

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The Syntactic Category of Pronouns

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the syntactic category of pronouns. After examining six genetically unrelated languages, we conclude that there are two major classes of pronouns cross-linguistically: F-pronouns and L-pronouns. F-pronouns are functional items, which further subdivide into two classes: first and second person pronouns are Ds, and third person pronouns are D plus Num. L-pronouns are lexical items which form a uniform class across person. They are Ns. Each of these two major classes has a common set of properties and distributions. F-pronouns cannot co-occur with modifiers, are closed class items and can be construed as bound variables. L-pronouns, on the other hand, readily co-occur with modifiers, are open class items and cannot enter into variable binding. This thesis provides additional empirical evidence for the existence of the functional projection, NumP. Without this projection, it would be difficult to explain the two subclasses of pronouns found across languages with F-pronouns.

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Finally I wish to thank some people in my personal life who have supported me endlessly through the whole process. Camille deserves a big hug for sweetly putting up with a mom who was preoccupied for the past two and a half years of her life. A special thanks to my loving partner, Paul who provided endless support (both computer and moral) while patiently trying to understand the intricacies of the syntactic structure of pronouns. Last of all, I wish to thank three very special friends who were with me all the way: Dawn Nickel, Phylis Raine and Suzanne Green. Thank you for believing in me.

Dedicated to Camille Thomas, my darling daughter.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Theoretical Assumptions

1.0 Introduction to the Problem

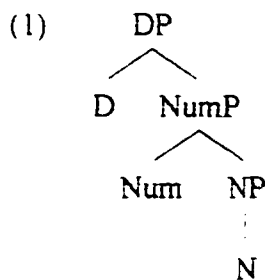
All languages have personal pronouns which stand in for full noun phrases and since pronouns replace noun phrases, they appear in the same syntactic position as noun phrases¹. Current work within the Principles and Parameters framework assumes that even the simplest noun phrases have a complex internal structure; they contain more than just nouns² (Abney 1987, Guilfoyle 1990, Ritter 1991). Thus, an exploration of the syntactic category of pronouns should consider not only the possibility that pronouns are nouns, but that they may belong to one of the other grammatical categories which make up noun phrases. A second question to be explored is whether the category of pronouns is the same from language to language. In order to answer this question, we need to consider evidence from a variety of genetically distinct languages. In particular, we need to explore evidence from languages whose pronoun systems manifest different properties which might reasonably be attributed to a difference in category.

1.1 The Internal Structure of Noun Phrases

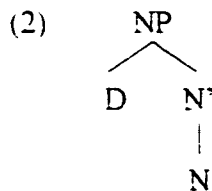
¹ Throughout this thesis *pronouns* will be used to mean *personal pronouns*, unless otherwise indicated. Further, clitic pronouns do not occur in the same position as noun phrases. Cardinaletti (1994) argues that clitic pronouns undergo syntactic movement to a derived position.

² Principles and Parameters is a theory that all language knowledge is composed of universal principles, and parameters which vary across languages. It was largely developed by Chomsky (1986).

I will begin by reviewing the syntactic structure of noun phrases. I assume, following Abney (1987), Guilfoyle (1990), Ritter (1991) and others that noun phrases are actually DPs, maximal projections of a functional element D, and that they also contain NumP, a projection intermediate between DP and NP. Thus the structure of a 'bare' noun phrase is as in (1).

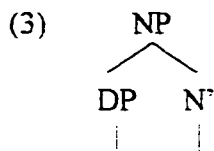


Prior to the emergence of the DP hypothesis in the late 1980s, the noun was considered to be the syntactic head of the phrase, with D in specifier position.



This structure, however is a violation of X bar theory, the module of grammar regulating the structure of phrases, for the D head does not project to a maximal projection, DP.

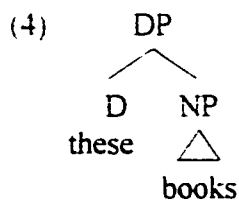
One way to resolve this is simply for D to project up to a maximal projection, DP.



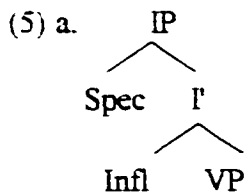
D N

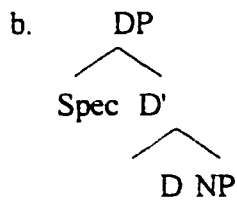
Although the analysis in (3) no longer violates X bar theory, there is still a fundamental flaw with this representation. Abney (1987:289) argues that motivating a phrasal node DP, where D never takes specifiers or complements is not in the spirit of X bar theory. Phrasal nodes are expected to at least potentially dominate more than a single word, and in this structure, DP never dominates anything other than the D head.

Instead, Abney argues that the constituents we have been calling noun phrases are technically DPs, maximal projections headed by D. Abney assumes that NP, the maximal projection of N, is the complement of D, as shown in (4).



A second argument provided by Abney in support of this structure is that the noun phrase as a DP better captures the structural parallelism with the clause. Clauses are analysed as IPs, maximal projections of a functional head, Infl. In both IP and DP a functional head selects a lexical complement: Infl selects VP and D selects NP.





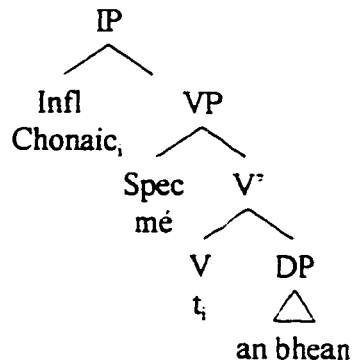
The similarities between IP and DP are manifested in a number of ways. Both IP and DP have subjects. Also both are bounding nodes and binding domains.

Guilfoyle (1990) provides an interesting confirmation of the structural parallelism between Irish noun phrase and clauses. In her analysis of Irish, Guilfoyle argues that languages where the directionality of case assignment and selection of complement are the same, functional categories only project to the X' level, thus they have no specifier position. The details of this argument are beyond the scope of this thesis. However, important to this claim is the structural parallel found between clauses and noun phrases in Irish. In both phrases, the lexical head undergoes head movement to the functional head. The movement is motivated by case considerations.

Specifically, Guilfoyle argues that in Irish, verbs undergo V-to-I movement, while nouns undergo N-to-D movement. She presents evidence that the subject remains in its base-generated position in the clause, while the verb undergoes head movement to Infl for case reasons (Guilfoyle 1990:29)³.

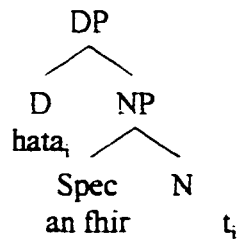
³ This analysis assumes VP internal subjects where subjects are generated within the verb phrase, rather than in [Spec, IP].

- (6) Chonaic mé an bhean
 see past I the woman
 'I saw the woman'



In a similar manner, the noun in the genitive DP moves from its base generated position in N to the head of DP for case considerations, as well.

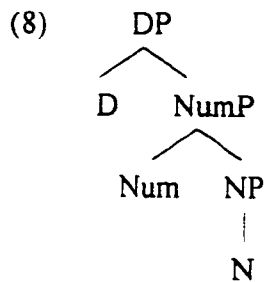
- (7) hata an fhir
 hat the man
 'the man's hat'



In summary, Guilfoyle argues that in both the clause and the noun phrase, the subject remains in its base-generated position, while the lexical head undergoes head movement to the functional head.

Similar to Guilfoyle's analysis of the Irish genitive DP, Ritter (1991) analyses the

Hebrew genitive as undergoing N-to-D movement motivated by case assignment. In her argument she proposes that the noun phrases contain two functional projections, DP and Number Phrase (NumP)⁴.



Presenting a comparative analysis of two Hebrew genitive constructions, the construct state (CS) and the free genitive (FG), Ritter argues for the existence of NumP.

The CS, a noun phrase not overtly case marked, contains a head immediately followed by a genitive DP. The CS may contain a verb-derived nominal which, like the verb that it is derived from, takes both a subject and an object argument.

- (9) *axilat* *dan* *et* *ha-uga*
 eating Dan ACC the cake
 ‘Dan’s eating of the cake’

In example (9) the head noun, *axilat* takes a subject argument *dan*, and an object argument *ha-uga*. When an adjective appears in a CS, it must follow the subject and

⁴ Other linguists have also suggested the existence of a second nominal functional projection. See Kornfilt 1984, Cardinaletti 1994 and Zwarts 1994 for more details.

precede the object (Ritter 1991:44).

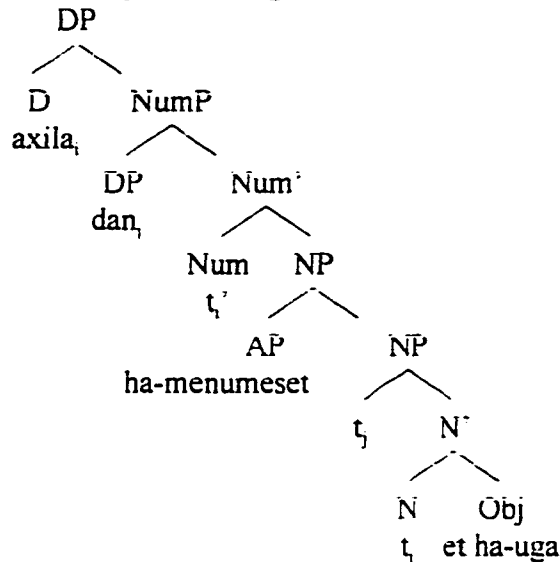
- (10) ??axilat dan ha-menumaset et ha-uga
 eating Dan the-polite ACC the-cake
 'Dan's polite eating of the cake'

In this example, the adjective *ha-menumaset* is situated between the subject *dan* and the object *ha-uga*. Based on binding facts, Ritter argues that the CS involves two movements in order to derive the surface structure⁵. The head noun undergoes long movement through Num to the head of DP and the genitive subject moves from its base-generated position, [SPEC, NP] to a landing site past the adjective phrase⁶. Ritter postulates that this landing site is the specifier position of an additional head between DP and NP, and she calls this intermediate projection NumP. Thus, she proposes that the subject noun lands in [SPEC, NumP]. The derivation of (10) is shown in (11).

⁵ See Ritter (1991) for details concerning word order of the CS and the FG.

⁶ Long movement is movement to a higher clause.

- (11) axilat dan ha-menumeset et ha-uga
 'Dan's polite eating of the cake'



Important to this argument of movement is the fact that CS does not permit the definite article *ha* to occur in initial position. Since the CS never has the definite article in initial position, D is always available as a landing site for the head noun.

- (12) a. beyt ha-mora
 house the teacher
 'the teacher's house'
- b. *ha-beyt ha-mora
 the house the teacher

Hebrew has a second genitive construction known as the free genitive (FG) construction. It has essentially the same content, but different syntactic properties. Unlike the CS, the FG construction does permit definite articles in initial position (Ritter 1991:47).

- (13) ha-bayit ha-gadol *fel* ha-mora
 the-house the-big of the-teacher
 'the teacher's big house'

Ritter argues that N in the FG also undergoes head movement to obtain the surface word order of noun-subject-object. In the CS, the head noun undergoes long head movement to D. However, in the FG, D is not available as a landing site for it is already filled by the definite article *ha* (10). Assuming the Head Movement Constraint, where heads can only move to head positions, Ritter again postulates the existence of Num as a landing site for the raised N⁷.

- (14) ha-axila *fel* dan et ha tapuax
 'Dan's eating of the apple'
-
- ```

graph TD
 DP --> D[ha]
 DP --> NumP
 NumP --> Num[axila_t]
 NumP --> NP
 NP --> Subj[fel dan]
 NP --> N_prime[N']
 N_prime --> N[t_i]
 N_prime --> Obj[et ha-tapuax]

```

Based on this comparative analysis of the two Hebrew genitive constructions, Ritter motivates the existence of a second nominal functional projection NumP, intermediate

---

<sup>7</sup> It follows from the head movement constraint (Travis 1984) the landing site of raised N will be a head position.  
 a. THE HEAD MOVEMENT CONSTRAINT  
 A head (X<sup>o</sup>) can move only to the position of the head (Y<sup>o</sup>) that properly governs it.

between DP and NP.

Having motivated the existence of NumP, Ritter then turns to the Hebrew dual and plural affixes to account for the content of this category. She argues that Num is the locus of number specification in a noun phrase and that, in Hebrew it is an inflectional affix which attaches to N via head movement. Further, she argues that the Hebrew plural affix is inherently specified for number while N is inherently specified for gender.

The dual marker *-ayim* is argued to be a bi-morphemic affix, where *-ay-* means 'two' and *-im* indicates plural. This dual marker affixes differently to each of the three semantic classes it is used with: periods of time (exactly two Ns), paired body parts and clothing (usually in pairs), and pluralia tantum<sup>8</sup> (two part N).

(15)

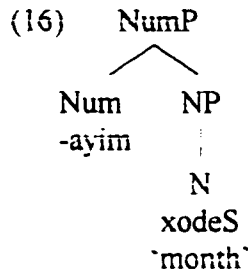
| Type of dual     | noun      | singular   | plural   | two      |
|------------------|-----------|------------|----------|----------|
| exactly two Ns   | 'month'   | xodeS      | xodaSim  | xodSayim |
| usually in pairs | 'leg'     | regel      | reglayim | ——       |
| two part N       | 'glasses' | miSkafayim | ——       | ——       |

Thus it is apparent that the distribution of the dual (and plural) marker varies across these three semantic groups. The assumption of NumP allows a straightforward analysis of this otherwise complex set of facts.

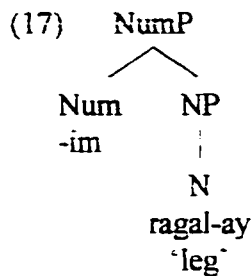
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<sup>8</sup> Pluralia tantum are nouns which are necessarily plural, such as scissors.

In the first class of ‘exactly two Ns’ Ritter argues that the dual marker and the plural marker are both Nums. Because the dual and plural marker are found in complementary distribution, Ritter argues that they are both members of the same category. They are Nums which attach to the N stem through head movement.

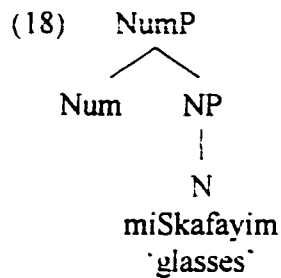


In ‘paired Ns’, the dual marker is actually an irregular plural since there is no other plural marker for this class of Ns. Based on gender agreement, Ritter argues that in this semantic class the dual marker is base-generated in two distinct heads. *-ay-* is a lexical affix which is attached to N in the lexicon while *-im*, an irregular plural marker, is base-generated in Num and attaches to N through head movement.



In the final semantic class, two part Ns, *-ayim* is entirely affixed through lexical affixation; it is not part of the syntax. This is evident from the use of these nouns for both singular and plural, in a parallel form to English *glasses*. Thus Ritter argues that

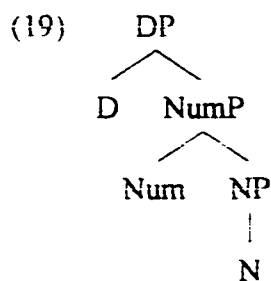
this affix is specified on the noun in the lexicon.



In short, the facts of the dual marker in Hebrew are explained by the postulation of an intermediate projection NumP, where number specification is base-generated.

## 1.2 Internal Structure of Pronouns

Since pronouns replace noun phrases, they are DPs. Based on these facts of Hebrew, I assume the existence of functional projection NumP within the DP. Given that there are three heads in the DP, it is conceivable that pronouns could be Ds, Nums and / or Ns at the word level category:



This thesis will explore genetically unrelated languages to determine the word level category of pronouns. It will be determined that there is cross-linguistic as well as language internal variation, and that different pronouns are best analysed as Ds, Nums

and Ns.

In order to determine which syntactic category pronouns belong to, I will look at their distribution, focussing on the category of items with which they are in complementary distribution. When two items are in complementary distribution it is assumed that they are either semantically incompatible or they belong to the same syntactic category. If the evidence indicates that pronouns of a particular language are in complementary distribution with other items argued to be in D, Num or N, then this will suggest that they are members of this same syntactic category. If they are able to co-occur with members of a particular syntactic category, this will be seen as evidence that they do not share the same category.

Another type of argument which will be considered is homophony. If a pronoun is identical in form with another element, they are homophonous. It is a reasonable assumption that the two homophonous elements share the same syntactic category. For instance, the French definite article *le* is identical in form to the third person masculine object pronoun *le*. The null hypothesis I will assume in this hypothesis is that the two are actually both of the same syntactic category.

A final consideration for determining the syntactic category of pronouns is to examine their morphological features. If pronouns share the same inflectional or derivational affixes with members of another syntactic category, it might be argued that they are of

the same category. For instance, if pronouns pluralize using the nominal plural marker it might be argued that they are both Ns, based on this observation.

In this thesis, I will use arguments of this type in order to determine the syntactic category of pronouns in various languages. I will look for elements pronouns are in complementary distribution or homophonous with. Finally, I will examine the morphological properties of pronouns to see if they pattern with Ns, Ds or Num.

