

A COMPARATIVE SYNTAX OF ENGLISH AND JAPANESE: LONG-DISTANCE MOVEMENT IN JAPANESE*

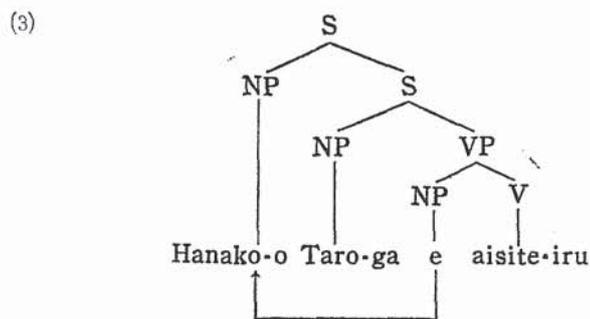
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0. Introduction

It is well known that Japanese has fairly free word order. For example, (1b) and (2b) below can be considered variants of (1a) and (2a), respectively.

- (1) a. Taro-ga Hanako-o aisite-iru (koto)
 -nom -acc loves (fact)
 'Taro loves Hanako.'
 b. Hanako-o Taro-ga aisite-iru (koto)
- (2) a. Taro-ga Hanako-ni urami-o idaite-iru (koto)
 -nom -dat grudge-acc holds
 'Taro holds a grudge against Hanako.'
 b. Hanako-ni Taro-ga urami-o idaite-iru (koto)

The term 'scrambling' has been used in the literature to refer to this free word order phenomenon in Japanese or to the rule itself that is involved in reordering phrases. In a series of work, Mamoru Saito has argued that scrambling in Japanese is an instance of Move- α , particularly, adjunction to S. On this analysis, (1b) is derived from (1a) by adjoining the object NP *Hanako-o* to the S-node, as shown below. See Saito (1985), where this analysis is presented and defended in a more comprehensive form.



Saito also claims, drawing on data such as (4) below, that phrases can be scrambled 'long-distance,' that is, beyond clause-boundaries.

- (4) a. [Hanako-o [Taro-ga [Ziro-ga e aisite-iru to] omotte-iru]] (koto)
 -acc -nom -nom loves Comp thinks
 'Hanako, Taro thinks Ziro loves.'
- b. [Hanako-ni [Taro-ga [Ziro-ga e urami-o idaite-iru to] omotte-iru]] (koto)
 -dat -nom -nom grudge-acc holds Comp thinks
 'Against Hanako, Taro thinks Ziro holds a grudge.'
- c. [Hanako-kara [Taro-ga [Ziro-ga e sono hanasi-o kiita to] omotte-iru]] (koto)
 -from -nom -nom that story-acc heard Comp thinks
 'From Hanako, Taro thinks Ziro heard that story.'

Despite this claim, I will argue in this paper that Japanese does not allow long-distance movement. As for 'short-distance' one or movement within one clause, I will assume without much argument that it exists in Japanese, since there is at present not as much evidence to question it. Phenomenally, it might seem that our position is immediately countered by the very existence of such sentences as (4). The initial phrase in each of the sentences of (4) appears at first sight to have been moved out of the embedded clause. In what follows I will argue that it is illusory and that the phrase in question is to be taken either as a focus base-generated in the sentence-initial position or as a kind of topic that enters into a topic-comment relation with the embedded clause.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 1 a general framework is introduced on which the discussion that follows will be based. In section 2, I will give three reasons why I think Japanese does not allow long-distance movement. In the third section a non-movement possibility of the sentences in question will be explored as an alternative to the movement analysis. In section 4 I will propose an analysis in the spirit of Kayne's (1983) Empty Category Principle (ECP) or Connectedness Condition where movement is much more narrowly defined than under the standard approach. In the fifth section some major problems for my analysis will be discussed. And in the final section I will consider some implications of this analysis for English.

