On the so-called Overt Pronouns in Japanese and Korean[*]

Hajime Hoji
University of Southern California

1.   Introduction

It has been suggested in Kang (1988, pp. 193-196) and Suh (1988, forthcoming) that the so-called Korean overt pronoun <u>ku</u> 'he' is able to function as a bound variable, contrary to the well-known observation that the so-called Japanese overt pronoun <u>kare</u> cannot be construed as a bound variable. In light of a great deal of similarities between Korean and Japanese elsewhere in their syntax, this difference between Korean <u>ku</u> and Japanese <u>kare</u> seems to be somewhat puzzling. In this paper, I will argue that this state of affairs is, contrary to the surface appearance, essentially as expected, given the observations of the sort noted in Hoji (to appear) regarding the possibility of bound variable construal for the various nominal expressions in Japanese.

2.   A Puzzle
2.1.   <u>Ku</u>

Kang (1988, pp. 193-196) indicates that the so-called Korean overt pronoun <u>ku</u> can be construed as a bound variable, providing the sentences in (1).

(1) (Kang's (34), (35), (36) and (37))[1]
a. Chelsu-ka *nuku-eke* [*ku* -ka   mengcheni-la-ko] malhae-ss-ni?
       -NOM who-DAT   he-NOM fool-COP-COMP   say-PAST-Q
  'To whom$_i$ did Chelsu say that he$_i$ is a fool?'
b. Chelsu-nun *nuku-eke-na* [Yenghi-ka   *ku* -lul ttaeli-l kes-ila-ko]
       -TOP everyone-DAT   -NOM he-ACC hit-will-COMP
  malha-ess-ta
  say-PAST-DEC
  'Chelsu said to everyone$_i$ that Yenghi would hit him$_i$.'
c. *nukuna* [*ku* -lul ccocha-o-nun   salam-lul] silh-e ha-n-ta
  everyone he-ACC chase-come-PNE person-ACC hate-IMPERF-DEC
  'Everyone$_i$ hates the person who chases him$_i$.'
d. *nukuna* *ku* -uy emeni-lul   coaha-n-ta

everyone he-GEN mother-ACC like-IMPERF-DEC
'Everyone$_i$ likes his$_i$ mother.'

Contrary judgments are reported in Hong (1985, pp. 95-101) (and presumably in Choe (1988) as well). Hong (1985) provides the following sentences with the judgments indicated.[2]

(2)
a. (Hong's (1985, p. 95) (50b))
*nukuna$_i$ ki$_i$-ka   toktokhata-ko sangakhanta
  'Everyone$_i$ thinks that he$_i$ is intelligent.'
b. (Hong's (1985, p. 101) (55c))
*nu$_i$-ka   ki$_i$-ka toktokhata-ko   sengakha-ci
  who-NOM he-NOM be smart-COMP think-Q
  'Who$_i$ thinks that he$_i$ is smart?'

Kang (1988, p. 193) provides the sentence in (3), which has the identical structure as Hong's (2), and states that "[i]n this particular example,the bound variable reading of ku 'he' is very marginal, in contrast to the case where a name, say John, replaces nuku-na," in which case, he states, the coreference between John and ku is acceptable.

(3) (Kang's (33))
??Nuku-na$_i$ [ku$_i$-ka   hyunmyungha-ta-ko] saengkakha-n-ta
  everyone   he-NOM   wise-DEC-COMP   think-IMPERF-DEC
  'Everyone$_i$ thinks that he$_i$ is wise.'

Stating that most speakers accept the bound variable interpretation for ku in sentences in (1), Kang seems to claim that Korean ku can in general be construed as a bound variable.[3]
     In the following, I will base my discussion on the judgments reported in Kang (1988) and Suh (1989, forthcoming). I hasten to add that it is not crucial for my argument below that the bound variable construal in (1) is completely acceptable, as long as there is a significant difference between Korean ku and Japanese kare in their ability to be construed as bound variables.[4]

2.2.   Kare

     The generalization stated in (4) has been noted and appears to be

widely accepted in the literature; cf. Nakai (1976, 1977), C. Kitagawa (1981), Nakayama (1982), Saito and Hoji (1983) and other subsequent works.