### 1.3 Organization of Thesis

Chapter Two reviews the literature on the category of pronouns in English, Hebrew, Dutch and Japanese. Comparing properties of the pronouns in these four languages, I conclude that there is cross-linguistic variation in the category of pronouns. In English, Hebrew and Dutch they are functors (D or D plus Num), and in Japanese they are Ns. Moreover, in English, Hebrew and Dutch, there is a split between first and second person pronouns on one hand and third person pronouns on the other. This leads me to further hypothesize that whenever languages have functor pronouns, they subdivide into two classes.

Chapter Three tests these hypotheses on Turkish. Turkish is a language where third person pronouns are homophonous with the distal demonstratives. Thus third person pronouns appear to be Ds. In addition, third person pronouns use regular N morphology, leading to the speculation that they are Ns. However, a closer examination of the

evidence suggests that Turkish lacks third person pronouns altogether and instead, conscripts its distal demonstratives for this purpose. The distal demonstratives are of the same syntactic category as third person pronouns in English, Hebrew and Dutch, thus providing support for the hypothesis that languages with functor pronouns further subdivide into two classes: first and second person pronouns are Ds and third person pronouns are D plus Num.

Chapter Four tests the hypotheses on Malay, a language where pronouns appear to be open class items, leading to the assumption that they are Ns. However, the evidence suggests that despite initial appearances, Malay has pronouns which are functors. These Malay pronouns support the hypothesis that languages with functor pronouns further subdivide into two classes.

Chapter Five summarizes the results of this thesis and finds that the evidence supports the hypothesis that there are two major classes of pronouns cross-linguistically: functional pronouns and lexical pronouns. This chapter provides concluding remarks, suggesting areas for further research.

## CHAPTER TWO

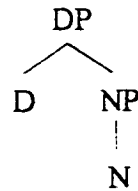
### Proposals on the Structure of Pronominal DP

In this chapter I provide a critical review of the two competing proposals on the structure of pronominal DP: pronouns are functors (Abney 1987 and Ritter 1995) and pronouns are nouns (Zwarts 1994 and Noguchi 1997). I show that languages which have functional pronouns share a set of properties and distribution which is distinct from languages which have lexical pronouns. I conclude with the hypothesis that there are two pronoun systems cross-linguistically, lexical pronouns and functional pronouns.

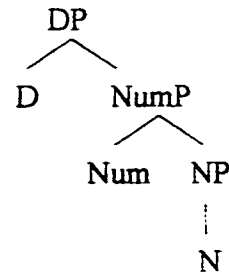
#### 2.0 Introduction: General Properties of Pronouns

The DP hypothesis (Abney 1987) recasts the noun phrase as a Determiner Phrase (DP) where the determiner is the syntactic head (1a). Abney claims that NP is a complement of D, while others (Ritter 1991, Zwarts 1994) claim the existence of a functional projection intermediate to D and NP (1). Following Ritter (1991), I am assuming that this intermediate functional projection is NumP and it is here that the plural morpheme is base-generated<sup>9</sup>. Thus, in (1b) NP is the complement of Num.

(1) a.



b.




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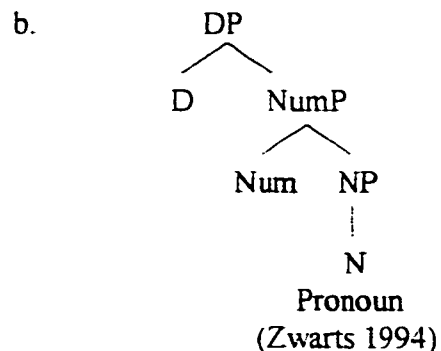
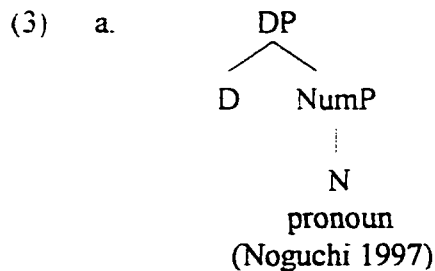
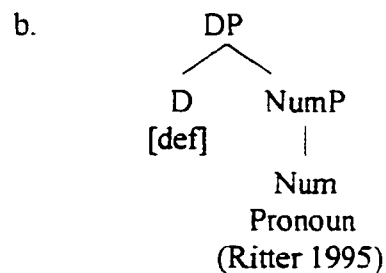
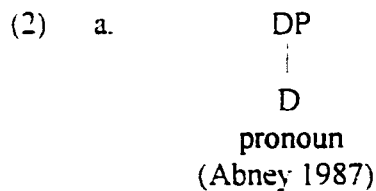
<sup>9</sup> This intermediate functional projection has alternatively been referred to as SuppP (Cardinaletti 1994) and FP (Zwarts 1994). I will refer to it as NumP throughout this thesis.



Although linguists currently agree that pronouns are DPs, there is debate over the internal syntactic structure of pronominal DP. At the word level category, pronouns can be of the category D, Num or N<sup>10</sup>. When a pronoun is a D or Num, it is a functor or functional item. When it is an N, it is a lexical item.

A survey of the literature indicates that each of these possibilities has been proposed.

Abney (1987) and Ritter (1995) propose that pronouns are functors (2), while Noguchi (1997) and Zwarts (1994) propose that pronouns are lexical items (3).



Abney proposes that all personal pronouns are Ds while Ritter proposes that only first and second person pronouns are Ds (2a). She argues that third person pronouns are more

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<sup>10</sup> N is used throughout this thesis to represent the abstract syntactic category to which nouns belong. D is used to represent the abstract syntactic category of which determiners are a member.

complex elements consisting of both the D and Num head (2b). Thus, she proposes that there is variation in the internal syntactic structure of pronominal DP within a single language. Noguchi and Zwarts both propose that pronouns are of the lexical category N (3). Like Ritter, Zwarts proposes that there is variation in the internal structure of pronominal DP within a single language. He proposes that first and second person pronouns are Ds (2a) while third person pronouns are Ns (3b).

In order to determine the word level category of pronouns, we must look at the properties of functional and lexical items (4). The following table is adapted from Cook and Newson (1996:187):

(4)

| Functional items                     | Lexical items       |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| closed class                         | open class          |
| often stressless, clitics or affixes | usually full words  |
| lack descriptive content             | descriptive content |

Functional items have grammatical, as opposed to lexical meaning. Their membership is fixed and can be listed. Lexical items, on the other hand, have meaningful content. New items are generated regularly. Based on this, I now turn to English and Japanese pronouns.

Turning first to English pronouns, it is clear that they generally have properties listed for functional items in (4). They are closed class items, readily listed in a paradigm (5).

(5)

| Person | Singular    | Plural |
|--------|-------------|--------|
| First  | I           | we     |
| Second | you         | you    |
| Third  | he, she, it | they   |

They may be phonologically reduced to clitics (6).

- (6) a. Give ‘em the books.  
b. Could ya be quiet?

In languages other than English, such as Italian, pronouns may be syntactic clitics.

- (7) lo      conosco  
him    know  
‘I know him.’

Pronouns can refer to a class of items but they cannot describe it, for they lack descriptive content. In English and Italian, pronouns simply encode the grammatical features of person, number and gender. In French and Italian, pronouns also encode formality. French *vous* is the second person singular pronoun used to address those people whom the speaker does not know well or is showing respect for, while *tu* is used with friends and children.

Based on these properties, we see that pronouns in these languages clearly pattern with functional items. Looking at more languages, though, it becomes clear that this is not always the case. In Japanese, for instance, pronouns pattern with Ns, which are lexical

items. Japanese pronouns are argued to be open class items which do not readily fit into a paradigm. While English pronouns are a bundle of grammatical features, this is not so in Japanese. Noguchi (1997:778) observes that there are a variety of pronouns with stylistic variations for both first and second person.

- (8) a. First person singular  
watasi, watakusi, ore, temae, boku, etc.
- b. Second person singular  
anata, kimi, omae, temae, etc.

These Japanese pronouns are full words, encoding a variety of stylistic properties in addition to grammatical features. For instance, the third person pronoun *kare* would never be used for a very young child or for someone of a higher social status (Noguchi 1997:778). Thus, it is evident that Japanese pronouns encode lexical, as well as grammatical information. They also pattern with Ns, which are lexical items; unlike English, Japanese pronouns can be modified by adjectives in the same way that Ns are. It is for reasons such as these that Japanese pronouns are argued to be lexical, rather than functional, items.

Thus, it becomes apparent that in different languages, the properties of pronouns vary. In some languages, pronouns are functional items and in other languages they are lexical items. In this chapter, in the languages discussed by Abney, Ritter and Zwarts, pronouns pattern morphologically and semantically with functors, rather than with lexical items. Additional syntactic evidence, provided by Abney and Ritter, leads to this same

conclusion. When looking at Dutch, I will show that Zwarts's arguments for analyzing third person pronouns as Ns are not compelling, and that Dutch pronouns can be more convincingly analyzed as functors, like English and Hebrew pronouns.

On the other hand, Japanese pronouns present a stark contrast to English, Hebrew and Dutch, leading to the conclusion that there is cross-linguistic variation in the category of pronoun. As demonstrated by Noguchi, Japanese is a language where pronouns uniformly pattern with lexical, rather than functional, items. They have the syntactic, semantic and morphological properties of Ns, not Ds. Hence, I conclude that these pronouns are lexical rather than functional items.

From this survey of the literature, I conclude that there is cross-linguistic variation in the structure of pronominal DP. In Japanese, pronouns are lexical items while in the other languages discussed, pronouns are functional items.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows: section 2.1 reviews the previous proposals by Abney (1987) and Ritter (1995) on languages with functional pronouns. In section 2.2, I review the proposal made by Zwarts (1994) that Dutch pronouns are lexical items, and point out the problems with this analysis. The next section, 2.3 provides a discussion on Noguchi's (1997) proposal that Japanese pronouns are lexical items. Section 2.4 is a discussion of the languages and literature which leads to the hypothesis that there are two types of pronouns cross-linguistically, functional pronouns and lexical

pronouns, and each of these has a common set of properties which make them different from the other.

## 2.1 Pronouns are Functors

Until recently, linguists generally believed pronouns to be a special type of noun phrase. Postal (1966) then noticed that pronouns and determiners share many properties, and argued that they are of the same syntactic category. Building on Postal's work, Abney (1987) puts forth his seminal proposal that the noun phrase be reanalyzed as a DP, and that pronouns are DPs containing only a functional head. Ritter (1995) then postulates that there is a second nominal functional projection, NumP, which readily explains the distinct distributions of two classes of pronouns in Hebrew: first and second person pronouns, and third person pronouns. Following Ritter, I argue that in languages with functor pronouns, there exist two distinct classes of pronouns. This then accounts for the differences found cross-linguistically between first and second person pronouns on one hand, and third person pronouns, on the other.

### 2.1.1 All pronouns are Ds

Following Postal (1970), Abney argues that all pronouns are Ds. Using English data, Abney shows that pronouns are in complementary distribution with determiners, such as definite articles and demonstratives (Abney 1987:281).

(9) \*the she that I talked to

Abney argues that the reason that the two cannot co-occur is because pronouns and determiners belong to the same syntactic category. They are both Ds.

- (10)     DP  
           |  
           D  
           I  
           you  
           these  
           the

Further evidence that pronouns are Ds is that, like determiners, pronouns are the basic site of the grammatical, or phi<sup>11</sup>, features of noun phrases (Abney 1987:283). Abney explains that in many languages, determiners are conjugated for number and gender, and in some languages, case, while nouns are marked only for number. For instance, in French, *le* is the masculine singular determiner, *la* the feminine singular determiner and *les* the plural counterpart, which is unmarked for gender. Abney argues that D, rather than N, is the actual site of the noun phrase's grammatical features. Like determiners, pronouns are clearly functors in the languages he considers (ie. English, German and Hungarian) for they belong to a closed class and bear phi features. Thus, Abney concludes that pronouns and determiners belong to the same syntactic category, D.

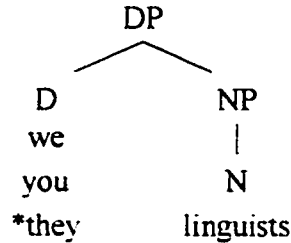
I argue that if pronouns are Ds, then it follows that they should take NP complements. However, this prediction is not borne out for all personal pronouns. As the examples in (11) show, first and second person plural pronouns are able to take an NP complement,

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<sup>11</sup> Phi features are person, number and gender features.

but third person plural pronouns are not<sup>12</sup>.

- (11) a. [DP we/you linguists] are intelligent  
 b. \*[DP they linguists] are intelligent  
 c.



Although the analysis that all pronouns are Ds allows us to capture the similarities between pronouns and determiners, it does not adequately account for the distribution of English pronouns. If all pronouns were Ds, we would expect them to have identical distributions, but (11) clearly shows us that this is not the case. English third person pronouns are unable to co-occur with NP complements while first and second person pronouns can. Abney noted that *\*they linguists* is ungrammatical, but dismissed it as a blocking effect, since *these linguists* has essentially the same meaning. If this were a problem of English alone, Abney's assessment as a blocking effect would perhaps be justified. However, it is a recurring fact cross-linguistically that third person plural pronouns cannot co-occur with plural Ns.

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<sup>12</sup> I have no analysis of the fact that the first and second person singular pronouns cannot co-occur with NPs.

(i) *\*I linguist*

(ii) *\*you linguist*

Given the structures that I propose, both (i) and (ii) should be grammatical. However, in all languages considered, these are impossible. Consequently, there seems to be other factors involved here which I leave for further research.



- (12) a. \*onlar aptal-lar (Turkish)  
 b. \*zij talalkundigen (Dutch)  
 c. \*they linguists (English)

Thus, this remains an outstanding problem with the hypothesis that all pronouns are Ds.

### 2.1.2 Some Pronouns are Ds and Some are D plus Num

In order to account for this difference in distribution between first and second person pronouns, and third person pronouns, we turn to Ritter's (1995) analysis of Hebrew.

Ritter proposes that there are two classes of pronouns in Hebrew, each with a distinct syntactic structure and distribution. Retaining Abney's basic insight that pronouns are functional items, she identifies first and second person pronouns as Ds. Third person pronouns, she claims, are D plus Num. Based on independently motivated empirical and theoretical considerations, Ritter claims that NumP is an intermediate functional projection between D and NP, where the number feature is base-generated. The assumption of two nominal functional projections, DP and NumP, permits structurally distinct classes of pronouns. Thus, Ritter proposes that all pronouns do not have the same structure.

Various linguists (Benveniste 1956, Forchheimer 1953, Noyer 1992) have noted that first and second person pronouns form a natural semantic class, distinct from third person pronouns. First and second person pronouns denote participants in the speech act, while third person pronouns may denote anyone other than the participants in the speech act.

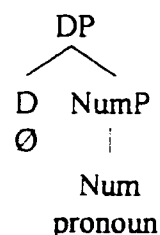
Ritter (1995) argues that this semantic difference is represented in the syntactic structures of these two classes of pronouns. Since pronouns are functors and there exist two nominal functional projections, DP and NumP, Ritter postulates that these two classes of pronouns are structurally distinct.

Ritter's claim is based on her analysis of Hebrew. She analyses Hebrew first and second person pronouns as DPs containing only the functional head D, and third person pronouns as a more complex structure, containing two functional projections, DP and NumP (13).

(13) a. 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns



b. 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns



The distribution of Hebrew definite article, *ha*, provides evidence for these two distinct pronoun structures. In Hebrew, the definite article is a D. If all pronouns were also Ds, as proposed by Abney (1987), we would not expect the definite article to co-occur with a pronoun. Yet the remote demonstrative, a bi-morphemic word, is formed by combining *ha* with the third person pronoun.

|      |            |            |             |             |
|------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| (14) | ha-hu      | ha-hi      | ha-hem      | ha-hen      |
|      | the 3msg   | the 3fsg   | the 3mpl    | the 3fpl    |
|      | 'that (m)' | 'that (f)' | 'those (m)' | 'those (f)' |

The definite article, however, cannot combine with first or second person pronouns to

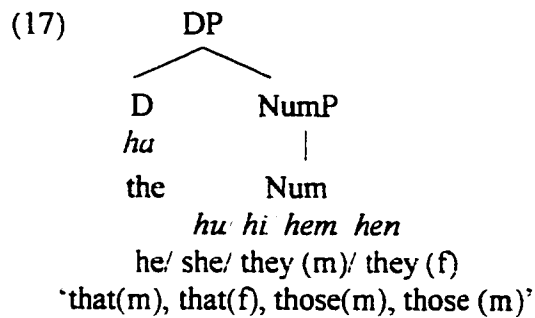
form a demonstrative or, in fact, any other word; these forms are ungrammatical (15).