1. The Cinque-Obenauer Hypothesis

As far as I see, Saito's arguments for the existence of long-distance scrambling seem strong and solid. It will not be impossible, however, to draw different conclusions if we make different assumptions than those on which he bases his

arguments. In this section I will provide a short summary of one such hypothesis, the one that is referred to by Koster (1987) as the Cinque-Obenauer Hypothesis since Guglielmo Cinque and Hans-Georg Obenauer arrived at similar ideas about the same time independently of each other.

1.1. Cinque (1984)

In Cinque (1984) it is suggested that in the class of NP empty categories \bar{A} -bound by an operator, two distinct cases be recognized: one in which the EC equals a pure variable or trace, and the other in which the EC is realized as (resumptive) *pro*. This means that Cinque here introduces a new type of EC that is identified through \bar{A} -binding by its antecedent, alongside of the type of *pro*, only found in pro-drop languages, that is identified by AGR. Cinque stipulates that the distribution of this *pro* is constrained by Kayne's Connectedness Condition (CC). He further assumes that this resumptive *pro* strategy is only available to NP: there are resumptive pro-Nouns, to be sure, but it is highly unlikely that languages have resumptive pro-PP or resumptive pro-Adverb.

This idea is in fact traced back to a discussion by Chomsky (1982, p.72) of a contrast observed by Adriana Belletti.

- (5) a. ?the man who I went to England without speaking to *e*
b. *the man to whom I went to England without speaking *e*

Example (5a) might show that the position of *e* is relatively inaccessible to movement. This assumption is not correct, however. The position of the EC in (5a) is not 'relatively inaccessible to movement,' but instead appears to be absolutely inaccessible, as shown by (5b). If the position of the EC in (5a) were only relatively inaccessible to movement, then we expect (5b) to have the same status as (5a), which it does not. Chomsky concludes, then, that movement is absolutely impossible in these constructions under the theory of bounding. Therefore, *e* in (5a) is not a trace of movement but an EC base-generated and coindexed with the head of the relative via free indexing at S-structure. This amounts to interpreting the EC as a kind of resumptive pronominal. If we make the further reasonable assumption that the resumptive pronoun strategy is only open to NP, but not to PP, then the contrast in (5) will be accounted for.

Cinque basically adopts this idea and extends it in the analyses of parasitic gaps, gaps inside islands, and gaps in the *tough*-constructions. He claims that the resumptive *pro* strategy is always available, but it will be the only option available whenever movement is excluded on independent grounds, as appears the case with the three constructions just mentioned. Let us now see how this analysis accounts for the distribution of parasitic gaps and gaps in the *tough*-constructions. Consider the following contrasts:

- (6) a. ?someone that the secretary welcomed e without expecting the dean
would see e
b. ?*someone that the secretary welcomed e without expecting e would
see the dean
- (7) a. ??Mary is hard for me to believe John kissed e
b. *Mary is hard for me to believe e kissed John. (Schachter (1981))

Under Cinque's approach, the second EC in each expression of (6) is not a trace but a resumptive *pro*. Since this *pro* has to observe the Connectedness Condition (CC), the approach correctly accounts for the contrast in (6); the second EC in (6b) is not lexically (or structurally) governed. Recently, Chomsky and others have proposed that parasitic gap constructions like those in (6) be analyzed as involving null operator movement, mainly because parasitic gaps appear to obey island constraints. One major problem with this analysis is that it cannot provide an account of why (6b) is worse than (6a). If null operator movement were really involved, then (6b) would be just as good as (6a). Another point in favor of Cinque's approach is that it offers a straightforward account of the fact that there are no parasitic PP or adverb gaps. Since a parasitic gap is a resumptive *pro* and the resumptive pronominal strategy is only open to NP, there can be no parasitic gaps of types other than NP. The contrast in (7) is explained likewise on Cinque's analysis, while it would pose a problem for Chomsky's most recent analysis of *tough*-constructions, where they are also analyzed as involving movement of a null operator within the embedded infinitival clause. In fairness to the movement analysis, however, we should note that Cinque's approach has nothing to say about why parasitic gaps and gaps in *tough*-sentences appear to obey island constraints. I will return to this problem in section 5.

