Many studies have developed a principled explanation of why a nominal expression is a maximal projection of D (Szabolcsi 1987, Abney 1987). D is the element that converts the nominal expression into a referential phrase, which consequently is able to serve as an argument. Unlike most Indo-European languages, however, some other languages such as Japanese, Chinese and many Slavic languages do not possess a definite article. In Japanese, bare nouns can have definite interpretations in a given context like personal pronouns in (1). Due to the lack of articles, Fukui (1986), Fukui & Sakai (2003), and Tomioka (2003) argue that Japanese noun phrases project NP but not DP including personal pronouns and *pros* in syntax, leading the definiteness interpretation to semantics (Chirerchia 1998). These claims for the NP analysis for Japanese noun phrases deny the universality of the relation between argumenthood and D.

However, common nouns do not show the same behaviors as those of personal pronouns for Japanese in (2): only the bare noun combination in (2a) and that of the personal pronoun and a common noun in (2c) are grammatical, unlike in (2c). A careful observation shows that the combination of personal pronouns is different from the lexical compound in pitch-pattern in (3) and the insertion of the modification in (4). The combination with personal pronouns is different from compounds (Shitabani & Kageyama 1988). The referentiality of noun phrases alone does not play a role in the constructions: the insertion of the demonstrative does not save the combination of common nouns in (5). It is also different from the ones with the genitive marker in (6) and with the multiple nominative cases in (7a) (Furuya 2004). Additionally, the constructions with relational nouns as well as proper nouns behave similarly as in (8). What is the structure of Pronoun/Name/Relational Noun-Noun constructions?

I propose that Japanese projects DP. More particularly, pronouns, personal pronoun and relational nouns behave in the same way as 'so-called pronouns are determiners' for English as Postal (1969) argues. However, unlike English, Japanese combinations of personal pronouns with common noun allow modification at the left periphery: *shizukana anatagata-kanja* [quiet you-patient] vs. **quiet you patients*. Under the assumption that no adjunction to DP is allowed, Japanese personal pronouns should be lower than DP, as Furuya argues following den Dikken's (1998) nominal predication hypothesis: $[_{DP}$ $[_{XP}$ Pronoun Noun]]. If so, what is the argument for the DP hypothesis for Japanese?

Besides the ungrammaticality of the common nouns with the demonstrative in (5), the ungrammatical example in (9) shows that D does not permit a full-DP within a smaller noun phrase in Japanese, as Kayne (1994:86) observes for English. I assume that the NP in (5) and (9) has the structure in (11), where the D within another DP is too deep to get licensed. That is, D itself needs licensing through the structural case checking/assignment. Tateishi (1989) argues that the nominative case marker –*ga* is itself D in Japanese. However, the presence of the nominative case makes the complex nominal expression ungrammatical in (7a), unlike other multiple nominative constructions as in (7b). The case marker itself is not the D head. Once the complex noun phrase DP is case-licensed, however, it can appear in the multiple nominative constructions in (12). The prediction that the complex nominal constructions appear only at argument positions is correct: They cannot be in the vocative use in (13a) or at a predicate position in (13b).

The ungrammatical combination of two noun phrases in (2a) suggests that bare nouns themselves cannot project DP, unlike Pronoun-Noun constructions: $*[_{DP}$ NP(-Pl) NP] so that the case-checking or the presence of the nominative case marking cannot make the expression grammatical. If this is correct, it suggests that bare nouns in argument positions are not syntactically bare in Japanese. Nishiyama (2003) argues that the coordination construction of referential NPs is different from that of non-referential NPs in Japanese: *kare -to/*-de Ken* 'he and Ken. If the affixial connector –*to* combines two DPs while –*de* does not, the distribution of the nominal expressions in (14) is readily accountable for under the current DP hypothesis for Japanese: the referential DPs in coordination can appear in the object position but not in the predicate position, whereas the NPs coordinated with –*de* has the opposite distribution.

I have argued that the personal pronouns and common nouns project DP while the combination of common nouns cannot, and also that DP needs licensing via case-checking in Japanese. If it is correct, the locus of the semantic variation of bare nouns is in syntax so that one can conclude that there should not be a functional category parameter proposed by Fukui & Sakai or a semantic parameter which determines definiteness proposed by Chierchia.

(1) a. (iie) dansei-wa   (mina)   kanja   desu   '(No.) The men are (all) patients.'
        no man -Top   all   patient Cop
    b. (iie) dansei-(tachi)-wa   (mina)   kanja   desu   '(No) The men are (all) patients.'
        no man –Pl-Top   all   patient Cop
    c. (iie) karera-wa   (mina)   kanja   desu   '(No) They are (all) patient.'
        they-Top   all   patient Cop
 (2) a. [dansei kanja]-ga   (mina) kusuri-o   nonda   'Male patients all drank medicines.'
        man   patient-Nom   all   medicine-Acc drank
    b. *[dansei-tachi kanja]-ga   (mina) kusuri-o   nonda
        man-Pl   patient-Nom   all   medicine-Acc drank
    c. [karera kanja]-ga   (mina) kururi-o   nonda   'Them patients all drank medicines.'
        they patient-Nom all   medicine-Acc drank
(3) a. dansei + kanja → dansei.kanja   b. karera + kanja → karera kanja
       man   patient man.patient   they   patient   they   patient
(4) a. dansei (*urusai) kanja   b. karera (urusai) kanja
       man   noisy patient   they   noisy   patient
(5) *[sono dansei-tachi kanja]-wa   kusuri-o   nonda
       those male-Pl   patient-Top medicine-Acc   drank
   cf. [sono dansei.kanja-tachi]-wa   kusuri-o   nonda
       those man patient-s-Top   medicine-Acc drank
(6) [karera-no kanja]-ga   (mina) kururi-o   nonda
    they-Gen patient-Nom all   medicine-Acc drankz
(7) a. * [karera-ga   kanja-ga]   byouki da
          they-Nom patient-Nom   sick   Cop
   b. [dansei-ga kanja-ga]   byouki da   'Male patients are sick.'
       man-No patient-Nom sick   Cop
(8) a. [John-tachi gakusei]   b. [oji-tachi   isha]
        J-Pl   student   uncle-s   doctor
(9) *[[anatagata daisei] yuubouna shain]-wa   sugu shouinshimasu
       you(Pl)   man   promising employee-Top   soon promote
(10) a. that idiot of *a* doctor
    b. * that idiot of *the/that/this/my* doctor
(11) * [DP [DP sono gakusei-tachi / anatagata dansei] youbouna shain]
(12) a. konoheya-ga   [karera kanja]-ga   genki-ga ii
        this.room-Nom   they patient-Nom   sick   Cop
(13) a. mate * omaetachi gakusei!   cf. mate omaetachi!
        wait   you   student   wait you
(14) a. watashi-wa [[kare-to Ken]-o [chooshin-de oogui] da]-to   omotta
        I-Top   he-and K-Acc   tallness-and glutton Cop-ComP   thought
    b. *watashi-wa [[chooshin-de oogui]-o   [kare-to Ken] da]-to   omotta
        I-Top   tallness-and   glutton –Acc he-and K-Acc Cop-ComP thought

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