Current English Linguistics in Japan

Trends in Linguistics

State-of-the-Art Reports 16

Editor
Werner Winter

Mouton de Gruyter
Berlin · New York

Current English Linguistics in Japan

Edited by
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Mouton de Gruyter
Berlin · New York 1991

Mouton de Gruyter (formerly Mouton, The Hague)
is a Division of Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin.

∞ Printed on acid-free paper which falls within the guidelines
of the ANSI to ensure permanence and durability.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Current English linguistics in Japan / edited by Heizo Nakajima.
p. cm. – (Trends in linguistics. State-of-the-art reports ; 16)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-89925-505-1 (alk. paper)
1. English language–Grammar–1950 – 2. Linguistics–Japan. I. Nakajima, Heizo, 1946– . II. Series: Trends in linguistics. State-of-the-art reports ; 16.
PE1106.C87 1991 91-22180
425–dc20 CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – Cataloging in Publication Data

Current English Linguistics in Japan / ed. by Heizo Nakajima.
– Berlin : New York : Mouton de Gruyter, 1991
(Trends in linguistics : State-of-the-art reports ; 16)
ISBN 3-11-011781-9
NE: Nakajima, Heizo [Hrsg.]; Trends in linguistics / State-of-the-art reports

Typesetting: Arthur Collignon GmbH, Berlin. – Printing: Gerike GmbH, Berlin. – Binding: Lüderitz & Bauer, Berlin. – Printed in Germany.

Contents

Introduction*

Heizo Nakajima

1. Purpose of the volume

This collection of papers is an attempt to inform non-Japanese linguists about the current state of English-linguistic study in Japan. The volume contains thirteen papers on English linguistics, specifically, on the topics of the syntax of modern English and the syntactic comparison of English and Japanese. These two areas are those most widely and intensively studied in Japanese English linguistics. The majority of the contributors are actively engaged in research on English linguistics in Japan. The few exceptions are those who work outside the country, but have considerable influence upon English-linguistic study in Japan.

It seems fair to say that the study of English linguistics by Japanese has matured enough to be appreciated by the linguistic community outside Japan. Many students have gone abroad to study linguistics at universities in the United States and in other Western countries, and many of them have successfully completed doctoral programs. Their doctoral dissertations have been favorably received not only when they treat the Japanese language but also when they deal with the English language proper or with the comparison of English and Japanese. Some of them have been frequently referred to in papers written subsequently by other researchers, and have made a significant contribution, both directly and indirectly, to the development of linguistic theories. Moreover, it is not unusual these days for papers on English written by Japanese to be accepted by high-quality journals in other countries, such as *Linguistic Inquiry* (MIT Press), *Language* (the Linguistic Society of America), *The Linguistic Review* (Foris), *Lingua* (North-Holland), and so on.

* I am grateful to many people and companies for providing me with much information, in particular to Mineo Moriya (Kenkyusha Publishing Company), Jun-ichi Yoneyama (Taishukan Publishing Company), Ken Kawada (Kaitakusha Publishing Company), Akira Ota, Minoru Yasui, Masatomo Ukaji, and Sanseido Book Store. My thanks also go to Renée Oatway and Michael Ullman, who carefully read several versions of this paper.

This contribution to English linguistics at an international level reflects the large amount of activity taking place in the field in Japan. This has mainly been promoted by the influence of the study of generative grammar since the late 1960s. It is without doubt that generative grammar has captured many people's interest, and is at present the main area of English linguistic study in Japan. In the past few years, however, a trend has emerged among Japanese linguists which seeks new approaches to the English language. This trend is noteworthy and has not been observed before. Some of the new theories have close ties to generative grammar, and others are founded on traditional Japanese approaches to language description while incorporating some of the ideas of generative grammar, and still others are clearly divergent from generative grammar in some fundamental respects. Unfortunately, most of these approaches have not been widely disseminated in other countries, mainly because most of the papers have been written in Japanese, but also because of the general tendency of established journals not to accept articles developing little-known frameworks. The purpose of this collection of papers is to make these new approaches accessible to researchers outside Japan.

Since the general situation of English-linguistic study in Japan is not well-known to people in other countries, the rest of the introduction provides a brief account of the present situation and background of English linguistics in Japan, with the aim of providing a little more information about the field.

2. Current popularity of English linguistics in Japan

In Japan, the study of English linguistics has been more popular in the last few decades than at any other time in the past. It is no exaggeration to say that English linguistics is currently as common as, or even more common than, the study of modern Japanese.

The popularity of English linguistics is mostly due to the intriguing nature of the subject matter and the theories in which it is studied, though it is also partly due to the fact that there are many people in universities who are concerned with the target of the research, the English language. All universities and colleges are required to offer foreign-language classes, of which English classes are the most common. Most universities therefore need many English teachers, whose speciality is in most cases either English literature, American literature, or English linguistics. The ratio

of these three fields is roughly 50%, 30%, and 20%, respectively. Though the author does not have the exact number of English linguists or English teachers in Japanese universities, a clue is provided by the number of members of the English Linguistic Society of Japan (ELSJ), the organization for English linguists in Japan founded in 1983, which is said to be more than 1,200. The total number of English linguists in Japan probably amounts to between 1,800 and 2,000. This number is quite large considering that it includes only one academic field in a country where English is neither a native nor an official language.

English linguistics is taught in departments of English literature rather than in departments of linguistics (of which there are very few in Japan). Departments of English literature are among the largest departments in Japanese universities. Students choose one of the three majors (English literature, American literature, or English linguistics), and write B. A. or M. A. theses on a topic in that major. Students who major in English linguistics have historically been fewer in number than those who major in English or American literature. However, the number of English-linguistics students, as well as the number of English-linguistics teachers, has steadily increased during the past few years.

The expression "English linguistics" may sound somewhat strange to Westerners, who use the term "linguistics" to denote the study of human language in general, and not that of a particular language. However, the study of linguistics in the Western sense is very rare in Japan; most linguistic activities are concerned with particular languages. The term "linguistics" is sometimes even understood to be equivalent to "theoretical linguistics of English", because linguistic study of English is the most common type of linguistic work carried out, and the theoretical approach is that most common in English linguistics.

The term "English linguistics" is used ambiguously in Japan to refer to two different types of study. In a wider sense, it refers to the study of English language in general; in a narrower sense, to the theoretical study of the modern English language. The term "English linguistics" in the latter sense is used in opposition to "English philology", which denotes the traditional study of Old or Middle English, or of the usage of certain words and constructions. Until the 1960s the term "English philology" was employed to refer to the study of English in general. The transition to using "linguistics" instead of "philology" to refer to the general study of the English language suggests that theoretical (linguistic) studies of English now predominate over traditional (philological) studies of English.

Of the areas of English linguistics, the study of syntax is the most popular in Japan, as opposed to phonetics, phonology, semantics, or pragmatics. This may be related to the fact that English education in Japanese junior and senior high schools concentrates on teaching prescriptive grammar. For students who have undergone this training, syntax is the easiest component of language to understand. Papers on syntax are submitted to journals in far greater numbers than papers on other disciplines.

3. Recent history of English linguistics in Japan

The recent popularity of English linguistics in Japan is an outgrowth of the success of generative-transformational grammar since the mid-1950s. Before generative grammar, English-linguistic study was not very popular, nor were there as many English linguists. For further information on the state of English linguistics prior to generative grammar, see Ota (1967), "The study of English in Japan". The appearance of generative grammar changed the situation of Japanese English linguistics drastically, and contributed immensely to its progress in many respects. The advances in Japanese English linguistics can be measured in terms of the publication of books and journals, the organization of societies, and the contribution of articles to journals in other countries.

3.1. Publication of linguistics books and journals

The publication of books is a good indicator of the advances in an academic field. An increase in the supply of books indicates an increase in the number of students who require them, and a rise in the quality of books implies a rise in the qualitative standard of the discipline. A brief history of the publication of English-linguistics books will illustrate the progress made in both quantity and quality in English-linguistics study.

Generative-transformational grammar began to exert an influence upon the publication of books in the mid-1960s. This influence first manifested itself in the translation of some popular books on generative grammar into Japanese. These translations served to make generative grammar familiar both to young students and to established researchers who had been trained in the framework of traditional grammar and American

structural linguistics. A few examples of the translations in the early days are the following (the items in parentheses are the year of the translation, the name of the translator, and the publisher): Noam Chomsky, *Syntactic structures* (1963, Yasuo Isami; Kenkyusha); Emmon Bach, *An introduction to transformational grammar* (1969, Kazuko Inoue; Taishukan); Noam Chomsky, *Aspects of the theory of syntax* (1970, Minoru Yasui; Kenkyusha); Noam Chomsky, *Cartesian linguistics* (1970, Shigeo Kawamoto; TEC); Ronald Langacker, *Language and its structure*, (1970, Seiichi Makino; Taishukan); Jerrold Katz, *The philosophy of language* (1971, Nobushige Sawada and Yuji Nishiyama; Taishukan); Roderick Jacobs – Peter Rosenbaum, *Grammar I–IV: An introduction to transformational grammar* (1971, Tamotsu Matsunami; Taishukan).

The popularity of these translations is clear from the fact that they have been reprinted many times. For example, Chomsky's *Syntactic structures* was printed sixteen times (about 13,000 copies), *Aspects of the theory of syntax*, thirteen times (about 12,000 copies), Bach's book seven times in the eight years after its initial publication, and Jacobs–Rosenbaum's volumes nine times in less than ten years after the first translation. In addition to those mentioned above, most of Chomsky's major works published so far have already been translated into Japanese, including *Current issues in linguistic theory* (with Morris Halle), *Language and mind, Studies on semantics in generative grammar, Reflections on language, Essays on form and interpretation, Lectures on government and binding*, and *Some concepts and consequences of the theory of government and binding*.

In the 1970s, Japanese linguists became dissatisfied with translating books written in English, and began to publish English-linguistics books of their own. They aimed to write books which would be more easily understood by Japanese than translations of Western books, and which could survive criticism by other people. Publishers also felt that the number of English linguists had increased enough to balance the demand of books with their supply. Some of the books were published individually, while others were included in a series, a common way of publishing research books in Japan.

Of the series started in the 1970s, two are of particular importance by virtue of their contribution to the progress in the study of English linguistics. One is *Eigogaku taikei* [Outlines of English linguistics] (edited by Akira Ota, 1971–1990, published by Taishukan), consisting of 16 volumes. The other is *Gendai no eibunpoo* [Modern English Grammar] (edited by Kazuo Araki, Kinsuke Hasegawa and Minoru Yasui, 1976 –

[not completed], published by Kenkyusha), consisting of 12 volumes. These series are both contrastive and complementary to each other. The former dedicates each volume to a major sub-field of English linguistics, such as theoretical linguistics, traditional grammars, philology, English-language education, psycho- and socio-linguistics, and so on. The latter, on the other hand, assigns to each volume the analysis of particular constituent types of English sentence structures, such as adjective, auxiliary, noun phrase, verb phrase, major sentence classes, and so on. It attempts a comprehensive survey of the major constituents of English sentences in the framework of early transformational grammar. Despite these distinguishing features, the two series are alike in that they both show the far-reaching influences of early forms of generative grammar.

These successful series were followed by similar but more compact ones which incorporated the results of subsequent studies of generative grammar. A few examples follow (the year given is the date of publication of the first issue): *Eigogaku soosho* [Series of English linguistics] (10 volumes, edited by Akira Ota and Masaru Kajita, 1980, Taishukan); *Eigogaku koosu* [English linguistic course] (4 volumes, edited by Tamotsu Matsunami, Kunihiko Imai and Yoshihiko Ikegami, 1985, Taishukan); *Gendai no eigogaku* [Modern English linguistics] (10 volumes, edited by Minoru Yasui, 1987, Kaitakusha); *Eigogaku nyumon kooza* [Introductory lectures on English linguistics] (12 volumes, edited by Kazuo Araki, 1987, Eichosha).