1.2. Obenauer (1984)

A similar hypothesis has been advocated by Hans-Georg Obenauer on the basis of French data involving *combien* 'how many/much.' The basic data for consideration are the following:

- (8) a. Combien dis-tu qu'il a invité [NP[QP e] de filles]?
how many say-you that-he has invited of girls
'How many girls do you say that he has invited?'
- b. *Combien sais-tu où inviter [NP[QP e] de filles]?
how many know-you where to invite of girls
'How many girls do you know where to invite?'
- c. ?Combien de filles sais-tu où inviter [NP e]?
how many of girls know-you where to invite

Following Kayne, Obenauer assumes *combien* to be a QP. As exemplified by (8a),

combien can be detached from the NP of which it is a constituent and be moved alone into the sentence-initial position. When an island intervenes, however, movement of *combien* results in complete unacceptability, as in (8b). On the other hand, if the whole NP containing *combien* is extracted as in (8c), the resulting sentence exhibits a weak Subjacency violation effect. Obenauer independently demonstrates that the position of the QP trace in (8a) is lexically governed by the verb *invite*. This means that it cannot be the (pre-*Barriers*) ECP that correctly explains why *combien* cannot be extracted from wh-islands. The contrast between (8b) and (8c) follows from the *pro*-account. Another example that Obenauer thinks will decide to favor his approach over the ECP account is the following:

(9) *How were you wondering whether she'd behave e?

Obenauer claims that the EC in the embedded clause is lexically governed by *behave*, because it is the type of verb that requires an adverbial as its subcategorization feature. If that were the case, (9) should, under the ECP-based account, have the same status as cases of weak Subjacency violation, such as (10).

(10) ?Who were you wondering whether she'd photograph e?

But in fact it does not. Under the *pro*-hypothesis, the contrast between (9) and (10) is expected, because the resumptive *pro* strategy is only available to NP. The EC in (9) cannot be a trace of movement because extraction out of an island is absolutely prohibited under the theory of bounding, but it cannot be *pro*, either, for a reason already familiar. By contrast, the EC in (10) can have the status of *pro* since its category type is NP.

In this section I have provided a brief exposition of the hypothesis proposed by Cinque and Obenauer as an alternative to the ECP-approach. It may be recapitulated as in (11).

- (11) The Cinque-Obenauer Hypothesis (COH)
- a. There are two types of \bar{A} -bound empty categories: a pure variable or trace and a (resumptive) *pro*.
 - b. This *pro* obeys the Connectedness Condition.
 - c. The resumptive pronominal strategy is only open to NP.
 - d. Extraction out of an island is absolutely banned under the theory of bounding.

2. Three Reasons

As already noted, it seems at first glance that Japanese allows long-distance movement. Consider again the sentences of (4), repeated here as (12).

- (12) a. [Hanako-o [Taro-ga [Ziro-ga e aisite -iru to] omotte-iru]](koto)
-acc -nom -nom loves Comp thinks
'Hanako, Taro thinks Ziro loves.'
- b. Hanako-ni [Taro-ga [Ziro-ga e urami-o idaite-iru to]
-dat -nom -nom grudge-acc holds Comp
omotte-iru]] (koto)
thinks
'Against Hanako, Taro thinks Ziro holds a grudge.'
- c. [Hanako-kara [Taro-ga [Ziro-ga e sono hanasi-o kiita to]
-from -nom -nom that story-acc heard Comp
omotte-iru]] (koto)
thinks
'From Hanako, Taro thinks Ziro heard that story.'

These sentences sounds all right and superficially there seems no doubt that the initial phrase of each sentence has been moved out of the embedded clause. In this section I will nonetheless give three reasons why I think Japanese does not allow long-distance movement.

