effects of these redundant light nouns, if any, are pragmatic. The use of them gives the whole sentence a flavor of politeness, modesty, or pragmatic hedge of some sort. I spare serious investigation into these effects for future research, but just point out that they might suggest an affinity of light nouns and diminutive constructions found in many languages (see Jurafsky (1996) for typological survey of diminutives; see also Ott (2011) and De Belder (2011) for recent morphosyntactic approaches to diminutives and related constructions in Germanic).

With the background concern as laid down above, let us narrow down our focus. Inokuma (2008) provides a close examination of the redundant use of *hito* (dubbed the N_1-*no hito* construction), and shows that the occurrence of *hito* is restricted both internally and externally. That is, *hito* can only co-occur with certain classes of N_1 (nominal-internal restriction), and the resulting N_1-*no hito* phrase as a whole can only occur as an individual-denoting argument in the clausal domain (nominal-external restriction). As will be summarized in the next section, one of the major theoretical goals of that article was to argue that lexical nouns on the one hand and proper names and personal pronouns on the other behave differently even in "non-configurational" languages like Japanese, thereby arguing against hypotheses that Japanese phrase structure is flat, or that its functional categories

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[2] The light nouns given in (3), as lexical information, have the following meanings: *koto* '(abstract) thing,' *hoo* 'direction/side,' and *hito* 'person.' Because of their "lightness," they usually cannot be used on their own, without any modifying elements, however.

are "impoverished."[3] Inokuma (2009) adds evidence to this lexical vs. non-lexical split, through the investigation into so-called pronoun-noun construction in Japanese, which will also be surveyed in section 2.

Building on the results of these previous works, the present article argues for the need of further distinction among nominal elements in Japanese, namely, proper names vs. other elements. Focusing on the human denoting noun phrases, the chief evidence comes from an observation on another redundant light noun, derogative *yatsu*.[4]

(5)   a.   Taroo-no yatsu-ga   mata   sawaideru.
                Taro-Gen *yatsu*-Nom again is.making.noise
                '(The idiot of) Taro is making noise again.'
    b.   Taroo-ga   mata   sawaideru.
                Taro-Nom   again is.making.noise
                'Taro is making noise again.'

The article is organized as follows. In section 2, I summarize the results of Inokuma (2008, 2009), and establish the point that lexical vs. non-lexical distinction is observable in the syntactic structure of Japanese nominal phrases. Two constructions, the N$_1$-*no hito* construction and the (pro)noun-noun construction, will be discussed in turn. Section 3 takes up the syntactic properties of the derogative *yatsu* construction, and submits that a further distinction is necessary among non-lexical classes, i.e., proper name vs. pronoun distinction. In so doing, this section performs a detailed comparison of pluralities of the redundant light nouns at hand and pluralities of lexical noun phrases marked by associative –*tachi*, examines their interactions, and suggests a possible approach to the theory of Japanese noun phrase structure. The present work is still in its preliminary stage, and most part of it is devoted to reporting the data scarcely discussed in the literature and putting them into shape, with prospect of theoretical analyzing in the future.

2.   Lexical vs. Non-lexical Split

In this section we will look at two peculiar constructions observed in Japanese, both of which point to the need of distinguishing lexical nouns from non-lexical nouns, that is, proper names and personal pronouns in the language, in terms of phrase structure.

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[3] Japanese seems to hold an uncertain position in the context of configurationality of phrase structure. In the earliest days of generative tradition, free word-order (scrambling) character of the language led the linguists to treat it as a non-configurational language, while detailed studies by Japanese researchers that followed have forcefully shown the configurational character of the language (e.g. Saito and Hoji (1983) for the evidence from *zibun*-binding). Interestingly, though, the "flat" (and "shallow") view of Japanese seems to be alive in the recent cross-linguistic literature on nominal phrases, represented by Chierchia's (1998) "Semantic Parameter" approach (see also Longobardi (2008)). In this respect, the present article can be seen as an attempt to (further) argue against the "flat" view of Japanese nominal phrases. Thanks to an anonymous reviewer for clarifying comments and references.
[4] I tentatively call this use of *yatsu* the "derogative" use, since the use of this expression suggests the speaker's embarrassed feeling towards the referent. *Yatsu* appears in other instances, with much weaker pragmatic connotation.

  (i)   a.   Kinoo   atta *yatsu*-ga   meeru-o   kureta.
              yesterday met *yatsu*-Nom   mail-Acc   gave
              'The one/guy I met yesterday gave me a mail.'
        b.   anata-ga   motteru   yatsu-o   kashitekurenai?
              you-Nom have   *yatsu*-Acc   lend.me.not
              'Won't you lend me the one you have?'

In (ia), *yatsu* is used just as an informal/casual variant of *hito*; in (ib), it is used to refer to an inanimate object, most naturally translated as *the one* or *the thing* (that is tangible). Very often, it is not easy to draw a clear distinction between the cases in (i) and the derogative cases discussed in the text. See below.

2.1. N_1-no Hito *Construction*

As presented in the introduction, certain human-denoting noun phrases can be followed by –*no hito*. More examples are given in (6).

(6)   a.   Amerika.jin-no   hito   *nationality*
           America.person-Gen person
           '(an) American'

        b.   Bukkyoo.to-no   hito   *religion*
           Buddhist- Gen   person
           '(a) Buddhist'

        c.   bengo.shi-no hito   *occupation*
           lawyer- Gen person
           '(a) lawyer'

Notice that the preceding lexical nouns in the examples in (6) are themselves morphologically marked as [+human].[5] *Jin*, *to*, and *shi* in these examples could all be glossed as 'human.' In other words, the use of *hito* here "redundantly" marks the whole noun phrases as [+human]. The point is illustrated by the fact that *hito* can be freely dropped.

(7)   a.   Amerika.jin(-no   hito)-ga   gakkoo-ni kita.
           America.person(-Gen person)-Nom school-to   came
           'An American came to our school.'

        b.   Anata-wa Bukkyoo.to(-no hito)-to   hanasita   koto-ga arimasu ka?
           you-Top Buddhist(-Gen person)-with   talked   have.ever   Q
           'Have you ever talked with a Buddhist?'

        c.   Ano bengo.shi(-no hito)-o   sagashite kudasai.
           that lawyer(-Gen   person)-Acc look.for please
           'Please look for that lawyer.'

The noun class that can be used as N_1 typically includes nouns denoting socially stable profiles, such as nationality, religion, and occupation (cf. de Swart et al. (2007)).[6] It is not the case that any kinds of nominal elements can occur in the N_1 position, however. As hinted at above, proper names and personal pronouns cannot occur in this position.

(8)   a.   *Taroo-no   hito
           Taro-Gen   person
           '(intended.) Taro'

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[5] Morphological [+human] marking is not a necessary condition for the N_1-*no hito* construction, though. We find such examples as below:
(i)   a.   mono.shiri-no   hito
           thing.knowing-Gen   person
           'a person of extensive knowledge'
        b.   kusuri.uri-no   hito
           medicine.selling-Gen person
           'a medicine salesman'

[6] The noun class that can be used as N_1 in Japanese is in fact larger than the class of what de Swart et al. (2007) call *capacity nouns*, though I will not go into the precise characterization of the membership of the class in this article. See Inokuma (2008) for some discussion on this point.

b. *{watasi/anata/aitu}-no   hito
  {1SG/2SG/3SG}-Gen   person
  '(intended.) I/you/that guy'

The N$_1$ class in the N$_1$-*no hito* construction in Japanese must be lexical, with proper names and personal pronouns strictly banned in this position. This contrast already gives support for arguments against the impoverished view of Japanese noun phrases, in which nominal elements in the language, whether they are lexical, pronominal, or proper name, are all treated as Ns, sharing one and the same phrase structure.

(9)   In the N$_1$-*no hito* construction in Japanese, N$_1$ must be a lexical noun.

Turning now to their external behavior within the clausal domain, the N$_1$-*no hito* construction again provides evidence for the configurational structure of Japanese noun phrases. The clue in this case is argument-predicate asymmetry. Consider the examples in (10)-(12).[7]

(10) a.   Tom-wa   {Amerika.jin / gengogaku.sha}-da.
            Tom-Top   {American /   linguist}-Cop
            'Tom is an American / a linguist.'
      b. *Tom-wa   {Amerika.jin-no hito /   gengogaku.sha-no hito}-da.
            Tom-Top   {American-Gen person / linguist-Gen   person}-Cop
            'Lit. Tom is an American person / a linguist person.'
(11) a.   Suzuki.shi-ga   gichoo-o   tsutometeiru.
            Suzuki.Mr-Nom chair-Acc serve
            'Mr. Suzuki serves as the chairperson. / Mr. Suzuki is in charge of the chair.'
      b. *Suzuki.shi-ga   gichoo-no hito-o   tsutometeiru.
            Suzuki.Mr-Nom chair-Gen person-Acc serve
(12) a.   Wareware-wa Suzuki.shi-o   gichoo-ni suisenshita.
            1.PL-Top   Suzuki.Mr-Acc chair-Dat recommended.
            'We recommended Mr. Suzuki for chairperson.'
      b. *Wareware-wa Suzuki.shi-o   gichoo-no hito-ni   suisenshita.
            1.PL-Top   Suzuki.Mr-Acc chair-Gen person-Dat recommended

In the b-example of each pair, it is clear that the N$_1$-*no hito* construction can never function as predicate nominals, again showing the behavior parallel to proper names and personal pronouns in the language. Rather, the predicate nominals must be "bare" lexical nouns in this position. That the choice of case particles is not a factor is illustrated by the examples below. N$_1$-*no hito* phrases can be followed by the copula –*da*, the accusative marker –*o*, or the dative marker –*ni*, as long as the phrases are used to refer to specific individuals.

(13) a.   Watashi-ga kinoo   atta no-wa Amerika.jin-no hito-da.   (Compare (10b))
            1SG.-Nom   yesterday met C-Top American-Gen person-Cop
            'Who I met yesterday is an American.'
      b.   Suzuki.shi-ga gichoo-no hito-o   hageshiku hihanshita.   (Compare (11b))
            Suzuki.Mr-Nom chair-Gen person-Acc fiercely   criticized
            'Mr. Suzuki criticized the chairperson fiercely.'

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[7] To be more precise, the N$_1$-*no hito* phrases cannot occur in predicational copular clauses in the sense of Higgins (1979). See Mikkelsen (2011) for a summary of Higginsian four-way classification of copular clauses. See also (13a) below for a non-predicational (i.e., specificational) copular clause.

    c.   Kono   tegami-o   gichoo-no hito-ni   watashi-nasai.   (Compare (12b))
           this   letter-Acc chair-Gen person-to   hand.over-Imp
           'Hand this letter over to the chairperson.'

The argument-predicate contrast above also points to the existence of hierarchical structure in Japanese noun phrases, along the line of Abney's (1987) and Stowell's (1989) NP-DP correspondence of argumenthood.

(14)   Arguments are DP; predicates are NP.   (Stowell (1989); Heycock and Zamparelli (2005))

The classification of Japanese noun phrases we have reached in this subsection can be summarized as follows.[8]

(15)

	Argument use	Predicate use
Proper Name	ok	*
Personal Pronoun	ok	*
N_1-*no hito*	ok	*
"Bare" lexical noun	ok	ok

From the restrictions in (9) and (14), we can conclude that proper names and personal pronouns on the one hand and lexical nouns on the other behave differently both inside and outside of the nominal phrases they occur in. Furthermore, the behavior of N_1-*no hito* phrases apparently suggests that, in a fine-grained, "cartographic" structure of nominal phrases, lexical nouns occupy a lower position, NP for instance, whereas proper names, personal pronouns, and N_1-*no hito* phrases project higher up in the extended nominal spine, say DP (cf. Longobardi (1994)).

At this point, one might wonder why we have to take the two nominal elements, the N_1 and *hito*, in this construction as forming a single nominal spine (from N to D), rather than to treat the N_1 elements simply as attributive modifiers to *hito*. After all, *hito* can stand as an independent argument in its bare use.

(16) a.   Kyoo-wa   hito-ni   au   yotei-ga   aru.
           today-Top   person-Dat meet appointment-Nom have
           'Today, I have an appointment to meet a (certain) person.'
      b.   (Dareka)   hito-o   yonde   kudasai.
           (someone) person-Acc call   please
           'Please call someone.'