The books in these series are generally read as reference or text books. Books on particular research topics have also been published. A notable collection of such books is included in the Dissertation series, published by Kaitakusha. Most of these are based on dissertations submitted to American universities in the 1960s and 1970s, and are thus written in English. Some of them are concerned with the Japanese language, while others deal with English or with the comparison of English and Japanese. Included are Minoru Nakau, *Sentential complementation in Japanese* (1973); Masatake Muraki, *Presupposition and thematization* (1974); John Hinds, *Aspects of Japanese discourse structure* (1976); Shosuke Haraguchi, *The tone pattern of Japanese* (1977); Masaaki Yamanashi, *Generative semantics studies of the conceptual nature of predicates in English* (1977); Masatomo Ukaji, *Imperative sentences in early modern English* (1978); and Seiichi Nakada, *Aspects of interrogative structure* (1980). Regrettably, this series has been discontinued. There is no way, at present, for outstanding dissertations to be published as books in a series. Since the number of dissertations submitted to Western and Japanese universities

is increasing, some means must be devised to guarantee the publication of Japanese linguists' dissertations.

Other research books have been sporadically published in English and in Japanese. Some examples of generative studies are: Masaru Kajita, *A generative-transformational study of semi-auxiliaries in present-day American English* (1968, Sanseido); Yoshihiko Ikegami, *The semological structure of the English verbs of motion* (1970, Sanseido); Kunihiro Iwakura, *Nichi-ei-go no hitei no kenkyu* [A generative-transformational study of negation] (1974, Kenkyusha); Taro Kageyama, *Nichi-ei hikaku goi no kozo* [Japanese-English comparison of lexical structure] (1980, Shohakusha); Akira Ota, *Hitei no imi* [The meaning of negation] (1980, Taishukan); Heizo Nakajima, *Eigo no ido gensho kenkyu* [A study of movement phenomena in English] (1984, Kenkyusha). Most of these are based on dissertations submitted to Western universities; some are revised versions, while others are translations.

Journals compensate for the dearth of book-publishing opportunities for young researchers in Japan. Journals are open to everybody, and play a crucial role in the training and development of young linguists. Until the early 1980s, there were two major journals which fulfilled such a role. One was *Eigogaku* [English linguistics] (edited by Minoru Yasui, published by Kaitakusha), and the other *Studies in English Linguistics* (originally edited by Akira Ota, though later he was joined by Susumu Kuno, Kinsuke Hasegawa, and Masaru Kajita; published by Asahi Press). The former journal was published from 1969 to 1984 with a total of 27 volumes, and includes 147 articles written by 124 different authors. The latter was published between 1972 and 1983 with a total of 11 volumes, and contains 96 papers written in English by 60 different authors. Both of them were discontinued upon the creation of the journal of the English Linguistics Society of Japan (ELSJ), *English Linguistics*, in 1984.

English Linguistics is published annually. It accepts papers on English and the comparison of English and Japanese in all areas of linguistics. All articles are required to be written in English, for the society expects that they will be widely read by people in other countries as well as in Japan, and encourages English linguists in Japan to direct their efforts toward an international readership. The criteria for the acceptance of articles are more severe than those of its predecessors (*Eigogaku* and *Studies in English Linguistics*); the acceptance rate is less than 40%. Each issue usually contains between 15 and 20 articles.

Another journal relevant to the study of English linguistics is *Studies in English Literature*, published by the English Literary Society of Japan.

As is evident from its title, the journal was originally devoted to the study of English literature, but it now covers the study of English linguistics as well. It is published tripartitely (two issues in Japanese and one issue in English per year). Each issue includes two or three papers on English linguistics, as well as reviews of books on English linguistics published in Japan and in other countries.

Working papers are also regularly published by graduate students. Most of them are circulated among universities and institutes, and are rarely brought on to the market. However, some are available at book stores that stock foreign books, such as Sanseido Book Store (1-1, Kanda Jinbo-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo, 101) and Maruzen (2-3-10, Nihonbashi, Chuo-ku, Tokyo, 103). Some examples of working papers available at these stores are: *Descriptive and Applied Linguistics* (International Christian University), Vol. 1 (1961)–20 (1987); *Sophia Linguistics* (Sophia University), Vol. 1 (1975)–26 (1989); *Metropolitan Linguistics* (Tokyo Metropolitan University), Vol. 1 (1981)–9 (1989); *Tsukuba English Studies* (Tsukuba University), Vol. 1 (1982)–8 (1989).

The publication of several English-linguistics dictionaries is also worthy of note. The compilation of dictionaries is very popular with Japanese linguists; this results from a particular climate in the Japanese academic world (which will be discussed later in some detail). Actually, some English-linguistics dictionaries have achieved considerable success. One successful dictionary is *Shin-eigogaku jiten* [The Kenkyusha dictionary of English linguistics and philology] (compiled by Takanobu Otsuka and Fumio Nakajima, 1982, 1582 pages, Kenkyusha). It lists a total of 1752 items alphabetically, and gives for them brief or detailed explanations depending upon their importance. Another dictionary with similar features is *Gendai eigogaku jiten* [Seibido's dictionary of English linguistics] (compiled by Kotaro Ishibashi et al., 1973, 1303 pages, Seibido), which lists 1867 items. A dictionary with different characteristics is *Taishukan eigogaku jiten* [The Taishukan encyclopaedia of English linguistics] (edited by Tamotsu Matsunami, Kunihiko Imai, and Yoshihiko Ikegami, 1983, 1421 pages, Taishukan). This dictionary contains one chapter for each major field of English linguistics, with each chapter divided into several sections and sub-sections in which important topics of the chapter are discussed in some detail. The topics it covers range from the history of linguistic studies, historical linguistics and lexicography to rhetorics and orthography. A more specialized dictionary is *Chomsky sho-jiten* (Chomsky dictionary, edited by Kunihiko Imai, 1986, 373 pages, Taishukan). This covers various topics related to the life and work of Noam

Chomsky, his background, his recent linguistic theory, his theoretical transition, his politics, the influence of his theory on other linguistic schools and other academic fields. All of these dictionaries resulted from generative studies from the 1960s to the present in Japan and in other countries.

3.2. Organization of English linguistics societies

The progress of English linguistics is also evident from the organization and growth of linguistic societies. One of the societies most directly relevant to English linguistics has traditionally been the English Literary Society of Japan, established in 1917. The society, originally founded for the study of English literature, now also pursues the study of American literature and English linguistics. Its major activities are the publication of its journal, *Eibungaku Kenkyu* [Studies in English Literature] and its annual meeting. The journal accepts papers on English linguistics, and its annual meetings have a number of sessions dedicated to English linguistics. However, as is clear from the name of the society, English linguistics is only a subsidiary interest of the society. Linguists had long wished to organize a society where they could work more actively, and which would accomodate sophisticated levels of English linguistics.

After a few attempts, a new society for English linguistics, the English Linguistic Society of Japan (ELSJ), was founded in 1983. The establishment of the society was a symbolic event which showed that English linguistics in Japan had reached the level necessary to be considered an independent academic field. English linguistic study had matured to the point where there were enough researchers to sustain a journal and regular well-attended meetings. The ELSJ began with about 800 members, and now numbers more than 1,200. The society publishes its journal, *English Linguistics*, annually (see section 3.1), and holds its annual meeting for 2 days in November. This annual meeting usually has about 600 participants; it normally offers five symposia and allows about 25 screened papers to be read in several sessions. The ELSJ welcomes papers from other countries which are read at the annual meetings and appear in *English Linguistics*. Correspondence should be addressed to The ELSJ, c/o Kihara Shoten, 44-5 Koenji-minami 2-chome, Suginami-ku, Tokyo, 166, Japan.

Besides these nationwide societies, smaller linguistic societies and circles are organized in many districts and in various universities. They hold

regular annual or monthly meetings which are the grass roots of English linguistics in Japan. Of these organizations, the ICU (International Christian University) Summer Institute of Linguistics is particularly noteworthy. Regrettably, it ceased to exist after the 25th annual meeting in 1986. It was akin to the CLS (Chicago Linguistic Society) in its liberal atmosphere and non-exclusiveness, and played a significant role in the development of young linguists. The Institute has now been reorganized as the Tokyo Linguistic Forum. Other local and university organizations also avidly pursue their own activities, such as studying important books on current topics, reading original papers, and inviting guest scholars from other countries.

3.3. Contribution to foreign journals

The advances in the study of English linguistics can also be seen in the increase in the number of articles which have been accepted by high-quality journals in other countries. It is not possible to list all these articles here; the bibliography at the end of this volume contains some of these, in particular those by the contributors to this volume.

4. Climate and future directions of English linguistics in Japan

It might appear that English linguistics in Japan is similar to linguistics in the United States, particularly because generative grammar has been the major framework in both countries. However, there are fundamental differences underlying the research on language between the two countries. Roughly speaking, and with many exceptions, it can be said that the main concern of American linguists lies in "theory construction", whereas Japanese linguists are mainly concerned with "data description". Americans tend to regard data only as the basis for theory construction, while Japanese are liable to consider theory only as an instrument for data description.

Therefore, many Japanese linguists who study English have a great interest in collecting English data from written sources and describing them succinctly from particular perspectives. Linguistic theories are sim-

ply used to provide such perspectives. Linguistic works, even if theory-oriented, usually concentrate on verifying or modifying previous work, while keeping the theories used as frameworks intact. Seldom do new works attempt to overthrow the theories themselves. The tendency toward data description may be natural to the study of English in Japan because the Japanese are not native speakers of English, and thus the collection of English data is essential to those who study the English language.

However, this preference for data description is not specific to the study of foreign languages; it more or less holds true of other academic fields in Japan as well. Thus, this tendency does not seem to originate from the mere fact that English is not a native language for English linguists in Japan. It comes instead from a more fundamental source, the climate of the academic world in Japan. The Japanese academic world tends to place great value on the accumulation of results obtained from academic research, rather than on the discovery of new perspectives and the construction of new theories. The accumulation of results necessitates the maintenance and continuation of a given perspective or theory. It is generally considered valuable and ethically good to continue studying a specific topic within a given framework for a long period of time. Alternation is viewed as inconsistent or even as morally reprehensible. (This view probably stems from the conviction that the continuation of one line of work is good — as a popular Japanese proverb indicates, "Perseverance will win in the end.") Therefore, much value is placed on data-description oriented studies conducted within fixed frameworks. This atmosphere in Japan is clearly in contrast with that of the American academic world, which is disposed to place much more significance on innovation and the discovery of new theories, i. e., on theory-construction oriented studies.

This inclination towards data-description oriented study in Japan will point to answers to the following questions about English linguistic study in Japan past and present: (i) why did Japanese scholars of English linguistics adopt the standard theory of generative grammar so enthusiastically in the 1960s and 1970s? and (ii) why has the tendency appeared since the mid-1980s for some Japanese linguists to depart from the rigid version of the present generative theory (so-called Government-and-Binding theory)?

The standard theory in the 1960s and 1970s was engaged in formulating transformational rules which were intended to account for various constructions of English sentences. This task had to be undertaken in order to show that transformation theory could cover a wide range of linguistic

(or at least English) phenomena, and therefore could take the place of the preceding major linguistic theories, such as American structuralism. The formulation of various transformational rules called for the discovery of new data to support the postulates. The accumulation of new data was readily amenable to the Japanese academic climate of data-description oriented study. Japanese linguists welcomed works based on the standard theory as a source of new data, and simultaneously, the theory itself as a means to describe them.

Data-description oriented study, however, is not consistent with the recent tendency of generative grammar to try to proceed toward the formulation of Universal Grammar in an even more straightforward way. The pursuit of Universal Grammar requires the comparison of data pertaining to a particular range of constructions among various languages rather than the discovery of new data pertaining to various constructions in a particular language. Recent generative theory does not necessarily answer the need for providing new data for English, and points away from data-description oriented study. Those who are interested in data-description oriented study, more specifically, in collecting English data, are consequently losing interest in the current version of generative grammar.

Now that a discrepancy is developing between linguistics in the United States and English linguistics in Japan (as a consequence of the differences in focus and in the academic climates of the two countries), English linguists in Japan must choose their future direction. Several possibilities suggest themselves.