(4) Overt pronouns in Japanese cannot be construed as bound variables.

This is illustrated by the examples in (5) and (6).

(5) (based on Nakai's examples (1976, pp. 32-34b))
a. *{donna   hito$_i$/dare$_i$}-ga   kare$_i$-no zyoosi-ni sakaraimasita ka
   what kind of person/who-NOM he-GEN   boss-DAT rebelled   Q
   '{What kind of a person$_i$/Who$_i$} rebelled against his$_i$ boss?'
b. *{subete-no gakusei$_i$/onoono-no gakusei$_i$}-ga sensei-ni
    all-GEN   student/each-GEN   student-NOM teacher-DAT
   [$_{NP}$ [$_{S'}$ kare$_i$-ga tukutta] kikai]-o   miseta   (koto)
          he-NOM   made   machine-ACC showed
   '{all the students$_i$/each student$_i$} showed the professor the machine
    that he$_i$ made.'
(6) (based on C. Kitagawa's (1981) (29a))
*daremo$_i$-ga [$_{S'}$ kare$_i$-no ronbun-ga itiban ii   to] omotte ita
 everyone-NOM   he-GEN   paper-NOM most   good that thought
 'everyone$_i$ thought that his$_i$ paper was the best'

As expected, the replacement of <u>kare</u> by <u>zibun</u> results in acceptability; and so does the replacement of the matrix subject NP by a referential NP such as <u>John</u>.
        In Hoji (to appear) I have related the inability of <u>kare</u> to be construed as a bound variable to the well-known fact that <u>ka</u> in <u>kare</u> is analogous to <u>a</u> in the <u>ko</u>/<u>so</u>/<u>a</u>/<u>do</u> 'this/that/that/which' demonstrative paradigm in Japanese, following the lead made in Yasuda (1928/79, p. 327), Mikami (1955/72. p.174), C. Kitagawa (1981) and Fiengo and Haruna (1987), for example. The argument there is in part based on Nishigauchi's (1986, Ch. 6) and Yoshimura's (1988, forthcoming) observations that expressions such as <u>sore</u> and <u>soko</u> can be construed as bound variables. Consider (7), taken from Nishigauchi (1986).

(7) (Nishigauchi's (7) on p. 240)[5]
[Dono teema]$_i$-ga [{sore$_i$-o/e$_i$} eranda gakusei]-ni
 which theme-NOM it-ACC   chose student-DAT
mottomo yuueki-desi-ta ka?
most   profitable-was-Q

'[which research topic]$_i$ was most profitable to the students who chose it$_i$?'

While it is not clear that <u>sore</u> in examples of this sort is to be analyzed as an instance of bound variable anaphora, it is demonstrated in Yoshimura (forthcoming) and Hoji (forthcoming, Ch. 4) that <u>sore</u> and <u>soko</u> indeed can be construed as bound variables.[6] For example, the acceptability of sentences like (8) has been cited in Hoji (forthcoming) as confirming evidence that <u>soko</u> can be construed as a bound variable.[7]

(8) (Hoji (forthcoming; Ch. 4)
[Toyota to Nissan]$_i$-ga [$_{NP}$ [$_{S'}$ ec$_k$ zyuu nen-izyoo-mo   mae-kare
 Toyota and Nissan-NOM   10 years-more-even ago-since
soko$_i$-de hataraiteita] hito$_k$]-o   kyuu-ni   kubinisita (koto)
there-at were working person-ACC suddenly fired
'[(each of) Toyota and Nissan]$_i$ suddenly fired (some) people who had been working there$_i$ for over 10 years'

What is significant is the fact that the replacement of <u>sore</u> 'it/that' by <u>are</u> 'that' in (7) and the replacement of <u>soko</u> 'there' by <u>asoko</u> 'there' in (8) result in total unacceptability. The <u>kare</u>'s inability to be construed as a bound variable is thus (largely) reduced to the inability of the members of the <u>a</u> system to be so construed; cf. footnote 13 below.