- (15) a.   \*ha-ani       \*ha-anaxnu  
          the 1sg       the 1pl
- b.   \*ha-ata       \*ha-at       \*ha-atem       \*ha-aten  
          the 2msg       the 2fsg       the 2mpl       the 2fpl

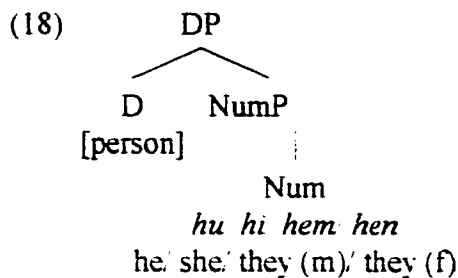
Based on their different distributions, Ritter concludes that the first and second person pronouns have a distinct syntactic structure from third person pronouns. She proposes that Hebrew first and second person pronouns are Ds, which explains why they occur in complementary distribution with the definite article; they are all Ds.

- (16)
- |                                  |
|----------------------------------|
| DP                               |
|                                  |
| D                                |
| ani/ anaxnu/ ata/ at/ atem/ aten |
| ha                               |

Third person pronouns do not belong to the same syntactic category as first and second person pronouns; they are able to co-occur with at least one determiner, *ha*, and do so to form the remote demonstrative. Assuming that *hu hi hem hen* belong to the functional category Num, demonstratives are formed by combining the definite article in D with the pronoun in Num. Thus, Hebrew remote demonstratives have the following internal structure:



Extending this proposal, Ritter claims that third person pronouns have the same syntactic structure as demonstratives. The only difference between them is the element found in the head of DP. In demonstratives, it is the definite article and in third person pronouns it is a phonetically null [person] feature (18)<sup>13</sup>.

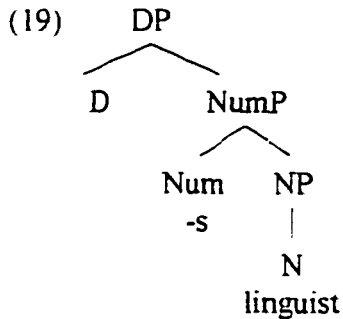


To summarize, Ritter argues that Hebrew pronouns are functors: first and second person pronouns are Ds, while third person pronouns are D plus Num. Although not discussed by Ritter, this analysis resolves the empirical problem of *\*they linguists*. By applying Ritter's analysis of Hebrew to English pronouns, we have a solution for the distinct distributions, where first and second, but not third, person pronouns are able to co-occur with plural Ns.

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<sup>13</sup> For evidence of [person] and [definite] features, see Ritter (1995).

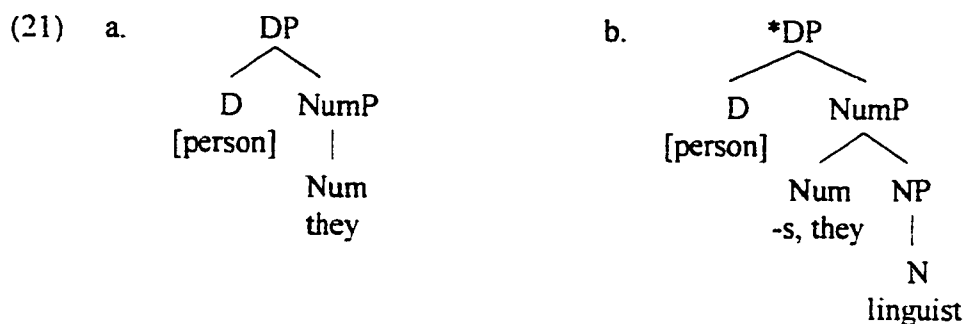
Full noun phrases contain all three nominal projections DP, NumP and NP (19).



If we assume that English pronouns pattern with Hebrew pronouns, then English third person pronouns contain two functional projections, DP and NumP, while first and second person pronouns are a DP consisting solely of a D head. Because first and second person plural pronouns are Ds, they are able to co-occur with NumPs (20):



Third person pronouns, however, contain two functional projections, DP and NumP, with overt material in Num. A third person pronoun cannot co-occur with plural N because both the N plurality and the third person pronoun would be competing for the same Num position (21).



This explains the ungrammaticality of *\*they linguists*. Because the plural morpheme and the third person pronoun are both base-generated in Num, and only one of these elements may occupy this position, third person pronouns cannot co-occur with NPs. Thus, the outstanding problem of *\*they linguists* is resolved by the assumption that pronouns as functors are divided into two classes: first and second person pronouns are Ds, while third person pronouns are D plus Num.

### 2.1.3 Summary of Pronouns as Functors

In summary, both Abney and Ritter argue that pronouns are DPs consisting entirely of functional categories. Abney proposes that all pronouns are Ds, while Ritter expands his basic proposal. Her analysis retains Abney's basic insight that pronouns are functors, but her assumption of a second nominal functional projection provides a solution for some empirical problems. Ritter argues that there are two classes of pronouns, each with a distinct syntactic structure. First and second person pronouns are Ds while third person pronouns are D plus Num. Differing syntactic structures elegantly explain the distinct distribution: first and second person pronouns form one natural class, while third person

pronouns form another. Ritter's analysis accounts for the internal structure of Hebrew remote demonstratives, and can readily be applied to English in order to account for the ungrammaticality of *\*they linguists*. Thus, in both English and Hebrew, there is evidence for a structural distinction between first and second person pronouns, and third person pronouns, and for analysing all pronouns as functors.

## 2.2 Third Person Pronouns are not Lexical Heads

In the previous section, I argue that in both English and Hebrew it is reasonable to assume that first and second person pronouns are Ds while third person pronouns are D plus Num. In this next section, I will consider Dutch pronouns. After reviewing the evidence, I will conclude that they are subject to the same analysis as English and Hebrew ones, contrary to Zwarts's analysis that third person pronouns are Ns. While Ritter and Abney argue that all pronouns are heads of functional categories, Zwarts (1994) argues that third person pronouns are heads of the lexical category N, which is the semantic head of DP<sup>14</sup>. Like Ritter, Zwarts makes a distinction between first and second person pronouns on one hand, and third person pronouns on the other. While he does not offer any argument for his claim that first and second person pronouns are Ds, I would expect Dutch pronouns to be like their English and Hebrew counterparts, unless faced with evidence to the contrary. Extending this proposal to Dutch third person pronouns,

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<sup>14</sup> Cardinaletti (1994) also argues that strong pronouns in Italian and German are Ns which undergo movement to D. However, she argues that clitic pronouns and weak pronouns are functors. Thus she accounts for the syntactic differences between strong, weak and clitic pronouns. The objections I raise against Zwarts's analysis of Dutch in this section are also applicable to Cardinaletti's analysis of Italian and German.

there is the expectation that, like English and Hebrew, Dutch third person pronouns are composed of D plus Num. In this section, I will demonstrate that upon closer examination, Zwarts's arguments are not compelling. Instead, I will show that the facts are consistent with the assumption that Dutch is like English and Hebrew; Dutch first and second person pronouns are Ds and third person pronouns are D plus Num. In order to demonstrate this, we will first examine Zwarts' argument that Dutch third person pronouns are Ns.

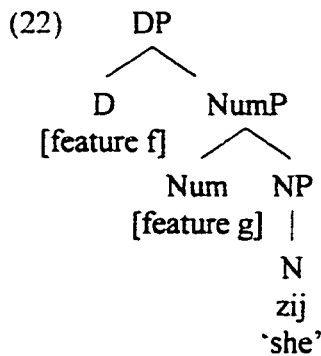
#### 2.2.1 Dutch third person pronouns are not Ns

Zwarts proposes that Dutch third person pronouns are base-generated in N and move through Num to D in order to check their features<sup>15</sup>. Although, he does not specify the features located on D and Num, Zwarts states that pronouns move to D to check their inflectional features against the corresponding functional heads. I have used [feature f] and [feature g] to represent these unspecified features. He further suggests that N-to-D movement might be a general characteristic of all third person pronouns cross-linguistically.

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<sup>15</sup> Zwarts calls this intermediate functional projection F, rather than Num.





Zwarts argues that Dutch third person pronouns are base-generated in N. This argument is based solely on assumptions about the feature [human]. Specifically, he assumes that [human] is a feature of N alone, and that all Dutch nouns are either specified for [human] or not specified for this feature.

- (23)
- |    |                                      |                           |
|----|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | vrouw / man / kind / meisje / joch   | [human]                   |
|    | woman / man / child / girl / boy     |                           |
| b. | tafel / stoel / bed / mes / raam     | not specified for [human] |
|    | table / chair / bed / knife / window |                           |

Moreover, since only nouns which are [human] can be antecedents for the pronouns *hij* 'he' and *zij* 'she' he concludes that third person pronouns must also be specified for [human]. He reasons that if only Ns are specified for [human], third person pronouns must be Ns.

This argument has a number of empirical flaws. First, Zwarts's assumption that pronouns are Ns because only Ns can be specified for [human] is problematic. Looking at the major syntactic categories, we see that there are others which are associated with

humanness. For instance, some adjectives appear to be marked for [human]: *gifted*, *genteel*, *polite*. Since these are attributes of humans alone, they must be specified as part of the lexically listed information for each of these adjectives. Verbs such as *elect*, *murder* and *assassinate* are also specified for [human] since only humans have the capacity to perform these actions. Since both adjectives and verbs can be specified for [human], then this specification cannot be taken to be a diagnostic for membership in the category N. Thus, Zwarts' argument that third person pronouns are Ns based solely on their [human] specification is not justified.

Moreover, pronouns replace DPs, not simply Ns.

- (24) a. [<sub>DP</sub>The old man with the grey beard] walked into the store.  
 b. [<sub>DP</sub>He] walked into the store.

Verbs which subcategorize for human noun phrases, select a [human] DP, not just a [human] N.

- (25) a. [<sub>DP</sub> The madman] attempted to assassinate the prime minister.  
 b. [<sub>DP</sub>He] attempted to assassinate the prime minister.

Thus, it does not necessarily follow that it is the N alone which determines the DPs specification for [human].

There are other empirical flaws with Zwarts's claim that all and only third person pronouns are specified for the feature [human]. The next flaw becomes apparent when

we look at first and second person pronouns. Consistent with Abney and Ritter, Zwarts proposes that first and second person pronouns are Ds. However, first and second person pronouns refer to participants in the speech act and only humans have the capacity to participate in the speech act<sup>16</sup>. Consequently, first and second person pronouns have exclusively human referents. Non-human animates and inanimates can only be referred to by third person pronouns. If [human] were a feature of N alone, then first and second person pronouns should also be Ns, rather than Ds as Zwarts claims. Thus, this argument lacks consistency, for Zwarts analyses third person pronouns as Ns based on their human feature, yet dismisses this same human feature in first and second person pronouns.

Moreover, his proposal that third person pronouns are Ns based solely on the presence of the [human] feature is further weakened by a closer examination of the pronoun *hij*. Zwarts claims that *hij* is specified for [human], hence it is an N. However, a closer examination of the Dutch facts reveals that this pronoun can be used to refer to inanimates as well (Stern 1984; Shetter 1994).

- (26) a. De auto is bruin.  
The car is brown.
- b. Hij is bruin.  
It is brown. (Shetter 1994:41)

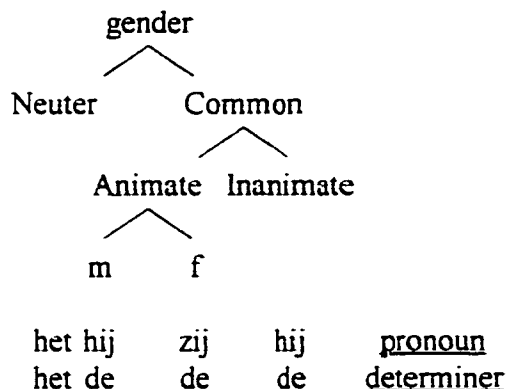
The facts indicate that Dutch has two genders, or noun classes: neuter and common.

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<sup>16</sup> First and second person pronouns can refer to inanimates or animates only when they are personified.

Neuter nouns take *het* as a definite article, while common nouns take *de*. Nouns which are categorized as common, further subdivide into masculine, feminine and inanimate, while neuter nouns do not further subdivide. DPs which refer to inanimate objects of the common gender are pronominalized as *hij* (27).

(27) Dutch noun classes



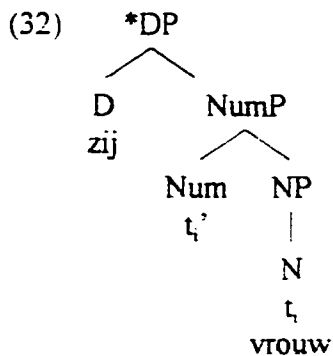
The pronoun *hij* is used for both inanimates and masculine animates of the common gender. Accordingly, Zwarts's claim that *hij* is used exclusively for human referents does not reflect the facts of the language, for it is also the pronominalization of inanimates of the common gender. If this pronoun can have an inanimate referent. Zwarts's argument that it is an N based on its [human] specification cannot be maintained.

The next problem focuses on Zwarts's treatment of some third person pronouns as Ns and others as Ds. While Zwarts analyses *hij* and *zij* as Ns, he claims that *het* 'it' is a D, rather than an N. Indeed, *het* does behave differently than *hij* or *zij* in two important ways: *het* can be used with both human and non-human referents, and it can co-occur with an NP in the same minimal DP. Example (28) illustrates *het* occurring with NPs



- b. \*zij vrouw  
'she woman'

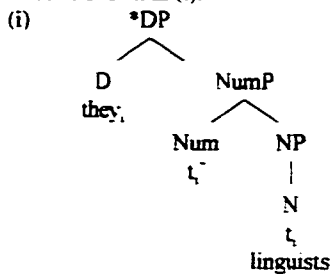
Zwarts argues that these differences follow logically from the assumption that *hij*, *zij* and *het* belong to different categories. On his account, *hij* and *zij* are [human] Ns which move from their base-generated N position through Num to D in order to check their features. When they move, they leave behind a trace. Since there is a trace occupying N, this syntactic position can have no overt element<sup>17</sup>.



In contrast, *het* can have both human and non-human referents, and is able to co-occur with Ns. Consequently, Zwarts claims that *het* is not a [human] N, but instead, is a D. In

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<sup>17</sup> Zwarts's analysis of third person pronouns as Ns also provides an alternative explanation for the ungrammaticality of \**they linguists* in English: *linguists* can not fill the N position because it is already occupied by a trace as shown in (i).



fact, when it co-occurs with an N, it is analysed as a definite article, rather than a pronoun cf. (31a). His argument for *het* being a D is outlined below.

Determiners, which are functional items, are base-generated in D. Since they can be used with both human and non-human referents, Zwarts claims that the human distinction is not realized on D.

(33) A determiner is unspecified for the Human feature. (Zwarts 1994:102)

Moreover, elements in D readily co-occur with NPs. These properties are illustrated in example (34) where we see that the determiner *die*, which does not have a human specification, can be used with both *vrouw* which is [human], and with *tafel* which is not.

- (34) a. *die vrouw*  
          ‘that woman’  
      b. *die tafel*  
          ‘that table’

Like the determiner *die*, *het* readily co-occurs in the same DP as both human and non-human Ns.

- (35) *het boek*  
      ‘the book’

This results in a non-unified treatment of third person pronouns, where *het* is base-generated in D, while *hij* and *zij* are base-generated in N. Thus, Zwarts treats third person pronouns as a non-homogeneous group where some third person pronouns are Ns specified for [human] and others are not. Neither their semantic features nor their morpho-syntactic category captures the similarities within this group of pronouns. We see that [human] cannot be the right factor, for *het* and *hij* can have both human and non-human antecedents, while *zij* can only have [human] antecedents. Similarly, *hij* and *zij* belong to the category N, but *het* is a D. This is a non-homogeneous subset and it weakens his argument.

In addition to these language specific problems with Zwarts's arguments that some Dutch pronouns are Ns and others are Ds, there are other flaws which are not specific to Dutch alone. Dutch pronouns, like English and Hebrew ones, have neither the semantic properties, nor the distribution of common nouns. These facts are inconsistent with Zwarts's analysis of any third person pronouns as Ns.

For instance, the category N is an open class where new members are generated regularly. Dutch, Hebrew and English pronouns constitute a closed class. New pronouns are rarely generated in Hebrew, English or Dutch<sup>18</sup>. If third person pronouns were Ns, then we would have no explanation for them being a closed set.

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<sup>18</sup> Perhaps this is why recent attempts to put into place a neutral, non-sexist third person singular pronoun have failed in English. We are forced to use either *he*, *they* or the conjoined *he or she* to refer to a person whose sex we do not know.



Moreover, Zwarts's claim that some third person pronouns are Ns, offers no insight into why these pronouns fail to co-occur with adjectives, or why they are unable to be possessed. If these pronouns were Ns, we would expect them to co-occur with adjectives and possessors like other Ns. Yet this is impossible in English, Hebrew and Dutch, as shown by the following examples.