One is to follow consistently the tradition of the Japanese academic world, and to continue describing data in frameworks which are considered appropriate for this purpose, for example, in the framework of the standard theory of generative grammar. This approach may have some advantages, at least domestically: it will contribute to the accumulation of data on particular topics and on various constructions. Such results may be used, for example, in compiling dictionaries of English linguistics like those described in section 3.1. These works, being rare in other countries, may be valuable internationally as well.

Another possibility is to try to keep in step with recent theories of linguistics in the world by applying them to Japanese, which, having different characteristics from Indo-European languages, is therefore expected to provide some intriguing ideas and insights into linguistic analyses. Furthermore, Japanese linguists should try to expand these theories through proposals put forward to explain Japanese data; thereafter these

proposals should be applied to English and other languages. The research strategy should be reversed from the previous one, the English-to-Japanese program, to the new one, the Japanese-to-English (and to other languages) scenario. This approach will be welcomed by the recent theory of generative grammar which aims for Universal Grammar. It will not only contribute to the development of Universal Grammar, but also shed new light on the study of English. This last effect will also be welcomed by scholars of English linguistics.

Still another possibility is to attempt to develop new theories or approaches which fit the tradition of linguistics in Japan (i.e., the data-description orientation), and simultaneously have potential as theories of Universal Grammar. The traditional inclination, which cannot be easily dismissed, may be of advantage for the construction of new approaches, because it provides fresh viewpoints which are apt to be overlooked by people who have been educated in the tradition of Western linguistics. New approaches seek, in conceptually and technically different fashions than other theories, systems in which the data of a particular language (e.g., English) are to be described comprehensively and adequately. These approaches may also have implications for the description of other languages and for Universal Grammar.

These last two possibilities are considered worthwhile, and they are probed in the papers in this collection. Some of the articles compare Japanese and English within the framework of current generative theory, and attempt to make a theoretical contribution to Universal Grammar. Others seek new approaches to English, and propose analyses of English syntactic phenomena based on those approaches. This volume is, thus, an attempt to achieve two goals simultaneously. On the one hand, it presents the present state of English linguistics in Japan, while on the other, it suggests and explores a direction in which English linguistics in Japan should proceed in the future.

5. Summary of the contents

The papers are presented in alphabetical order of the authors' name. The contents are summarized below, with the frameworks of the papers specified.

Shuji Chiba discusses the topic of present subjunctives in a descriptive and GB-theoretical approach, and shows that contextual features of

lexical items cannot be narrowly localized. Whether complement clauses will be in the present-subjunctive mood or not depends, in most cases, on the intrinsic properties of the lexical heads which take the complement clauses. However, Chiba points out that there are cases where such a local determination is impossible, and that other elements cooccurring with lexical heads, such as their specifiers, complements, modifiers, and other heads, play a crucial role in deciding for or against the use of subjunctives. A mechanism is proposed which transfers the feature of subjunctive mood from other elements to heads. This feature transference, it is suggested, is generally possible between elements that are in agreement relations. Chiba's treatment of subjunctives will thus provide additional evidence for the agreement mechanism assumed in Government-and-Binding theory.

Hajime Fukuchi deals with phenomena which he calls "syntactic localization". By syntactic localization, the author means syntactico-semantic dissociation resulting from the preference for syntax over semantics. Semantic units are not expressed by corresponding full-fledged syntactic units, but by more abbreviated or compact syntactic units. These compact syntactic units are in most cases only representatives or local parts of full-fledged syntactic units; hence, syntactic "localization" of larger semantic units. Four instances of syntactic localization are examined: concealed-propositional relative constructions, concealed-nominalizational NP constructions, continuative restrictive relative clauses, and S-control constructions. Based upon data from authentic sentences, the author attempts to explicate mechanisms which produce various sorts of syntactic localization. This method of argumentation is an instantiation of traditional Japanese approaches to linguistic description.

Naoki Fukui attempts to elaborate the notion of barrier within relativized X-bar theory proposed in Fukui (1986). Relativized X-bar theory makes crucial use of the distinction between lexical and functional categories, and, on the basis of this distinction, relativizes the maximal bar-level of projections and the possibility of their recursion. The author proposes a definition of Blocking Category (and barrier) which is also relativized in another sense. Instead of Chomsky's contextual definition of Blocking Category of a single type, he claims that there are two types of Blocking Category, "strong" and "weak" barriers: X″s (XPs) are strong barriers, which function as barriers independent of their syntactic context, and yield strong effects as barriers, whereas non-L-marked X′s are weak barriers whose barrierhood depends upon the configuration in which they

occur, and whose effects as barriers are relatively weak. The relativized definition of barrier, in conjunction with relativized X-bar theory, ensures the effect of Chomsky's (1986a) adjunction condition that adjunction is possible only to non-arguments, and of his stipulation that IP, though being a non-argument, does not allow for adjunction.

Kunihiro Iwakura discusses, in the framework of Government-and-Binding theory, the dissimilarities between the head N and V/A in their capacity to take certain types of complements. V and/or A, but not N, for instance, may take *tough*-constructions, raising constructions, ECM constructions, and finite clauses without the complementizer *that*. To account for such discrepancies, Iwakura proposes two principles, the Maximal-Projection Principle, which requires non-null maximal projections to be governed, and the Nondistinct-Governor Principle, which essentially prohibits nondistinctness in the feature composition between governors and their governees. He also proposes to relativize the definition of the notion of government depending upon whether a governor is N or V/A. Iwakura argues in favor of the necessity of the notion of lexical government, which tends to be considered unnecessary in recent Government-and-Binding theory.

Masayuki Ike-uchi assumes the Dynamic Theory of Syntax originally proposed by Kajita (1977). The dynamic theory is basically different from Chomskyan generative grammar in that it postulates a non-instantaneous model of language acquisition rather than an instantaneous model. Then, rules and structures are supposed to be "extended" in the process of acquisition in conformity with certain general laws of transition. (Some instances of the dynamic-theoretic treatment of English constructions are reviewed in James McCawley 1988, particularly chapter 22.) Assuming the framework of the dynamic theory of syntax, Ike-uchi presents an analysis of English descriptive genitives such as *a women's college*. He claims that in the child grammar descriptive genitives are derived from simple prenominal adjective structures, through a tree-grafting rule, modeled on attributive adnominal structures, but that in the adult grammar they are directly generated by a derivative phrase-structure rule. The author also supplies descriptive properties of these structures, and general ideas of the dynamic theory of syntax.

Taro Kageyama's paper analyzes light verb constructions in Japanese and English with a view to providing additional support for the Modular Morphology theory which has been developed in Shibatani – Kageyama (1989) and Kageyama – Shibatani (1989). As opposed to both strong lexicalism and transformationalism, the Modular Morphology theory

claims that word-formation processes take place in syntax as well as in the lexicon, and that their outputs are globally constrained by a set of general morphological conditions that apply across different modules of grammar. To handle light verb constructions, Kageyama proposes two word-formation operations, incorporation and abstract incorporation, both of which make essential use of syntactic notions like Case and theta-role and are thus placed in syntax. The modular approach explains, among other things, the parallelisms between these syntactic word-formation rules and the familiar lexical compound formation.

Yoshihisa Kitagawa challenges the standard GB-theoretical attempt to unify the two opacity conditions, the Specified-Subject Condition and the Nominative-Island Condition, in terms of the binding principles which refer to the notion "subject". Instead of assimilating the Nominative-Island Condition to the Specified-Subject Condition, he proposes to incorporate the Specified-Subject Condition into the Nominative-Island Condition by supposing that opacity in binding is created by lexical heads assigning Cases. The two island conditions are collapsed as the Case Island, which basically states that the maximal projection of the Case-assigner of a given element (anaphor or pronominal) constitutes its binding category. The enforcement of the Case Island crucially depends upon the VP-internal subject hypothesis, which the author has maintained throughout his work. The Case Island is further elaborated into the Lexical-Case Island by taking account of the dichotomy between lexical and non-lexical Case marking. On the assumption of a parametrized dichotomy of Cases in English and Japanese, the Lexical Case Island makes it possible to account for various interesting and traditionally recalcitrant phenomena of binding in English and Japanese.

Susumu Kuno deals with a variety of multiple quantification sentences within his well-known framework, Functional Syntax. After criticizing purely syntactic approaches to sentences of this kind, such as May's (1985) theory, which depend upon such syntactic notions as c-command, Kuno introduces eight non-syntactic principles which make essential use of semantic, discourse-based, and pragmatic factors. These factors are, of course, not specific to multiple-quantifier sentences, but have been well-motivated in his previous work. They interact with each other to determine the relative ease of wide and narrow interpretations of quantifiers in a given sentence. The ease with which a quantifier obtains a wide interpretation is basically proportionate to the number of non-syntactic principles by which it abides. Thus, the quantifier-scope phenomenon is regarded not as an all-or-nothing phenomenon, but as a

graded one. Kuno illustrates many cases in which one quantifier takes a wide scope more easily than another when purely syntactic approaches predict that both of them equally, or only one of them exclusively, will have a wide scope.

Heizo Nakajima assumes the Binding Path theory, which he has been developing in his recent work (Nakajima 1985, 1986 a, 1986 b). The basic idea of the Binding Path approach stems from his characterization of Government and Binding type principles as conditions on categories or "points" in a syntactic structure which are defined independently of each other, as opposed to "linear" rules in pre-GB theories. The Binding Path theory attempts to integrate those "point principles" in the theoretical construct of binding path, and to account for the grammaticality of sentences as a function of adherence to those principles on a binding path. Nakajima applies the approach to various types of dependent categories, such as *wh*-traces, traces left by rightward movements, parasitic gaps, *wh*-in-situ, multiple *wh*-questions involving WH-island violations, and Dutch *wh*-traces. It is claimed that all these dependent categories are to be licensed by essentially the same principles, with basic notions germane to the principles parametrized within limited ranges.

Masaru Nakamura treats so-called null-operator constructions, a major issue in Government-and-Binding theory, and claims that it is not correct to assume that all null-operator constructions involve movement of a null operator. He groups those constructions into several classes, and differentiates their treatment in several ways. While derivations of all the constructions involve movement of some elements, the types of elements to be moved are different among the classes. *Tough* constructions move base-generated null anaphors; *too-to* constructions and purpose clauses, PRO; topic constructions, topicalized elements; *that*-cleft sentences, focused elements; and *wh*-cleft sentences, *wh*-phrases. Parasitic gap sentences are the only construction which involves the movement of null operators. Nakamura elaborates the typology of empty categories definable in terms of the combinations of the features [$\pm$anaphor] and [$\pm$pronominal], taking account of their derivational history, namely, whether they are base-generated or transformationally derived.

Harumi Sawada proposes an auxiliary system called Multi-stratal Specifier Analysis to deal with perplexing problems concerning auxiliaries. The Multi-stratal Specifier Analysis claims that a verb phrase consists of two types of V-projections, V′ and V″, both of which can be iterated. Aspectual auxiliaries (i. e., the perfective *have* and the progressive *be*) are affiliated with V″ as its specifiers, and the passive *be* and the copula *be*

are allied to V′ as its heads. After motivating the differentiation of the auxiliaries into the two groups in terms of several syntactic operations, the author proposes to generalize the multi-stratal structure and the syntactic operations used for its motivation cross-categorially. The Multi-stratal Specifier Analysis provides answers for such questions as (i) why the perfective *have* and the *be* verbs, but not ordinary verbs, can move into INFL, (ii) why English has the periphrastic *do*, and (iii) why the auxiliary *do* cannot cooccur with other auxiliaries. Sawada's paper sheds new light on the structure of the specifier.

Ken-ichi Takami argues for Functional Syntax in the treatment of preposition stranding which results from WH-movement. After showing the inadequacies of purely syntactic treatments, such as those of Chomsky (1981, 1986a), Hornstein and Weinberg (1981) and Baltin (1978), he proposes a functional constraint defined by the notion of "more/less important information". The constraint only allows the movement of the object of PP that bears more important information than other words or phrases in a sentence. An attempt is made to characterize the central notion of more/less importance precisely and explicitly, so as to overcome the criticism of functional notions being vague.