3.   The Demonstrative Paradigms in Korean and Japanese

        It is therefore not unreasonable to hypothesize that the ability of <u>ku</u> to be construed as a bound variable is related to the properties of the Korean demonstrative system. As we will observe directly, this indeed seems to be the case.
        Consider the demonstrative paradigms in Korean as given in (9) and (10).

(9)
a. i chayk   'this book'   (corresponding to <u>kono hon</u> in Japanese)
b. ku chayk   'that book'   (corresponding to <u>sono hon</u> in Japanese)
c. ce chayk   'that book'   (corresponding to <u>ano hon</u> in Japanese)
d. enu chayk 'which book' (corresponding to <u>dono hon</u> in Japanese)
(10)
a. i koss   'this thing/this one' (corresponding to <u>kore</u> in Japanese)
b. ku koss   'that thing/that one' (corresponding to <u>sore</u> in Japanese)
c. ce koss   'that thing/that one' (corresponding to <u>are</u> in Japanese)

d. enu koss   'which thing'   (corresponding to <u>dore</u> in Japanese)

Two types of 'that' are distinguished in Korean, just as in Japanese, depending on the relative distance of the referent from the speaker and the hearer. The Korean counterparts of Japanese expressions <u>kore</u> 'this', <u>sore</u> 'that' and <u>are</u> 'that' are literally 'this thing' and 'that thing,' without the prenominal modification marker (or the genitive marker). Similarly, the literal translation of <u>ku saram</u> 'that/the person' in Japanese is the unacceptable *<u>so hito</u>. Furthermore, and crucially, the literal Japanese translation of the so-called overt pronoun in Korean <u>ku</u> is ungrammatical *<u>so</u>.
        The relevant correspondence between Japanese and Korean is illustrated in (11), (12) and (13).

(11)	<u>Japanese</u>	<u>Korean</u>
a. this (thing)	kore	i koss
b. that (thing) (far from the speaker and close to the hearer)	sore	ku koss
c. that (thing) (far from both the speaker and the hearer)	are	ce koss
d. which (thing)	dore	enu koss

(12) <u>Japanese</u> <u>Korean</u>

a. this book   kono hon   i chayk

b. that book   sono hon   ku chayk
(far from the speaker and
close to the hearer)

c. that book   ano hon   ce chayk
(far from both the
speaker and the hearer)

d. which book   dono hon   enu chayk

(13) <u>Japanese</u> <u>Korean</u>

a. this person   kono hito   i saram

b. that person   sono hito   ku saram
(far from the speaker and
close to the hearer)

c. that person   ano hito   ce saram
(far from both the
speaker and the hearer)

d. which person   dono hito   enu saram

It must thus be borne in mind that Korean <u>ku</u> corresponds to Japanese <u>so</u>.

As noted above, the members of the <u>so</u> series such as <u>sore</u> 'it/that' and <u>soko</u> 'there' in Japanese can function as bound variables, but the so-called overt pronoun <u>kare</u> 'he' cannot.[8]   In Hoji (to appear) I have related this to the observation made in Mikami (1955/72, 1970) that the <u>so</u> series, unlike the <u>a</u> series, can be used non-deictically. Mikami (1955/1972) observes that there are expressions with <u>so</u> that do not have any deictic flavor, such as those in (14).and (15), to be contrasted with those in (16) and (17), respectively.

(14) (Mikami (1955/1972, p. 182)
a. sorewa sorewa 'extremely'
b. sorega   'however'
c. soreni   'in addition'
d. soretomo   'or'

(15)
a. sono hi   gurasi

that day life
   'a hand-to-mouth life'
b. sono ta   'etc.'
c. sono mukasi   'a long time ago'
d. sono uti ni   'in a short while'
e. soretonaku   'indirectly'

(16)   (17) (Cf. (15).)
a. *arewa arewa 'extremely'   a. *ano hi gurasi
b. *arega 'however'   b. *ano ta
c. *areni 'in addition'   c. *ano mukasi
d. *aretomo 'or'   d. *ano uti ni
                                        e. *aretonaku