- (36) a. \*Smart they walk to school. English  
 b. Smart children walk to school. English  
 c. \*hem (ha)-xaxamim holxim le beyt hasefer  
 they smart walk to school Hebrew  
 d. yeladim xaxamim holxim le beyt hasefer  
 children smart walk to school Hebrew  
 e. \*Slim lopen zij naar school Dutch  
 smart walk they to school  
 f. Slimme kinderen lopen naar school Dutch  
 smart children walk to school
- (37) a. \*My she stayed at home today. English  
 b. My daughter stayed at home today. English  
 c. \*Hi šeli nišeret ba-bayit hayom.  
 she my stay at home today Hebrew  
 d. ha bat šeli nišeret ba-bayit hayom.  
 the daughter my stay at home today Hebrew  
 e. \*Mijn zij bleef thuis vandaag. Dutch

|    |      |          |        |       |          |       |
|----|------|----------|--------|-------|----------|-------|
|    | my   | she      | stayed | home  | today.   |       |
| f. | Mijn | dochter  | bleef  | thuis | vandaag. | Dutch |
|    | my   | daughter | stayed | home  | today.   |       |

Finally, pronouns in Dutch, English and Hebrew are composed exclusively of phi features. They do not have the descriptive content of lexical items, for pronouns only refer while nouns (both common and proper) also have descriptive content. Thus, Zwarts's arguments do not stand up to close scrutiny.

### 2.2.2 Dutch Pronouns are Functors

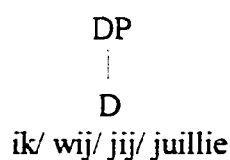
Analysing Dutch third person pronouns as Ns based exclusively on the feature [human] has numerous problems. Instead, I propose that Dutch pronouns pattern with English and Hebrew ones. Zwarts claims that Dutch first and second person pronouns are Ds, which is consistent with Abney's analysis of English and Ritter's analysis of Hebrew. Looking beyond Zwarts's examples, we see that Dutch first and second person pronouns readily co-occur with plural Ns, while third person pronouns do not (Aniek Ijbema pc). This shows us that these pronouns fall into the same two distinct syntactic categories as English and Hebrew ones.

- (38)
- a. Wij            taalkundigen    zijn    intelligent  
       we           linguists        are    intelligent
  - b. Jullie taalkundigen zijn niet zo intelligent als jullie denken  
    you linguists    are not    so intelligent as you    think
  - c. \*Zij taalkundigen zijn intelligent  
       they linguists    are    intelligent

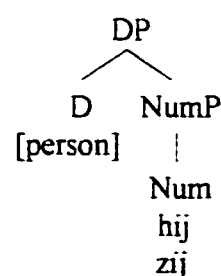
Consequently, I agree with Zwarts that Dutch first and second person pronouns are Ds.

Recall that Dutch has two genders, common and neuter, where common gender subdivide into masculine, feminine and inanimate. I suggest that the analysis proposed for Hebrew and English third person pronouns can be extended straight forwardly to account for the properties of the common gender pronouns, *hij* and *zij*. The analysis of neuter gender *het* will require further modification.

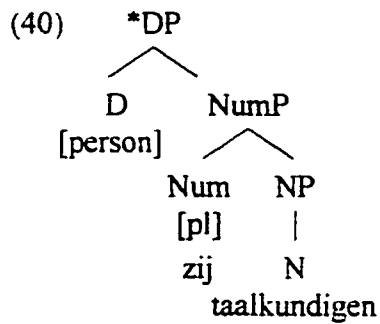
(39) a. 1<sup>st</sup> / 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns



b. 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun



The assumption that third person pronouns of the common gender are D plus Num, with overt material in Num, readily explains why they are unable to co-occur with a plural N. As in English, the number specification for N and the third person pronoun would both be competing for the same Num position, and this would lead to the ungrammaticality of examples like *\*zij taalkudigen* ‘they linguists’.



Analysing third person pronouns of the common gender as D plus Num explains why they are unable to co-occur with Ns. Zwarts's hypothesis that *hij* and *zij* are Ns, and my hypothesis that they are D plus Nums both predict this co-occurrence restriction. However, my analysis better accounts for the fact that these pronouns do not have the distribution of Ns. Because they are D plus Num, there is no expectation for them to co-occur with adjectives or be open class.

In addition, the facts of Dutch are similar to those of English and Hebrew, and we have already motivated the D plus Num analysis of third person pronouns in these two languages. Therefore, I propose that *hij* and *zij* are also D plus Num, which is consistent with the analysis of English and Hebrew.

The structure of *het* has yet to be considered. Recall that this pronoun is able to co-occur with Ns, and when it does so, it functions as a definite article.

- (41)    *het boek*  
          *the book*

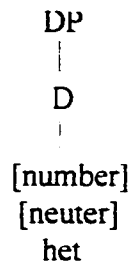
This dual function of pronoun and determiner is not unusual cross-linguistically<sup>19</sup>. For instance, in English, the demonstrative functions as both a determiner and a pronoun.

- (42) a. I want that car.  
b. That is what I want.

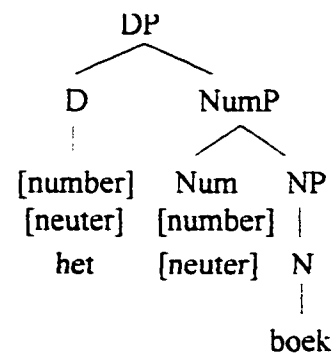
It is commonly assumed that English demonstratives are base-generated in D. Like English demonstratives, *het* also functions as both a definite article and a pronoun.

Suppose like English demonstratives, *het* is located in D. Then the syntactic structures would be:

- (43) a. demonstrative pronoun



- b. demonstrative article



Assuming that *het*, like first and second person pronouns, is inherently specified for

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<sup>19</sup> French *le*, *la*, and *les* function as both determiners and pronouns. These forms are used as both definite articles and object clitics.

- (i) Le chat est sur la table.  
The cat is on the table  
(ii) Je le vois.  
I saw it.

Other languages with determiners which function as third person pronouns are Italian, German and West Flemish (Cardinaletti 1994:199).

number, these syntactic structures account for its distribution<sup>20</sup>. When *het* co-occurs with an NP as in (43b) I assume that there must be a number concord between D and Num since both heads are specified for these features<sup>21</sup>. Moreover, *het* and first and second person pronouns share the semantic property of shifting reference. First and second person pronouns necessarily refer to the speaker and addressee of the utterance; their reference shifts during a conversation. Instead of referring to a person, demonstratives refer to a spacial location which shifts relative to the participants in the speech act.

Thus, I conclude that Dutch, like English and Hebrew has two types of pronouns. First and second person pronouns are Ds and third person pronouns of the common gender are D plus Nums. I further argue that the facts of Dutch are consistent with *het* being a demonstrative base-generated in D. This analysis explains why third person pronouns are unable to co-occur with Ns while *het* and first and second person pronouns can. In third person pronouns both the plurality of the N and the third person pronoun itself would be competing for the Num position, and only one element may occur there at a time. Both Zwarts's analysis that third person pronouns are Ns and my analysis that they are D plus Num predict this fact, but my analysis is to be preferred because it also accounts for the fact that third person pronouns do not have other properties of Ns. In addition, analysing them as such is consistent with Ritter's analysis of Hebrew and my

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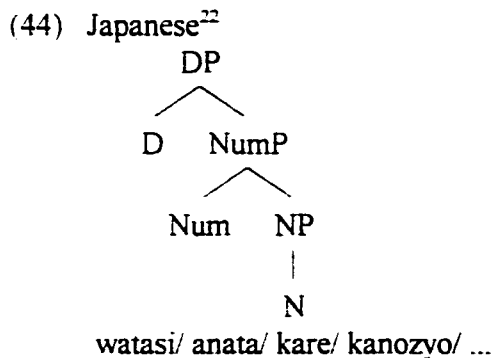
<sup>20</sup> I assume that English demonstratives *this*, *that*, *these*, and *those*, are inherently specified for number as well.

<sup>21</sup> Concord is a type of agreement of features. While we typically think of agreement as a relationship between a Spec and a head, concord is the relationship between two heads.

analysis of English. Indeed, pronouns in these languages are clearly functors.

### 2.3 Japanese Pronouns are Lexical Heads

Although the analysis of pronouns as functors works with English, Hebrew and Dutch, it does not necessarily work for all pronouns in all languages. This next section will review Japanese, which is argued to have lexical pronouns. Noguchi's (1997) analysis of Japanese pronouns presents a drastic contrast to the pronouns of Dutch, Hebrew and English. His analysis will demonstrate that the facts of Japanese are profoundly different from the facts of the languages discussed so far. More specifically, Japanese pronouns have the semantic, morphological and syntactic properties of Ns, rather than Ds.



If pronouns are Ns, then they are lexical items; if they are Ds then they are functors because the lexical class includes Ns and the functor class includes Ds. By examining each of the semantic, morphological and syntactic properties of Japanese pronouns and

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<sup>22</sup> Noguchi does not include the NumP projection. However, adding it does not change his analysis, and makes it consistent with the analysis presented thus far.

comparing them with the facts of English, Hebrew and Dutch it is clear that Japanese pronouns are lexical items, rather than functors.

### 2.3.1 Semantic Properties of Japanese Pronouns

In English, Hebrew and Dutch, pronouns refer to an entity, but lack the descriptive content of Ns. Pronouns, in these languages contain only grammatical information. They are finite in number and readily form a paradigm. A paradigm is a set of forms which varies by the presence or absence of a single grammatical feature. For example, English *we* differs from *I* by the presence of the single feature [plural]. Thus, for each person, number (and sometimes, gender) combination, there is a single pronoun. For example, (45) is the Dutch nominative pronoun paradigm.

(45)

| Person                 | Singular | Plural |
|------------------------|----------|--------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup>        | ik       | wij    |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup>        | jij      | jullie |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> m      | hij      | zij    |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> f      | zij      |        |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> neuter | het      |        |

Noguchi assumes that being a member of a paradigm is a sufficient, although not necessary, condition for membership in the class of functional items. He notes that Japanese pronouns cannot be slotted into a paradigm (Noguchi 1997:778). For each person, number and gender combination there may be several pronouns, varying in



semantics, stylistic and/or socio-linguistic implications (Sugamoto 1989:268).

- (46) a. First person singular  
           *watasi*, *wakakushi*, *ore*, *temae*, *boku*, *seinen* etc.
- b. Second person singular  
           *anata*, *kimi*, *omae*, *temae*, etc.

Kuroda (1979:123) claims that choosing one pronoun from another is similar to choosing an appropriate ordinary noun to denote some entity. Although there are some pronouns, such as *watasi*, 'I', which are composed solely of phi features, many pronouns have specific lexical content and are able to describe an entity<sup>23</sup>. For instance, the pronoun *kare* is a third person pronoun which carries with it the semantic features of [male] and [marriageable age] (Sugamoto 1989:270). It would never be used to refer to a small child or an adult of higher social status. Thus, *kare* has descriptive content like a common noun. *Ore* is a first person pronoun which means masculine and unsophisticated, while *boku* is a first person pronoun which simply means masculine speaker.

Another semantic property which illustrates how Japanese pronouns are unlike those of English, Hebrew and Dutch is that Japanese pronouns are able to undergo semantic

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<sup>23</sup> Although *watasi* consists of phi features alone, it behaves exactly like the other pronouns, for it takes adjectives and is able to be possessed (Fumi Watai pc).

(i) *tsukarewatasi*  
     tired 1sg  
 (ii) *kanojo nowatashi*  
      herGEN 1sg

change. They may acquire additional nuances of meaning in some contexts. For instance many of the younger population of Japanese accept the following (47).

- (47) a. anata-no kanozyo  
           2sg GEN 3fsg  
           ‘your girlfriend’
- b. kanozyo  
           3fsg  
           ‘she’

In this case, the pronoun *kanozyo* has undergone a change in meaning. By being possessed, the pronoun is interpreted as a term of endearment, emphasising the close affinity between the two referents (Sugamoto 1989:289). The pronoun has undergone a semantic change from ‘single, female entity’ to ‘girlfriend’. Noguchi (1997:46) argues that, since only lexical items undergo semantic change, Japanese pronouns belong to a lexical class.

Clearly this type of semantic change is not possible for pronouns in English, Hebrew or Dutch, thus providing further evidence that Japanese pronouns are indeed semantically distinct from pronouns in these other languages.

Because they carry descriptive content, can undergo semantic change and are open class items, Noguchi argues that Japanese pronouns are lexical, rather than functional in nature. This contrasts starkly with the languages looked at thus far, where pronouns

clearly are closed class items which refer to, rather than describe, an entity.

### 2.3.2 Morphological Properties of Japanese Pronouns

Morphologically Japanese pronouns pattern with common nouns, while English, Hebrew and Dutch pronouns do not. For example, English pronouns decline for case (48) but nouns (49) do not.

(48)

| Person                  | Nom  | Acc  |
|-------------------------|------|------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> sg      | I    | me   |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> pl      | we   | us   |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> sg      | you  | you  |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> pl      | you  | you  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> sg m    | he   | him  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> sg f    | she  | her  |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> sg inan | it   | it   |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> pl      | they | them |

(49)

| Nom | Acc |
|-----|-----|
| cat | cat |
| man | man |

Dutch and Hebrew pronouns, like English ones, also decline for case while nouns do not. They have distinct forms for nominative and accusative pronouns, but this distinction is not marked on nouns.

English pronouns and nouns also differ in the formation of the plural. Pronouns have a suppletive form while most nouns take the suffix *-s* (e.g. *cat - cats*, *boy - boys*, *book - books*)<sup>24</sup>. This is also true of Hebrew and Dutch where plural pronouns take the suppletive form (e.g. Dutch *ik* ‘I’ - *wij* ‘we’; Hebrew *ani* ‘I’ - *anaxnu* ‘we’) while plural nouns take a suffix (e.g. Dutch *dag* ‘day’ - *dagen* ‘days’; Hebrew *oniya* ‘ship’ - *oniyot* ‘ships’).

Japanese pronouns, on the other hand, pattern uniformly with nouns in their morphology, using identical case markers.

(50) a. *gakusei*     *ga*  
         student     SUB

      b. *kare*         *ga*  
         3msg         SUB

(51) a. *gakusei*     *o*  
         student     OBJ

      b. *kare*         *o*  
         3msg         OBJ

(52) a. *gakusie*     *no*  
         student     GEN

      b. *kare*         *no*  
         3msg         GEN

They also pattern with nouns in the formation of the plural. Pronouns and nouns both

---

<sup>24</sup> Even with irregular nouns in English, one can see a common base, but this is not so with pronouns.

(i) child - children; goose - geese

(ii) I - we; it - they

take the nominal plural marker.

- (53) a. tomadachi -tachi  
friend pl
- b. watashi -tachi  
I pl

Thus, we see that Japanese pronouns pattern morphologically with nouns, while English, Hebrew and Dutch pronouns pattern quite distinctly from nouns.

### 2.3.3 Syntactical Properties of Japanese Pronouns

The syntactic properties of Japanese pronouns provide evidence that Japanese pronouns differ in their distribution from the languages looked at thus far. The distribution of Japanese pronouns is very different from the distribution of pronouns in English, Hebrew and Dutch. In Japanese, pronouns co-occur with plural Ns quite freely in all three persons<sup>25</sup>.

- (54) a. watasi-tati gengogakusya  
1pl linguist  
'we linguists'
- b. anata-tati ronrigakusya  
2pl logician  
'you logicians'
- c. kare-ra tetugakusya  
3mpl philosopher

---

<sup>25</sup> I am assuming that all the structures in (54) are appositive structures. Otherwise, this might suggest that in Japanese all pronouns are Ds, since they are able to co-occur with plural Ns.

‘they philosophers’

This contrasts with the languages observed thus far, where only first and second person pronouns have been able to co-occur with plural Ns.

- (55) a. we linguists
- b. wij taalkundigen Dutch  
‘we linguists’
- c. \*they linguists
- d. \*zij taalkundigen Dutch  
‘they linguists’

This difference in distribution suggests that in Japanese, there is a single class of pronouns, which includes first, second and third person pronouns, while in English, Hebrew and Dutch, there are two classes of pronouns which pattern distinctly: first and second person pronouns, and third person pronouns.

Another syntactic difference between Japanese pronouns and those of the other languages discussed is that pronouns in these other languages are unable to co-occur with adjectives, but Japanese pronouns productively take adjectives (56)<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> In a very limited construction, English pronouns can be modified by adjectives:

- (i) the real me
- (ii) the real you
- (iii) ?the real him

Noguchi argues that this is simply a case of category conversion, for it does not represent a productive construction in the language. For instance the following are ungrammatical:

- (56) a. tissai      kare  
          small      3msg  
          'small he'
- b. sinsetuna    anata  
          kind        2sg  
          'kind you'

Noguchi argues that this provides further evidence that the morpho-syntactic category of Japanese pronouns is N.

#### 2.3.4 Japanese has One Functional Pronoun

In contrast to the Japanese pronouns examined thus far, there is one Japanese pronoun, *sore*, 'it', which Noguchi analyses as D, rather than N. In other words Noguchi claims that, internal to Japanese, pronouns belong to two different classes, Ns and Ds.