There are several reasons to believe that the N_1 elements are not modifiers in this construction. Firstly, as emphasized above, *hito* in the N_1-*no hito* construction is semantically redundant. The optionality of occurrence, which is expected for true modifiers, is observed with *hito*, and not with N_1 (see (8) above). It is *hito* that behaves like a modifier in this respect, though the strictly head-final word order in Japanese argues against the possibility of modifiers following the "head" noun (cf. Saito and Fukui (1998)). Secondly, though this is a rather intuitive speculation, the independent use of *hito* as exemplified in (16) has an interpretive bias: as implied by the English translation, the example in (16a) can only be interpreted as denoting a specific individual; in (16b), on the other hand, the expression assumes a quantificational (free-choice) flavor. I have nothing to say at this point as to the nature of these semantic effects, but it seems that there is something going on with the bare instances of *hito* which has to do with its quantificational force. Finally, and more importantly, we have more obvious evidence that points

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[8] But see the discussion below for a possibility of non-human-denoting use of proper names, namely the naming construction (e.g., *They named their baby Christine.*, and *The girls name is Sakura, which means cherry blossoms in Japanese.*). Cf. Matushansky (2008).

to the single-spine analysis of this construction. That evidence comes from the N_1-*no kata* construction. Consider (17).

(18) a. * Taroo-no   kata[9]
         Taro-Gen   person(Hon)

    b. * anata/kare-no   kata
         you/he-Gen   person(Hon)

    c. gakusee-no   kata
        student-Gen   person(Hon)
        'the student'

With respect to its internal syntax (i.e., the choice of N_1), the N_1-*no kata* construction exhibits the same pattern with the N_1-*no hito* construction; namely, *kata* can follow lexical nouns, but not proper names or pronouns. With respect to its external use (i.e., argument-predicate asymmetry), too, *kata* patterns with *hito*; both can only occur in argument nominals but not in predicate nominals.

(19) a. Daihyoosha-no   kata-ga   omachidesu.
         representative-Gen   person(Hon)-Nom   is.waiting
         'The representative is waiting.'

    b. Butsurigakusha-no   kata-ni   shitsumon-ga   arimasu.
        physician-Gen   person(Hon)-Dat   question-Nom   exist(Hon)
        'I have a question to a physician.'

(20) a. % John-wa   Amerikajin-no   kata-desu.[10]
         John-Top   American-Gen   person(Hon)-Cop
         'John is an American.'

    b. * Watashi-wa   Taroo-o   gichoo-no   kata-ni   suisenshita.
         I-Top   Taro-Acc   chair-Gen   person(Hon)-Dat   recommended
         'I recommended Taro for chairperson.'
         ok 'I recommended Taro to the chairperson.'   (Taro $\neq$ chairperson)

So far so good. A striking property of *kata*, not observed with *hito*, manifests itself when we try the bare use of *kata* as an independent argument, on the model of (16). Consider (21).

(21) a. * Kyoo-wa   kata-ni   au   yotei-ga   aru.
         today-Top   person(Hon)-Dat   meet   appointment-Nom   have
         'Today, I have an appointment to meet a (certain) person.'

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[9] An anonymous reviewer provides possible examples for proper names followed by *kata*, such as *Yodo-no kata* 'Lady Yodo' and *Kita-no kata* 'Lady Kita' (note: *kita* means *north*), all of which are obsolete in present-day Japanese. Notice also that the N_1 elements in these cases are place names (or directions); *Yodo-no kata* literally means 'the (honorable) one who is in Yodo,' and *Kita-no kata* 'the (honorable) one in north.'

[10] The judgment is somewhat puzzling here. Quite a few speakers more or less accept this sentence, compared to the minimal pair in (10b). The complication comes, I believe, from the difficulty of sorting out predicate nominals into Higginsian semantic classes of copular clauses: *predicational*, *specificational*, *equational*, and *identificational* (See also Mikkelsen (2011)). Among the four classes, relevant in the present discussion is the *predicational* predicate nominals, but the sentence in (20a) strongly favors the *identificational* reading (among several salient individuals in context, John is the one from America). Most of the speakers I consulted find a subtle interpretive/pragmatic difference between the cases with *kata* and without. Unfortunately, though, I have not yet come up with an effective way of syntactically teasing out the four readings beyond the intuitive level. The same ambiguity might in fact be observed in (10a), though the effect seems to be much stronger in the cases with *kata* than in the cases with *hito*, for reasons unknown. Honorification might be playing a role here, which goes far beyond the scope of the present article.

b.　*(Dareka)　kata-o　　　　　yonde　kudasai.
　　(someone)　person(Hon)-Acc　call　　please
　　'Please call someone.'

The restriction imposed on *kata*, but not on *hito*, is that the former can never occur "independently" without any preceding (pre-*kata*) elements, such as the N_1 at issue, adjectival (noun-modifying) elements, or numeral classifiers.

(22)　a.　Raishuu　　*(yuumeena/omoshiroi)　kata-ga　　　　　　kuru　　yoteida.
　　　　　　next week　*(famous/interesting)　person(Hon)-Nom　come　　is.supposed
　　　　　　'A(n) famous/interesting person is supposed to come next week.'
　　　b.　Kono　naka-de　　*(chiketto-o　wasureta)　kata-wa　　　　te-o　　　agete　kudasai.
　　　　　　this　inside-at　*(ticket-Acc　forgot)　person(Hon)-Top　hand-Acc　raise　please
　　　　　　'Anyone who forgot a ticket among you, raise your hand.'
　　　c.　Kongetsu-wa　　*(juu-mei-no)　kata-ni　　　　　oaishimashita.
　　　　　　this month-Top　*(10-Cl-Gen)　person(Hon)-Dat　have.met(Hon)
　　　　　　'This month, I have met 10 people.'

The obligatory occurrence of preceding elements and the impossibility of the bare use of *kata* in tandem argue that the preceding elements, including N_1 elements of our major concern, cannot simply be prenominal modifiers. And to the extent the N_1-*no kata* construction is given a uniform explanation with the N_1-*no hito* construction, we must conclude that the latter construction also involves a single-spine structure of nominal phrases.[11]

　　　The next subsection will turn to another construction involving the issue of nominal categories, namely the (pro)noun-noun construction in Japanese. Close examination of this construction enforces the conclusion reached in this subsection, that is, that lexical vs. non-lexical distinction is indeed operative in Japanese. But at the same time, it leads us to conclude that the distinction at issue cannot be the standard "vertical" distinction of lexical (e.g., N) vs. functional (e.g., D) opposition.[12] It will be shown that proper names and pronouns in Japanese must be analyzed not as occupying a higher functional head position, whether they are base-generated or derived by movement, but rather as occupying some Spec position within the extended nominal projection.

2.2.　　　(Pro)noun-Noun Construction

Since Postal (1969), English examples like (23) have been used to show the categorial affinity of personal pronouns and definite determiners, leading some researchers to call (the independent use of) personal pronouns "intransitive determiners" (Abney (1987), Elbourne (2001)).

(23)　a.　　we/us linguists
　　　b.　　you linguists
　　　c.　%them linguists　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Déchaine and Wiltschko (2002))
　　　cf.　　the linguists
(24)　*Personal Pronouns as (Optionally) Intransitive Determiners:*
　　　a.　^{ok}[$_{DP}$ we/you$_D$ [$_{NP}$ Ø]]　　　　　　^{ok}[$_{DP}$ we/you$_D$ [$_{NP}$ linguists]]
　　　b.　*[$_{DP}$ the$_D$ [$_{NP}$ Ø]]　　　　　　　　^{ok}[$_{DP}$ the$_D$ [$_{NP}$ linguists]]

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[11] To let the conclusion here more consistent and explicit, we further need to explain (i) the obligatory occurrence of (non-N_1) preceding elements in (22), since these prenominal elements plainly are not part of the nominal spine by themselves; and (ii) the difference between *hito* and *kata* with respect to the possibility of bare use.
[12] See Inokuma (to appear) for a brief overview on this matter.

One thing peculiar about this pronoun-noun construction in English, which has already been observed in Postal (1969) but still awaits an explanation, is that singular personal pronouns cannot be used in this construction: the *Plurality Restriction*.

(25) a. *I/me linguist
     b. *you linguist
     c. *he/him/she/her linguist
     cf. the linguist

We will take a closer examination on the plural restriction below.

Now let us steer our discussion toward the Japanese noun phrases. As reported by Noguchi (1997) and Furuya (2004), among others, Japanese has expressions similar to the English pronoun-noun construction.

(26) a. watashi-tachi   gengogakusha
       1SG-Assoc   linguist
     b. anata-tachi   gengogakusha
       2SG-Assoc   linguist
     c. kare-ra   gengogakusha[13]
       3MASC.SG-Assoc linguist

These expressions are also parallel to their English counterparts with respect to the plurality restriction. The singular versions of them are totally unacceptable.[14]

(27) a. *watashi gengogakusha
       1SG.   linguist
     b. *anata   gengogakusha
       2SG.   linguist
     c. *kare/kanojo   gengogakusha
       3MASC.SG./3FEM.SG. linguist

At first glance, the above parallelism suggests the uniform analysis of the pronoun-noun constructions in these two languages. This simplex expectation faces an immediate analytical problem, though. If we adopt pronoun-as-D^0 analysis, a la Postal (1969) and adopting the DP hypothesis since Abney (1987), then a rough internal structure of English pronoun-noun expressions looks like (28).

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[13] In this article I consistently gloss Japanese "plural" markers such as *–tachi* and *–ra* as Assoc(iative). Other Japanese "plural" markers include *-gata* in *anata-gata* (2SG-Assoc.HON 'you(pl.honorific)', or use of duplication in *ware-ware* (1SG-1SG 'we'), to name but a few. Subtle selectional and connotational differences seem to exist among these items, which I will put aside here.

  It might be telling that third person (masculine) pronouns are distinguished from first and second person plurals in that the former use *-ra* rather than *-tachi* (*kare-tachi), cf. the degraded status of the English counterpart in (23c).

[14] I am putting aside instances (apparently restricted to formal situations) of the singular (pro)noun-noun sequences, as exemplified below:
(i) a. Watakushi Inokuma Sakumi-ga   shikai-o   tsutomemasu.
       I(formal)   Inokuma Sakumi-Nom chair-Acc is.in.charge.of
       'I, Sakumi Inokuma, am in honorable charge of chairman.'
     b. Nanzi   Yamada Taroo-wa   Tanaka Hanako-o   tsuma-to erabi…
       you(formal) Yamada Taroo-Top Tanaka Hanako-Acc   wife-as   choose(Ger)…
       'You, Taro Yamada, choose Hanako Tanaka as your wife, …'
I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out these data.

(28)   [$_{DP}$ *we/us*$_D$ [$_{NP}$ *linguists*]]

This structure cannot be maintained for Japanese counterparts. Japanese, as a strictly head-final language, must be assumed to have these pronouns in the Spec position.[15]

(29)   [$_{DP}$ [*watashi-tachi*] [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ *gengogakusha*] D^0]]

Thus we are led to the hypothesis as stated in (30).

(30)   Pronoun-as-Spec Hypothesis:
         Japanese pronouns occupy the Spec, rather than the Head, position within nominal phrases.

One of the direct consequences of (30) is that, given that the preceding nominal element in the pronoun-noun construction lies in the Spec rather than the Head, the phrase-structural status of it must be XP, rather than X^0. This consequence leads us to expect that expressions other than personal pronouns can in principle occur in this position. The expectation is confirmed by examples like (31), where expressions other than pronouns are used as the first element in the construction at issue; proper name + *tachi*, a (certain) noun following a demonstrative + *tachi*, and the coordination of proper names + *tachi*, respectively.

(31) a.   Taroo-tachi   daigakusei   [proper name + TACHI]
           Taro-Assoc   undergrad
           'Taro and his folks undergrads'
      b.   {ano/sono/kono} {hito/ko}-tachi   kookoosei   [demonstrative + noun + TACHI]
           {that/that/this} {person/kid}-Assoc high.school.student
           'this/that person/kid and his folks high school students'
      b'. aitsu-ra   daigakuinsei[16]
           that.guy-Assoc   grad.student
           'those guys graduate students'

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[15] In recent minimalist approaches, it is held that linear order is not relevant to the syntactic component (Chomsky (1995 et seq.), Kayne (1994)). This thesis is put forward more forcefully in the current biolinguistic perspective (Chomsky (2005, 2007, 2008) for instance). The present discussion is theoretically neutral as to the presence of something like a directionality parameter, or as to the validity of Kayne's (1994) LCA, given the very robust fact that Japanese is a strictly head-final language, never allowing complements and adjuncts to follow their heads (except for some "extraposed" cases, as in *Hanako-ga denwashitayo, Taroo-ni-wa* (Hanako-Nom called, Taro-to-Top) 'Hanako called (him), Taro.').

[16] Expressions like *aitsu-ra* and *koitsu-ra* can be morphologically analyzed as *a-y(a)tsu-ra* (that-guy-Assoc) and *k-y(a)tsu-ra* (this-guy-Assoc), respectively. We will focus on the properties of *yatsu* 'guy' in the next sections.