Shigeo Tonoike tries to innovate, in the principle-and-parameter approach, the X-bar theory of English and Japanese clause and noun phrase structures, which he calls the extended DP analysis. The extended DP analysis claims that English and Japanese clause and noun phrase structures have parallel three-layer structures, with clauses composed of the three maximal projections, VP, IP, and CP, and noun phrases composed of NP, IP, and DP. Major features of this analysis are the incorporation of Japanese so-called case-markers of noun phrases into DP as the head D and the nominal head I, and the integration of such elements as *also, even, only* and their Japanese counterparts as specifiers of maximal projections. These analyses lead to the claim that Japanese does not have a subject defined as "noun phrase in the Spec of IP"; so-called subjects in Japanese are nothing more than adjuncts. This and other claims in the article provide explanations for apparent differences between English and Japanese, such as the possibility of multiple subjects, the overt presence or absence of articles, and so on. Tonoike argues that those apparent differences all follow from one substantial parametric distinction of word order.

Non-localizable contextual features: Present subjunctives in English*

Shuji Chiba

1. Introduction

In transformational grammar, the structures in which verbs can appear have been described, especially since Chomsky (1965), mainly by means of descriptive devices such as subcategorization features and contextual features, as well as phrase-structure rules. At present some interesting work is available on some general characteristics of the constructions in which verbs (and adjectives) can occur, which can be considered to show the general appropriateness of these devices.

However, as for Chomsky's idea, developed in Chomsky (1965), that contextual features are all narrowly localizable, some counterexamples have been pointed out by such linguists as McCawley (1968, 1973), Kajita (1968, 1976), and Ota–Kajita (1974: 163–647), regarding both strict-subcategorization features and selectional features.

According to Chomsky's hypothesis of localizability, in the case of selectional features, the features [Masculine] and [Human], for example, should be assigned to lexical categories such as N and A, not to major categories such as NP and S (see Chomsky 1965: 75–106, 120–123). In the case of strict-subcategorization features, on the other hand, only the category symbols that are dominated by VP should be relevant to the strict-subcategorization of verbs (see Chomsky 1965: 90–106). This means that no elements outside of VP, for example the subject NP, can be relevant to it. This hypothesis should also predict that we can explicitly describe whether verbs can take *that* S or *whether* S as their object, by assigning contextual features such as [+ that S] and [− whether S] to each verb as one of its lexical properties.

* This paper is based on a talk I gave at the meeting of the Tokyo English Linguistic Circle on October 15, 1988. I am especially grateful to Masaru Kajita and Takao Yagi for their invaluable comments. I also would like to thank Heizo Nakajima for reading an earlier version of this paper and making helpful theoretical suggestions. I alone am, of course, responsible for any remaining errors.

However, as mentioned above, it has been shown that this hypothesis cannot be wholly maintained. For example, McCawley (1968: 133–134; 1973: 66–67) pointed out that selectional restrictions cannot be correctly formalized by referring only to the head of NPs, but that reference must also be made to the entire NP including the modifiers of the head, as is clearly shown by examples such as the following:

(1) a. *My neighbor is the father of two.*
b. **My buxom neighbor is the father of two.*
c. **My sister is the father of two.*

That is, as McCawley says, sentence (1b) violates the same selectional restriction as does sentence (1c), but the violation of the selectional restriction in (1b) has nothing to do with the head noun, since (1a) contains no selectional violation.

Similar examples can be found in Bach (1968: 116):

(2) a. *The one that seemed most likely to turn out to be a friend was anxious to go.*
b. **The one that seemed most likely to turn out to be a table was anxious to go.*

In the above examples, the crucial difference between (2a) and (2b) which is responsible for the difference in grammaticality is that of the predicate nouns *friend* and *table* in the relative clauses modifying *one*, the head of the subject NPs. These examples, therefore, also show that selectional restrictions cannot be completely decided by intrinsic features of the head of NPs, such as [Masculine] and [Human], but by those of the whole of the NPs.[1]

Concerning examples such as those in (1) and (2), however, Kajita (1976) points out that they may not constitute crucial counterexamples to the hypothesis about localizability of feature assignment. Thus, he states:

> It must be noticed that, in such examples as (1) and (2) [= examples (1) and (2) above], the NP in question has a specific head. Namely, the head *neighbor* in (1) is unspecified as to the feature [Masculine], and similarly the head *one* in (2) is unspecified as to [Human]. When the head is unspecified as to a certain feature, the value of the feature is usually decided by that of the modifiers of the head. This kind of phenomenon may have to be treated by a mechanism which Weinreich (1966: 429–32) called 'transfer feature'. If so, [Masculine] and [Human] in (1) and (2), respectively, which are the properties of *buxom* and *friend/table*, respectively, in deep structure, can be taken to be transferred to the entire NP later by the

application of semantic interpretation rules. Thus, those features can be localized in deep structure. [My translation, S. C.] (Kajita 1976: 255–254).

This is the reason why examples such as (1) and (2) need not be considered genuine counterexamples to the hypothesis in question. Kajita (1968: 97–110), however, also shows that there are some cases in which such an explanation cannot be resorted to.

As one of those linguistic facts, let us take a case of subcategorization of nouns in terms of the feature [+S]. Consider the following:

(3) *It would be* { *a shame* / a surprise / **a snake* / **blood* / **Chicago* } *for you to leave so early.*

Given only these examples, one might think that such subcategorization can be lucidly made. For example, nouns such as *shame* and *surprise* have the feature [+S], but nouns such as *snake, blood*, and *Chicago* do not. However, this is not true, as shown by such examples as the following:

(4) a. **It would be a situation for freshmen to take five courses.*
b. *It would be a normal situation for freshmen to take five courses.*
c. *It would be normal for freshman to take five courses.*
d. **It would be a normal snake for freshmen to take five courses.*

As (4a) shows, the noun *situation* does not usually permit a sentential subject. However, when it is modified by adjectives like *normal*, it can do so. This is closely related with the fact that the adjective *normal* itself can take a sentential subject, as shown by (4c). But this does not mean that we can obtain a grammatical sentence with a sentential subject, whenever the noun in question, whatever it is, is modified by adjectives such as *normal*, as (4d) shows. Therefore, contextual features such as [+S] can be decided neither by only the head noun nor by only the modifiers; they must be decided by the entire NP containing both of them. This is one real counterexample to the localizability hypothesis of features.[2]

However, there is a way in which the idea of a transfer feature, which Kajita suggested for examples like (1) and (2), can also be used to solve the problem of examples such as (3) and (4). That is, we can assume that nouns such as *situation* are unmarked for the feature [S], although such nouns as *snake* are negatively specified for the same feature. Let us further assume that when a head which is unmarked for a certain feature is modified by a lexical item which is positively marked for the same

feature, that positive feature is transferred to the position of the head, turning the unmarked feature into a positive one, as suggested by Kajita. On the other hand, when the head has no modifiers to change the unspecified feature into a positive one, we assume that the unspecified feature is changed into the corresponding negative feature. Let us assume at the same time that, when the head has already been negatively marked for the feature in question, that feature's value cannot be changed from (−) to (+), even if there is a proper modifier having the latter value of the feature, as in (4d). With this mechanism of an expanded version of the transfer feature,[3] we can explain such examples as (3) and (4), as well as (1) and (2), in a similar way.

In the following sections, I shall point out that the problem of localizability of contextual features which has been mentioned above can also be found in the case of present subjunctives in English, and that the mechanism of feature transfer introduced above is also helpful in solving that problem.

2. Subjunctive-taking verbs, nouns, and adjectives

The verbs emphasized in the following sentences are generally called "present subjunctive verbs":

(5) a. *They maintain that she* resign *immediately.*
b. *The regulation is that no candidate* take *a book into the examination room.*
c. *It is important that he* come.

As is well known, to get acceptable sentences containing present-subjunctive verbs, we need, in the main clause, a proper verb, noun, or adjective which can trigger the subjunctive verb in the embedded clause, such as *maintain, regulation*, and *important*, as in (5a−c). (Henceforth we shall call such embedded clauses "subjunctive clauses", for convenience's sake.)[4] More examples of such lexical items can be found in the following lists:[5]

(6) Subjunctive-taking verbs:
advise, beg, command, demand, entreat, forbid, grant, hint, insist, mandate, necessitate, order, postulate, recommend, stipulate, urge, vote, warrant.

(7) Subjunctive-taking nouns:
assumption, basis, claim, desire, expectation, hypothesis, intention, law, necessity, objective, prerequisite, recommendation, suggestion, trend, understanding, view, wish.

(8) Subjunctive-taking adjectives:
anxious, best, critical, desirable, eager, fair, good, imperative, keen, logical, mandatory, necessary, obligatory, preferable, relevant, sufficient, urgent, vital, wise.

Looking over these items, we notice some common semantic characteristics shared by them. They can be represented as "will", "wish", "expectation", "concession", "imagination", "demand", etc. Although it is not easy to pick only one of these as a representative semantic property of subjunctive-taking lexical items, we can roughly denote it as "will", following Onions (1965) and Chiba (1987: 5).[6] However, let us assume here instead, following the idea of David Pesetsky (see note 6), that subjunctive-taking lexical items have the feature "irrealis event" and that they semantically select the category "irrealis event". Let us further assume, as I did in Chiba (1987: 26), that subjunctive clauses have the feature [+Subj] (for subjunctive mood).

If we adopt the concepts of Canonical Structural Realization (CSR) and Context Principle, the close relationship between categorial selection (c-selection) and semantic selection (s-selection) (see Pesetsky 1982: 35, 181; Chomsky 1986b: 86ff.) concerning present subjunctives can be represented by the following generalization:[7]

(9) If a predicate s-selects the semantic category "irrealis event", then it c-selects (subcategorizes) CSR (irrealis event) = $\underset{[+\text{Subj}]}{\text{S}}$.[8]

That is, those lexical items which semantically select the category "irrealis event" can (or should, according to the lexical items and dialectal differences) categorially select an embedded S with the feature [+Subj], and the subjunctive clause is assigned the theta-role "irrealis event" by those lexical items.

With this brief observation of semantic characteristics of present subjunctives as a background, let us proceed to the main theme of this paper.

3. Some cases of non-localizable contextual features for subjunctive-taking lexical items

3.1. The relevance of subject

The verb *say*, as Stockwell (1977: 15–16) and Gazdar et al. (1985: 76) have pointed out, may be considered one of those verbs which cannot allow subjunctive clauses. Indeed, there would be very few people who would accept without reservation examples such as the following:

(10) ?*John* says *that the one who wears the ring* be *offered as a sacrifice.*

However, interestingly enough, if we replace the subject of this sentence with other proper NPs, we can get well-formed sentences such as the following:

(11) (The Beatles are pursued by a mysterious Eastern religious sect because of the ring Ringo Star wears.) The law of the religion says *that the one who wears the ring* be *offered as a sacrifice.*

This shows that although the verb *say* is intrinsically one of those lexical items which do not allow subjunctive clauses, it can be turned into one which allows them, if a proper subject is chosen such as *law* (*of the religion*). The reason why this is possible is probably that *say*, combined with the subject *law* (*of the religion*), for example, can mean something like 'provide' or 'require', and therefore it will acquire the semantic feature [+irrealis event] and thus be able to c-select a subjunctive clause.[9]

That is to say, examples such as (10) and (11) show that the subcategorization of verbs as to their ability to c-select subjunctive clauses cannot be fully decided without taking into consideration the semantic properties of the subject NP.[10]

Here let us propose a general mechanism by which verbs such as *say* are allowed to c-select subjunctive clauses in examples such as (11).[11] First, notice that the (head of the) subject NP of (11) consists of a special noun which itself can c-select a subjunctive clause. The fact that *law*, as well as nouns such as *rule*, really has the feature $[+\ \underset{[+\text{Subj}]}{\text{S}}\ ]$ can be shown by such examples as the following:

(12) a. *The Federal* law *that tests* be *free of racial or sexual bias notwithstanding, test-making is an unregulated industry.*

b. *It would be very desirable to pass a* law *that all high school students* be *educated so that they become computer literate to some extent before graduating.*
c. *There is a standing* rule *in golf-clubs that every one* replace *the turf which he cuts up.*
d. *Present-day English is very strict about the* rule *that each finite clause* have *its overt subject.*

Thus we can presume, following the case of examples such as (4) in Section 1, that in (11) the feature $[+\underset{[+\text{Subj}]}{\text{S}}]$ of the subject NP is transferred to the predicate verb *say*, enabling the latter to c-select a subjunctive clause.[12]

As a general mechanism which enables such feature transfer, we can point out "SPEC [= specifier]-head agreement". As is well known, there is an agreement relation between the subject and the main verb of a tensed clause. Strictly speaking, the subject can bear an agreement relation to the verb through the intermediate category AGR in INFL. Thus, an agreement rule connects the AGR element of INFL with the subject, and a subsequent syntactic rule (e. g., V-raising to I [= INFL]; see Chomsky 1986 a) takes care of the agreement relation between AGR and the verb. The relation between the subject and AGR is referred to by Chomsky (1986 a: 24) as "SPEC-head agreement". (Notice that the syntactic structure of a sentence can generally be represented as something like the following: $[_{C''} \ldots [_{C'} C [_{I''} NP [_{I'} I [_{VP} V \ldots]]]]]$, where the subject NP is the specifier, and I is the head of I″ [= S].)