        Given the correlation between the "strictly deictic" nature of the a
system and the inability of the members of the a system to be construed
as bound variables, and the given the close relationship of kare and the a
system, the inability of kare to be construed as a bound variable is now
reduced to the "demonstrativity" of kare.
        One might then suspect that there is also a significant difference
between the members of the ku system and the member of the ce system
that is analogous to that found between so and a in Japanese. It indeed
appears to be the case that there is such a difference, in fact somewhat
more striking than the difference between so and a. Shin (1984, pp. 18-
23) points out that when the object/individual in question is physically
absent, the ku system is most naturally used even in the environments
where the a system would be used in Japanese. Thus what Kuno (1973,
Ch. 24) calls the "anaphoric use" of ko, so and a is rather restricted in the
case of the members of the ce system.[9] We might informally state the
generalization as (18).

(18) The ce system is more deictic than the ku system.

        It also seems that the ku may be used in some of the Korean
counterparts in (14) and (15). Since the expressions in (14) and (15) are
more or less idiomatic, it is not surprising that not all of them have well-
formed Korean counterparts. It is, however, significant to note that the
Korean counterparts of (16) and (17), with ce, are all impossible, i.e. as
impossible as the Japanese examples in (16) and (17). The informal
generalization given in (18) thus seems to be confirmed by this
observation.

As is easily expected, bound variable anaphora is never possible with the members of the <u>ce</u> system. Thus while the Korean sentences corresponding to (19) yield the bound variable interpretation with members of the <u>ku</u> system (to varying degrees among speakers), they NEVER do so with members of the <u>ce</u> system.

(19)
a. Every linguist$_i$ thought that Chomsky would like that linguist$_i$'s paper most.
b. Which linguist$_i$ brought that person$_i$'s students to this conference?

This, of course, is completely parallel to the observation made earlier in Japanese.

4.   Demonstrativity and Bound Variable Construal

Given the generalization in (18) and the fact that the so-called Korean overt pronoun <u>ku</u> is indeed a member of the <u>ku</u> system (in fact the <u>ku</u> itself), the puzzle noted at the outset of this paper (i.e. the fact that Korean <u>ku</u> 'he' can be construed as a bound variable while the Japanese <u>kare</u> 'he' cannot) is now reduced to a more general problem: how to explain the difference between the <u>so</u>/<u>ku</u> system on the one hand and the <u>a</u>/<u>ce</u> system on the other, in regard to the possibility of bound variable construal. The relevant generalizations are summarized in (20) and (21).

(20)
The <u>a</u>/<u>ce</u> system is more deictic/demonstrative than the <u>so</u>/<u>ku</u> system.

(21)
The members of the <u>a</u>/<u>ce</u> system cannot yield bound variable construal (while those of the <u>so</u>/<u>ku</u> system can).

There is, however, evidence that suggests that being deictic/demonstrative does not necessarily preclude bound variable construal. Evans (1977, p. 273) points out that <u>that logician</u> in (22) functions like a bound variable.

(22)
Every logician$_i$ was walking with a boy near that logician$_i$'s house.

This means that (21) does not necessarily follow from (20). This in turn

means that the reduction of the initial puzzle at the outset of the paper to the generalization in (20) still needs an explanation.

If that logician in (22) is indeed construed as a bound variable, sono ronrigakusya 'the/that logician', which behaves very much like that logician in (22), can be considered as corresponding to that logician (instead of, or in addition to, the logician.) It must be pointed out, incidentally, that it is not completely clear that the relevant reading for that logician in (22) is that of bound variable anaphora. One of the reasons for this is that while (23a) is acceptable, (23b) is not.[10]

(23)
a. dono daigaku-mo$_i$
   which university-ALSO
   [$_{NP}$ sono daigaku$_i$-no   gengogakusya]-o tairyooni kubinisita
       that university-GEN linguist-ACC   many   fired
   'every university$_i$ fired that university$_i$'s linguists by a large number'
b. *[Furansu-no daigaku   to   Itariya-no daigaku]$_i$-ga
     France-GEN university and Italy-GEN university-NOM
     [$_{NP}$ sono daigaku$_i$-no   gengogakusya]-o tairyooni   kubinisita
         that university-GEN linguist-ACC   many   fired
     '[(the/a) French university and (the/an) Italian university]$_i$ fired that
     university$_i$'s linguists by a large number'

When sono daigaku 'that university' in (23b) is replaced by soko 'there/that place/it', the resulting sentence given in (24) is acceptable.