    Also interesting is the fact that the "plural" marker that is used to form a polite second person plural form *anata-gata*, i.e., *-gata* (presumably the *rendaku* allomorph of *-kata*), is also used as a light noun, as discussed in the above section. A question remains however as to why *kata*, but not *hito*, can be used as a plural marker.
  (ii) a.   anata-gata
             you.SG-*kata*
             'you.PL.HON'
        b.   sensee-gata
             teacher-*kata*
             'teachers.HON'
  (iii) a. * anata-bito
             you.SG-*hito*
        b. * sensee-bito
             teacher-*hito*
Kata's idiosyncrasy is worth more attention than paid in the present article, or in the current literature. Time and space do not allow me to undertake the task for now, though.

c. Taroo ya Hanako-tachi kitsuensha   [coordination (of proper names) + *TACHI*]
    Taro and Hanako-Assoc smoker
    'Taro, Hanako, and their folks smokers'

That these expressions in fact have the same structure as those in the pronoun-noun construction is indicated by the ungrammaticality of their singular counterparts (32).

(32)   * {watashi/Taroo/kono hito} butsurigakusha (-ga mondai-o shitekishita.)
        {I/Taro/this person} physician (-Nom problem-Acc pointed.out)
        'I/Taro/This person, as a physician, pointed out a problem.'

In the following discussion, we will call the first element in this construction xNP_1, and the second element xNP_2 as in (33), for ease of exposition.[17]

(33) $[_{FP} [_{xNP_1}$ *watashi-tachi* $] [_{xNP_2}$ *gengogakusha* $] F^0]$

It is not the case that any nominal elements can show up in xNP_1, though. Common nouns like *wakamono* 'young.person' cannot occur in xNP_1, as in (34a), even when they appear with a demonstrative (34b).

(34) a. * wakamono-tachi daigakusei   [*common noun + *TACHI*]
        young.person-Assoc undergrad
        'young people undergrads'
    b. ?? kono wakamono-tachi daigakusei
        this young.person-Assoc undergrad
        'this young guy and his folks undergrads'

Rather surprising is the contrast found between (31b) and (34b). At first glance, both cases involve as xNP_1 the sequence Demonstrative-Noun-*Tachi*, with the sole difference being the lexical choice of nouns: *hito/ko* versus *wakamono*. I suggest that the difference is categorial; in other words, items such as *hito* and *ko* form a class distinct from items such as *wakamono* and *daigakusei*. This suggestion fares well with the conclusion reached on the N₁-*no hito* construction presented in Section 2.1, where *hito* is argued to have a peculiar property of appearing redundantly in argument (human-denoting) nominals. *Ko* 'kid,' largely exhibits the same distribution as *hito*.

(35) a. Watashi-wa kinoo kookoosee-no ko-ni atta.
        I-Top yesterday high.school.student-Gen kid-Dat met
        'I met a high school student yesterday.'
    b. ?? Yamada.kun-wa kookoosei-no ko-da.[18]
        Yamada.Mr(Dim)-Top high.school.student-Gen kid-Cop
        'Mr. Yamada is a high school student.'

It might seem puzzling to observe that common nouns such as *wakamono* can also substitute *hito* in the N₁-*no hito* construction.

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[17] These terms are borrowed from Matushansky (2008), where xNP is used as a cover term for any extended projection of NP.

[18] "Dim" stands for diminutive. I gloss –*kun* as 'Mr(Dim)' since this element is typically used to refer to a male person who is younger, or in a socially lower status, than the speaker. –*Kun* is used to control the pragmatic context in (35b). That is, *ko* 'kid' also carries a diminutive flavor in this use.

(36)　　　　　Watashi-wa　kinoo　　Amerikajin-no　wakamono-ni　　atta.
　　　　　　　I-Top　　　yesterday　American-Gen　young.person-Dat　met
　　　　　　　'I met a young American yesterday / I met a young person who is American yesterday.'

They behave differently, however, in the predicate position; expressions like N₁-*no wakamono* can occur as a predicate nominal, as shown in (37).

(37)　　　　　Yamada-kun-wa　　　　Nihonjin-no　　wakamono-da.
　　　　　　　Yamada.Mr(Dim)-Top　Japanese-Gen　young.person-Cop
　　　　　　　'Mr. Yamada is a young Japanese man / Mr. Yamada is a young man who is Japanese.'

The contrast seen in (10b) and (37) suggests that the N₁-*no* N₂ construction like (37), where N₂ is a lexical noun, has a structure different from that of the N₁-*no hito* construction discussed in the previous section.

　　　The observations up to now have established one aspect of the distinction between proper names, personal pronouns, and light noun phrases on the one hand and lexical nouns on the other in Japanese. We find further support for this distinction in another aspect, namely, with respect to the potential of denoting plurality. It is well-known that Japanese nouns can be interpreted as plural in their bare forms, as illustrated in (38).

(38)　a.　Wakamono(-tachi)-ga　　　hiroba-ni　　　atsumatta.
　　　　　young.person(-Assoc)-Nom　common-at　　　gathered
　　　　　'Young people gathered in the common.'
　　　b.　Gengogakusha(-tachi)-ga　otagai-o　　　　hihanshiteiru.
　　　　　linguist(-Assoc)-Nom　　　each.other-Acc　are.criticizing
　　　　　'Linguists are criticizing each other.'

In the above examples, a collectives verb *atsumaru* 'to gather' and a reciprocal *otagai* 'each other' forces the subject of the clause to be plural, respectively. The sentences are well-formed with or without the associative marker –*tachi*.

　　　In contrast, this number neutrality is not observed with either proper names, personal pronouns, or light noun phrases. Examples like (39)-(41) are all ill-formed.

(39)　a.　＊Taro-ga　　　hiroba-ni　　　atsumatta.
　　　　　　Taro-Nom　　　common-at　　gathered
　　　　　　'Taro gathered in the common.'
　　　b.　＊Taro-ga　　otagai-o　　　　　hihanshiteiru.
　　　　　　Taro-Nom　each.other-Acc　is.criticizing
　　　　　　'Taro is criticizing each other.'
(40)　a.　＊Ano　hito-ga　　　　hiroba-ni　　　atsumatta.
　　　　　　that　person-Nom　common-at　　gathered
　　　　　　'That person gathered in the common.'
　　　b.　＊Ano　hito-ga　　　　otagai-o　　　　hihanshiteiru.
　　　　　　that　person-Nom　each.other-Acc　is.criticizing
　　　　　　'That person is criticizing each other.'
(41)　a.　＊Kare-ga　　　hiroba-ni　　　atsumatta.
　　　　　　he-Nom　　　common-at　　gathered
　　　　　　'He gathered in the common.'

     b. *Kare-ga   otagai-o   hihanshiteiru.
        he-Nom   each.other-Acc   is.criticizing
        'He is criticizing each other.'

That is, the above three categories, namely proper names, light noun phrases, and personal pronouns can only denote singularity by themselves.

(42)   Proper names, light noun phrases and personal pronouns in Japanese can only denote singular objects in their bare forms.

Combined with the plurality restriction on the (pro)noun-noun construction, the xNP_1 elements that appear in this construction must satisfy the following condition.

(43)   The form of xNP_1 in the (pro)noun-noun construction in Japanese:
      a. xNP_1 must be (i) pronouns, (ii) proper names, or (iii) light noun phrases; and
      b.   They must be overtly pluralized, by means of Assoc-markers such as *–tachi* and *–ra*.

One thing to be noted here in light of the ultimate analysis of the (pro)noun-noun construction is that the plurality stated in (43b) must be overt. That is, the (notional) plurality of xNP_1 does not suffice to license this construction. Consider (44) and (45).

(44) a. *Taro   ya   Hanako   kitsuensha
         Taro   and   Hanako   kitsuensha
      b. Taroo ya Hanako-tachi   kitsuensha   (= (31c))
         Taro   and Hanako-Assoc   smoker
         'Taro, Hanako, and their folks smokers'
(45) a. *AKB48   aidoru[19]
         AKB48   pop.star
      b. AKB48-tachi   aidoru
         AKB48-Assoc   pop.star
         'AKB48 and other pop stars'

In the examples in (44) and (45), xNP_1 elements denote plurality by themselves; by means of coordination of proper names in (44) and by means of a proper name for a group in (45). Nevertheless, both (44a) and (45a) are sharply unacceptable, and the use of overt Assoc marker is obligatory, as witnessed in (44b) and (45b). Thus we cannot drop the overt plurality condition in (43b). At the same time, the consideration along this line leads us to distinguish between singular proper names and plural proper names. In the below discussion, I will for the most part focus on singular proper names and put the plural proper names.

    The discussion so far has established the restriction on the xNP_1 elements in the (pro)noun-noun construction. Now let us turn to the restriction imposed on the second elements, i.e., xNP_2. Here we find that the categories licensed in this position are subject to a complementary restriction to categories licensed in xNP_1. Consider the following examples.[20]

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[19] AKB48 is a famous girls' pop group, which are composed of dozens of girls. The point is that the xNP1, *AKB48*, already denotes plurality (a group of girls), but still it must be followed by the Assoc-marker to be licensed in this construction. And the resulting expression brings about further plurality: (45b) means 'pop stars including AKB48,' and not the appositive reading 'AKB48, the pop stars.'
[20] As for instances of proper names for groups as xNP2, as in (i), judgments are blur (the present author finds the examples quite acceptable), and careful inspection is needed.

(46)　a.　*Taroo-tachi　　kare-ra

　　　　　　Taro-Assoc　　3MASC.SG.-Assoc

　　　b.　*kare-ra　　　　　　Taroo-tachi

　　　　　　3MASC.SG.-Assoc　　Taro-Assoc

　　　c.　*Taroo-tachi　kono　　　　ko-tachi

　　　　　　Taro-Assoc　　this(these)　kid-Assoc

None of the above examples, where pronouns (46a), proper names (46b), and light noun phrases (46c) are used as xNP$_2$ (each pluralized by attachment of Assoc markers) respectively, is acceptable (notice that in every case, xNP$_1$ is a feasible category). This shows that categories that can occur as xNP$_1$ cannot be used as xNP$_2$. Put straightforwardly, xNP$_2$ must be lexical noun phrases.

　　There are further restrictions on xNP$_2$ beyond their categories. The lexical noun phrases that appear as xNP$_2$ cannot include demonstrative elements such as *kono* 'this/these' and *ano* 'that/those.'[21] Nor can they be followed by Assoc markers such as *–tachi* and *–ra*. The conditions are demonstrated by the unacceptability of (47) and (48).

(47)　a.　*kanojo-tachi　　　ano　　　　　daigakusei

　　　　　　3FEM.SG.-Assoc　　that(those)　undergrad

　　　b.　kanojo-tachi　　　daigakusei

　　　　　　3FEM.SG.-Assoc　　undergrad

　　　　　　'Lit. them(fem) undergrads / the girls who are undergrads'

(48)　a.　??watashi-tachi　nihonjin-tachi[22]

　　　　　　1SG.-Assoc　　Japanese-Assoc

(i)　a.　kono　ko-tachi　AKB48(*-tachi)-ga　　ichiban　ninkida.

　　　　　this　kid-Assoc　AKB48(*-Assoc)-Nom　first　　　popular

　　　　　'these kids, AKB48, are the most popular.'

　　　b.　Omae-tachi　Kyojingun(*-tachi)-wa　tsuyosugiru.

　　　　　2sg.-Assoc　Giants(*-Assoc)-Top　　too.strong

　　　　　'You, the Giants (an NPB team), are too strong.'

To the extent the examples are grammatical, the characterization of xNP$_2$ in the text will need modification to subsume "proper group nouns" under it. This issue naturally leads us to ask whether proper names for singular individuals and for groups form one and the same class or not.

[21] Japanese noun-modifying demonstratives, *kono* 'this,' *ano* 'that,' and *sono* 'the/that,' have plural forms: *kore-ra-no* (this-Assoc-Gen) 'these,' *are-ra-no* (that-Assoc-Gen) 'those,' and *sore-ra-no* (the/that-Assoc-Gen) 'those/the' respectively. The use of plural forms, however, is not obligatory, so that the "bare" forms can be followed by plural noun forms:

(i)　a.　kono/ano/sono　　gakusei-tachi

　　　　　this/that/the　　　student-Assoc

　　　b.　korera/arera/sorera-no　gakusei-tachi

　　　　　these/those/the-Gen　　　student-Assoc

　　　　　'these/those/the students'

In fact, to my ear, the use of plural forms in (i-b) sounds more verbose. This subtle difference, if any, would be due to the inanimate bias that a morpheme *–re* assumes in *ko-re*, *a-re*, and *so-re*.