Thus, we can assume that feature transfer from the subject to the verb as in (11), is an example of "feature sharing" between two categories standing in a relation of SPEC-head agreement.

As another case of SPEC-head agreement, we can point out the agreement relation between an adjectival modifier and its nominal head, as in German,[13] although it is not so overt in the case of English. Here, remember that we have already introduced in Section 1 a case of feature transfer from a modifier to its head, concerning sentences such as (4b) [= *It would be a normal situation for freshmen to take five courses*].

Thus, if we consider modifier-head agreement a case of SPEC-head agreement, both (4b) and (11) could be explained by the same mechanism of feature-sharing based on the relation of SPEC-head agreement.

Besides SPEC-head agreement, we have other cases of agreement, such as head-head agreement and head-complement agreement. Therefore, if

our explanation above of examples such as (4b) and (11) is right, it would naturally predict that a similar phenomenon of feature transfer would also occur in those cases of agreement. This prediction can indeed be borne out, as will be shown in the following sections.

The following are some more examples in which a proper subject makes it possible for *say* to c-select subjunctive clauses:[14]

(13) a. Prisoners Union rule says *that no member of an iron or steel workers union* be *permitted to repair a sawed-off bar without approval and participation of a representative of the cell occupant.*
b. *A few weeks ago, I read in the Bulletin that there were to be given Chinese classes in Cranston. The* article *also* said *that a person had to be 18 years old or over, and that he or she not* be *going to high school to attend these classes.*
c. *The saturation* constraint *then amounts to* saying *that no feature value* be *left undetermined.*

3.2. The relevance of adverbial modifiers

In this section, let us turn our attention to another case of non-localizable contextual features for subjunctive-taking verbs, that is, the case where the semantic properties of adverbial modifiers of verbs have important effects on the subcategorization of those verbs as to their ability to take subjunctive clauses. The main point of this section is to show how such a case can be accounted for by the mechanism suggested in the preceding section.

Consider the following examples:

(14) a. ?*The widow* wrote *that Ball* be *given part of her property.*
b. *Ball is arrested for the murder of a rich widow. The widow* wrote in her will *that Ball* be *given part of her property.*

As example (14a) shows, the verb *write*, when it governs a subjunctive clause, usually makes the sentence unnatural. However, when it is modified by a proper adverbial phrase such as *in her will*, as in (14b), we get a more natural sentence. Just as we examined in the previous section a case in which the verb *say* can be turned into one of those verbs which can take subjunctive clauses, if it occurs with a proper subject, we have here a case in which the verb *write*, modified by a proper adverbial phrase, turns into one type of verb of this kind. This is another case

which shows non-localizability of contextual features for subjunctive-taking verbs.

If we posit here that *write* is negatively specified for the contextual feature $[\underset{[+\text{Subj}]}{\text{S}}]$, the fact that (14b) is far better than (14a) would remain unexplained (unless we resort to a more drastic feature-changing mechanism by which we can change a negatively specified feature into the corresponding positive feature). Let us, therefore, suppose that *write* is unmarked for that feature, as in the case of *say*. The remaining problem is to explain how the feature transfer is conducted in this case. Following the expanded idea of agreement introduced in the previous section, let us suppose that the feature in question is transferred from the PP *in her will*, originally starting from the noun *will*, to its head *wrote* through the mother node VP. The agreement relation involved in this case can be considered to be that of head-complement agreement.

As another case in which a similar mechanism is involved, let us consider the following examples:

(15) a. *We add to this* requirement *that the selection procedure* be *psychologically plausible.*
b. *We have the option of adding as a necessary* condition *for membership in C that an element* have *the feature composition* [αV, βN, ...].

In (15a, b), the subjunctive clauses are syntactically the object of the verbs *add* and *adding*, and they are not the complement clauses of the nouns *requirement* and *condition*. On the other hand, the triggers of the subjunctive clauses are not the verbs but these nouns. This is clearly shown in examples such as the following:

(16) a. **We* add *that the selection procedure* be *psychologically plausible.*
b. **We add to this* fact *that the selection procedure* be *psychologically plausible.*

The examples (16a, b) confirm our supposition that, in (15a, b), *requirement* and *condition* play a crucial role in enabling the present-subjunctive verb to occur.

According to the mechanism of feature transfer mentioned above, the positively marked feature for the subjunctive clause, which is originally assigned to *requirement* and *condition*, is eventually transferred to the head position occupied by *add(ing)*, which we assume to be unmarked for that feature.

As an alternative to this explanation, one might suggest a more semantically oriented one, such as the following (see Chiba 1987: 33–34). That is, in (15a, b), the embedded clauses are the object of the verb *add(ing)*, as mentioned above. Semantically, the contents of these object clauses in (15a) and (15b) are interpreted as being added, respectively, "to this requirement" and "as a necessary condition". The embedded clauses of these sentences, therefore, can be interpreted as a kind of "requirement" and "condition", respectively. This means that (15a) and (15b) have in effect the readings represented in (17a) and (17b), respectively:

(17) a. *We add to this requirement* the requirement *that the selection procedure be psychologically plausible.*
b. *We have the option of adding as a necessary condition for membership in C* the condition *that an element have the feature composition* [αV, βN, ...].

Different though these two explanations seem to be, we can regard them as being in effect the same. Namely, (17a, b) can be taken to be a result of the application of semantic interpretations to (15a, b) respectively, by the help of the mechanism of feature transfer.[15]

3.3. The relevance of modals

As another case in which not only the head of a VP but also its modifiers must be taken into consideration in attempts to subclassify verbs and adjectives concerning their ability to govern subjunctive clauses, we can take up examples in which modals play a crucial role, such as the following:

(18) a. *Why is (13b) ungrammatical? Apparently, when ø is itself composed of conjuncts* $ø_1$ and $ø_2$ *they must both be factored by the SD "X A X B X", and it* must be true *of both of them that* $T(A_i, B_i)$ be *logically equivalent to* $ø_i$.
b. **It is* true *of both of them that* $T(A_i, B_i)$ be *logically equivalent to* $ø_i$.

In both of these examples, the subjunctive clause is governed by the same adjective, viz., *true*. Where, then, does the difference in acceptability of these sentences come from? The adjective *true* is unspecified for the contextual feature $[\ S\ ]_{[+\text{Subj}]}$, and if it appears in a structure in which no

transfer of the relevant feature is possible, then it eventually gets the negative feature [− S [+Subj]]. Thus, it cannot c-select a subjunctive clause, as in (18b). On the other hand, if it occurs with the root modal *must*, as in (18a), then the positively marked feature [+ S [+Subj]], which can be assumed to be one of its inherent properties, is transferred from *must* to *true*, enabling the latter to c-select a subjunctive clause. Hence the grammaticality of (18a). The feature transfer in this case means in effect the semantic combination of the root modal *must* and the adjective *true*, resulting in a subjunctive-triggering complex predicate meaning something like "to require".[16]

Thus, the examples in (18) clearly show that the subcategorization features for subjunctive-taking lexical items cannot be localized to the head of major categories such as NP, VP, and AP.

The same is true of the following examples:

(19) a. *In considering BW defense, it* must be recognized *that a number of critical meteorological parameters* be *met for an aerosol to exhibit optimum effect.*[17]

b. **It was* recognized *that a number of critical meteorological parameters* be *met for an aerosol to exhibit optimum effect.*

Notice incidentally that, in (18a) and (19a), there is a kind of head-head agreement relation between the modal *must*, on the one hand, and *true* in (18a) and *recognized* in (19a), on the other. This can be shown by a structure such as the following:

(20) ... $[_{I'}\ [_{I}$ must$]\ [_{VP}$ be $[_{AP}\ [_{A}$ true$]$ ...$]]]$
where I is INFL and I′ is its single-bar projection.

In the following section we shall look at another case of feature transfer between two lexical items connected with the relation of head-head agreement.

Note also that the modal *must* itself cannot suffice as a subjunctive-taking lexical item, as shown by such examples as the following, in which the main verb (in 21a) and the adjective (in 21b) are negatively specified for the relevant feature:

(21) a. **You must think that she take a nap.*

b. **It must be clear that he come to the party.*

The reason why (21a, b) are ungrammatical is that a negatively marked feature generally cannot be changed into the corresponding positive

feature, as suggested in Section 1. The modal, therefore, must always find the proper partner to transfer its feature to. In order to make clearer the characteristics of the "proper partner", we need further empirical study.

3.4. Coalescence of two verbs

In the last section we saw a case in which two lexical items, each of which cannot itself be realized as a subjunctive-taking predicate, coalesce to form a complex predicate which can govern subjunctive clauses. From this observation and our discussions in the preceding sections, one might guess that this coalescence of lexical items may not be restricted to those cases taken up above. For example, one might suspect that two (or more) verbs (or adjectives) can coalesce to form such a complex predicate, and this can indeed happen, as the following examples show:

(22) a. **Bill* brought *it* about *that Harry* go *or* be *allowed to go.*
b. **Bill will* bring *it* about *that Harry* go *or* be *allowed to go.*
c. *I* {*am asking* / *ordered*} *Bill to* bring *it* about *that Harry* go *or* be *allowed to go.*

As (22a, b) show, *bring about* itself usually does not allow a subjunctive clause to follow. However, when it is preceded by another proper verb such as *ask* or *order* as in (22c), it can c-select a subjunctive clause. The reason why this is possible is that the contextual feature $[+\ \underset{[+\text{Subj}]}{\text{S}}\ ]$, originally assigned to the verb *ask* or *order* in this case, is transferred to *bring about*, which is unspecified for the feature in question, turning the latter predicate into a subjunctive-triggering one.

In example (22c), the predicates which enable *bring about* to c-select a subjunctive clause are themselves predicates which can directly trigger it, as shown by the following examples:[18]

(23) *I* {*am asking* / *ordered*} *that Harry* go *or* be *allowed to go.*

However, the presence of a predicate which can freely allow a subjunctive clause, as in the case of *ask* or *order*, is not a necessary condition for the feature transfer to occur in examples such as (22c). This can be shown by the following examples:

(24) a. *I* { *expect Bill* / *told Bill* / *tried hard* / *want Bill* } *to bring it about that Harry* go *or* be *allowed to go.*

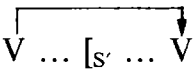
b. **I* { *expect* / *told (Bill)* / *tried hard* / *want* } *that Harry* go *or* be *allowed to go.*

Although the main verbs in these examples cannot be grouped into predicates, such as *ask, beg, demand*, and *insist*, which take subjunctive clauses freely,[19] there is a good reason to consider them subjunctive-triggering predicates. Chomsky's (1981: 19) statement about the verb *want* is helpful here:

> Sentence (4iv) [= "the students *want* that Bill *visit* Paris"] is not idiomatic English, but we may assume this to be an accidental gap reflecting properties that are not part of core grammar; thus assume (4iv) to be fully grammatical at the relevant level of abstraction, as in the analogous case of (2ii) [= "the students *prefer* that Bill *visit* Paris"] and as in languages otherwise similar to English.[20]

We can find a similar idea in Pesetsky's (1982: 674) suggestion of distinguishing "possible but not actual" selection from impossible selection. Thus he classifies verbs like *want, yearn, would like, need*, and *mean*, as well as verbs like *prefer, desire*, and *wish*, among the subjunctive-taking verbs.