Interestingly, of the personal pronouns considered so far, all have had the feature [human]. Noguchi states that *kare* and *kano-zyo* are inherently associated with the feature [human] (1997:786). From section 2.2.1 we assume first and second person pronouns to be inherently specified for [human] as well. The pronoun *sore*, which refers to non-humans, behaves very differently from the other Japanese pronouns and, in turn behaves more like the pronouns in English, Hebrew and Dutch: it is closed class, consists of grammatical features and lacks descriptive content. Interestingly, this pronoun is homophonous with the distal demonstrative, also a D (Kuno 1973:282).

- (59) proximate      kore

---

(iv) small you  
 (v) the you

|               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| <b>distal</b> | <b>sore</b> |
| remote        | are         |

*Sore* is also part of a paradigm, which Noguchi claims is a sufficient condition for being a functional item (1997:786). The following is the demonstrative paradigm taken from Kuno (1973:282).

|      |                         |                         |                             |
|------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (57) | <u><i>ko-series</i></u> | <u><i>so-series</i></u> | <u><i>a-series</i></u>      |
|      | kore 'this one'         | sore 'that one'         | are 'that one there'        |
|      | koitu 'this guy'        | soitu 'that guy'        | aitu 'that guy there'       |
|      | kono '(of) this'        | sono '(of) that'        | ano '(of) that over there'  |
|      | konna 'like this'       | sonna 'like that'       | anna 'like that over there' |
|      | koko 'here'             | soko 'there'            | asoko 'over there'          |
|      | kotira 'this way'       | sotira 'that way'       | atira 'that way over there' |
|      | koo 'in this way'       | soo 'in that way'       | aa 'in that way'            |

Based on these properties, Noguchi claims that *sore* is a D, and therefore belongs to a functional category. As a D, *sore* has a distinct distribution from the other personal pronouns, which are Ns. It has long been noted that, in general, Japanese pronouns cannot enter into variable binding, the exception being *sore*<sup>27</sup>.

Noguchi (1997: 786) claims that *sore* (and its genitive *sono* counterpart) can be construed as a bound variable, while the other Japanese pronouns which can only refer to humans, cannot.

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<sup>27</sup> Variable binding is a relationship between a variable and a quantifier, such that the quantifier determines the range of the variable. In the sentence below, *everyone* is the quantifier which binds the variable *his*. Logically this is represented as: For each person *x*, *x* loves *his* mother.

(i) Everyone<sub>i</sub> loves *his*<sub>i</sub> mother.



- (58) a. *Dono kaisya-mo, [sono<sub>i</sub> kaisya-ga itiban-da to] omotte-iru.*  
 every company-also its company-NOM best-COP comp think-  
 pres  
 'Every company<sub>i</sub> thinks that it<sub>i</sub> is the best.'
- b. \**Daremo<sub>i</sub>-ga kare<sub>i</sub>-no hahaoya-o aisite-iru*  
 everyone-NOM he-GEN mother-ACC love-pres  
 'Everyone<sub>i</sub> loves his mother<sub>i</sub>.'

Based on independently motivated evidence, he further claims that only functional items can be construed as bound variables, thus providing additional evidence that *sore* is a functional item and other pronouns in Japanese are lexical items.

Like *sono*, pronouns in English, Hebrew and Dutch can be construed as bound variables, hence providing additional evidence that *sore* is syntactically similar to pronouns in these languages.

- (60) a. *Everyone<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> mother.* English
- b. *Kol exad<sub>i</sub> ohev et im-o<sub>i</sub>* Hebrew  
 everyone loves ACC mother-his
- c. *Iedereen<sub>i</sub> houdt van zijn<sub>i</sub> moeder.* Dutch  
 Everyone loves his mother

Noguchi uses the ability to function as a bound variable as a diagnostic for determining if a pronoun is lexical or functional in nature. In Japanese, pronouns which have lexical properties are unable to function as bound variables, yet the one Japanese pronoun which is part of a paradigm, *sono*, is able to be construed as a bound variable. The facts of *sono*

are consistent with the facts of English, Hebrew and Dutch, thus providing additional support for proposing that these pronouns belong to a functional category, while the remaining Japanese pronouns belong to a lexical category.

### 2.3.5 Summary of Japanese Pronouns

Based on their semantic, morphological and syntactical properties, Noguchi logically concludes that, other than *sono*, Japanese pronouns belong to the category N. The evidence he presents, supplemented by the morphological evidence from Sugamoto (1989), provides a strong argument that Japanese pronouns are lexical items of the category N. In their distribution, usage and morphology, Japanese personal pronouns are profoundly different from English, Hebrew and Dutch pronouns. These differences are elegantly accounted for if Japanese pronouns are Ns, while English, Hebrew and Dutch pronouns are functors, Ds and D plus Nums. The one exception to this is *sono*, which patterns with English, Hebrew and Dutch pronouns, and thus is argued to be the only Japanese pronoun which is a functor.

## 2.4 Discussion and Hypothesis

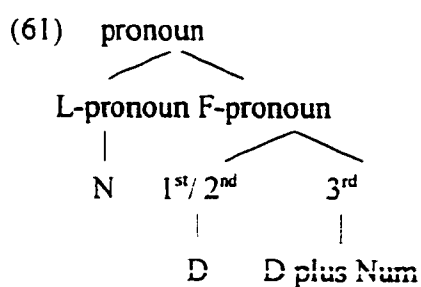
In summary, the proposals examined in this chapter have shown that, although linguists generally agree that pronouns are DPs, the evidence for the internal syntactic structure of pronominal DP varies across persons and across languages. While pronouns have properties of functional items in English, Hebrew and Dutch, Japanese pronouns are profoundly different. In this language, pronouns pattern with Ns, thus they have the

properties of lexical, rather than functional, items. The one exception noted in Japanese is *sono*, which is argued to be a functional pronoun.

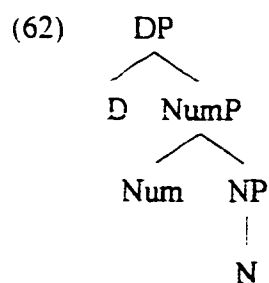
A number of recurring properties surface for each of the various languages examined. English, Hebrew and Dutch pronouns are paradigmatic, can freely enter into variable binding, can not be modified by adjectives or possessors, and do not take N morphology. In addition, they are subdivided into two classes, first and second person pronouns, and third person pronouns. Japanese pronouns also have a distinct set of properties. In contrast to English, Hebrew and Dutch, they are not paradigmatic, cannot be construed as bound variables, are able to co-occur with adjectives and possessors, and pattern with Ns in their morphology. They appear to form a single class with no differences in distributions among first, second and third person pronouns. In addition to these lexical pronouns, Japanese has one functional pronoun *sono* 'it', which patterns with English, Hebrew and Dutch.

Building on this, I suggest that there are two classes of pronouns cross-linguistically, functional pronouns and lexical pronouns. Each of these two classes has distinct distributions and properties which set it apart from the other. Languages which pattern with English, Hebrew and Dutch have functional pronouns. I will call pronouns in these languages F-pronouns. Languages which pattern with Japanese have lexical pronouns, which I will call L-pronouns. Just as Japanese has the functional pronoun *sono*, languages with L-pronouns might have at least one F-pronoun as well.

F-pronouns are subdivided into two classes: first and second person pronouns which are Ds, and third person pronouns which are D plus Num. L-pronouns, on the other hand, are a single, unified group. They are Ns, syntactically.

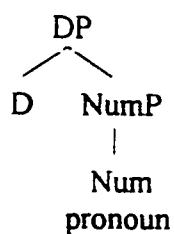


That there is a single class of L-pronouns while there are two classes of F-pronouns is theoretically motivated. The internal syntactic structure of pronominal DP has two functional heads, D and Num, and only one lexical head, N.



The syntactic structure of pronominal DP permits two syntactically distinct F-pronouns (63) but only one L-pronoun (64).

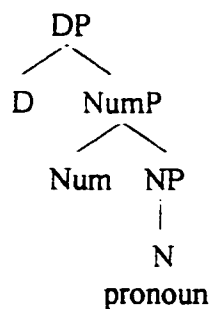
(63) a. 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun



b. 1<sup>st</sup> / 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns



(64) 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns



Based on these observations of English, Hebrew, Dutch and Japanese, I assume that F-pronouns and L-pronouns have properties which distinguish them from one another, as follows:

(65)

| F-pronouns                                     | L-pronouns                                  |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| paradigmatic; closed class                     | non-paradigmatic; open class                |
| lack descriptive content                       | descriptive content                         |
| cannot be modified by adjectives or possessors | can be modified by adjectives or possessors |
| distinct morphology from Ns                    | nondistinct morphology from Ns              |
| can function as a bound variable               | cannot function as bound variable           |
| may refer to human or non-human antecedents    | refer only to human antecedents             |

My hypothesis is that all languages have at least one F-pronoun. Like English, Dutch and Hebrew, many languages will only have F-pronouns, and these F-pronouns will be divided into two classes: first and second person pronouns, and third person pronouns. In languages which have L-pronouns, I hypothesize that, like Japanese *sono*, there will be at least one F-pronoun. Moreover, the L-pronouns will be of a single class for all three persons.

In the next two chapters, I will test the empirical validity of this hypothesis on two distinct languages, Turkish and Malay. Turkish has been chosen because, at first glance, it appears to have third person pronouns which are Ds, for they are homophonous with demonstratives. Because it appears to have third person pronouns which are Ds, rather than D plus Num like in English, Hebrew and Dutch, or Ns as in Japanese, Turkish will be a good test language to see if it supports the hypothesis. Malay has been chosen because it is a little studied language which appears to have open class pronouns, like Japanese.

Based on this hypothesis, I predict that Turkish, which clearly has paradigmatic pronouns, will pattern with English, Hebrew and Dutch. It will have F-pronouns which will further subdivide into two distinct classes, first and second person pronouns and third person pronouns. I further predict Malay will pattern with Japanese, based on the open class nature of its pronoun system. It will have L-pronouns. In addition, I predict that it will also have at least one F-pronoun which will refer to non-humans only.

In Chapter Three, I will analyse Turkish language data to test my hypothesis that Turkish has F-pronouns, which fall into two distinct classes, each with their own distribution. I will test these pronouns for the properties outlined in my discussion.

In Chapter Four, I will examine Malay to see if it constitutes a language with L-pronouns, based on the diagnostics developed. Since Malay pronouns appear to be open class, I will test to see if first, second and third person pronouns have a unified syntactic structure, and that these pronouns pattern with Ns in their semantic, morphological and syntactical properties.

## CHAPTER THREE

### Pronouns as Functors

Chapter Three compares the facts of Turkish to those of English, Hebrew, Dutch and Japanese, and shows that Turkish has F-pronouns, like English, Hebrew and Dutch. This chapter tests the empirical validity of the hypothesis on Turkish to determine if languages with F-pronouns are subdivided into two classes of pronouns: first and second person pronouns and third person pronouns. It also tests the assumptions that F-pronouns have a distinct distribution and a distinct set of properties. Turkish has been chosen as a test language because its third person pronouns are identical to the demonstrative pronouns. Thus, at first glance third person pronouns appear to be Ds. Yet, upon closer examination, it becomes apparent that they are D plus Nums.

#### 3.0 Introduction: Turkish Pronouns

Let us begin by recapitulating the results of Chapter Two. First I posit two types of pronouns, F-pronouns and L-pronouns. Based on a survey of the literature, I then propose a set of diagnostics for each of the two types of pronouns. L-pronouns constitute a single class of pronouns, which patterns with Ns. F-pronouns, on the other hand, consist of two subclasses: (a) first and second person pronouns and (b) third person pronouns. English, Hebrew and Dutch have F-pronouns. Based on the common properties of these languages, we observe that F-pronouns are closed class, lack descriptive content and not able to be modified by adjectives or possessors. They can also function as bound variables.



In this chapter, I will provide a detailed analysis of Turkish pronouns. Since Turkish pronouns are clearly closed class items, they will be tested against the diagnostics developed for F-pronouns to see if they, indeed, pattern with English, Hebrew and Dutch, rather than with the L-pronouns of Japanese. I will be looking to see if Turkish pronouns are of two classes, thus providing additional empirical support for the existence of two subclasses of F-pronouns.

Turkish has been chosen as a test language because its third person pronouns have a property which distinguishes them from their English, Hebrew or Dutch counterparts. Rather than distinct forms, Turkish third person pronouns are identical to the distal demonstratives. Having homophonous demonstratives and third person pronouns is not unusual cross-linguistically for it is found in many unrelated languages, including the following:

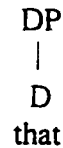
(1)

| Language | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person sg pronoun | demonstrative |
|----------|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| Turkish  | o                                 | o             |
| Diegueño | pu·                               | pu·           |
| Cahuilla | pé?                               | pé?           |
| Albanian | ai                                | ai            |

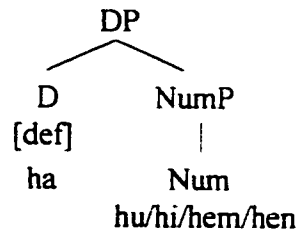
This phenomenon raises the interesting questions: Are these third person pronouns actually demonstratives or do the two simply share one phonetic realization? If they are demonstratives, then, are they Ds like English demonstratives, or are they D plus Num

like Hebrew demonstratives (2)?

(2) a. English demonstrative



b. Hebrew demonstrative



In addition to having homophonous third person pronouns and demonstratives, Turkish has another interesting feature which is absent from English, Hebrew and Dutch.

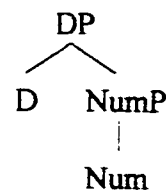
Turkish third person pronouns appear to pattern with Ns in their morphology, for they use the regular nominative plural marker. Consequently, Turkish third person pronouns might arguably be analysed as L-pronouns. However, using the diagnostics introduced in the previous chapter, I will argue that they are in fact F-pronouns.

More specifically, I will argue that Turkish third person pronouns are D plus Num. and that they form a separate class from first and second person pronouns, which I argue to be Ds, consistent with their English, Hebrew and Dutch counterparts. The structure for these two classes of pronouns are repeated in (3) below:

(3) a. 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>



b. 3<sup>rd</sup>



Given the fact that third person pronouns and demonstratives are identical in form, I will argue that, internal to Turkish, there are no third person pronouns, but instead distal demonstratives are conscripted for this purpose.

In this chapter, we will see that Turkish pronouns, like English, Hebrew and Dutch pronouns, are closed class, lack descriptive content, and not able to be modified by adjectives. I conclude that the evidence overwhelmingly supports the hypothesis that, like English, Hebrew and Dutch, Turkish has F-pronouns which form two syntactically distinct subclasses.

### 3.1 Turkish first and second person pronouns are Ds

I begin by examining the specifics of Turkish first and second person pronouns in order to determine their syntactic structure. Like English and Dutch, Turkish first and second person plural pronouns are portmanteaus. The single morph *biz* realizes two morpheme, first person and plural. Similarly, *siz* realizes second person and plural.

- |     |    |           |                |
|-----|----|-----------|----------------|
| (4) | a. | ben 'I'   | biz 'we'       |
|     | b. | sen 'you' | siz 'you (pl)' |

In addition, these two pronouns readily co-occur with plural Ns.

- |     |    |                 |    |                 |
|-----|----|-----------------|----|-----------------|
| (5) | a. | biz tüccar-lar  | b. | siz tüccar-lar  |
|     |    | 1pl merchant-pl |    | 2pl merchant-pl |
|     |    | 'we tradesmen'  |    | 'you tradesmen' |



now turn to third person pronouns in order to determine their structure. First I examine the evidence that third person pronouns are Ns, and then the evidence that they are functors. After analysing the data, I conclude that the evidence for analysing Turkish third person pronouns as D plus Num is more compelling than the evidence for the alternatives.

### 3.2.1 Third Person Pronouns are Not Ns

Let us begin by looking at the evidence that Turkish third person pronouns are Ns. At first glance, it is tempting to claim that third, but not first and second, person pronouns are Ns, for third person pronouns clearly have the morphology of common nouns.

Moreover, like Japanese pronouns, which are argued to be Ns, Turkish pronouns cannot be construed as bound variables.

Recall that first and second person plural pronouns are portmanteaus. They have distinct forms to designate the plural, and these forms do not resemble the plural markers used elsewhere in Turkish (Forchheimer 1953:55).

- |     |    |     |     |  |    |     |     |
|-----|----|-----|-----|--|----|-----|-----|
| (9) | a. | ben | biz |  | b. | sen | siz |
|     |    | 1sg | 1pl |  |    | 2sg | 2pl |

In contrast, Turkish third person pronouns, like common nouns, take the regular nominal plural marker, *-lar*<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> Turkish has vowel harmony hence the vowel in the suffix varies depending on the preceding vowel.

- (10)    a.   at         at-lar  
                horse   horse-pl
- b.   o         on-lar  
                     3sg   3pl

This suggests that, morphologically, third person pronouns are more N-like than first and second person pronouns. However, the literature shows us that the plural marker *-lar* is not exclusive to the category of N; it is also used on adjectives and postpositional phrases when used as predicates, as demonstrated in (11a and b) (Murat Kural pc). Optionally, it occurs as third person verbal agreement (11c) (Kornfilt 1984:41).