[22] Furuya (2004) judges the expression like (48a) as acceptable, the intuition I fail to share. One might speculate that the awkwardness of (46a) stems from repetition of *tachi*. This is not the (only) factor, however. The awkwardness is not circumvented by substituting *watachi-tachi* for *wareware*, suggesting the problem is syntactic, not just morpho-phonological.

(i)　a.　??wareware　nihonjin-tachi

　　　　　　1PL.　　　　Japanese-Assoc

　　　b.　wareware　nihonjin

　　　　　　1PL.　　　　Japanese

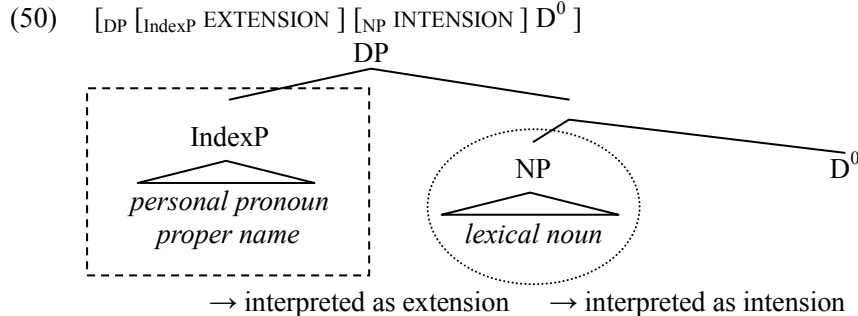b. watashi-tachi   nihonjin
1SG.-Assoc   Japanese
'us Japanese'

To sum up, the restrictions imposed on xNP_2 in the (pro)noun-noun construction in Japanese are stated as in (49).

(49)   The form of xNP_2 in the (pro)noun-noun construction in Japanese:
       a. xNP_2 must be lexical noun phrases; and
       b.   they must be bare.[23]

2.3.   Interim Summary and the Noun Phrase Format in Japanese

In this section, we have witnessed that proper names, personal pronouns and light noun phrases, on the one hand, and lexical noun phrases on the other, exhibit syntactically distinct behaviors even in languages like Japanese, an allegedly non-configurational language where functional categories are inert. The investigations in the N_1-*no hito* construction and in the (pro)noun-noun construction in the language converge to a single point: lexical vs. non-lexical distinction among nominal categories. Inokuma (2009, 2011), employing a notion of Indexicality,[24] attempts to show that the "non-lexical nominal categories," i.e., proper names and pronouns, indeed form a natural class. In a nutshell, Indexical nominal elements are extensional, in that they directly refer to real-world objects, without help from descriptive content.[25] Lexical nominal elements, in contrast, are intensional, in that they denote properties and does not refer (to real-world objects) by themselves. Inokuma (2011) claims that this division of labor is reflected in syntactic structure as schematized in (50), with intermediate projections (between NP and DP) omitted for the sake of simplicity.

(50) $[_{DP} [_{IndexP} \text{EXTENSION}] [_{NP} \text{INTENSION}] D^0]$

→ interpreted as extension   → interpreted as intension

Restricting our focus on their syntactic properties, it is safe to conclude that the Indexical class (labeled IndexP in (50)) and the lexical class (labeled NP in (50)) are phrase-structurally distinct, or in other words, that they are base-generated in different positions within the nominal architecture in Japanese. This conclusion is most strongly confirmed by the fact that Indexical class and the lexical class can co-occur in the (pro)noun-noun construction, thereby arguing against "everything is N^0" type analyses for Japanese nominals (e.g., Chierchia (1998), Longobardi (2001, 2008)), and at the same time against the N-to-D head-movement analyses of proper names (e.g., Longobardi (1994)), at least for Japanese nominal phrases.

    The N_1-*no hito* construction discussed in Section 2.1 also receives a straightforward explanation under the

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[23] By "being bare" I mean here that the elements are not followed by overt Assoc/Plural markers.
[24] The notion of course finds its roots in Kripke's (1980) notion of rigid designation and abundant philosophical literature on reference before him, but is stated and defined in a different fashion in Inokuma (2011). See also Abbot (2010) and Matushansky (2008) for formal approaches to the problems of linguistic reference. For an accessible introduction to philosophy of language, see Lycan (2008) and Morris (2007) among others.
[25] This is a leap from Chomsky's longstanding position that human language does not refer (directly to the external world); see Chomsky (2005: 4).

view put forth here. The ban on the occurrence of *hito* in predicate nominals (see the contrasts in (10)-(12)) can be stated as the absence of the layer (say DP) that *hito* occurs in its head position (D^0 in the structure (50)); recall NP-DP correspondence in (14). The ban on the co-occurrence of IndexP and *hito* in this construction requires some elaboration. If *hito* in fact occupies the D^0 position, the Spec-DP position, which we claim to be the position that hosts IndexP in (50), should be available, at least in X-bar theoretical terms. Here I conjecture that agreement relation plays a crucial role. Given that Indexical elements and *hito* are in mutually exclusive distribution, it would make sense to assume that *hito*, as a D^0, excludes in its Spec the occurrence of IndexP, whereas another type of D^0, an unpronounced Ø, licenses the occurrence of IndexP in its Spec. This line of thought forces us to posit the existence of some formal feature(s) that guarantees the above correspondence. For our present purpose, it will suffice to postulate such a feature [F] on Ø, absent on *hito*, and to have this feature license the IndexP in Spec-DP.[26]

The lexical vs. non-lexical split pursued up to this point, and the integration of proper names and personal pronouns (and light noun phrases) accordingly, usher us to the next question. To what extent are Indexical elements uniform? Are there any differences in their syntactic behavior? In the next section, I argue that the answer to this latter question is positive, and that the evidence for this stand comes from another human-denoting light noun *yatsu* 'guy.'

3.   N₁-*no Yatsu* Construction: Proper vs. Non-Proper Split

In this section, we will take up another human-denoting light noun *yatsu* 'guy' in Japanese, and observe that this light noun, albeit its apparent similarity to other human denoting light nouns like *hito*, *ko*, and *kata*, exhibits a peculiar characteristic that picks out proper names against other nominal elements. In other words, I will show that we need proper vs. non-proper distinction among Indexical categories, in addition to the lexical vs. non-lexical (Indexical) distinction among nominal categories in Japanese.

3.1.   *N₁*-no yatsu

As noted earlier, the expressions we are dealing with in this article, namely human-denoting light nouns, have rarely been discussed in the literature of formal syntax. So let us start by laying out the basic paradigm of what we call the derogative *yatsu* in this subsection.

Of main concern in this section is a sequence: N₁-*no yatsu*. This construction apparently involves the sequence of words in a noun phrase similar to the N₁-*no hito* construction. Accordingly, we expect *yatsu* to pattern with *hito* in that both can follow lexical N₁, and cannot follow proper N₁ and pronominal N₁. As for pronominal N₁, this expectation is confirmed, as seen in (51).

(51)   a.   *Omae-no   yatsu(-ga)   mata   neteru.
            you-Gen   guy(-Nom)   again is.sleeping
            'Poor you are sleeping again.'
       b.   *Kare/Kanojo-no   yatsu(-ga)   naiteru.
            he/she-Gen   guy(-Nom)   is.crying
            'Poor he/she is crying.'

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[26]   There are far more complicacies in this construction than presented in the text, and we need to expand the intermediate nominal projections above NP and below DP in order to achieve a fuller range of description of the fact. See Inokuma (2008) for more discussion in relation to case markers and numeral classifiers.

Actually, the discussion in the present text already implies the need for IndexP movement to Spec-DP (hence the need for assuming the base position of IndexP below DP), once we take the relation at issue as agreement. It is standardly assumed that there can be no agreement relation established between a head and its (base-generated) Spec.

N₁-*no yatsu* exhibits a striking property in the choice of proper names. *Yatsu*, in a sharp contrast to *hito*, can follow proper names, as in (52) (Note that, as shown by (52a'), *yatsu* in this use is gender-neutral; it can be used with a male name *Taro* and with a female name *Hanako*).[27]

(52) a. Taro-no   yatsu(-ga) mata   neteru.[28]
         Taro-Gen   guy(Nom)   again   is.sleeping
         'The idiot of Taro is sleeping again.'
    a'. Hanako-no   yatsu(-ga)   mata   neteru.
         Hanako-Gen guy(Nom)   again   is.sleeping
         'The idiot of Hanako is sleeping again.'
    b. *Taro/Hanako-no   hito(-ga)   mata   neteru.
         Taro/Hanako-Gen   person(-Nom)   again   is.sleeping

A qualification is in order at this point. That is, that person restriction is also at work is witnessed by the example like (53).

(53)   Keiko-no   yatsu-ga   sensee-ni   okorareta   no?
        Keiko-Gen   guy-Nom   teacher-by   was.scolded   Q
        'Was Keiko scolded by her teacher?'
        ok if the addressee ≠ Keiko; * if the addressee = Keiko

In Japanese, it is common for proper names to be used to refer to the addressee ("imposters" in Collins and Postal's (2012) terms), as in (54). The *yatsu*-marked subject in (53), however, does not have this reading. In other words, *yatsu* forces the whole DP to be interpreted as [third person].

(54)   Keiko-wa nani-o   chuumonshita no?
        Keiko-Top what-Acc   ordered   Q
        'What did Keiko order?'
        ok whether the addressee = Keiko or ≠ Keiko

   Let us turn back to the main track. As for lexical N₁, judgments become a little trickier than the cases of personal pronouns and proper names. Consider (55).[29]

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[27] The elements I have so far noticed that can occur in the proper N₁-*no* N₂ construction, alongside *yatsu*, include near-synonymous *yaroo* 'guy' (i-a), and (usually insulting) epithets (i-b).
(i) a. Jiroo-no   yaroo
         Jiro-Gen   guy
         'Jiro'
     b. Taroo-no   baka/guzu
         Taro-Gen   idiot/poky
         'The idiot of Taro/ Taro the poky'
See also Appendix 3 for apparently related (but more puzzling) instances with kinship terms.
[28] Instances without a case marker sound slightly more natural than instances with one, which I suspect is because N₁-*no yatsu* phrases, due to their semantic/pragmatic effects (i.e., being derogative), go well with topicalization. Notice in this relation that N₁-*no yatsu* cannot be used as a vocative; you cannot call Taro by *Taro-no yatsu!*. Only elements that can co-occur with a proper name in its vocative form are (i) titles (*Yamada-sensee!* 'Professor Yamada!') and (ii) a certain kind of diminutive affix (*Yamada-kun!* 'Mr(Dim). Yamada!' and *Kano-chan!* 'Little Kano!'). In neither case can the Genitive –*no* intervene between the proper name and the following element.
[29] Another peculiarity of (55a) is that, unlike the proper name cases in (52a), dropping the nominative marker –*ga* considerably degrades its status (compare the above comments in footnote 28):
(i)   ??Gakusee-no   yatsu   mata   neteru.
           student-Gen   guy   again   is.sleeping

(55) a. ?Gakusee-no yatsu-ga   mata   neteru.
          student-Gen guy-Nom   again   is.sleeping
          'The poor student is sleeping again.'
      b. ?Kinoo   seijika-no   yatsu-o   yobidashita.
          yesterday   politician-Gen guy-Acc   called.out
          'I called the politician out yesterday.'

The sentences in (55) stand in between proper name cases such as (52a) and pronoun cases such as (51). That is, while virtually all the speakers I have consulted find this sentence more awkward than the proper name cases in (52a), they also find it much more acceptable than the pronoun cases in (51). Furthermore, the uneasy responses reported in (55) are relieved once we pluralize *yatsu*, as in (56).[30]

(56) a. Gakusee-no yatsu-ra-ga   mata   neteru.
          student-Gen   guy-Assoc-Nom   again   are.sleeping
          'The poor students are sleeping again.'
      b. Kinoo   seijika-no   yatsu-ra-o   yobidashita.
          yesterday   politician-Gen guy-Assoc-Acc   called.out
          'I called the politicians out yesterday.'

The effect reminds us of the plurality restriction observed (in a far more robust fashion) with the (pro)noun-noun construction discussed in Section 2.2, though at this moment I do not see a way to give a unified explanation to the two apparently unrelated constructions.

In fact, idiosyncrasy of *yatsu* with respect to number is observed in another respect. So far we have observed *yatsu* goes well both with proper names and with lexical nouns, modulo the slight unnaturalness of the latter in singular.