The examples in (22c) and those in (24a), although they differ, as we saw above, in the productivity of the main verbs concerning subjunctive clauses, show the same kind of feature transfer, i. e., feature transfer from the main verb in the matrix sentence to the embedded main verb, as schematically shown in the following structure:

(25) 

In (25), the arrow shows the direction of feature transfer, and this is an example of head-head agreement.

Before closing this section, let us add an example sentence which is a realization of the structure in (25) in which both the second and the third Vs are subjunctive verbs:

(26) *I am asking that Bill* bring *it* about *that Harry* go *or* be *allowed to go.*

3.5. The relevance of the whole of the NP

As another case showing inadequacy of the localizability hypothesis about subjunctive-taking lexical items, let us consider next some examples in which the semantic content of the whole of the NP must be taken into consideration.

Consider the following examples:

(27) a. *It's* [$_{NP}$ *a* good *thing*] *that he* recognize *his faults.*
b. *It is not* [$_{NP}$ *a* necessary *feature of X'-theory*] *that it* be *set up this way.*
c. [$_{NP}$ *The* important *point*] *is that both* be *satisfied with the adjustment.*
d. *It is* [$_{NP}$ *a matter of prime* importance] *that these elements* be *defined relatively to the other elements and to the interrelations among all of them.*
e. *Perhaps* [$_{NP}$ *the most controversial part of the* claim *made in rule 1'*] *is that there* be *a lexically-entered noun that corresponds to each of the kinds in the set denoted by the newly-created noun.*

Notice first that the direct triggers of the subjunctive clauses in the examples above are not the head nouns of the NPs enclosed in brackets, but the unitalicized words, which are each one of the modifiers of these head nouns in each sentence. This can be confirmed by the fact that we get an ungrammatical sentence if we replace these words with some nouns or adjectives which cannot allow subjunctive clauses, as in the ungrammatical version of the following sentence:

(28) *It is* [$_{NP}$ *a matter of some* disappointment *to me*] *that still many of my own countrymen* *be/are *too shortsighted to ascribe any symbolic significance to the plight of a minority, such as artists, in any social order.*

This suggests that, in the examples in (27), what semantically governs the subjunctive clauses are the words emphasized or, rather, the whole NPs containing them, although syntactically the subjunctive clauses are governed by the head nouns of the NPs.

These examples are a subjunctive version of the examples in (4), which we repeat here as examples (29a–d):

(29) a. **It would be a situation for freshmen to take five courses.*
b. *It would be a normal situation for freshmen to take five courses.*

c. *It would be normal for freshmen to take five courses.*
d. **It would be a normal snake for freshmen to take five courses.*

Just as we suggested in Section 1 that the relevant feature in (29b) is transferred from the modifier to the head, so we can assume here that the feature $[+\underset{[+\text{Subj}]}{S}]$ is transferred from the emphasized noun or adjective in (27) to the head noun, which is considered unmarked for the feature $[\underset{[+\text{Subj}]}{S}]$. The only difference is in the types of modifiers involved: in (27), besides examples (27a–c), in which the modifier in question constitutes a pre-nominal adjective as it is in (29b), other examples are included in which the crucial modifier is in the post-nominal PP, i.e., examples (27d–e).

As further examples in which the trigger of a subjunctive clause is found in the position of the post-nominal modifiers, we can include sentences in which the modifier in question is a relative clause, as in the following:

(30) a. *They believe that* [$_{NP}$ *the only form of independence* [$_{S'}$ *that is possible or* desirable *for a woman*]] *is that she* be *dependent upon her husband, or if she is unmarried, on her nearest male relative.*
b. [$_{NP}$ *The minimum* [$_{S'}$ *that can be* expected *from such a reclassification*]] *is that it* be *able to accomodate all of the types of Mätzner-Jespersen.*[21]

The semantic mechanism responsible for the correct interpretation of these sentences, especially with respect to the correlation between the subjunctive clause and its trigger, would be similar to the one which we can posit for examples (2a, b), which we repeat below as examples (31a, b):

(31) a. *The one that seemed most likely to turn out to be a friend was anxious to go.*
b. **The one that seemed most likely to turn out to be a table was anxious to go.*

In these sentences, the features [+Human] and [−Human] which are assigned to the predicate nouns of the most deeply embedded clauses are raised one by one to the next upper clause, and finally form a part of the semantic properties of the subject NPs of the main clause, contributing to the difference in grammaticality of these two sentences, as pointed out by Ota and Kajita (1974: 398).[22]

3.6. Syntactic properties and semantic properties

In the preceding sections we have pointed out that there are some cases in which the subclassification of lexical items according to the possibility of their allowing subjunctive clauses must be done by taking into consideration a rather subtle correlation between syntactic and semantic properties of the constructions containing those lexical items. In other words, we have endorsed, with evidence concerning the present subjunctive, Ota – Kajita's (1974: 397) claim that, while the strict subcategorization of lexical items is clearly a syntactic problem, the restriction of occurrence of various types of complement clauses is more or less tinged with semantic characteristics.[23]

Ota and Kajita's claim can also be supported by the following interesting fact. First consider the following example, which is a paraphrase of the sentence *I bought the toaster for Mary*:

(32) *I acted to bring about a certain practical result, namely, that the toaster* be *in my realm, and so, capable of being subsequently given to Mary by me.*

In (32), the subjunctive clause is governed by the noun *result*. However, we must note here that *result* itself cannot usually be followed by a subjunctive clause, as shown by the following example:

(33) *Nobody predicted the* result *that the toaster* *be/would be *in my realm.*

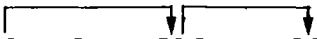
Notice also that, as pointed out in Section 3.4., *bring about* does not itself usually allow a subjunctive clause, either (cf. 22a, b). This leads us to assume that, in (32), the original trigger of the subjunctive clause is the main verb *acted*, although it cannot itself syntactically govern a subjunctive clause, or any *that*-clause, for that matter, and that the subjunctive feature of that verb is transferred to the lower verb *to bring about*, forming in effect a subjunctive compound predicate *acted to bring about*. Direct evidence for this, as we have already shown in Section 3.4., can be found in examples such as the following:

(34) a. *I* acted to bring it about *that the toaster* be *in my realm.*
b. *I* acted to bring it about *that the man* meet *with an accident.*

(Example 34a may sound a little unnatural, because of its content and style.)

To explain the occurrence of the subjunctive verb in such examples as (32), we must further assume that the subjunctive feature is further transferred to the head of the object NP *a certain practical result*. The noun *result*, now having been turned into a lexical item positively specified for the subjunctive feature, causes the occurrence of the present subjunctive in the embedded clause.

The mechanism of feature transfer suggested above can be represented in the following structure:

(35) 

The categories connected by arrows are in head-head agreement relations.

It thus becomes evident that a lexical item which seems not to be able to c-select a subjunctive clause becomes a full-fledged subjunctive lexical item, i.e., a lexical item which can govern a subjunctive clause both syntactically and semantically. This means, as we have suggested, that, if other conditions are satisfied, the lexical item which syntactically governs the embedded clause in question need not necessarily be one which can freely take a subjunctive clause. Even if it is not positively specified for the subjunctive feature, the mechanism of feature transfer can turn it into a subjunctive-governing lexical item.

A similar mechanism could also be posited to explain the occurrence of present subjunctive verbs in such examples as the following:

(36) a. *Lord John Russell moved a* resolution *to* [NP *the effect* [S' *that Mr. Salomons* be *ordered to withdraw*]].
b. *The first is a requirement that such and such a factor be a constituent of a certain type. The second is a* requirement *to* [NP *the effect* [S' *that such and such a factor* be *a certain terminal element*]].
c. *The filter must be* stated *in* [NP *such a way* [S' *that it not* require *that Ns be Cased which are contained in* ...]].[24]
d. *We then* require *that P* be *related biuniquely to p', in* [NP *the sense* [S' *that P* be *uniquely recoverable from p', and p'* be *uniquely constructible from P*]].

The interesting thing about these examples is again that the nouns which (syntactically) govern the subjunctive clauses, i.e., *effect, way*, and *sense*, cannot usually take them. (In 36c, strictly speaking, the subjunctive clause is first governed by *such* and then they together modify *way*.)

Semantically speaking, the reason why the subjunctive verbs are possible in these sentences seems to be that the subjunctive clauses can in effect be interpreted as appositive clauses to *resolution* and *requirement* in (36a, b) respectively, and as the object of *state* and *require* in (36c, d) respectively. That is, the subjunctive clauses can be connected to their original triggers by the "bridge expressions" *to the effect, in such a way*, and *in the sense*, which syntactically appear to work as barriers to such a connection. Thus the apparent discrepancy between the syntactic and semantic characteristics of these sentences disappears.

We suggest, again, that this can be possible through the mechanism of feature transfer, which transfers the contextual feature $[+\underset{[+\text{Subj}]}{\text{S}}]$ from the original trigger to the head of the NPs which syntactically governs the subjunctive clause in question.

4. Conclusion

In the above discussions, we took up the case of present subjunctives as another example in which contextual features cannot be localized. In previous studies on present subjunctives, in both the frameworks of traditional grammar and transformational grammar, it has generally been supposed that the question of whether or not a certain verb, noun, or adjective can be followed by a subjunctive clause can always be ascribed to the intrinsic properties of that lexical item. This supposition, however, turns out to be untenable, if we look more closely at the characteristics of present subjunctives. For example, we find some examples in which subject NPs or verb modifiers in VPs play a crucial role in deciding whether the verbs in question can take subjunctive clauses or not. In some other cases, we notice that the whole of the NPs containing modifiers such as adjectives or relative clauses must be taken into consideration.

Subjunctive clauses, since they are a kind of complement clause, must be governed by a head verb, noun, or adjective. In simple cases, the head verb, noun, or adjective is also a trigger of those subjunctive clauses. In some cases, however, the crucial trigger may not be the same as the head which syntactically governs the subjunctive clause; instead, it may be (part of) the modifiers of that head. In still other cases, the head may form a kind of compound predicate with other words, which as a whole allows or requires a subjunctive clause to follow.

As an answer to the question of how these phenomena can occur, we proposed an extended version of feature transfer. We suggested that a positively marked contextual feature can be transferred from a modifier to its head, from the subject to the verb, and from a verb to another verb, if the goal of the feature-transferring is unmarked for the feature in question. We further suggested that the feature transfer is generally possible between those categories which stand in agreement relations, in the broader sense of the term.

In this paper we assumed that feature transfer is only possible to the position of a lexical item which remains unspecified for the feature in question. Thus we, in effect, suggested a tripartite division of verbs, adjectives, and nouns, concerning the subjunctive feature (i.e., those which are positively marked for it, those which are negatively marked for it, and those which are unmarked for it), without being able to consider in detail the remaining problem of how the group of unspecified lexical items is defined. This problem, and another which is closely related to it, the problem of the extent to which the relationship between categorial selection and semantic selection holds in the case of the present subjunctive, still remains unsettled. In order to answer these questions, we would need a deeper semantic analysis of subjunctive lexical items. I hope that this paper will provide a basis for further study of present subjunctives and, in particular, of general properties of contextual features.

Notes

1. A similar discussion is made by Jackendoff (1972: 18–19) concerning the following examples:

   (i) a. *I ate something that was the result of what Bill acknowledged to be a new backing process.*
   b. **I ate something that was the result of what Bill acknowledged to be a syntactic transformation.*

   Note also that Newmeyer (1986: 113–114 n. 16) states:

   > Chomsky has continued to maintain (in class lectures) that at least some selection is syntactic, citing as evidence sentences like **the boy who was turned by magic into a swarm of bees dispersed.*

2. For other examples, see Kajita (1968: 94–110; 1976: 253–269). Especially about the problem of localizability for contextual features, Kajita pointed out an interesting fact about such verbs as *serve, help*, and *suffice*, showing the following examples:

   (i) a. *The ice melted.*
   b. **The ice served to melt.*

(ii) a. *The ice chilled the beer.*
b. *The ice served to chill the beer.*

These examples show that such "a verb as *melt* used intransitively ... cannot appear in the sentential complement of *serve* while such a transitive verb as *chill* in [(ii)] can" (Kajita 1968: 103). This means that "the constituents within the embedded sentence are, indeed, sometimes relevant to the strict subcategorization of verbs" (Kajita 1968: 104).