- (11) a. Hastalar  
sick-3pl  
'They are sick'
- b. Evin içindeler  
house-GEN inside-3sg-LOC-3pl  
'They are inside the home'
- c. Komşularımız dün sinemaya gittiler  
neighbour-pl-1pl yesterday movies-DAT go-past-3pl  
'Our neighbours went to the movies yesterday'

Although *-lar* is used as a plural marker, (11) demonstrates that it is not restricted exclusively to N. It is also used on other word categories, thus weakening the argument that third person pronouns are Ns based on the usage of this morpheme.

The next argument for treating Turkish third person pronouns as Ns is that, like Japanese, they are unable to be construed as bound variables. Recall that Noguchi (1997) claims that the ability to be construed as a bound variable is a property of functional, rather than

lexical items. In Chapter Two we saw that English, Hebrew and Dutch pronouns readily function as bound variables, but Japanese pronouns do not (Noguchi 1997:770).

- (12) a. Everyone<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> mother.
- b. \*Daremo<sub>i</sub>-ga      kare<sub>i</sub>-no      hahaoya-o      aisite-iru  
 everyone-NOM    3msg-GEN    mother-ACC    love-pres  
 'Everyone<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> mother'

Like Japanese, Turkish pronouns cannot function as bound variables.

- (13) \*Herkes<sub>i</sub>      onun<sub>i</sub>      anne-si-ni      sevivor  
 Everyone      3msg-GEN    mother-3sg-ACC    love

In order to express this idea, Turkish uses a null pronoun (Murat Kural pc).

- (14) Herkes      anne-si-ni      sevivor  
 Everyone    mother-3sg-ACC    love  
 'Everyone<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> mother'

A closer examination of the data reveals that not only are they unable to be construed as bound variables, but Turkish overt pronouns cannot be co-referential with any other referential expressions within the domain of the sentence (Murat Kural pc). Thus, the following sentence is also ungrammatical.

- (15) \*John<sub>i</sub> onun<sub>i</sub>      anne-si-ni      sevivor  
 John    3msg-GEN    mother-3sg-ACC    love  
 'John<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> mother'

Again, this must be expressed using a null pronoun, for overt pronouns cannot be bound or co-referential in Turkish.

- (16) John    anne-si-ni                    sevivor  
        John    mother-3sg-ACC           love  
        ‘John<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> mother’

This is different from any of the languages examined so far, including Japanese. Japanese, like Turkish, does not permit pronouns to function as bound variables. However, unlike Turkish, Japanese pronouns can be co-referential with another referential DP (17) (Noguchi 1997:770).

- (17) John<sub>i</sub>-ga            kare<sub>j</sub>-no            hahaoya-o            aisite-iru  
        John-NOM        3msg-GEN        mother-ACC        love-PRES  
        ‘John<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>j</sub> mother’

Thus, I have demonstrated that Turkish pronouns do not pattern with Japanese pronouns in this respect; nor do they pattern with English, Hebrew or Dutch. The inability of Turkish third person pronouns to be construed as a bound variable does not constitute evidence for or against them being Ns. Instead, I offer an explanation of the impossibility of binding Turkish overt third person pronouns in section 3.3.

Further evidence against the hypothesis that Turkish third person pronouns are Ns comes from their inability to be modified. Like English, Hebrew and Dutch, Turkish pronouns



cannot co-occur with modifiers. Ns, on the other hand, readily co-occur with modifiers, such as determiners and adjectives.

- (18) a. \*bir o  
          ‘a he’  
      b. bir kitap  
          ‘a book’
- (19) a. \*yaşlıo o  
          ‘old he’  
      b. yaşlıo adam  
          ‘the old man’

Recall that Japanese pronouns, like nouns, readily take modifiers.

- (20) sinsetuna anata  
      ‘kind you’

Thus, it is clear that Turkish third person pronouns do not pattern with Japanese pronouns in this respect either. Instead, they pattern with English, Hebrew and Dutch in their inability to co-occur with modifiers.

Finally, it is clear that Turkish pronouns are closed class items, since they are paradigmatic. Recall that a paradigm is a set of forms which vary by the presence or absence of a single grammatical feature. Turkish pronouns are indeed paradigmatic for they vary by the presence or absence of person, number, and case features.

## (21) Turkish Personal Pronouns

|    |                                        |           |           |    |                   |           |           |
|----|----------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|----|-------------------|-----------|-----------|
| a. | <b>nominative</b>                      | <b>sg</b> | <b>pl</b> | b. | <b>accusative</b> | <b>sg</b> | <b>pl</b> |
|    | 1 <sup>st</sup>                        | ben       | biz       |    | 1 <sup>st</sup>   | beni      | bizi      |
|    | 2 <sup>nd</sup> familiar <sup>30</sup> | sen       | siz       |    | 2 <sup>nd</sup>   | seni      | sizi      |
|    | 3 <sup>rd</sup>                        | o         | onlar     |    | 3 <sup>rd</sup>   | onu       | onlari    |
| c. | <b>genitive</b>                        | <b>sg</b> | <b>pl</b> | d. | <b>dative</b>     | <b>sg</b> | <b>pl</b> |
|    | 1 <sup>st</sup>                        | benim     | bizim     |    | 1 <sup>st</sup>   | bana      | bize      |
|    | 2 <sup>nd</sup>                        | senin     | sizin     |    | 2 <sup>nd</sup>   | sana      | size      |
|    | 3 <sup>rd</sup>                        | onun      | onların   |    | 3 <sup>rd</sup>   | ona       | onlara    |
| e. | <b>locative</b>                        | <b>sg</b> | <b>pl</b> | f. | <b>ablative</b>   | <b>sg</b> | <b>pl</b> |
|    | 1 <sup>st</sup>                        | bende     | bizde     |    | 1 <sup>st</sup>   | benden    | bizden    |
|    | 2 <sup>nd</sup>                        | sende     | sizde     |    | 2 <sup>nd</sup>   | senden    | sizden    |
|    | 3 <sup>rd</sup>                        | ondan     | onlarda   |    | 3 <sup>rd</sup>   | ondan     | onlardan  |

In contrast, Japanese pronouns are not paradigmatic, for although they vary by grammatical features, each pronoun also varies in its extra-linguistic semantic and stylistic content.

- (22) a. First person singular  
watasi, wakakusi, boku, ore, shoosei, jibun, etc.
- b. Second person singular  
anata, kimi, omae, kisama, etc.

Noguchi (1997:778) claims that being a member of a paradigm is a sufficient condition for membership in the class of functional items. Since Turkish pronouns are paradigmatic, they are argued to be functional items. Again, it is apparent that Turkish pronouns pattern with English, Hebrew and Dutch rather than Japanese in this respect.

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<sup>30</sup> There is also a second person singular formal pronoun *siz*.

In addition to this empirical evidence, there is a conceptual reason for arguing that Turkish third person pronouns are not Ns. Recall that the distal demonstrative is homophonous with the third person pronoun.

- (23) Sally John'un        **onu**        sevdigini        sanıyor  
       Sally John-GEN    **3sg-ACC**    love-past       think-pres-agr  
       'Sally thinks that John likes her/that'

Assuming that Turkish demonstratives are functors as they are in each of the previous languages discussed, analysing third person pronouns as Ns gives us no insight into this homophony with demonstratives. If third person pronouns were lexical items while demonstratives were functors, then we would fail to capture the similarities between them, for we have no expectation that lexical and functional items should have similar properties. Yet, Turkish demonstratives and third person pronouns obviously share some properties for they are identical in phonetic realization and in some instances the native speaker cannot differentiate between them (Murat Kural pc).

- (24) o üçü  
       'they three / those three'

Because of this, I assume that there must be a commonality between third person pronouns and demonstratives, and that this commonality might be reflected in their syntactic realization.

Conceptually, the analysis of third person pronouns as Ns fails to capture the semantic similarities of all personal pronouns. All pronouns serve a similar function; they substitute for DPs, but since they lack fixed inherent reference, they refer but do not describe. Analysing some Turkish pronouns as Ds and others as Ns provides us with no insight into all pronouns forming a natural class, yet it is obvious that they do.

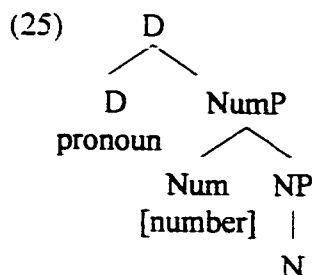
Based on the above conceptual and empirical observations and arguments, we conclude that Turkish third person pronouns consistently pattern with English, Hebrew and Dutch, rather than Japanese. Although Turkish third person pronouns take the regular plural morphology of Ns, this suffix is not limited to Ns alone; it is also used for adjectives, prepositional phrases and verbal agreement. Therefore, the fact that third person pronouns use the *-lar* suffix does not constitute convincing evidence for categorizing them as Ns. Unlike any of the languages examined thus far, Turkish overt pronouns cannot be construed as bound variables, nor can they be coreferential with an antecedent within the domain of the sentence. Because they don't pattern with Japanese nor do they pattern with English, Hebrew or Dutch in this respect, I concur that this inability to be bound sheds no light on the syntactic category of third person pronouns. Turkish pronouns pattern with English, Hebrew and Dutch in that they are unable to be modified by adjectives and possessors, they constitute a closed class, and they subdivide into two classes: first and second person pronouns and third person pronouns. All of this is in direct contrast with Japanese pronouns, which are clearly Ns.

Finally, I argue that third person pronouns as Ns fails to motivate the homophony of third person pronouns and demonstratives. It also fails to capture the similarities among first, second and third person pronouns which all serve the same semantic function. Thus, I conclude that Turkish third person pronouns are not Ns.

### 3.2.2 Third person pronouns are not Ds

If third person pronouns are not Ns, then they must be functors. In this section, after exploring the possibility that they are simply Ds, I conclude that this analysis does not adequately account for the facts, either.

In section 3.1 I concluded that first and second person pronouns are Ds. If third person pronouns were also Ds, there would be the expectation for them to have the same distribution as first and second person pronouns. In particular, third person pronouns should be able to co-occur with plural N, analysed as an N plus Num, in the same way that first and second person pronouns can.



However, this prediction is not borne out. Like English, Hebrew and Dutch, Turkish first and second person pronouns are able to co-occur in the same DP as a common noun,

while third person pronouns cannot.

- (26) a. *biz tüccar-lar*  
           1pl           merchant-pl  
           ‘we tradesmen’
- b. *siz tüccar-lar*  
           2pl           merchant-pl  
           ‘you tradesmen’
- c. *\*onlar       tüccar-lar*  
           3pl                   merchant-pl  
           ‘they tradesmen’
- d. *o           tüccar-lar*  
           distal       merchant-pl  
           ‘those tradesmen’

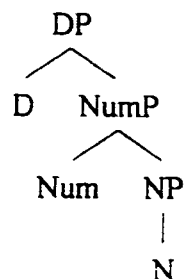
Comparing (26c) and (26d) we note that when the plural morpheme *-lar* appears on both the pronoun and the noun, it is ungrammatical. This is because the two plural morphemes, both base-generated in Num, would be competing for the single Num position. When the plural morpheme occurs on the N alone, the phrase is grammatical and *o* is interpreted as a distal demonstrative, rather than a third person pronoun (26d).

From example (26), it is apparent that third person pronouns have a distinct distribution from first and second person pronouns, which are Ds. Thus, I conclude that Turkish third person pronouns are not Ds.

### 3.2.3 Third person pronouns are D plus Num

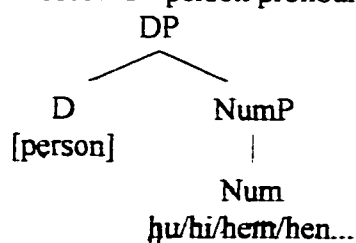
If third person pronouns in Turkish are not Ns, and they are not Ds, then this leaves the Num head as the only unexplored head in pronominal DP.

(27) Pronominal DP



In this section, I argue that Turkish third person pronouns are D plus Nums, based on the expectation that Turkish third person pronouns should be just like their Dutch, English and Hebrew counterparts, unless there is evidence to the contrary. Recall the structure of Hebrew third person pronouns.

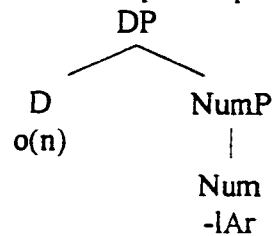
(28) Hebrew 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronouns



Suppose, like Hebrew, Turkish third person pronouns are also complex items with semantic content in both D and Num. Unlike Hebrew, though, I suggest that, in Turkish, the overt material is spread over two positions, with *o(n)* in D and *-lar* in Num. Setting

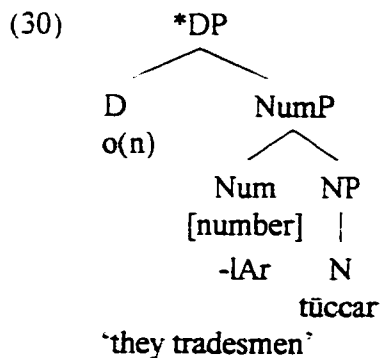
aside the discussion of the feature [person] for now, this would give us the following structure:

(29) Turkish 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun



I now examine the evidence to see it supports this structure.

As discussed in section 3.2.2, Turkish third person plural pronouns are unable to co-occur with plural Ns. This is consistent with English, Hebrew and Dutch.



Suppose Turkish requires that all DPs be marked for number, but that there are various strategies for doing so. First and second person pronouns are Ds specified for person and



number<sup>31</sup>. In Chapter Two, the syntactic structure of third person pronouns provides a reasonable explanation for the lack of third person plural pronouns occurring in the same DP as plural N. Assuming syntactic affixation in Turkish, N undergoes head movement to Num, picking up the plural morpheme *-lar*. Turkish allows only one *-lar* in each DP, and in this case it would be affixed to the N. Whenever N is present, it raises to Num to morphologically anchor the plural marker. Otherwise, the Num head raises to D and *-lar* is realized on D<sup>32</sup>. This then accounts for the ungrammaticality of *\*onlar tüccarlar* ‘they merchants’.

Analysing third person pronouns as D plus Num accounts for their distinct distribution from first and second person pronouns. It also explains the closed class nature and phi features of third person pronouns for these are both common properties of functors. Moreover, because they are functors rather than Ns, there is no expectation that third person pronouns will co-occur with modifiers.

Analysing third person pronouns as D plus Num motivates both the semantic similarities and the distributional differences with first and second person pronouns. Like first and second person pronouns, third person pronouns are functors, hence they all form a natural class. Their distributions, however, are distinct due to their different syntactic

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<sup>31</sup> In some languages, the Ds of first and second person pronouns would also be specified for gender. However, this does not apply in Turkish.

<sup>32</sup> *-lar* is a suffix, so regardless of whether N raises to Num, or Num raises to D, it is realized on the right edge of the inflected word.

structures. Hence, the evidence supports the assumption that third person pronouns in Turkish are like those in English, Hebrew and Dutch.

### 3.3 Demonstratives

Having established that third person pronouns are D plus Nums, I must now find a way to account for the homophony of third person pronouns and demonstratives. What I will argue in this section is that Turkish differs from English, Hebrew and Dutch, in that it has no third person pronoun; instead its distal demonstratives fill this function.

It is a fact of English, Dutch and Hebrew that demonstratives cannot be bound.

- (31) a. I bought the book<sub>i</sub>, but it<sub>i</sub> / \*that<sub>i</sub> doesn't interest me.  
 b. Kaniti et ha-sefer<sub>i</sub> aval, hu<sub>i</sub> / \*hahu<sub>i</sub> lo meanyen oti. (Hebrew)  
 c. Ik kocht het boek<sub>i</sub>, maar het<sub>i</sub> / \*dat<sub>i</sub> interesseert me niet. (Dutch)

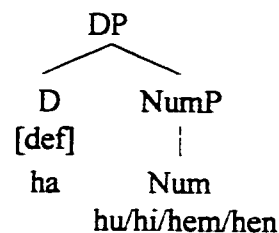
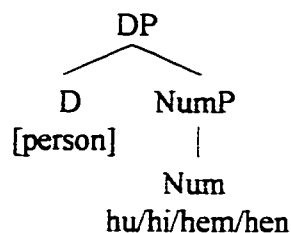
Recall from section 3.2.1 that Turkish third person pronouns can not be construed as bound variables. Nor can they be bound at all within a sentence.

- (32) a. \*Herkes<sub>i</sub> onun<sub>i</sub> anne-si-ni sevivor  
 Everyone 3sg-GEN mother-3sg-ACC love  
 'Everyone<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> mother'  
 b. \*John<sub>i</sub> onun<sub>i</sub> anne-si-ni sevivor  
 John 3sg-GEN mother-3sg-ACC love  
 'John<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> mother'

I suggest that the reason Turkish third person pronouns cannot be bound is because they are actually distal demonstratives, which are conscripted for this purpose, and in Turkish, as in English, Hebrew and Dutch (31), demonstratives cannot be bound. If Turkish uses demonstratives for third person pronouns, then this accounts for the ungrammaticality of (32). While there is the expectation that personal pronouns be bound, there is no such expectation for demonstratives, as demonstrated in example (31).