(57) a. Ashita-wa   Taroo-no yatsu-ga happyoosuru   yoteida.
          tomorrow-Top   Taro-Gen guy-Nom give.a.presentation is.supposed.to
          'Tomorrow Taro is supposed to give a presentation.'
      b. ?Ashita-wa   gakusee-no yatsu-ga happyoosuru   yoteida.
          tomorrow-Top student-Gen guy-Nom give.a.presentation is.supposed.to
          'Tomorrow a student is supposed to give a presentation.'

              'The poor student is sleeping again.'
The difference seems to be related to the affinity with topicalization. Fronted objects show the same contrast: compare (iii-a) and (iii-b).
  (ii)   a. Ore-ga Taroo-no   yatsu$^?$(-o)   korashimeteyaru.
             I-Nom   Taro-Gen   guy$^?$(-Acc)   give.a.lesson
             'I will give Poor Taro a lesson.'
         b. Ore-ga   gakusee-no   yatsu$^{??}$(-o) korashimeteyaru.
             I-Nom   student-Gen   guy$^{??}$(-Acc) give.a.lesson
             'I will give the poor student a lesson.'
  (iii) a. Taroo-no yatsu($^?$-o) ore-ga   korashimeteyaru.
             Taro-Gen guy($^?$-Acc) I-Nom   give.a.lesson
             'Poor Taro, I will give (him) a lesson.'
         b. ??Gakusee-no   yatsu(-o)   ore-ga   korashimeteyaru.
             student-Gen   guy(-Acc)   I-Nom   give.a.lesson
             'The poor student, I will give (him/her) a lesson.'
[30] *Yatsu* selects *–ra* rather than *–tachi* when it is pluralized.

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The N$_1$-*no yatsu* phrases in these examples can only denote singularity, as illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (58).

(58) a. *Taroo-no   yatsu-ga   hiroba-ni   atsumatta.
          Taro-Gen   guy-Nom   common-at   gathered
          'Taro gathered in the common.'
      b. *Gakusee-no   yatsu-ga   hiroba-ni   atsumatta.
          student-Gen   guy-Nom   common-at   gathered
          'A student gathered in the common.'

In this respect, lexical N$_1$-*no yatsu* phrases behave like non-lexical (i.e. Indexical) elements (recall (38)-(41)). As expected, then, attaching an associative marker helps (58).

(59) a. Taroo-no   yatsu-ra-ga   hiroba-ni   atsumatta.
          Taro-Gen   guy-Assoc-Nom   common-at   gathered
          'Taro and his fellows gathered in the common.'
      b. Gakusee-no   yatsu-ra-ga   hiroba-ni   atsumatta.
          student-Gen guy-Assoc-Nom   common-at   gathered
          'Students gathered in the common.'

There are several differences between the two, however. The "non-uniform" plurality is observed in (59a), but not in (59b) (cf. Nakanishi and Tomioka (2004), Inokuma (2009)). The group denoted by *Taroo-no yatsu-ra* can include individuals who are not Taro (60a), while the group denoted by *gakusee-no yatsu-ra* cannot include individuals who are not students (60b).

(60) a   Taroo-no   yatsu-ra-ga   hiroba-ni   atsumatta   ga,   (sonouchi)
          Taro-Gen   guy-Assoc-Nom   common-at   gathered   but   (among them)
          Hiroko-wa   suguni   kaetta.
          Hiroko-Top   straight   went.home
          'Taro and his fellows gathered in the common, but (among them,) Hiroko went straight home.'
      b. *Gakusee-no   yatsu-ra-ga   hiroba-ni   atsumatta   ga,   (sonouchi)
          student-Gen guy-Assoc-Nom   common-at   gathered   but   (among them)
          shakaijin-wa   suguni   kaetta.
          working.adult-Top   straight   went.home
          'Students gathered in the common, but (among them,) working adults went straight home.'

Secondly, when we use the N$_1$-*no yatsu* phrases in the xNP$_1$ position of the (pro)noun-noun construction, proper names are licit, whereas lexical Ns are not.

(61) a. Taroo-no   yatsu-ra   gakubusei-ga   jikken-o   okonatta.
          Taro-Gen   guy-Assoc   undergrad.Nom   experiment-Acc   conducted
          'Taro and his fellows (, all of whom are) undergrads, conducted an experiment.'
      b. *Gakusee-no   yatsu-ra   wakamono-ga   demo-o   okonatta.
          student-Gen guy-Assoc   youth-Nom   demonstration-Acc   held
          '(Intended.) The students, who are young people, held a demonstration.'

These contrasts are however explained away if we assume that the N$_1$-*no yatsu-ra* phrase have the structure identical to the N$_1$-*tachi* phrase. Plainly, the N$_1$-*no yatsu-ra* phrase perfectly replicates the behavior of the N$_1$-*tachi*

phrase, and the above contrasts are reduced to the distinction between proper names and lexical nouns as discussed in Section 2, with various properties related to plurality discussed so far being attributed to properties of associative markers –ra and –tachi. If so, we can conclude that *yatsu* is simply another instance of "redundant" light nouns alongside *hito* and *kata*, the only difference being that *yatsu*, unlike *hito* and *kata*, can follow proper names (in addition to lexical nouns, but not pronouns), thanks to some lexically specified idiosyncrasy.

However, *yatsu* manifests a further complication which points to a different analytical possibility. *Yatsu*, in a certain circumstance, can occur in its bare form (i.e., without an associative marker) even when the preceding N_1 denotes plurality. And that circumstance is when the N_1 is a coordination of proper names.

(62) a. Taroo   to   Hanako-no   yatsu($^?$-ra)-ga   isshoni   jugyoo-o   sabotta.
        Taro   and   Hanako-Gen   guy(-Assoc)-Nom   together   class-Acc   skipped
        'Taro and Hanako skipped a class together.'
   b. Insee   to   gakubusee-no   yatsu*(-ra)-ga   isshoni   jikkenshita.
        grad.student   and   undergrad-Gen   guy*(-Assoc)-Nom   together   conducted.an.experiment
        'A grad student and an undergrad student conducted an experiment together.'

In (62a), the preceding N_1 element denotes plurality (a pair of Taro and Hanako). Nevertheless, *yatsu* can show up in its bare form. Even when *yatsu* is pluralized by –ra, the whole DP does not (necessarily) denote further plurality, that is, a group including Taro, Hanako, *and others* (cf. footnote 19).[31] This effect is not observed with a coordination of lexical nouns (62b). To the extent the contrast found in (62a-b) is real, we are led to postulate two types of *yatsu*: (i) the one with the individuation function (i.e., to pick up a singular entity from the set denoted by lexical nouns: lexical N_1-*no yatsu* type), and (ii) the one with the pragmatic (derogative) function (i.e., to express the speaker's (not-so-good) feeling toward the referent(s) denoted by proper names: proper N_1-*no yatsu* type). Then this latter *yatsu* is the instance of light nouns that can occur only with proper names, and not with any other nominal elements. In other words, this light noun provides evidence for syntactically singling out the class of proper names out of various nominal categories (pronouns, lexical nouns, and light nouns) in Japanese.

At first glance, it may not seem very persuasive to propose a homonym pair for *yatsu*, given that the two are so similar in meaning and hard to sort out syntactically. However, we find some empirical support for this direction from other languages.

Ott (2011) provides a detailed analysis of the German "diminutive" morpheme –*chen*. According to Ott, this morpheme plays a role in turning mass nouns into count nouns, as shown in (63).

(63)   German
   a. *zwei   Holz   (Ott 2011: 3)
        two   wood
   b. zwei   Hölz-chen   (Ott 2011: 6)
        two   wood-Dim
        'two pieces of wood'   (unit reading)
   c. zwei   Stück   Holz   (Ott 2011: 6)
        two   piece   wood
        'two pieces of wood'   (unit reading)

Ott claims that the diminutive morpheme –*chen* in (63b) and what he calls classifiers like *Stück* in (63c) are both functional heads (dubbed UNIT[0]), which are responsible for individuating objects. The difference of the two is morphological: Dim, being morphologically deficient, occurs in a compound form (63b); a classifier, being

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morphologically non-deficient, occurs in an "analytic," or phrasal, form (63c).[32] Furthermore, Ott reports other interesting instances of the morpheme –*chen*. That is, instances in which –*chen* is attached to proper names and kinship terms.[33]

(64)   a.   Kurt-chen   (Ott (2011: 39))
               Kurt-Hyp
         b.   Tant-chen
               aunt-Hyp

Albeit a superficial similarity, instances in (64) are distinguished from true diminution cases in (63), since (i) –*chen* in (64) does not individuate anything, and (ii) it does not induce umlauting of the element it is attached to (*Kurt* and *Tant* in (64)). Ott thus proposes two distinct types of –*chen*, one with diminution/individuation function, and the other with "hypocoristic/endearment-conveying" function (Ott (2011: 39)). Time and space do not allow me to carry out a full inspection and comparison of Ott's analysis in light of Japanese constructions we are dealing with in the present article, but technical details aside, the affinity of the phenomena observed in the two languages is evident. A "light" element that plays a role in individuating objects is employed in expressing a speaker's feeling (whether it is "endearment-conveying" or "derogative") toward (non-individuatable) objects. Various semantic/pragmatic extensions in the use of diminutive morphemes are comprehensively surveyed in Jurafsky (1996). The question remains to be seen as to whether these "extensions" should be analyzed as mere homonymy or as a single item exhibiting different semantic/pragmatic imports.

3.2.   *Elaborate Nominal Structure and the Locus of Light Nouns*

Up to now I have deliberately avoided a discussion with regard to the phrase-structural locus of (human-denoting) light nouns in Japanese. Let us close our rather lengthy observations with some speculative comments on it. In so doing, we will also be wrapping up the approach to Japanese nominal phrases we have been putting forth.

First, recall the analysis of the N_1-*no hito/kata* construction sketched in section 2. There, I suggested that light nouns such as *hito* and *kata* occupy a head position above the "lexical" layer N, say D. That gives us a format as in (65)-(66).[34]

(65)   Argument Nominals in Japanese:
        a.   Bare lexical nouns
              [$_{DP}$ [$_{IndexP}$ …] [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ lexical noun] $\emptyset_D$]]
        b. N_1-*no hito/kata*
              [$_{DP}$ [$_{IndexP}$ …] [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ lexical noun] *hito/kata*$_D$]]
        c.   Pronouns and proper names
              [$_{DP}$ [$_{IndexP}$ pronoun/proper name] [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ …] $\emptyset_D$]]
       c'. *Pronoun/Proper Name-*no hito/kata*
             *[$_{DP}$ [$_{IndexP}$ pronoun/proper name] [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ …] *hito/kata*$_D$]]
(66)   Predicative Nominals in Japanese:
            [$_{NP}$ lexical noun]

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[32] Optional movement in the latter case also brings about a "compound" form as in (i), which we can put aside here.
(i)   zwei   Holz.stücke   (Ott (2011: 3))
          two   wood.piece.Pl
          'two (small) pieces of wood'
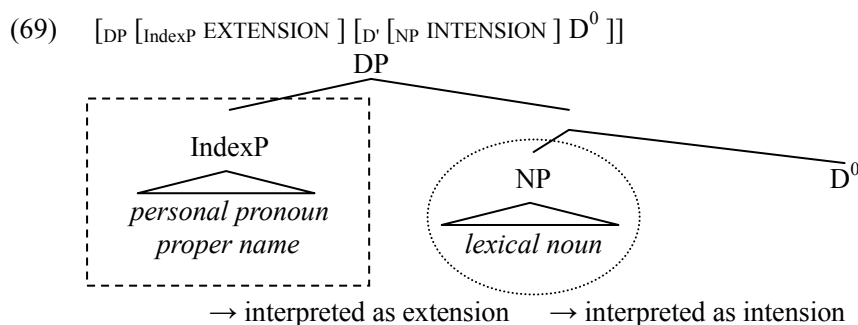[33] The gloss "Hyp" in (64) stands for hypocoristic.
[34] As is usual, intermediate projections are omitted for the sake of simplicity here and below, unless they become relevant.

As for predicative nominals as depicted in (66), things are straightforward; the DP-NP correspondence in (14) (or any descendants of it) can explain the fact that only lexical nouns can appear in this position. Clarifications are needed in the cases of argument nominals. As shown in (65a) and (65c), $\emptyset_D$ is the default element, in that it can co-occur either with lexical nouns and with Indexical elements. When the head is realized as light nouns such as *hito* and *kata*, as in (65b) and (65c'), Indexical elements are excluded and only lexical nouns are allowed to occur. The restriction can be captured by assuming a selectional relation between light nouns (D^0) and lexical NPs. As argued in the course of the (pro)noun-noun construction in section 2, NPs denote properties (intensions), and human-denoting light nouns "individualizes" the properties (i.e., picks up a singular entity that satisfies the relevant property specified by NP). Proper names and pronouns, in contrast, denote singular objects in and of themselves. Thus the latter two elements are prohibited from co-occurring with light nouns.[35]

What about the (pro)noun-noun construction? Basically, the schematic structure in (65) is applicable to this construction, the salient difference being that in this construction, Indexical elements and lexical nouns can co-occur. Consider (67)-(68).