This problem has also been taken up by Bresnan (1972: 49 n. 5), who introduces Chomsky's suggestion on this problem "that selectional restrictions may be a more appropriate means of describing these phenomena".

Later, in the current linguistic study within the framework of the government-and-binding theory, Lasnik (1988: 5–6) reminds us of this unsettled problem and suggests that "[t]he difference between the well-formed and ill-formed examples with *serve* is describable in thematic terms: the subject of the complement of *serve* must be an instrument", giving further examples such as the following:

(iii) a. **John served to eat lunch.*
b. **Edison served to invent the light bulb.*
c. **Susan served to accept the offer.*

3. I owe this idea to Heizo Nakajima.
4. For a comprehensive description of the present subjunctive in present-day English, see Chiba (1987).
5. For fuller lists, see Chiba (1987: 3–4).
6. In Chiba (1987: 5) I also suggested the term "non-fact". Among other terms representing the subjunctive mood are "thought-mood", "non-committal mood", and "irrealis". For further details, see Jespersen (1924: 317), Kruisinga (1931: 27 ff.) and Zandvoort (1975: 88). According to Heizo Nakajima (personal communication), David Pesetsky called it "irrealis event" in his class lectures at MIT (fall of 1988).
7. Canonical Structural Realization (CSR) was first proposed by Grimshaw (1981: 174); it is a function mapping semantic categories onto syntactic categories. For example, CSR (object) = N and CSR (action) = V. The context principle is also originally Grimshaw's idea. She states (1981: 178) that "if a predicate selects a semantic type, it is subcategorized for the CSR of that type. I will call this the Context principle." The generalization stated in (9) is directly based on Pesetsky's (1981: 185) version of the context principle: "If a predicate s-selects a semantic category *C*, then it c-selects (subcategorizes) CSR(*C*)."
8. We must be careful not to forget the fact that the meaning of a verb does not completely determine its subcategorization, as shown by the following examples (from Postal 1974: 366):

(i) $I \left\{ \begin{array}{l} chose \\ selected \\ picked \end{array} \right\}$ *Larry to be my assistant.*

(ii) $I \left\{ \begin{array}{l} chose \\ *selected \\ *picked \end{array} \right\}$ *that Larry be my assistant.*

For similar comments and related examples, see Williams (1974: 38), Wasow (1976: 282), Linebarger–Schwarts–Saffran (1983: 381), Gazdar et al. (1985: 32), and Chiba (1987: 114–115).

9. This fact seems to be closely related to the presence of infinitive constructions in which the embedded subject refers to a contextually understood person or persons to whom the direction or instruction is addressed, such as the following:

   (i) a. *She* said *to meet her at the station.*
   b. *It* says *on the bottle to take a spoonful every four hours.*

   (Both of these examples are from the *Longman dictionary of Contemporary English*[2] *s. v. say* v. 6.)
   For further details, see Chiba (1987: 192 n. 10) and Pesetsky (1982: 198–199). As to the well-known semantic affinity between present subjunctive clauses and *for-to* clauses, see Emonds (1970: 198; 1985: 123–124, 297), and Bonney (1976: 21–22, 48 n. 23).
10. This is in contradiction with the generally supposed assumption that "verbs do not subcategorize for subjects" (Chomsky 1981: 26), if the difference between the indicative and subjunctive forms of the main verb of the embedded clause should really be taken care of by the subcategorization of verbs. Notice in this connection that Kajita (1968: 96–97, 100–101) and Ota–Kajita (1974: 271–277) have also pointed out that the internal structures of subject NPs are sometimes relevant to the subcategorization of verbs, showing such examples as the following (Ota–Kajita 1974: 271, ex. 59):

   (i) a. *His carelessness surprised me.*
   b. *His carelessness caused the accident.*
   c. *That he was careless surprised me.*
   d. **That he was careless caused the accident.*

   See also Kajita (1968: 169 n. 55).
11. I am indebted to Heizo Nakajima for suggesting the theoretical treatment of non-localizable subjunctives which is presented below, in particular for the idea of feature transfer in terms of various types of agreement.
12. It should be noticed here that even if the subject of *say* has the feature $[+\underset{[+\text{Subj}]}{\text{S}}]$ as in the case of *rule* or *law*, feature transference does not occur, if *say* is not used with the meaning "to order or command", as in the following examples:

   (i) a. *Lagrange's* law says *that its velocity is/*be equal to the square root of the product of the depth times the acceleration due to gravity.*
   b. *But, obviously, the laws do not always work. One in particular — a* rule *that* says *that inflation goes/*go up when unemployment goes down — seems to have broken down.*

   Note also that in older English the verb *say* was positively marked for the feature in question (at least for one of its uses) as shown by the following example:

   (ii) Say *vnto hym that he* drynke *to you in the name of good peace.* (*OED s. v. say* v. B. 5. *a* 1533 Ld. Berners *Huon* lxxxiii. 260)

   For other examples, see Visser (1966: 837–838), and for a similar observation, see Traugott (1972: 150).
13. Note Chomsky's (1986a: 24) assumption that "any category α agrees with itself and with its head".
14. According to my informants, (13a) is not completely grammatical for some reason which I do not yet know. Notice also that, in (13b), we seem to get an ungrammatical sentence if we replace the first *that*-clause after the verb *said* with a subjunctive clause, as in the following:

(i) *The article also* said *that a person* **(should)* be *18 years old or over, and that he or she (should) not* be *going to high school to attend these classes.*

The feature transference in (13c) is conducted not only between the subject and the main verb, but also between the main verb and the lower verb, as will be shown in Section 3.4.

15. In Chiba (1987: 34–35), I cited examples such as the following as another case in which the trigger of the subjunctive clause is not in the position of the head but in the position of its complement:

(i) *Something was stirring in the 1980's. It was as recently as that decade that John Stuart Mill started a movement on the subject of women's suffrage, thus dissenting from his famous father's opinion that it was consistent with* good *government that women* be *excluded from suffrage because their interests were the same as those of men.*

That is, I suggested that, in the second sentence of the example above, the subjunctive clause is semantically governed by the adjective *good* in the complement PP *with good government*, not by the adjective *consistent*, which is the head of the AP *consistent with good government*. That the adjective *good* can be the trigger of a subjunctive clause is clear from examples such as the following:

(ii) a. *It is* good *that women* be *excluded from suffrage.*
b. *It's a* good *thing that he* recognize *his faults.* (Leech 1971: 108)

The suggestion that *consistent* is unspecified for the subjunctive feature and that it can be assigned the corresponding positive feature by its complement would be supported by the following examples:

(iii) a. *That women* be *excluded from suffrage is not consistent with what they* demanded.
b. *That women* be *excluded from suffrage is not consistent with their* intention.
c. **That women* be *excluded from suffrage is not consistent with the* description *in the textbook.*
d. **That women* be *excluded from suffrage is not consistent with the political* fact *about the country that Stuart Mill told us before.*

That is, one may reason that (iiia, b) are grammatical because the complements of *consistent* contain subjunctive-triggering lexical items, *i.e., demanded* and *intention*, respectively, while (iiic, d) are ungrammatical because no such lexical items are contained in them.

However, on the other hand, the fact that the following example is grammatical may be taken to suggest that *consistent* itself is positively marked for the feature in question:

(iv) *That women* be *excluded from suffrage is not consistent with what he* said *earlier.*

Cf.: (v) **He* said *earlier that women* be *excluded from suffrage.*

Confronted with contradictory evidence, I must leave this problem unsettled.

16. As a phenomenon similar to this, one can consider what Kajita (1977) calls "syntactico-semantic overlapping". For example, Kajita (1977: 67–69) explains the case of *tough*-movement. That is, this transformational rule is applicable not only to such lexical items as *easy, hard, tough, difficult, impossible*, and *dangerous*, but also to complex predicates as in the following examples:

(i) a. *It does* not require specialized knowledge *to read the book.*
b. *The book does not require specialized knowledge to read.*
(ii) a. *It* takes deep plowing *to get rid of cactus.*
b. *Cactus takes deep plowing to get rid of.*
(iii) a. *It* is far, beyond the scope of this study *to examine the question.*
b. *The question is far beyond the scope of this study to examine.*
(iv) a. *It* was over his capacity *to bear the burden.*
b. *The burden was over his capacity to bear.*

For other examples of syntactico-semantic overlapping and his idea of a "dynamic model" for explaining those phenomena, see Kajita (1977); see also McCawley (1988 b: 731–753).

17. In (19a) the modal *must* can be replaced by other modals such as *should* and *would.* However, we need more empirical study before we can say with certainty that *must* is not the only modal that can transfer the subjunctive contextual feature.
18. Note that, in the case of *order*, there seems to be dialectal variation concerning the acceptability of sentences such as (23). For further details, see Chiba (1987: 123–130), James (1986: 126), and Nichols (1987).
19. As examples of grammatical sentences in which the verb *expect* appears with a subjunctive clause, see the following:
(i) a. *It was not* expected, *surely, that a man* stand *idly by when his property was in imminent danger of being blown to fragments.*
b. *First, it would be unreasonable to* expect *that there* be *a foolproof test which enabled us to decide whether any given constraint is grammatical or perceptual.*
c. *Never was it to be* expected *that one* seek *to make anything come to pass via the humdrum process of labor.*

For the special relevance of the factor of style to the occurrence of present subjunctives, see Chiba (1987: 9–11).

20. See also grammatical sentences containing *want* and subjunctive clauses, such as those in (ii) and (iv) in note 22.
21. See note 19.
22. The examples below might be considered another case in which the triggers of subjunctive clauses are in relative clauses:
(i) a. [$_{NP}$ *What* matters] *is that researchers* be *prepared to formulate and listen to coherent criticism of their ideas, and that there* be *a sufficiently sound shared vision of goals and ontology to permit progress.*
b. "[$_{NP}$ *What is* important] *is that there* be *a strategic Arab determination to retaliate against the Zionist enemy*", *he said.*
c. [$_{NP}$ *All that is* needed] *is that one of the intermediate stages constructed in the process of decoding* be *perceptually complex.*
d. [$_{NP}$ *All we can* suggest] *is that a teaching programme* be *designed in such a way as to ...*

In these sentences, however, the relation between the subjunctive clause and its trigger is not as indirect as it might seem. Once we grasp the semantic characteristic of the construction of these sentences, i.e., that the post-copular *that*-clause is to be understood as the real content of what is represented as *what* or *all*, it is not necessary to regard them as one of those cases in which the subjunctive clause and its trigger are

only indirectly connected. What is interesting about these constructions is that they seem to facilitate the occurrence of the present subjunctive verb, as suggested by the following examples:

(ii) a. **I* want *that you* be *happy.*
b. *What I* want *is that you* be *happy.*
c. *All I* want *is that you* be *happy.*

(iii) a. **They* discussed *that John* be *given permission to leave the country.*
b. *What we* discussed *was that John* be *given permission to leave the country.*
c. *All that was* discussed *was that John* be *given permission to leave the country.*

Notice that we also get an ungrammatical sentence if we replace the subjunctive verb *be* in (iiia) with such verb forms as *would be* or *had been.* Concerning *discuss*, Sells (1985: 32) states that it "looks like a verb that should take S′ argument, but [that] it only takes NP (as in *We discussed the problem* but not **We discussed that there was a problem*)".