A closer examination of the data shows that the data is consistent with Turkish lacking third person pronouns altogether, and instead conscripting demonstratives for this function. Recall that Hebrew remote demonstratives are morphologically related to third person pronouns. Ritter (1995) proposes that Hebrew third person pronouns have an abstract [person] feature but no overt material in D, while demonstratives have a [definite] feature along with overt material in this position.

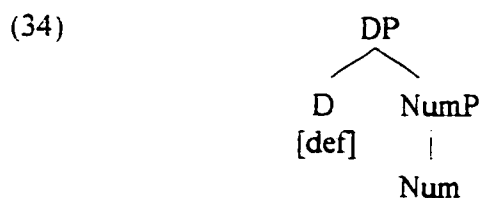
- (33) a. Hebrew 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun      b. Hebrew demonstrative



Like Hebrew, Turkish demonstratives and third person pronouns are also morphologically related; in fact, their singular forms are identical. I argue that the Turkish third person pronoun is in fact a demonstrative pronoun, and that it has the same

syntactic structure as its Hebrew counterparts in (33). The difference between the languages is in content, rather than structure.

Instead of a [person] feature on D as in Hebrew, I suggest that Turkish *o* has the feature [definite]<sup>33</sup>. This is consistent with *o* being a demonstrative. In addition, demonstratives are either proximate or distal. I suggest that, along with the feature [definite], demonstratives have a feature which encodes relative distance from the deictic centre of the discourse. I assume that proximate demonstratives, which are closer to the deictic centre, are specified as [proximate] while distal demonstratives (those which are further away) are unmarked for this distance feature. Thus, the distal demonstrative is the unmarked value, and has the same features as the third person pronoun:

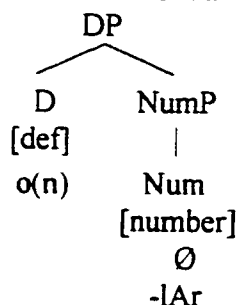


Like the Hebrew demonstrative, I suggest that the overt material in Turkish is spread over the two positions in both the demonstrative and the pronoun.

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<sup>33</sup> Benveniste (1956:198-200) designates person as a participant in the speech act. Since only first and second person are participants in the speech act, he claims that only they are persons. On the other hand, third person is not a participant in the speech act. Thus, he claims that it is a non-person. If third person pronouns do not have a [person] feature in D, then this raises the interesting question of why Hebrew third person pronouns can be bound but Hebrew and Turkish demonstratives cannot. It follows that the feature [person] in Hebrew third person pronouns must not be the right feature. Instead, there must be some feature in D of the Hebrew third person pronoun which differs from the D in the Hebrew and Turkish demonstrative, which would be responsible for third person pronouns being able to be bound but demonstratives not. I leave this question for future research.

- (35) Turkish 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun  
 Turkish demonstrative pronoun



In the case of the Turkish demonstratives and personal pronouns, the Num head, *-lAr* undergoes head movement, raising to D and is realized as a suffix on *o(n)*. That the third person pronouns and demonstrative pronouns are a single form accounts for the ambiguity, and the homophony which is found between them.

- (36) Sally John'un onu sevdigini saniyor  
 Sally John-GEN 3sg-ACC love-past think-pres-AGR  
 'Sally thinks that John likes her/that'

There is a similar overlap in English between the demonstrative and the third person pronoun. Although they are distinct forms in English, there really is no meaning difference between the personal pronoun and the demonstrative in the following example<sup>34</sup>.

- (37) a. She disagrees with *it*.  
 b. She disagrees with *that*.

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<sup>34</sup> However the personal pronoun *it* cannot be stressed while the demonstrative *that* can. Other than this though, the two sentences have an almost identical meaning.

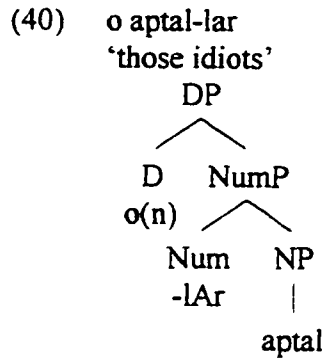
This parallels Turkish, where the demonstrative pronouns and third person pronouns are identical in form, distribution and meaning. There is, however, one difference in distribution between Turkish demonstratives and the third person pronouns which is readily accounted for. Demonstratives are able to co-occur in the same DP as an N, while the third person pronouns cannot (38). In these situations, the demonstrative is functioning as an article, rather than a pronoun.

- (38) a. o aptal-lar  
          'those idiots'  
      b. \*onlar aptal-lar  
          'they idiots'

Like English, I suggest that the structure for the Turkish demonstrative article is simply a D.

- (39) DP  
      |  
      D  
      o

Thus, the structure for (38a) is:



The N head, *aptal* undergoes head movement to Num, thus providing a morphological anchor for the plural morpheme *-lAr*. This leaves the demonstrative unmarked for number. Based on the assumption that all DPs are marked only once for number in Turkish, it appears that number is realized on N when it is present, and on D when N is absent. This is apparent in the following examples.

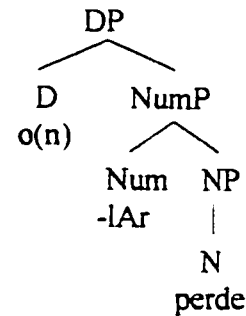
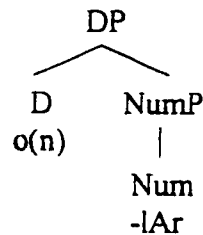
- (41) a. [<sub>DP</sub> onları] bana ver  
           distal-pl-ACC 1sg-DAT give  
           'Give me those'
- b. [<sub>DP</sub> o perdeleri] bana ver  
           distal curtain-pl-ACC 1sg-DAT give  
           'Give me those curtains'

Whenever N is present, N raises to Num, leaving the element in D unmarked for number. Since this is always the case with the demonstrative article, it is never marked for number and its structure is simply a D.

When N is not present, Num raises to D and the result is a demonstrative pronoun which can also function as a third person pronoun. The proposed syntactic structures are

compatible with this difference in number marking.

- (42) a. demonstrative / personal pronoun      b. demonstrative article



That the demonstrative is unmarked for number when it is an article, but marked for number when it is a pronoun complies with economy considerations along the lines suggested by Chomsky (1995)<sup>35</sup>, where the number feature is realized only once in the DP<sup>36</sup>.

Thus, the data supports the hypothesis that Turkish lacks a third person pronoun, and instead conscripts its distal demonstrative for this function. When the DP contains an N, *o* can only be a demonstrative article. When there is no N projection, it can be interpreted as either a demonstrative pronoun or a third person pronoun.

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<sup>35</sup> Economy considerations require that syntactic representations contain as few constituents and derivations and involve as few grammatical operations as possible.

<sup>36</sup> That DPs are only marked once for number shows up in other structures in Turkish.

(i) üççocuk  
three child  
‘three children’

Here the quantifier is inherently plural so the noun does not have the plural suffix.



- (43) a. D + Num + N → demonstrative article  
 b. D + Num → demonstrative / pronoun

Thus, we conclude that the complex facts of this language are accounted for by postulating that Turkish lacks third person pronouns. The demonstrative is used instead. The distribution of the plural morpheme *-lar* is accounted for by proposing that when N is present, it undergoes head movement to Num, and this N plus Num complex may co-occur with a demonstrative article. When N is absent in the DP, then Num raises to D and the result is a pronoun which is either demonstrative or personal, depending on its interpretation, since it has the feature [definite] rather than [person].

### 3.4 Summary of Turkish pronouns

To recap, I have shown that Turkish first and second person pronouns are Ds while the third person pronouns, which are actually distal demonstratives, are D plus Num.

Demonstrative / third person pronouns, have overt material spread over the two functional heads. Analysing Turkish distal demonstrative pronouns, which may function as third person pronouns, as D plus Num permits an analysis of all pronouns as functors. This captures the semantic similarities of first, second and third person pronouns, yet allows for the distinct distribution of the two classes of pronouns.

Analysing all Turkish pronouns as functors is consistent with English, Hebrew and Dutch. Turkish pronouns indeed have the properties of F-pronouns, for they are closed class, unable to co-occur with modifiers, and have no independent semantic content.

Although Turkish third person pronouns do use the same plural morphology as Ns, I have shown that this morphology is not restricted to N alone. I have also shown that their inability to be bound is consistent with them being demonstratives, rather than personal pronouns. Analysing Turkish first and second person pronouns as Ds and demonstratives, which function as third person pronouns, as D plus Num is consistent with findings of English, Hebrew and Dutch. Thus, Turkish provides further empirical support for the hypothesis that languages with F-pronouns have two distinct classes of pronouns.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Pronouns in Malay

Chapter Four compares Malay pronouns against the diagnostics developed to classify L-pronouns and F-pronouns. Initially Malay appears to have open class pronouns, thus leading to the speculation that it has L-pronouns. However, due to cultural considerations, Malay uses a variety of titles and relationship terms where more familiar languages use pronouns. Ignoring these titles and relationship names, leaves the Malay pronoun paradigm, which are clearly F-pronouns. Thus we see that Malay pronouns pattern with English, Hebrew, Dutch and Turkish ones. Malay provides additional empirical evidence that F-pronouns are subdivided into two classes: first and second person pronouns and third person pronouns.

#### 4.0 Introduction: Malay Pronouns

In the last chapter I argued that Turkish has F-pronouns, which pattern with English, Hebrew and Dutch. In all four languages, these pronouns subdivide into two classes, one consisting of first and second person pronouns, and the other, third person pronouns, which, in the case of Turkish, are actually demonstratives. In this chapter I will provide a brief analysis of Malay pronouns in order to determine if it they pattern with F-pronouns or L-pronouns.

Malay is of particular interest because initially it seems to pattern with Japanese in one crucial property: Malay pronouns appear to constitute an open class. However, the evidence will show that, despite appearances, Malay does have a closed set of pronouns.

Applying the diagnostics that were used in the previous chapters to classify pronouns in other languages as L-pronouns or F-pronouns, I will show that Malay pronouns pattern with their English, Hebrew, Dutch and Turkish counterparts, leading to the conclusion that this language has F-pronouns. Looking more closely at the differences between first, second and third person pronouns, the evidence indicates that, like the other languages considered, Malay has two classes of F-pronouns.

#### 4.1 Malay Pronouns are a Closed Set

Like Japanese, Malay pronouns appear to be open class items. Based on this, our expectation is that Malay pronouns would be Ns, with the properties and distribution of L-pronouns. However, upon closer examination, it becomes clear that the various Malay sources do not agree on a definitive pronoun inventory. Instead, each lists a variety of elements which may occur in Malay where more familiar languages use pronouns. Each source's inventory varies from the others. For instance, Winstedt (1927:107-111) gives the following as the pronoun inventory.

- |                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| (1) first person: | aku, kita, kami |
| second person:    | engkau, kamu    |
| third person:     | ia, dia         |

He then states that many additional words are both pronoun and noun, and calls these elements 'pronouns improper'. He provides the following inventory of Malay items, which are used where other languages use pronouns.

(2)

| Person Speaking                | First person  | Second Person | Third Person          |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| peasants to one another        | aku           | ěngkau        | ia, dia               |
| superior pointedly to inferior | kita          | ěngkau        | ia, dia               |
| superior normally to inferior  | sahaya, kita  | kamu, awak    | ia, dia               |
| superior to equal              | hamba         | tuan          | tuan                  |
| all to Europeans               | sahaya, kita  | tuan          | tuan                  |
| Malay to Malay                 | kami          | ěnche', tuan  | ěnche', tuan          |
| commoner to chief              | hamba, sahaya | dato'         | dato'                 |
| commoner to raja               | patek         | těngku, ěngku | těngku, ěngku, raja   |
| subject to sultan              | patek         | tuan-ku       | yam-tuan, tuan-ku     |
| literary                       | beta          | sahabat beta  | <i>name and title</i> |

A separate reference grammar (Lewis 1947:119-120) lists the following as pronouns:

- (3)
- |                |                                  |
|----------------|----------------------------------|
| first person:  | aku, kita, kami, saya            |
| second person: | ěngkau, awak, kamu, tuan, ěnche' |
| third person   | ia, dia, mereka                  |

Lewis lists the following forms in a footnote: *mika*, *sahabat beta*, *ěngku*, *těngku* and *tuanku*. Furthermore, he also indicates that *ěnche'* and *tuan* are actually nouns, which are used in place of pronouns.

Finally, Wallace (1983:576-577) lists the following as pronouns, making no reference to any of them being nouns:

- (4)
- |                |                      |
|----------------|----------------------|
| first person:  | gua, kita, saya, aku |
| second person: | lu, kamu, engkau     |
| third person   | dia                  |

Comparing these three sources, it is not clear that all of these elements listed here are pronouns. Moreover, it is important to note that Malay seems to avoid the use of personal pronouns as much as possible and that this is for cultural, rather than grammatical, reasons for it is considered rude to use pronouns. A variety of other forms are used in their stead. For instance, where English, Hebrew, Dutch and Turkish use a second or third person pronoun, Malay uses the person's name, or a noun which expresses his or her title, age, or relationship to the speaker (Lewis 1947:122). In the example below, we see that the proper noun, *Husain*, is used as a second person pronoun.

- (5)
- |                           |
|---------------------------|
| Husain mēnganiok?         |
| Husain sleepy             |
| 'Are you sleepy, Husain?' |

When referring to himself, the Malay speaker uses nouns referring to the relationship between the speaker and the addressee (Winstedt 1927:111). Thus, it becomes apparent that in Malay a variety of elements are used where more familiar languages use pronouns. In addition to terms for proper names and titles which are clearly Ns, Malay uses one of the many elements listed in the previous pronoun inventories.

It is clear that many of the elements contained in the aforementioned inventories are not actually pronouns, but rather Ns. Ignoring the items which have titles or relationships, I will argue that Malay does indeed have pronouns, and that they consist entirely of

grammatical features. Looking at the inventories provided above, we see that many of same items are used for both second and third person (ie *těngku*, *dato*’, *ěngku*, *tuan*). Each of these items has semantic content which amounts to much more than simply grammatical features. For instance, *tuan* is defined as a title used for all Europeans. *Dato*’ is the word for ‘grandfather’, and *hamba* means ‘slave’. These words have the semantic properties of Ns. Additional evidence that these terms are actually Ns is illustrated in the following examples (P.H. Lim pc):

- (6) a. Hamba      dia malas  
          slave        3    lazy  
          “His slave is lazy”
- b. Hamba      tinggal                      di        rumah  
          slave        unimportant        at    home  
          “Unimportant me stayed at home”
- c. tuan      ku  
          title      1<sup>37</sup>  
          ‘my lord’

In (6a) we see that *hamba* is an N meaning slave, while in (6b) we see that it can also be used where other languages would use a first person pronoun. Moreover, example (6b) clearly illustrates that this element is able to be modified by an adjective. Finally, example (6c) shows us that *tuan* can be possessed.

Additionally, *tuan* and *ěnche*’ can be reduplicated, which is a process in the language

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<sup>37</sup> -*ku* is the unstressed form of first person pronoun *aku*. Malay lacks overt case-marking, so this form also functions as the genitive.

commonly applied to Ns. Reduplication indicates indefiniteness and plurality.

- (7) a. rumah tuan tuan  
house title title  
'different gentlemen's houses' (Winstedt 1927:103-104)
- b. éñche' éñche' dan tuan tuan  
title title and title title  
'ladies and gentlemen' (Winstedt 1965:92)

In short, many of the elements listed in the pronoun inventories exhibit semantic, syntactic and morphological properties of Ns. They have independent semantic content, are able to be modified and are able to be reduplicated. Since all of these are properties of Ns in Malay, I argue that these forms are Ns. Malay uses these Ns where other languages use personal pronouns for sociolinguistic rather than grammatical reasons.

Nevertheless, Malay does have true pronouns. After removing those elements which are titles or denote relationships from the pronoun inventory, we are left with the following elements (8)<sup>38</sup>.

---

<sup>38</sup> This paradigm includes all of the pronouns listed by Winstedt (1927) in example (1), along with three additional forms, *awak*, *anda*, and *mereka*.



(8)

| person                | [formal] | number unmarked <sup>39</sup> | [plural]             |
|-----------------------|----------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 <sup>st</sup>       |          | aku                           |                      |
| 1 <sup>st</sup>       | formal   | saya                          |                      |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> -incl |          |                               | kita                 |
| 1 <sup>st</sup> -excl |          |                               | kami                 |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup>       |          | kamu, awak <sup>40</sup>      |                      |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup>       | formal   | anda, engkau                  |                      |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup>       |          | ia, dia <sup>41</sup>         | mereka <sup>42</sup> |

I argue that these elements form the Malay pronoun paradigm and that they are comprised solely of grammatical features, for example:

- (9) a. saya        [formal] [1<sup>st</sup>]  
       b. kamu       [2<sup>nd</sup>]

It is interesting to note that Malay first person has a finer number distinction than the other languages we have observed. It has a first person plural pronoun which includes the addressee and another which excludes the addressee. This is of particular interest because number is unmarked elsewhere in Malay. Consequently, second and third

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<sup>39</sup> The pronouns in this column can be used interchangeably for singular and plural. Hence I consider them unmarked for number. However, first person pronouns *aku* and *saya* are used primarily for singular (Winstedt 1927:106).