(24)
[Furansu-no daigaku   to   Itariya-no daigaku]$_i$-ga
France-GEN university and Italy-GEN   university-NOM
[$_{NP}$ soko$_i$-no   gengogakusya]$_i$-o tairyooni   kubinisita (koto)
    there-GEN   linguist-ACC   many   fired
'[(the/a) French university and (the/an) Italian university]$_i$ fired it$_i$'s
linguists by a large number'

If sono N' functions like a bound variable on a par with soko, then (23b)
should be as acceptable as (24). Although space limitation prevents me
from discussing it, similar complications seem to arise in the case of
English that logician as well.
        Notwithstanding such complications, it is nevertheless clear that
being demonstrative does not necessarily preclude a category from being
bound by a quantified NP, as indicated in (22).

5.   On the Status of "Ku" and "Kare" as "Overt Pronouns"

        We have seen that the properties of ku and kare in regard to their
ability to be construed as bound variables are directly related to the
properties of the ku and so demonstrative systems of these languages.
The so-called overt pronoun kare in Japanese is related to ano hito 'that
person' and are 'that/that thing' while Korean ku is in fact Korean
analogue of Japanese so.[11]   One might therefore raise a question, at this
point, as to whether ku and kare should in fact be treated as "pronouns".
        The following discussion is restricted to Japanese, but the
essentials of the arguments to be given, I would suspect, are applicable to
Korean as well.
        At a non-formal level, the point has frequently been made in the
past that kare is not a personal pronoun, and it has further been
suggested that Japanese does not have overt pronouns; cf. Sakuma
(1936/1983, p. 22), Mikami (1955/1972, p. 184), Kuroda (1965, p. 123),
Martin (1975/1988, p. 1074), Kuno (1978, p. 127) and C. Kitagawa (1979,
1981), Fiengo and Haruna (1987). The "multiplicity" of the categories that
may correspond to I, you, he and so on is the most frequently cited
argument for this position. It thus seems that there is good reason to
believe that kare is not a pronoun.
        At a formal level, within the so-called government and binding
(referred to as "principles and parameters " framework in the more recent
years), the so-called pronounhood is formally identified by means of the
feature [+p]. Binding condition B (or principle B of Binding Theory), which

states in effect that [+p] categories must be free in their local domain, refers crucially to this feature. As indicated in Oshima (1979) and confirmed further in Hoji (forthcoming, Ch. 2), the binding theoretic considerations do not single out any categories as [+p]; cf. also Kuno (1986). Furthermore, as seems clear from the bound reading for members of the so system, such as soko 'there/the place/that place' and from the bound reading in sentences like (22), the possibility of bound variable construal cannot be the determining factor for the [+p] feature.[12]

The non-formal consideration as well as the formal consideration noted above, thus, indicate that kare is NOT a pronoun, and further that there are no "pronouns" in Japanese.

6.   Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have first presented (in section 2) what appeared to be a puzzle with respect to certain interpretive properties of the so-called Korean overt pronoun ku and the so-called Japanese overt pronoun kare. The examination in section 3 of the relationship between these expressions and the demonstrative paradigms in Korean and Japanese, however, has revealed that the relevant difference between kare and ku is exactly what we expect.[13] The initial puzzle has thus been reduced to a more general fact that the ku/so systems are not as strongly deictic as the ce/a systems.

The discussions in sections 4 and 5 are less conclusive. In section 4, it is pointed out that being demonstrative cannot be the sufficient condition for the exclusion of bound variable construal. Finally, in section 5, I have suggested, following many past works, that Japanese does not have so-called personal pronouns. At a formal level, this is to claim that no overt categories are marked [+p] in Japanese. (I assume that this holds true also in Korean.)