(67) a. Watashi-tachi   gengogakusha
         1sg.-Assoc   linguist
         'we/us linguists'
     b. *Watashi   gengogakusha
         1sg   linguist
(68) a. Taroo-tachi   daigakuee
         Taro-Assoc   university.student
         'Taro and his fellows (, who are) university students'
     b. *Taroo   daigakusee
         Taro   university.student

In a brief discussion in section 2.3, I proposed that they have a structure in (50), repeated here as (69).
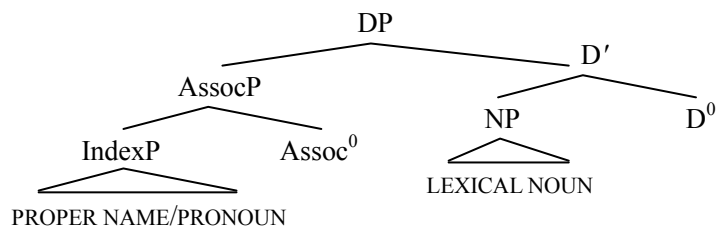
(69) $[_{DP} [_{IndexP} \text{EXTENSION}] [_{D'} [_{NP} \text{INTENSION}] D^0]]$

→ interpreted as extension   → interpreted as intension

(70) a. $[_{DP} [_{IndexP} \textit{watashi-tachi}] [_{NP} \textit{gengogakusha}] D^0]$
     b. $[_{DP} [_{IndexP} \textit{Taroo-tachi}] [_{NP} \textit{daigakusee}] D^0]$

Several clarifications and modifications are in order here. First, as mentioned above, IndexP itself necessarily denotes singularity. If so, we have to take into account the structural locus of the associative marker –*tachi* and its interpretive function. Sticking to the IndexP-is-singular hypothesis, we expect –*tachi* to occupy a position outside IndexP, for an obvious reason that –*tachi* pluralizes the entity denoted by the element it is attached to. This will give us a one-step deeper structure in (71), where associative markers –*tachi* and –*ra* occupy the head position of

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[35] This analysis implies that IndexP (proper name and pronoun) must denote singularity.

AssocP, Assoc^0.[36]

(71)   [$_{DP}$ [$_{AssocP}$ [$_{IndexP}$ PROPER NAME/PRONOUN] Assoc^0] [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ LEXICAL NOUN] D^0]]

```
                         DP
              ┌───────────┴──────────┐
          AssocP                     D′
        ┌────┴────┐            ┌──────┴──────┐
    IndexP      Assoc⁰        NP            D⁰
    ┌──┴──┐                  ┌─┴─┐
  PROPER NAME/PRONOUN    LEXICAL NOUN
```

The idea put forth in (2009, 2011) is that, elements in Spec D, namely IndexP in the singular and AssocP in the plural, are Indexical, as defined in (72) (cf. Matushansky (2008)).

(72)   *Indexicality*
         A direct-referring relationship between a linguistic form and an individual object established between the speaker and the hearer, in each context of utterance, without recourse to descriptive contents.[37]

Associative plurals are also Indexical in the sense that members of the group denoted by the associative plurals do not have to share any (intensional) properties. Members of a group denoted by *Taroo-tachi*, for instance, do not share any consistent properties, except that they are in some sense related to, or represented by, Taro. This is in a sharp contrast to "uniform" plurals such as *student-s* in English, where all the members must share a property of being a student.

    Notice that the plurality restriction observed with the (pro)noun-noun construction falls in perspective now. In the singular, we have IndexP (without AssocP) sits in Spec D. IndexP by definition directly refers to the real-world singular entity, hence we do not (and thus must not) require an NP complement which "supplies" the descriptive content. In the plural, we have a "gap" in description between the directly referred (singular) element denoted by IndexP and the plural entity formed by attachment of an associative marker. With the informal interpretive definition of –*tachi* (modified from Inokuma (2009: 40)) in (73), the situation is schematized in (74).

(73)   Extensional/Additive Characterization of -*Tachi*:
         -*Tachi* performs addition to a singularity; it forms a plurality whose membership is defined extensionally.

(74)   a.   [$_{DP}$ [$_{AssocP}$ [$_{IndexP}$ PROPER NAME/PRONOUN] Assoc^0] [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ LEXICAL NOUN] D^0]]
         b.   [$_{DP}$ [$_{AssocP}$ [$_{IndexP}$ *Taroo*] -*tachi*] [$_{D'}$ [$_{NP}$ *gengogakusha*] D^0]]
              i.   *Taroo* in IndexP directly refers to a singular entity.   [description unnecessary]
              ii. -*Tachi* forms an extensional plurality.   [description absent]
              iii. NP "supplies" the descriptive content to the plurality.   [description filled]

The idea is that when –*tachi* attaches to an xN$_{[SG]}$ element, it performs a simple addition, and the resulting phrase means 'X *plus others*.' This *others* part does not have any descriptive/intensional content. Usually some pragmatic information fills in the intended relation between X and *others*, but in some cases, the lexical N$_2$ element optionally makes explicit the descriptive content of *others*, resulting in the (pro)noun-noun construction. If this story is more or less on the right track (though we have to work out –*tachi*'s semantics in a formal fashion), we can explain the plurality restriction on the (pro)noun-noun construction, and the ban on the lexical (i.e., intensional)
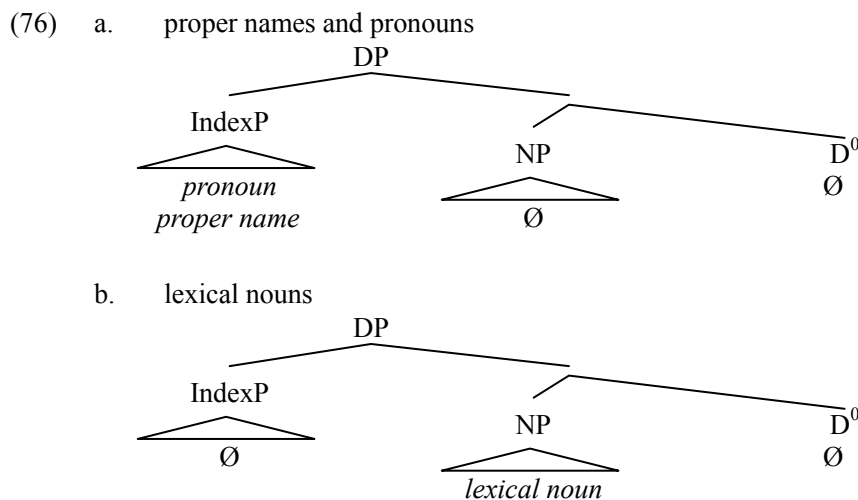
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[36] In Inokuma (2009), the projection was labeled as GroupP. I call the same projection AssocP here for the sake of readers' convenience.
[37] I adopt the term "direct reference" from Kaplan (1989).

nouns from occurring in xNP$_1$ position,[38] and also the overt associative marking condition observed in (75) = (44).

(75) a. *Taro ya Hanako kitsuensha
     Taro and Hanako kitsuensha

    b. Taroo ya Hanako-tachi kitsuensha
     Taro and Hanako-Assoc smoker
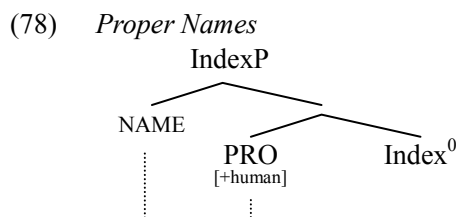   'Taro, Hanako, and their folks smokers'

By way of summary, then, each of the simplex cases has the (simplified) structure as shown in (76).[39]

(76) a. proper names and pronouns

    b. lexical nouns

As for the distinction between pronouns and proper names (recall also the discussion in section 3.1), they have different internal structures within IndexP. The claim is supported from the fact that, in a level unfolded enough, proper names do not by themselves refer to humans. In other words, as illustrated by (77), proper names can refer to names (or *labels*, I should say) rather than humans called by those names (cf. Matushansky (2008)).

(77) a. The girl's name is Sakura, which means cherry blossoms in Japanese.
    b. *The girl's name is Sakura, who means cherry blossoms in Japanese.

The proper name *Sakura* in this example denotes not an individual (person), but just a name. When the proper names are used as rigid designators (i.e., to refer to humans), then, we need a mechanism that allows proper names to refer to an individual rather than to a name. I propose Index^0 makes this mechanism available by means of "control" of an empty category PRO by the NAME.
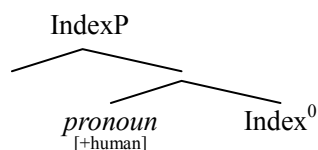
(78) *Proper Names*

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[38] Assuming the direct mapping hypothesis from syntax to semantics: Spec D is always interpreted as extension, and NP is always interpreted as intension.

[39] I am assuming that the empty slots (designated as Ø) are filled by unpronounced item(s), the identification of which is a topic for future research.

Personal pronouns are analyzed as IndexP with a phonetically realized pronoun, but without a name.
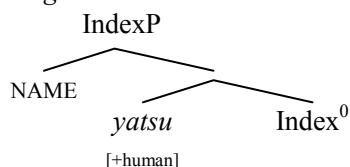
(79)   *Personal Pronouns*

IndexP
├── *pronoun* [+human]
└── Index^0

The IndexP in (78) and (79) is then embedded in the DP structure in (75a) to form full-fledged argument DPs.

The IndexP structure as spread out in (78) and (79) open a way of explaining the derogative ("hypocoristic" in Ott's terms) *yatsu*. Recall that the derogative *yatsu* is the only element that can co-occur with proper names, but not with pronouns.[40] Then the simplest answer to the question of syntactic locus of it will be to posit *yatsu* in the same position as pronouns, that is, the Complement position to Index^0. From this position, *yatsu* "adds a flavor" to the object referred to by IndexP.[41]

(80)   *Derogative* Yatsu:

IndexP
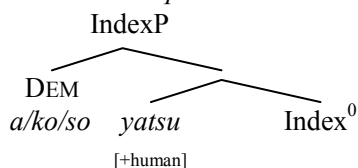├── NAME
└──
    ├── *yatsu* [+human]
    └── Index^0

Positing *yatsu* in this position brings about an interesting consequence for the analysis of (demonstrative) pronouns such as *aistu* and *koistu*. I have already suggested decomposing these demonstrative items into Dem + *yatsu*, as in (81).

(81)   a.   a   +   yatsu   →   ay(a)tsu   ~   aitsu   'that guy'
        b.   ko +   yatsu   →   koy(a)tsu ~   koitsu   'this guy'
        c.   so +   yatsu   →   soy(a)tsu ~   soitsu   'the/that guy'

If we map the decomposed structure onto (80), we get the following structure for demonstrative pronouns (cf. Bernstein (2008), Longobardi (2008)).[42]

(82)   *Demonstrative pronouns*:

IndexP
├── DEM *a/ko/so*
└──
    ├── *yatsu* [+human]
    └── Index^0

The discussion up to now leaves us with questions about light nouns. Recall that the N$_1$-*no hito* construction led us to postulate that light nouns (except for the derogative *yatsu*) are D^0 heads. If so, and combining the internal structure of IndexP, the whole argument DP structures, for singular DPs and for plural DPs respectively, will look
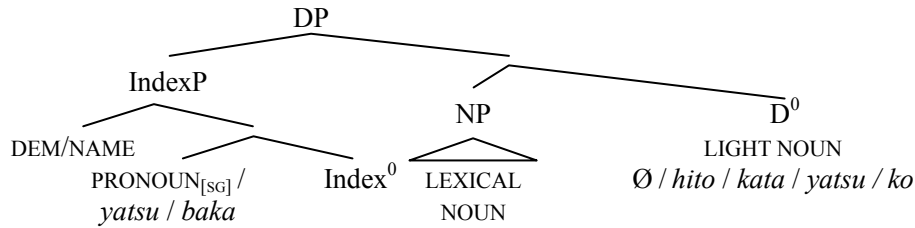
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[40] Putting aside *koto* as presented in Appendix-2.

[41] The analysis implies a possibility of treating other diminutive morphemes in Japanese, such as –*kun* or –*chan*, also as sitting in the complement to Index^0 position.