<sup>40</sup> Although only listed in a single grammar book, four Malay speakers clearly identified *awak* as a second person pronoun used among friends in very colloquial speech, and *kamu* as the less colloquial term.

<sup>41</sup> *Ia* becomes *dia* in object position, and for emphasis as subject (Winstedt 1927:107)

<sup>42</sup> Lewis (1959:262) states that *mereka* is becoming the accepted pronoun for third person plural in writing, thus implying that this was not always the case. He also states that it can be used as the indefinite pronoun, referring to people in general.

person pronouns can be used for either singular or plural. Thus, we see that Malay is a language which does not mark number except in its pronouns. First and third person pronouns are optionally marked for number by a suppletive form.

Based on these considerations, I consider this paradigm to be the true pronoun inventory of Malay. All titles and relationship names are Ns that may function as pronouns. Thus, what first appeared to be an open class of pronouns is actually not. Omitting the Ns for titles and relationships leaves an inventory of pronouns which is indeed paradigmatic, and varies according to person, number and formality. This leads to the expectation that the items in (8) will behave in other respects like F-pronouns. In the next section I will apply the diagnostics of L-pronouns and F-pronouns to the pronouns in this paradigm. The results will show that this prediction is borne out. More specifically, I will demonstrate that Malay pronouns cannot co-occur with adjectives, that they are able to enter into variable binding, and, finally that they fall into the same two classes of pronouns we have seen elsewhere, first and second person pronouns and third person pronouns.

#### 4.2 Malay Pronouns are Functors

If Malay pronouns were L-pronouns like Japanese, we would expect them to be able to co-occur with adjectives and possessors. Yet, looking at the data, it is clear that they

cannot<sup>43</sup>.

- (10) a. \*cantik dia  
pretty 3
- b. \*Dia saya di rumah  
3 1 at home  
'My she was at home'

Instead Malay pronouns pattern with English, Hebrew, Dutch and Turkish ones for none of the pronouns in these languages are able to co-occur with modifiers.

Recall that Noguchi (1997) claims that only functors can be bound variables. We found that Japanese pronouns are unable to be variably bound, while pronouns in languages with F-pronouns are freely construed as bound variables (with the exception of Turkish). Malay pronouns again pattern with F-pronouns, rather than L-pronoun, for they are readily construed as bound variables.

- (11) Setiap orang<sub>i</sub> suka ibu-nya<sub>i</sub>.  
every one love mother-his  
'Everyone<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> mother.'

---

<sup>43</sup> One Malay speaker provided the following as grammatical:

- i) Dia mya di rumah  
she 3GEN at home  
'Her she was at home'

I remain unclear on where this structure can be used or what it means. I am also unclear whether it is a possessive or an appositive construction. Two other Malay speakers, however, disagree with i) being grammatical. I will leave this as unresolved and open for further research into Malay pronouns.

In addition to the three properties already established in Malay pronouns (bound variables, does not allow adjectival and possessor modifiers, and are members of a paradigm), I will now determine if they have one other property of F-pronouns. I will see if the distribution of first and second person pronouns is distinct from that of third person pronouns.

The following examples show that, like other languages with F-pronouns, Malay first and second person pronouns are able to co-occur with plural Ns while third person pronouns are not.

- (12) a. Kami ahli bahasa kuat kerja.  
 1excl specialist language strong work  
 'We linguists are hard working'
- b. Anda ahli bahasa kuat kerja.  
 2 specialist language strong work  
 'You linguists are hard working.'
- c. \*Mereka ahli bahasa kuat kerja.  
 3pl specialist language strong work  
 'They linguists are hard working.'

Although Malay lacks articles, it does have the demonstratives *itu* 'that' and *ini* 'this', and the determiner, *setiap* 'every'. The distribution of first and second person pronouns in Malay shows that they are in complementary distribution with these elements <sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> Although Malay speakers were certain that 'every' could not co-occur with any of the personal pronouns, I was unable to obtain a translation. If *setiap* is the wrong lexical item, the fault is entirely mine. Furthermore, one speaker claims that *awak itu* 'that you' is acceptable in spoken Malay, while other speakers contend that *awak itu* is not grammatical under any circumstance. Further research must be done in this area.

- (13) a. \*saya setiap  
          ‘every I’  
      b. \*kamu setiap  
          ‘every you’  
      c. \*saya itu  
          ‘that me’  
      d. \*saya kamu  
          ‘that you’

In each of the languages observed thus far, ‘every’ is a D. Therefore I assume that in Malay *setiap* ‘every’ is also a D. Recall that demonstratives in each of the previous languages have been either Ds or D plus Num. Based on this, I suggest that Malay pronouns are in complementary distribution with *setiap* and *itu* because they are all Ds.

- (14)           DP  
          |  
          D  
          *setiap*  
          *itu*  
aku/ saya/ kamu/ awak/ kita/ kami

The observation that Malay first and second person pronouns readily co-occur with plural Ns further supports this argument, for it is expected that Ds co-occur with NPs.

Moreover, if Malay pronouns are typical F-pronouns, I predict that Malay third person pronouns should be analysed as D plus Num<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>45</sup> Although Malay does not normally mark number, I assume that NumP is still present, and that it here that quantification is base generated. This would then explain why third person pronouns cannot co-occur with plural N, such as \**mereka ahli bahasa* ‘they linguists’. The quantification feature and third person pronoun would both be in competition for the same Num position, hence the phrase would be ungrammatical.

- (15) a. 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup>  
           DP  
           |  
           D  
 aku/ saya/ kamu/ awak/ kita/ kami
- b. 3<sup>rd</sup>  
           DP  
           / \  
           D NumP  
           [def] |  
               Num  
           dia/ ia / mereka

A closer look at Malay demonstrates that third person pronouns are consistent with this structure. Although *setiap* ‘every’ cannot co-occur with any of the pronouns (*\*setiap dia* ‘every he’), this is not the case with the distal demonstrative. Instead, we find that *itu* ‘that’ readily co-occurs with the third person pronoun, although it is in complementary distribution with first and second person pronouns. This is consistent with first and second person pronouns being base-generated in D and third person pronouns not.

- (16) a. \*saya      itu  
           1            that  
           ‘that I’
- b. \*kamu      itu  
           2            that  
           ‘that you’
- c. dia          itu  
           3sg        that  
           ‘that she’
- d. mereka     itu            that  
           3pl  
           ‘those people’

Recall that Hebrew third person pronouns co-occur with the definite article to form the

demonstrative, while first and second person pronouns are unable to occur in this environment.

- (17) a. ha-hu  
the 3msg  
'that (m)'
- b. \*ha-ani  
the 1sg
- c. \*ha-ata  
the 2msg

In Malay, there is a similar situation where first and second person pronouns cannot co-occur with demonstratives, while third person pronouns are able to. This is consistent with first and second person pronouns being Ds and third person pronouns being D plus Num. Assuming *itu* 'that' is a D, it is able to co-occur with a third person pronoun, which has overt material in Num.

- (18)
- ```

      DP
     /  \
    D    NumP
  [def]  |
   itu  Num
      dia/ ia/ mereka
  
```

Like Hebrew, Malay third person pronouns are able to co-occur with a definite D. Thus, I conclude that the data supports the existence of two classes of pronouns in Malay. First and second person pronouns are Ds and third person pronouns are D plus Nums. Again,

this is consistent with Malay pronouns being F-pronouns.

4.3 Comparing Malay and Japanese Pronouns

We have just seen overwhelming evidence that Malay has F-pronouns, rather than L-pronouns, and thus, is unlike Japanese in this regard. This result is quite unexpected, for the two languages have a number of properties specifically related to DPs, which are very similar. For instance, in both languages, number and gender are unmarked, although number can optionally be marked with classifiers and numerals. Due to sociolinguistical considerations, both languages avoid the use of pronouns, preferring instead to use names, titles and relationship terms. Both languages have an elaborate set of formality distinctions, which are reflected in the choice of forms used to address or describe a person. Yet another similarity is that neither language has pronouns to refer to inanimates. Instead, the pronouns are simply omitted, or nouns are used instead⁴⁶.

The two languages diverge drastically, however, in the distribution of their pronouns. In Japanese, pronouns clearly pattern with Ns in their semantic, syntactic and morphological properties, while in Malay, they pattern with functors, as is evident in section 4.2. Moreover, the two languages differ in their binding properties. Japanese allows R-expressions to be bound, while Malay does not.

⁴⁶ In Japanese the demonstrative *sono* can be used for an inanimate in certain circumstances, as well.

- (19) a. Hanako_i ga Makiko ni Hanako_i no atarasii
 Hanako NOM Makiko DAT Hanako_i GEN new
- kateikyoosi o syookaisite kureta. Japanese
 tutor ACC introducing gave
 ‘Hanako_i introduced Hanako_i’s new tutor to Makiko.’
- b. *John_i tahu John_i letih Malay
 John know John exhausted
 ‘John knew John was tired.’

This binding difference is not surprising, given that pronouns in the two languages have different internal structures. Because binding theory is concerned with the distribution of different kinds of DPs, we might reasonably expect that L-pronouns and F-pronouns, which differ in their internal composition, would also differ in their binding properties. This prediction is borne out by the data. This binding difference is further evidence that the two languages have different types of pronouns, with distinct syntactic compositions.

4.4 Summary of Malay Pronouns

Despite initial appearances, I conclude that Malay pronouns are not open class and do not pattern with L-pronouns. Because pronouns are considered rude, Malay often uses titles and relationship terms where other languages use pronouns. This is reminiscent of Japanese which also uses a variety of titles and relationship terms for pronouns due to sociolinguistic considerations. However, disregarding the terms used for titles and relationships, I argue that unlike Japanese, Malay has an inventory of pronouns comprised entirely of grammatical features. It is to this pronoun paradigm that I apply

the diagnostics for L-pronouns and F-pronouns, and determine that the evidence overwhelmingly supports Malay pronouns as F-pronouns. Like English, Hebrew, Dutch and Turkish, these pronouns are readily construed as bound variables and are unable to be modified by adjectives or possessors. Their distribution is also consistent with first and second person pronouns being Ds and third person pronouns being D plus Nums. Thus, it is clear that Malay pronouns are F-pronouns.

In conclusion, Malay provides additional empirical support for the hypothesis that languages with F-pronouns have two pronoun classes, first and second person pronouns and third person pronouns. This conclusion leads us to further reflect on the Japanese facts, which seem all the more exceptional. Despite the many similarities between the two languages, Japanese pronouns have the distributional properties of Ns, while Malay pronouns are functors. Because of this, there is no expectation that the two languages should patterning together in their pronoun distribution. Thus, the analysis of Malay sheds no light on this seeming exception of Japanese pronouns.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

In this chapter, I conclude that this thesis supports the hypothesis that there are two classes of pronouns cross-linguistically: F-pronouns and L-pronouns. It also provides further empirical support for the existence of NumP. Finally, the question is raised of whether the existence of F-pronouns and L-pronouns has any bearing on binding and anaphors. If there are F-pronouns and L-pronouns, are there also F-anaphors and L-anaphors, and does this explain their distribution across languages? This question will be left for further research.

5.0 A Review: The Syntactic Category of Pronouns

Pronouns vary across languages and across person within languages. In some languages, pronouns are functional items, and in other languages they are lexical items. Based on the analysis of six genetically unrelated languages, there are two types of pronouns cross-linguistically: F-pronouns and L-pronouns, and each has a set of properties which distinguish it from the other. Moreover, F-pronouns divide into two subclasses: first and second person pronouns, which are Ds, and third person pronouns, which are D plus Num. Differing syntactic structures elegantly explains the distinct distributions of these two classes of F-pronouns. L-pronouns, in contrast, form a uniform class: they are Ns.

In addition to supporting the existence of two major classes of pronouns across languages, this thesis provides further support for the existence of an intermediate nominal functional projection which, following Ritter (1991), I have called NumP.

Without this projection, it would be difficult to explain the observed structural similarities and differences in the pronouns of the languages considered. The existence of this second functional projection permits a structural distinction among F-pronouns, in addition to the fundamental split between L-pronouns and F-pronouns.

After examining six languages, I conclude that English, Hebrew, Dutch, Turkish and Malay have F-pronouns, all of which subdivide into two distinct classes: first and second person pronouns, and third person pronouns. In each of these languages, pronouns share the following properties: they cannot be modified, are freely construed as bound variables and consist solely of closed class items. On the other hand, Japanese pronouns are L-pronouns, for they readily take modifiers, are unable to be construed as bound variables and are from an open class. Moreover, Japanese first, second and third person pronouns have a unified distribution, providing evidence that L-pronouns are of a single syntactic class. Thus, the evidence supports the hypothesis that there are two types of pronouns cross-linguistically, and that each has its own distinct set of properties and distributions.

Reflecting on the facts of Japanese, which seem all the more exceptional, leads us to question why Japanese alone treats its pronouns as Ns. It has been argued that Japanese lacks a DP all together (Fukui 1986), although others have since argued against this (Noguchi 1998). Although beyond the scope of this thesis, other linguists have made similar claims about different languages. For instance, Kornfilt (1991:16) claims that

Old Turkish lacked functional projections. She provides examples where pronouns could be possessed.

- (2) a. siz -im -ā
 2sg 1sg agr-DAT
 'to my you'
- b. mān -in lär ol
 1sg GEN pl 3pl
 'my they'

Since being possessed is one of the diagnostics for L-pronouns, it would be interesting to see if Old Turkish pronouns were like Japanese pronouns in other respects. In discussing Serbo-Croatian, Progovac (1998) claims that adjectives can co-occur with pronouns, and suggests that these pronouns are Ns. Again, it would be interesting to explore this language to see if its pronouns indeed pattern with Japanese and are L-pronouns. If Old Turkish or Serbo-Croatian pronouns were L-pronouns, perhaps we would be able to see more clearly a common property that these languages share, which would cause them to categorize their pronouns as Ns. The contrast between the minimal shared features of L-pronouns and the minimal shared features of F-pronouns may provide us with a window into the universal grammar inventory of pronouns features.

5.1 Implications and Further Research

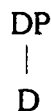
Looking at the internal syntactic structure of pronouns also leads us to wonder about the differences in binding properties between the two classes of pronouns. It raises the

interesting question of whether the different internal structure of L-pronouns and F-pronouns leads to differences in their binding properties. We have already seen that Japanese allows bound R-expressions. Given that R-expressions and pronouns are both Ns in Japanese, we might predict that this language would also allow its L-pronouns to be bound. We might also question whether *sono*, an F-pronoun, would be unable to be bound, thus complying with standard binding theory where pronouns must be free in their minimal governing category (Chomsky 1986)⁴⁷. In light of the support for the existence of the two types of pronouns cross-linguistically, we need to undertake further research into binding properties of F-pronouns and L-pronouns to see if this distinction provides insight into the distribution of pronouns cross-linguistically.

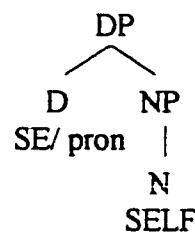
As a final comment, I raise the question of how this research might shed light on the distribution of anaphors. Interestingly, the existence of two types of pronouns may have consequences for the theory of binding of anaphors. Reinhart and Reuland's (1993) theory of Reflexivity claims that there are two types of anaphors cross-linguistically, SE expressions and SELF expressions, and that each has their own distribution. They propose that SE expressions are morphologically simple, lacking number, gender and, sometimes, person features. They pattern with pronouns in their internal structure (3a). In contrast, SELF expressions are morphologically complex, inflecting for person, gender and number, and pattern with Ns in their syntactic structure (3b).

⁴⁷ Condition B: a pronominal must be free in a local domain (Chomsky 1986:166)

(3) a. Simplex



b. Complex



An example of SE and SELF anaphors is provided below (Reinhart and Reuland 1993:661,663).

- (4) a. Max schaamt zich.
Max shames SE
'Max is ashamed'
- b. Jan haat zichzelf.
'Jan hates himself'

Progovac (1998) further suggests that SE anaphors fall into two distinct types, those base-generated in D and those base-generated in N. Taken together the two hypotheses are reminiscent of our treatment of L-pronouns and F-pronouns, where F-pronouns further subdivide into two classes, D and D plus Num. Neither hypothesis takes into account an intermediate functional projection. Perhaps Progovac's analysis of SE anaphors as Ns would be better analysed as Nums. Revisiting the hypotheses with a NumP analysis might permit further refinement to the internal structure of anaphors. We might discover that anaphors also differ across languages in that some are F-anaphors, which further subdivide into two classes, and others are L-anaphors with a unified distribution. It would be interesting to explore further to see if anaphors, like pronouns,

fall into two major classes, and if these two classes could be similarly distinguished on the basis of their functional versus lexical properties.

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