It has been assumed that there is a syntactic (in particular, binding theoretic) feature [+/-pronominal] in linguistic theory, thereby predicting that the child acquiring a language pays attention, so to speak, to some categories that belong to the class of [+p]. If the conclusion in section 5 is correct and if it turns out that, as I argue elsewhere (Hoji (forthcoming)), binding condition B does not refer to [+p], it will force us to reconsider our general view of binding theory and of our view of the so-called "pronouns".

It is obvious that the nominal categories in languages can be divided into several classes. The standard way of syntactically partitioning them is by means of [+/-anaphoric] and [+/-pronominal]. The
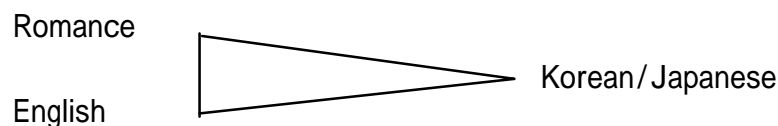
preceding discussion can therefore be considered as a challenge to this standard view.

A comparative look at Japanese and Korean (as well as English) reported in this paper has then produced the two results.
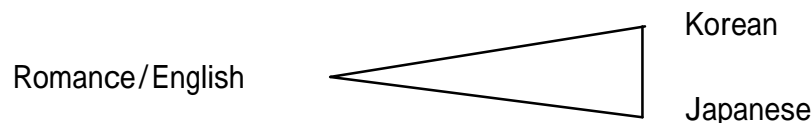
(I) The discrepancy between <u>kare</u> and <u>ku</u> is not problematic in itself. It is problematic only if we consider them as "overt pronouns".
(II) The status of "pronounhood" in linguistic theory is much less clear than it appears.

To evaluate the consequences of these results, we need to conduct a more rigorous examination of the demonstrative systems in Korean and Japanese and how they relate to the so-called pronouns in languages like English. How natural languages express quantification is a much related question. In the course of the investigation, we expect to discover some systematic differences between Japanese and Korean that bear on the issues of theoretical relevance. As the explicit characterization of such differences emerge, we will be in a position to contribute directly to the search for deeper principles and parameters that make language acquisition possible. We seem to be in a better position than ever, in my opinion, to seriously start what Emonds (1984) calls "three-cornered comparative syntax", of the sort indicated in (25b).[14]

(25) a.

Romance

English   Korean/Japanese

   b.

                                                              Korean

Romance/English

                                                              Japanese

[1]   PNE in (1c) stands for the "prenominal ending marker". In (1) and the subsequent examples cited from works by other linguists, subscripts are sometimes added to clearly indicate the intended readings.

²   Hong's original examples contain the trace of the matrix subject NP, indicating that his structures represent the LF representations of the relevant sentences, given the assumption that these NP's do undergo LF raising. The trace is suppressed in (2).

³   Kang's statement is somewhat tentative. He states (p. 195-196):
        I just want to indicate that there are many cases in which the bound variable reading of Korean pronominal ku is acceptable, some exceptions (such as (3)--HH), being I suspect, controlled by possibly pragmatic factors that are poorly understood at this point.

Suh (1988) makes an explicit claim that "the Korean overt pronoun ku, unlike Japanese kare, can be bound to A'-binders," discussing also the structures that are often identified as weak crossover and "reconstruction" constructions as well as what Yoshimura (forthcoming) calls the "parasitic pronoun" construction. Suh (1988, footnote 5) notes that "ku in [(i)] prefers to refer to somebody other than "John".

(i) John-i   [S' ku-ka   ttokttokhata-ko]   sayngkakhanta
         -NOM   he-NOM   be-intelligent-COMP think
    'John thinks that he is intelligent'

Notice that the sentence in (i) has the identical structure as that of (2) and (3), with the subject being a referential NP (suppressing the difference between the nominative marker and the topic marker).
        Notice that the Hong's examples in (2) has the verb "think" and ku occupies the embedded subject position. The referential association between the embedded NP and the matrix NP in such construction seems to be sensitive to the factors that have to do with "point-of-view" and "logophoricity", as indicated in Kuno (1986, p. 41; 1987, p. 138).