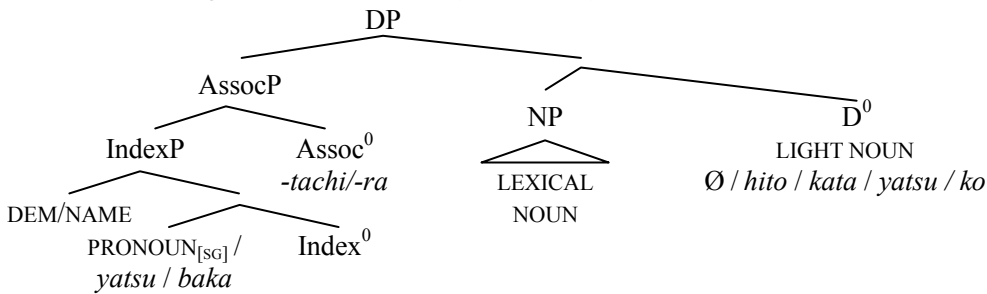[42] The structure in (82) leaves open the possibility of realizing Dem + *yatsu* "analytically," namely, as *ano yatsu* and *kono yatsu*, etc. The fact is that these expressions sound considerably awkward (at least in the human-denoting reading). This will be due to the blocking effect: the existence of *aitsu* and *koitsu* in the lexicon blocks these analytical/syntactic alternatives.

like (83).

(83) a.   Argument DP structure: Singular

```
                         DP
              _____
           IndexP                  _____
        _____           NP              D⁰
   DEM/NAME        _____       ____        LIGHT NOUN
        PRONOUN[SG] /   Index⁰  LEXICAL    Ø / hito / kata / yatsu / ko
        yatsu / baka          NOUN
```

b.   Argument DP structure: (Associative) Plural

```
                          DP
              _____
           AssocP                  _____
        _____             NP              D⁰
   IndexP       Assoc⁰          ____        LIGHT NOUN
  _____      -tachi/-ra    LEXICAL    Ø / hito / kata / yatsu / ko
DEM/NAME   __               NOUN
   PRONOUN[SG] /   Index⁰
   yatsu / baka
```
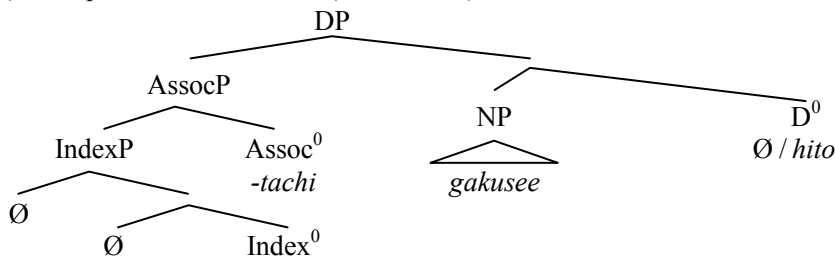
Various constructions discussed so far in this article are generally subsumed under the structure in (83). From this structure, it can be seen that the apparent non-configurational character of the Japanese language, at least in its nominal domain, is derived by various phrasal categories occurring in the Spec position in DP (or in intermediate projections below it; see immediately below), much in the same spirit of Baker's (2003) partial configurationality. A major difference is that, in the present approach, Spec positions are exploited to host various (phrasal) categories that show a considerably free distribution, whereas adjunct positions do the same job in Baker's approach. Needless to say, the former approach predicts a more restricted behavior of these mobile categories.
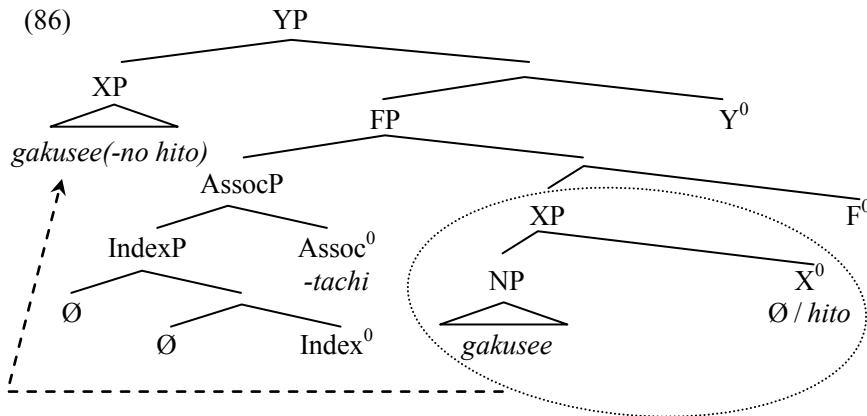
Let us close this section with remarks on other DPs exemplified in (84), with the structure (85).

(84) a.   gakusee-tachi
             student-Assoc
             'students'
       b.   gakusee- no   hito-tachi
             student-Gen   person-Assoc
             'students'

(85)   Expanded DP structure: (Associative) Plural

```
                        DP
            _____
         AssocP                  _____
       _____               NP          D⁰
   IndexP    Assoc⁰          ____       Ø / hito
  _____    -tachi         gakusee
 Ø     __
    Ø     Index⁰
```

An obvious question regarding to (85) is the locus of Assoc⁰, or in other words, how the structure in (85) is realized in the linear order *gakusee(-no hito)-tachi*. To guarantee this order, we have to make sure that *gakusee(-no hito)* is raised above AssocP, resulting in the structure in (86).

(86)

```
                          YP
          ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
         XP                FP              Y⁰
    gakusee(-no hito)   ┌────┴──────────────────┐
         ▲           AssocP                     F⁰
         ┊       ┌─────┴─────┐        XP
         ┊    IndexP      Assoc⁰   ┌───┴────┐
         ┊      Ø         -tachi   NP       X⁰
         ┊   ┌──┴──┐            gakusee   Ø / hito
         ┊   Ø   Index⁰
         └┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄┄
```

Technical considerations require us to posit at least two functional projections: XP and YP in (86).[43] The category labeled as DP in (85) is substituted by FP because in (86) it is no longer the highest projection of the nominal spine. I will spare any detailed examination of categorial and structural properties of these proliferated functional heads (see e.g., Watanabe (2006) for elaborate structure of Japanese nominal phrases), but the structure in (86) also fares well with the "inverted" DP structure such as (87)-(88) (cf. den Dikken (2006), Corver (2008)).[44]

(87) a.   gakusee-no   watashi/Taroo-tachi
            student-Gen   1sg./Taro-Assoc
            'we/Taro and his folks(, who are) students'
      b. *gakusee-no   hito-no   watashi/Taroo-tachi
            student-Gen   person-Gen   1sg./Taro-Assoc
(88) a. *gakusee-tachi-no   watashi(-tachi)
            student-Assoc-Gen   1sg.(-Assoc)
      b. *gakusee-no   hito-tachi-no   kare-ra
            student-Gen   person-Assoc-Gen   3sg.masc-Assoc

(87a) is derived by XP movement to Spec YP (with X⁰ being Ø), with IndexP realized as *watashi* or *Taroo*. The unacceptability of (87b) is explained by the fact that the X⁰ *hito* does not co-occur with Indexical elements *watashi* and *Taroo*, as argued above. Examples in (88) are also explained away, since in these cases, we have IndexP as *watashi* and *kare*, excluding the possibility of *–tachi* attaching to the lexical NP element *gakusee*.

4.   Conclusion

In this article I have extensively argued that (apparently redundant) human-denoting light nouns, such as *hito*, *kata*,

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[43] In Inokuma (2009), following Watanabe's (2006) elaborate DP structure, I suggested that XP, FP, and YP in (86) are #P, CaseP, and QP respectively, in Watanabe's terms. The suggestions were based on the observation with regard to word order restriction among (pro)noun-noun phrases, numeral+classifiers, and case particles. I will not go into details here and keep myself to neutral labels XP, FP and YP.

[44] One potential problem for the approach advanced here is that, in this "inverted" form, the plurality restriction observed in the (pro)noun-noun construction does not seem to be operative (i-a), while *hito* remains to be banned (i-b).

(i)   a.   gakusee-no   watashi/kare/Taroo
            student-Gen   1sg./3sg.masc/Taro
            'I/he/Taro, the student'
      b. *gakusee-no   hito-no   watashi/kare/Taroo
            student-Gen   person-Gen   1sg./3sg.masc/Taro

Some modifications and elaborations with regard to the phrase structure and/or movement are required, positing NP movement rather than XP movement in this case, for instance.

and *yatsu*, manifest systematic properties with regard to their syntax and semantics, each in its own fashion. The close observation reveals that, to give a coherent account of these light nouns, we have to admit that Japanese does have an active functional hierarchy in its nominal domain, which is predicted by recent cartographic approaches (Rizzi (1997), Cinque (2002), Kayne (2005), among many others). An angle to the cartography approach in general provided by this article, I believe, is a possibility of proliferating Spec positions rather than head positions (or adjunct positions for that matter, cf. Baker (2003)). In this sense, the present approach could be viewed as another implementation of fine-grained phrase structure theories.

Our approach still has a long way to go, however. In this article, I have completely ignored other elements that occur in the nominal domain: quantifiers, numeral classifiers, adjectival modifiers, relative clauses, and case markers, to name but a few. Semantic and pragmatic factors such as definiteness, specificity and social relations (diminution, derogation, endearment, etc) will also play a significant role.

Among the various factors enumerated right above, demonstrative elements seem to play a significant role in the constructions discussed in this article. In fact, the reviewers (and some speakers I consulted) question about the subtle judgments I report here. Many of the divergent judgments seem to me to be related to the presence/absence of demonstratives. For instance, a reviewer judges both of the examples, (89) = (34), below as acceptable (judgments are intentionally omitted here).

(89)　a.　wakamono-tachi　　　　daigakusei
　　　　　　young.person-Assoc　　　undergrad
　　　　　　'young people undergrads'
　　　b.　kono　wakamono-tachi　　daigakusei
　　　　　　this　young.person-Assoc　undergrad
　　　　　　'this young guy and his folks undergrads'

In spite of the reviewer's comments, the nominal expression in (89a) still sounds unacceptable to me. The reviewer has a point, though, in that the unacceptability might be due not to its syntax, but to its semantics/ pragmatics. The expression in (89a), to the extent it is feasible, seems to imply that all and only young people are undergrads, which cannot be the case (*in the world we know of it*. That is why I admit that the effect may be semantic/pragmatic.) Intuitively speaking, in expressions like this, we are at a loss as to how to deal with, or interpret, the relation of the two properties/intensions denoted by the two lexical nouns, *wakamono-tachi* and *daigakusei* in (89a). Unlike multiple modification cases (such as *gakusei-de shachoo-no hito* 'a person who is a student and president'), (89a) can never denote the intersection of the two sets. This interpretive problem is in fact one of the drives that lead me to the extension-intension divide hypothesis (extension/Indexicality in Spec, intension/property in Complement) put forth in this article.

In this light, cases with demonstratives such as (89b) begin to assume a new importance. Empirically, this expression sounds somewhat (or remarkably, according to some speakers but not me) better than (89a). The consideration in the preceding paragraph provides a potential reason. That is, thanks to the presence of the demonstrative *kono*, *wakamono-tachi* in (89b) is not interpreted universally or generically, bringing about an interpretation like 'the young people present here, all of whom turn out to be undergrads.' It is obvious that the difference is in the interpretation of the N_1 element, presumably because of the demonstrative. If the effect is real, we would have to take into account the interpretation of demonstratives more fully in the present investigation.

That demonstratives play a role is also seen in the contrasts shown below (reported by Akira Watanabe (personal communication) with regard to (40) above).

(90)　a.　*Ano　hito-ga　　　hiroba-ni　　atsumatta.
　　　　　　that　person-Nom　common-at　gathered
　　　　　　'That person gathered in the common.'

b. ?(Butsurigakusha-no) hito-ga hiroba-ni atsumatta.
   (physician-Gen) person-Nom common-at gathered
   'Physicians gathered in the common.'

c. *Ano butsurigakusha-no hito-ga hiroba-ni atsumatta.
   that physician-Gen person-Nom common-at gathered
   'That physician gathered in the common.'

d. Ano (butsurigakusha-no) hito-tachi-ga hiroba-ni atsumatta.
   that (physician-Gen) person-Assoc-Nom common-at gathered
   'Those physicians/people gathered in the common.'

(91) a. *Ano hito-ga otagai-o hihanshiteiru.
   that person-Nom each.other-Acc is.criticizing
   'That person is criticizing each other.'

b. ?(Butsurigakusha-no) hito-ga otagai-o hihanshiteiru.
   (physician-Gen) person-Nom each.other-Acc is.criticizing
   'Physicians are criticizing each other.'

c. *Ano butsurigakusha-no hito-ga otagai-o hihanshiteiru.
   that physician-Gen person-Nom each.other-Acc is.criticizing
   'That physician is criticizing each other.'

d. Ano (butsurigakusha-no) hito-tachi-ga otagai-o hihanshiteiru.
   that (physician-Gen) person-Assoc-Nom each.other-Acc is.criticizing
   'Those physicians/people are criticizing each other.'