However, considering the fact that *want* can also govern the present subjunctive in such examples as those in (iv) below, one might think that the crucial factor is not the special constructions themselves, but the "syntactic distance" between the verb in question and the subjunctive clause:

(iv) a. *I* want *only that you* be *happy.*
b. *John* wants *very much that the fighting* stop.
c. *I never* wanted *it that they* be *treated like that.*
d. *John* wants *it of Bill that he* clean *the house.*

The same seems to be true of the following examples:

(v) a. *?He* cared *that those he had* be *clean.*
b. *What he* cared about *was that those he had* be *clean.*
c. *He* cared *only that those he had* be *clean.*

For other similar examples, see McCawley (1988 b: 97).

23. Their claim can also be supported by the fact, pointed out by Kajita (1976: 258–261), that in English there is a group of verbs which can take as their object *whether S* as well as *that S*, such as the following:

(i) *know, find out, ascertain, establish, testify, say.*

These verbs, however, take *whether S* only in some specific contexts, one of them being a negative environment such as the following:

(ii) a. *I* don't *know whether S.*
b. *It is* impossible *to know whether S.*
c. *I had* no *way of knowing in advance whether S.*
d. *Whether S, I* can't *say.*
e. *Whether S, I am* not competent *to say.*

(iii) a. Before *we know whether S*, ...
b. *Whether S is more* difficult *to establish.*
c. *It is* too *early to say whether S.*

Another environment in which the verbs in (i) can be followed by *whether S* is the one in which *whether S* occurs with expressions which do not necessarily specify the realization of the content represented by these verbs; for example, contexts which show future, demand, trial, purpose, etc., as in the following:

(iv) a. *Time* will *testify whether S.*
b. *One* will *soon enough ascertain whether S.*
c. *You'll* need *to know whether S.*
d. ..., demanding *to know whether S.*
e. Try *to find out whether S.*
f. *I* want *to find out whether S.*
g. *He* asked *someone to find out whether S.*
h. *It is very* important *to know whether S.*
i. *It would be necessary first to check Fred's blood* (in order) to ascertain *whether or not it was of the same type as Papa's.*

On the other hand, if the verbs in (i) accompanied by *whether S* occur with verbal forms which show the realization of the content, such as the affirmative simple-past form and the affirmative present-perfect form, the sentences become ungrammatical, as shown by the following examples:

(v) a. **Bill* testified *whether John took a bribe.*
b. **Bill* has said *whether John took a bribe.*

To describe the generalization shown above, Kajita (1976: 260–261) introduced the feature [Realized], stating that the verbs in (i) cannot take *whether S* if they are combined with elements which have the feature [+Realized], while they can if they are combined with elements which have the feature [−Realized] or which are unspecified as to the feature [Realized]. Thus, the feature [whether S] cannot be considered an intrinsic feature of those verbs themselves; instead, it must be considered a feature to be assigned to larger elements containing elements which have the feature [Realized]. In other words, the feature [whether S] is an unlocalizable contextual feature.

24. Notice that *must* is not obligatory in this sentence. Cf. (18a) and (19a) in Section 3.3. See also the following examples:

(i) a. *The rule* must *be formulated/stated/written/stipulated in such a way that the subject and the object* be *exchanged in the subordinate clause.*
b. *The rule was formulated/stated/written/stipulated in sich a way that the subject and the object* be *exchanged in the subordinate clause.*

Syntactic localization phenomena in English*

Hajime Fukuchi

1. Introduction

In currently prevailing views of linguistic analysis, syntactic structure and semantic structure are levels which can and should be independently represented. But in fact syntax and semantics are closely related. Those who believe in the autonomy of the two linguistic levels do not go so far as to claim that they are completely separate from each other. Instead, there seems to be an implicit agreement that syntactic rules have certain correlates in semantic formation rules.

By saying that syntax correlates with semantics, I mean that some principled correspondences are observed between syntactic structure and semantic structure, or, in more traditional terms, that there is a firm connection between form and meaning. Indeed, the meaning of a sentence consists of a rich variety of semantic ingredients. But it is highly reasonable, and it has actually been a widespread linguistic practice, to assume that, aside from scopal factors such as quantifiers, negatives, etc., the fundamental semantic relation of a single sentence can be reduced to a proposition which is made up of a predicate and arguments. The internal structure of a proposition varies in accordance with the property of the predicate and the semantic roles the arguments bear, producing many types of conceptual structures (in the sense of Jackendoff 1983). And yet, regardless of its type, the essentials of this minimal logico-semantic relation are retained when it is mapped onto the syntactic structure: a single proposition matches with an S or S-like category and an argument is characteristically realized as an NP; a complex of propositions emerges syntactically as a complex sentence. In addition, the dependency relations (predicational or modificational ones) which hold in semantic structure can in large part be represented in parallel in syntactic structure.

If this syntactico-semantic parallelism is one of the principles that determine the nature of language, phenomena which in some way lack it

* In writing this article, the author has greatly benefited from suggestions and criticism from Heizo Nakajima, the volume editor, and Masayuki Ohishi.

are expected to be of linguistic interest in their own right. It is an accepted fact that language is a rule system that tolerates certain syntactico-semantic discrepancies within the limits of possible semantic interpretation. Grammarians have been constantly intrigued by constructions which exhibit such discrepancies in some way or other.

Logically speaking, syntactico-semantic discrepancies develop in two opposite directions: in one, semantics affects syntax to "loosen" well-established syntactic patterns, and in the other, syntax influences semantics by camouflaging semantic relations through syntactic structure.

The former type of discrepancies are numerous, and have been extensively investigated from such viewpoints as "reanalysis", "blending", etc. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the point:

(1) *I guess (that) there is some discontent among the members.*
(2) *There is some discontent among the members, I guess.*

In (1), *I guess* syntactically constitutes a matrix clause which takes a complement clause, and has corresponding semantic functions. But under some conditions this clausal expression ceases to be a full matrix clause and comes to function simply as a marker of the speaker's judgment concerning the certainty of the content of the subordinate clause, i. e., a "hedge" which weakens the assertion of the subordinate proposition. This semantic factor sometimes triggers a syntactic deformation of "downgrading" the matrix clause to a parenthetical expression as in (2).[1] *I guess* in (2) might be clausal in structure, but functions like a sentence-modifying adverb such as *possibly*. As Kajita (1977) suggests, downgrading also works on NP structures:

(3) *He handed me what he had produced out of his pocket.*
(4) *The man entered the cockpit carrying a gun and a can of* what the crew took to be *gasoline.*
(5) *He was behaving* what I could only describe as *strangely.*

Ordinarily, a free relative behaves syntactically as an NP, as in (3). But as (4) shows, there are cases where it is possible to interpret a free relative as simply modifying the clause-final predicate nominal. The semantic factor which causes the downgrading is the same as that found in such idiomatic free relatives as *what is called, what they call*, etc., that is, a hedge that dilutes description, like *perhaps*. In (5), the apparent free relative has completely lost the syntactic status of NP, modifying the

adverb that follows. Lakoff (1974) reports an extreme case of syntactic loosening:

(6) *John invited* you'll never guess how *many people to the party.*

The emphasized part of this example, which is structurally a clausal remnant, is irrevocably amalgamated with the matrix clause and semantically functions to modify *many*. The semantic factor in this amalgamating process is presumably a sort of "intensification".

The second type of discrepancy has not attracted much attention from grammarians. But instances do exist where a semantic relation fails to be duly expressed in syntactic structure. One such case that has been discussed by many linguists is what is widely known as "raising" constructions:

(7) *John seems to have won the game.*

The syntactic structure of (7) cannot be said to reflect its propositional structure, which can be approximately represented as (8):

(8) [*John won the game*] *seem*

Although several versions have been proposed of (8), what is common to them is the point that the matrix predicate is analyzed as taking a clausal, rather than a nominal, argument. That is, *seem*, which agrees syntactically with an NP *John*, has invariably been thought to be combined with a clausal argument, from a semantic viewpoint. If this is correct, the propositional structure (8) is deformed to a certain extent when it is materialized in the syntactic structure (7). Raising constructions have provided diverse sources of interest for grammarians, but this particular syntactico-semantic discrepancy has drawn grammarians' attention throughout thirty years of transformational-generative research activities.

From the pioneering study by Rosenbaum (1967) to the recent Government-and-Binding analyses, researchers have continuously assumed that (7) and (8) are to be derivationally related by a movement operation which, roughly speaking, "raises" the subordinate subject *John* to the matrix-subject position. Within the framework of Government-and-Binding theory, the plausibility of the raising operation, reduced to "move α", comes from the interaction of the principles of Case-assignment and Theta-criterion (Chomsky 1981). But from another point of view, this movement can be regarded as an instantiation of a general process which for some reason brings about fluctuations in the parallelism in question.

Aside from technical issues, it seems to me that the syntactic operation of raising has the effect of producing syntactically "tight and compact" constructions for semantic contents that would otherwise be realized as syntactically loose configurations. Concerning (7), the matrix predicate *seem*, which semantically is the predicate of the propositional content of the subordinate clause, is syntactically associated with a part of the proposition, i.e., a nominal expression (*John*). This may be said to contribute to creating a syntactically tight and compact structure, in the sense that verbs in general prefer to follow a nominal, rather than a clausal, subject or, in other words, that $NP + VP$ is considered a more basic syntactic concatenation than $S + VP$. If the semantic content of (8) is straightly mapped as in (9), the result would have to be syntactically loose and, indeed, ill-formed:

(9) **That John won the game seems.*

Of course, there is a related well-formed construction like (10), in which *seem* follows a nominal subject and the intended semantic relation of (8) is syntactically guaranteed:

(10) *It seems that John won the game.*

But (10) is still of loose syntactic structure, because the matrix subject cannot be considered the full (argument) NP that *John* is in (7).[2]

If raising has the property that is suggested above, we may say that the operation is fundamentally rooted in a general linguistic process which works to squeeze semantic structures into well-established syntactic frames, a process in which syntax influences semantics to adapt semantic contents to syntactically oriented configurations. This process has, at the same time, the side effect of camouflaging the semantic relations by the syntactic structures, hence of creating syntactico-semantic discrepancies, yet preserving the logical relations which are necessary for practical semantic interpretation.

In this study, we are concerned with another aspect of this general process which may be called "syntactic localization". Syntactic localization can be conceived of as a way of realizing a sort of metonymy, in which a subpart of a constituent is made to stand for the whole constituent. More specifically, when an element A is to be semantically associated with a constituent B, syntactic localization makes it possible to produce a syntactic concatenation in which A is immediately associated with a subpart C of the constituent B. Let us represent the semantic association and the syntactic association by $j-j$ and $i-i$ respectively:

(11) ... A^j ... $[_B$ ... C ...$]^j$ ... A^j ...

(12) ... A_i ... $[_B$ ... C ...$]_i$ ... A_i ...

If the semantic relation of (11) is straightforwardly mapped onto syntactic structure, a syntactico-semantic correspondence is fulfilled as in (13):

(13) ... A^j_i ... $[_B$ ... C ...$]^j_i$ ... A^j_i ...

But syntactic localization produces a syntactic association as in (14) for the semantic relation of (11):

(14) ... A_i ... $[_B$ ... C_i ...] ... A_i ...

This brings about a mismatch of *i* and *j* in the function of B, from which some syntactico-semantic discrepancy may be assumed to arise:

(15) ... A^j_i ... $[_B$ ... C_i ...$]^j$ ... A^j_i ...

In what follows, I will examine four complex-sentential constructions which display some syntactico-semantic discrepancies, and try to clarify in detail the properties of the localization process that contribute to creating syntactically oriented structures at the price of semantic integrity.

2. Concealed propositions

Both syntactically and semantically, the relative construction appears to behave as a kind of noun. This has lead grammarians to analyze it as a complex NP which is formed from a head NP and a modifying subordinate clause. The modifying function of the subordinate clause can be – performed under the condition of referential identity – the condition that the relativizer (relative pronoun or relative adverb), which plays a grammatical role in the subordinate clause, indicates the same thing or person as the head NP (antecedent). Take, for example, (16):

(16) *John wants to meet* [*the novelist* [*who he admires*]]

In (16), *who* functions as the object of *admires* and is understood to refer to the same person as *the novelist*, which, on the other hand, fulfills the role of object with respect to *meet*. In this sense, the relative clause is said to modify the head NP by describing the attribute of the antecedent.