⁴   It is noted in Kang (1988, p. 196):
        [t]he use of Korean pronominal ku, whether bound variable or referential, creates some marginality in colloquial speech, and is avoided in general. This is presumably because the independent use of Korean pronominal ku is a fairly recent development in Korean language, dating back to 1920s, even though the ku as a specifier (as in ku + N') has a long history in Korean. Due to this historical fact, Korean speakers are in general less accustomed to the usage of the pronoun in colloquial speech, so that the language learners in their early stage are not frequently exposed to the usage of the pronoun ku.

See also Suh (1988, footnote 5).

As is well known, the situation of <u>kare</u> is somewhat analogous to that of <u>ku</u>; cf the references given in Hoji (to appear, forthcoming; Ch. 4). Fiengo and Haruna (1987, p. 116), for example, states:

> .., the fact that Japanese lacked pronouns until recently is suggestive, as is the fact that Japanese speakers frequently report the intuition that somehow <u>kare</u>/<u>kanozyo</u> give sentences the flavor of having been translated from an Indo-European language.

[5] While giving a "*" to (7) with <u>sore</u>, Nishigauchi (1986, p. 272, fn. 3) notes that "some speakers might find [(7)] with the overt pronoun only mildly unacceptable." Since most speakers seem to accept the binding of this sort given in (7) quite readily, I have eliminated the "*" from this example.

[6] The relevant complications include those having to do with Pesetsky's (1987) "D-linking" analysis of certain <u>wh</u>-phrases; cf. also the bound variable v.s. the E-type pronoun controversy regarding the so-called donkey anaphora (Geach (1962/1980), Evans (1977), Heim (1982, 1990) and the references therein).

[7] See Yoshimura (forthcoming) and Hoji (forthcoming) for further arguments.

[8] As noted above, even among the members of the <u>so</u> system there is gradation with respect to how easily they can be bound by a non-referential NP. It is least easy for [NP <u>sono</u> + N'], and easiest for <u>soko</u> and <u>sore</u>. Notice that <u>sore</u>, <u>soko</u> and <u>soitu</u> are not phrasal (they consist of two bound morphemes) while [NP sono + N'] is obviously phrasal (i.e., whatever appears as N' may occur independently as an NP). The relevant gradation in question is most likely related to this distinction.

It is not clear, however, at this point, that the gradation under discussion is indeed the gradation of "acceptability" of bound variable construal or that of what one might call "pseudo coreference." See Hoji (forthcoming; Ch. 4).

[9] The division of labor between <u>ku</u> and <u>ce</u> seems quite analogous to that between <u>so</u> and <u>a</u> in Japanese when the object/individual in question is physically present.

[10] For discussion of the <u>wh ...+mo</u> construction of the sort given in (23a), see Kuroda (1965, Ch. 3), Nishigauchi (1986) and Kang (1988).

[11] In this sense, one might suggest that Japanese <u>kare</u> corresponds to <u>ce</u>, if the latter could mean 'that person." But the actual data seem to

be far more complicated than one might expect. It appears, for example, that ce, at least in some dialects/styles, can mean 'self', analogous to caki. It is beyond the scope of this paper to present and/or assess the relevant data.

[12]   Based in part on these observations, I have argued in Hoji (forthcoming) that condition B must be reformulated so as to regulated [-a] categories.

[13]   I have not discussed the difference between kare and members of the a system. That is, kare does not seems to be as strongly deictic as the members of the a system. It appears that some "lexicalization" process is currently taking place with respect to kare and, as indicated in Mikami (ibid.), kare might be on its way to losing its strongly deictic property.   The "lexicalization" or "de-deicticization" of this sort might in fact be the source of the judgmental variations regarding the bound variable construal for ku, (and to a lesser degree, some members of the so system, with certain non-referential "antecedents").

[14]   The triangle in (25a) represents Emond's strategy. He investigates two (groups of) of languages that are close to each other AND another (group of) language(s) that is/are quite different from the former.

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