To the extent the sentences in (90b) and (90b) are acceptable, the unacceptability of (90a,c) and (91a,c) must be attributed to the presence of the demonstrative *ano*; say, *ano* forces singular interpretation of the whole DP. We know however that this statement is not correct, most forcefully illustrated by the co-occurrence cases such as (90d) and (91d). Then we would have to say that, with regard to the last two cases, the presence of *–tachi* "overrides" the singular restriction of the demonstrative *ano*. Paradigms are still incomplete, due to the space limitation, but these data strongly point to the necessity of more investigation into the relationship between demonstratives and nouns within DP.[45] Ideally, the final theory of nominal categories must subsume all these factors (whichever component each of these factors is attributed to), and indeed, scrutinizing the properties of them will provide us with a next step further toward the final theory.

Appendices.   Other Potential Human-Denoting Light Nouns

In these appendices, I will report yet other items in Japanese that might fall within the scope of the present investigation. When we restrict ourselves to items that follow human-denoting nominals, a handful of items show apparent similarity (to varying degrees) to the elements discussed in the text. At the same time, each of them manifests idiosyncratic properties. Let us briefly examine their properties in turn.

App-1. Mono

Mono has two variants: human-denoting *mono* and inanimate-denoting *mono*.[46]

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[45] In fact, in the original study of Inokuma (2009), I stated that the Indexical elements include proper names, pronouns, and *demonstrative + light noun phrases*. I omitted the reference to demonstratives since, as briefly illustrated here, they complicate the central issues discussed in this article. I will return to demonstratives in future research.

[46] The two are distinguished by means of different Chinese letters assigned to them.

(A-1) a.   Keesatsu-no mono-desu ga, ima   ohanashi dekimasu ka?
            police-Gen *mono*-Cop but now   talk   can   Q
            '(I am) a man from police, can we talk now?'
       b.   Anata-no mono-o   misete kudasai.
            you-Gen thing-Acc   show   please
            'Show me yours, please.'

When used to refer to humans, it most often expresses a sense of modesty. It is thus used to refer to people who "belong to" the speaker in some sense, or the speaker him/herself.

(A-2) a.   (On a phone in an office:)
            Tantoo-no   mono-ni   kawarimasu.
            in.charge-Gen *mono*-Dat change
            'I will connect you to the one in charge (of the matter).'
       b.   #Tantoo-no   mono-wa   irasshaimasu ka?
            in.charge-Gen   *mono*-Top   there.is(Hon) Q
            'Do you have the one in charge there?'
       b'. Tantoo-no   kata-wa   irasshaimasu ka?
            in.charge-Gen   person(Hon)-Top there.is(Hon) Q
            'Do you have the one in charge there?'

And in this human-denoting use, *mono* cannot occur independently, or in other words, it must follow some noun-modifying elements, on a par with *kata*.

(A-3) a.   *Mono-ni   kawarimasu.
            mono-Dat   change
       b.   *Mono-o   yondekimasu.
            mono-Acc   will.call
            '(Intended.) I will call my man.'
       c.   *Mono-ga   setsumeeshimasu.
            mono-Nom   will.explain
            '(Intended.) My man will explain.'

Interestingly, though, the N$_1$ element that occurs in the N$_1$-*no mono* sequence is strongly preferred to be group nouns, not marked by any human-denoting morphemes.

(A-4) a.   Keesatsu-no mono-desu ga, ima   ohanashi dekimasu ka?
            police-Gen *mono*-Cop but now   talk   can   Q
            '(I am) a man from police, can we talk now?'
       b.   *Keesatsu.kan-no   mono-desu   ga, …
            police.man-Gen   *mono*-Cop   but
(A-5) a.   Tantoo-no   mono-ga   setsumeeshimasu.
            in.charge-Gen   *mono*-Nom   will.explain
            'The one in charge will explain.'
       b.   *Tantoo.sha-no   mono-ga   setsumeeshimasu.
            in.charge.man-Gen   *mono*-Nom   will.explain

The preference for group N$_1$ suggests that yet another distinction, whether it is syntactic or semantic, is needed for

a comprehensive theory of light nouns.

App-2.   Koto

I am not much sure that we should subsume this element, *koto*, under the scope of the present discussion. It is because *koto* as its lexical information denotes [−animate], or more precisely [+abstract] objects.

   (A-6) a.   Shiken-no   koto-o   wasureteta.
                exam-Gen   *koto*-Acc   have.forgotten
                'I have forgotten about the exam.'
          b.   Taroo-no   koto-o   nandemo oshiete   kudasai.
                Taro-Gen *koto*-Acc anything   tell   please
                'Tell me anything about Taro, please.'

As the English translation 'about' suggests, we may be entering into the domain of (fine-grained) PP structure (see e.g., articles collected in Asbury et al. (2008)). In certain circumstances, however, *koto* can follow human denoting nominals, and its semantic contribution is little at first sight.[47]

   (A-7) a.   Hanako-ga   Taroo-no koto-o   nagutta   (to   kiite   odoroita).
                Hanako-Nom   Taro-Gen *koto*-Acc punched   (Comp to.hear   was.surprised)
                '(I was surprised to hear that) Hanako punched Taro.'
          b. =Hanako-ga   Taroo-o   nagutta   (to   kiite   odoroita).
                Hanako-Nom   Taro-Acc   punched   (Comp to.hear   was.surprised)

    Even in this redundant use, *koto* exhibits properties highly distinct from other human-denoting light nouns. For one thing, it can follow any nominal elements, including lexical nouns, proper names, and even pronouns.

   (A-8) a.   Hanako-ga   gakusee-no   koto-o   nagutta.
                Hanako-Nom   student-Gen   *koto*-Acc   punched
                'Hanako punched a student.'
          b.   Hanako-ga   watashi/kare-no   koto-o   nagutta.
                Hanako-Nom   1.sg/3.sg.masc-Gen   *koto*-Acc   punched
                'Hanako punched me/him.'

In fact, *koto* is the only instance of human-denoting (to the extent it can be called so) light nouns that can follow pronouns. *Koto* manifests a further idiosyncrasy: *koto* in its redundant use is only compatible with Acc marker –*o*. Co-occurrences with Nom –*ga*, Dat –*ni*, or Gen –*no* are sharply unacceptable.

   (A-9) a. *Hanako-no   koto-ga   Taroo-o   nagutta.
                Hanako-Gen   *koto*-Nom   Taro-Acc   punched
                'Hanako punched Taro.'
          b. *Kinoo   eki-de   Hanako-no   koto-ni   atta.
                yesterday   station-at   Hanako-Gen   *koto*-Dat met
                'I met Hanako at the station yesterday.'

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[47] But see Kurafuji (1998, 2004) and Takubo (2007) for interesting observations with regard to definiteness effects of *koto*.

c.   *Hanako-no   koto-no   musume-ga   naiteru.
Hanako-Gen   *koto*-Gen   daughter-Nom   is.crying
'Hanako's daughter is crying.'

The only cases in which the (apparently) redundant *koto* is compatible with these case markers are the ones where *koto*-marked nominals are arguments of psych-verbs.

(A-10) a.   Hanako(-no   koto)-ga   wasurerarenai.
Hanako(-Gen   *koto*)-Nom   can't.forget
'I can't forget (about) Hanako.'
b.   Hanako(-no   koto)-ni   ki-o   torareru   na.
Hanako(-Gen   *koto*)-Dat   attention-Acc   get.distracted don't
'Don't get distracted by (things about) Hanako.'

At this point, I am not sure whether they are in fact the instances of "redundant" use or are ordinary [+abstract] cases exemplified in (A-6). See Kurafuji (1998, 2004) and Takubo (2007) for more serious discussion on *koto*.

App-3.   Kinship Terms

The elements that can occur as N_2 in the proper N_1-*no* N_2 construction, alongside *yatsu*, *yaroo* and certain epithets, also include certain items of kinship terms.

(A-11) a.   Yooko-no obasan   /   Kazuki-no   oniichan
Yoko-Gen Aunt   /   Kazuki-Gen   brother
'Aunt Yoko / Brother Kazuki'
b.   Keiko-no   okaasan   /   Koosuke-no   otoosan[48]
Keiko-Gen   mother   /   Kosuke-Gen   father
* '(Intended.) Mother Keiko / Father Kosuke'
ok 'Keiko's mother / Kosuke's father'   (possessive reading)

We have to be cautious in assimilating the cases of kinship terms such as (A-11a) with those of *yatsu* such as (52) in the main text, though. Kinship terms have compound variants, without the genitive marker –*no*, whereas *yatsu* does not.   In the former cases, the expression as a whole receives a compound stress pattern (e.g., yoOKO Obasan rather than *YOoko oBASAN), as expected.

(A-12) a.   Yooko obasan / Kazuki oniichan
Yoko   aunt   / Kazuki brother
'Aunt Yoko / Brother Kazuki'
b.   *Taroo   yatsu   / Taroo   yaroo / Taroo   baka
Taro   guy   / Taroo   guy / Taroo   idiot

The interpretive difference between (A-11a) and (A-12a) is that the ambiguity observed in the former is lost in the latter; the expressions in (A-12a) do not have the possessive reading. Note along the way that (A-11b) also

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[48] Shunichiro Inada (personal communication) gave me examples like the following: *Zenigata-no totsan* 'Mr. Zenigata' (a famous Japanese cartoon character) and *Inada-no danna* 'Mr. Inada.' *Totsan* is a colloquial/dialectal variant of *otoosan* 'father,'and *danna* is also a colloquial expression meaning 'husband.' It seems to me, and to Inada, that the acceptability of these examples does not extend to the examples in (A-11a). Here we are entering into a vast domain of idiolectal variation, and variability of subtle judgments will be expected.

becomes acceptable (in the intended reading) in this compound version.[49]

(A-13)   Keiko   okaasan / Koosuke otoosan
          Keiko   mother   / Kosuke   father
          'Mother Keiko / Father Kosuke'

My impression is that the "N₁-*no* kinship" expressions in (A-11a) have the same phrase structure (i.e., the same "size" of projection) as "bare" proper names (and as compound variants in (A-12a)). This direction of thought is supported by the acceptability (though somewhat wordy) of the expression further followed by *yatsu*.

(A-14)   Yooko(-no) obasan-no yatsu-ga   mata chikokuda.
          Yoko(-Gen) aunt-Gen guy-Nom   again is.late
          'Poor Aunt Yoko is late again.'

These complications suggest that kinship terms involve a structure different from the N₁-*no yatsu* construction at issue.

   Kinship terms also show apparent peculiarity with respect to the N₁-*no hito* construction. They pattern with proper names and personal pronouns, and not with other lexical nouns.

(A-15) a.   #otooto-no   hito
              younger.brother-Gen person
       b.   #haha-no   hito
              mother-Gen   person

At first glance, the unacceptability of (A-16) is at odds with the above characterization of the N₁ class, considering that kinship terms seem to be the most typical of "socially stable" profiles. I conjecture that the kinship terms in these instances are used as a kind of proper name, much in the same fashion as the English counterpart.

(A-16) a.   Mommy/Mother is sick in the bed.
       b.   Is Grandpa already at home?

Indeed, kinship terms followed by *hito* become considerably acceptable when the context allows them to be interpreted as a profile.

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[49] Further complication of this compound version. Japanese has borrowed alternatives to *otoosan* 'father' and *okaasan* 'mother': namely, *papa* 'dad' and *mama* 'mom' respectively, which usually sound childish but are used very commonly. At first glance *papa* and *mama* show the same pattern with *otoosan* and *okaasan*. They, however, cause ambiguity when they are used in compounds.
   (i)   Naoki-papa
          Naoki-dad
          i.   a dad whose name is Naoki
          ii.   Naoki's dad
   (ii)   Naoki-no   papa
          Naoki-Gen   papa
          i.   *a dad whose name is Naoki
          ii.   Naoki's dad
That is, in the compound form (i), the possessive reading shows up again. The effect might have something to do with the fact that *papa* and *mama* have a motherese-flavor, often addressed to small children.

(A-17) a. ?kono   nakade otooto-no   hito-wa   te-o   agete kudasai.
       this   among brother-Gen person-Top hand-Acc   raise please
       'Whoever is a younger brother (= whoever has an elder sibling) among you all, please raise your hand.'
   b. ?Hahaoya-no   hito-kara   adobaisu-o   moraitai.
       mother-Gen   person-from advice-Acc   want
       'I want an advice from a mother (=someone who has a child).'

These properties of kinship terms point to the need for more careful investigation.

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