2.1. Movement of *why* and *naze*

One moral of the COH is that we should not be misled by the apparent acceptability of the sentences with a long-distance dependency between a wh-phrase of NP type and the empty category bound by that wh-phrase. We cannot tell that movement is really involved in such a case until we make sure that adverbial wh-words like *why* and *how* (or *naze* and *do*) can also be extracted in the same context. In this sense, extraction of *why* and *naze* can be a diagnostic for determining whether movement has really taken place or not. Consider these sentences:

- (13) Dare-o Taro-wa [Ziro-ga e aisite-iru to] omotte-iru no?
who-acc -top -nom loves Comp thinks +WH
'Who does Taro think that Ziro loves?'
- (14) a. Why does John think (that) Bill was fired?
b. Naze John-wa [Bill-ga kubi-ni natta to] omotte-iru no?
why -top -nom fired became Comp thinks +WH

It is well known that *why*-questions like (14a) are ambiguous with *why* either modifying the matrix clause or the embedded clause. In contrast, (14b) can only be taken to have the matrix interpretation of *naze*; the sentence cannot be construed to ask for a reason John gives for Bill's dismissal. This would be a mystery under

the position where it is claimed that Japanese allows long-distance movement. Thus, the unambiguity of (14b) casts one piece of doubt on such a position. It should be mentioned here that it would be undesirable to attribute this difference between English and Japanese to some difference in particular rules involved: wh-movement in English and scrambling in Japanese. This is in fact impossible under the current rule-free approach. The contrast between (13) and (14b) follows from the COH. For some reason which I will consider later, movement out of a clause is prohibited in Japanese: it is *clause-bound*. Therefore, (14b) is out with *naze* modifying the embedded clause. Why, then, is (13) good? Because the allegedly moved wh-word is an NP, so that the resumptive pronominal strategy can come into play; the empty category in the embedded clause of (13) is not a trace but a resumptive zero pronoun.

2.2. Idiom chunks

Idiom chunks have also been used as a diagnostic for determining whether movement is involved or not (see Yamada (1978) on this point). Consider these examples from Radford (1981, p.162) :

- (15) a. How close tabs do you think the FBI will keep e on the CIA?
 b. How much advantage does Reagan think he can take e of his opponent's misdemeanours?

These sentences are perfect though parts of the idioms are detached from the rest. Compare these, however, with the following¹:

- (16) a. *Tabs were easy to keep on Bill. (Lasnik & Fiengo (1974))
 b. *Advantage is easy to take of her. (Berman (1973))

Chomsky (1981, p.309) cites similar examples and concludes that *tough*-sentences 'are not formed by movement from the embedded clause to the matrix subject position.' In other words, the matrix subject in such constructions is in a theta-position and should therefore be base-generated. With this in mind, let us now consider Japanese sentences with idioms such as the following:

- (17) a. Taro-ga [Ziro-ga otya-o nigosu-daroo to] omotte-iru (koto)
 -nom -nom tea-acc make-cloudy Comp thinks (fact)
 'Taro thinks that Ziro will give a vague answer.'
 b. *Otya-o Taro-ga [Ziro-ga e nigosu-daroo to] omotte-iru (koto)
 (18) a. Taro-ga [Ziro-ga abura-o utte-ita to] omotte-iru (koto)
 -nom -nom fat-acc selling-was Comp thinks
 'Taro thinks that Ziro was fooling around.'

- b. *Abura-o Taro-ga [Ziro-ga e utte-ita to] omotte-iru (koto)

When the direct object NP, part of the idiom, is preposed long-distance, the sentence loses its idiomatic reading. Thus, the *b*-sentences, if they make any sense at all, have only the non-idiomatic readings. A question arises here: why the idiomatic interpretation cannot be maintained in the *b*-sentences if long-distance movement is allowed in Japanese. Rather, these data seem to argue to the contrary.

2.3. Anaphor *zibunzisin*

The distribution of anaphors or reflexive pronouns might provide another diagnostic for movement. It has been noted for a long time that a reflexive or a larger phrase containing it retains the interpretation originally assigned in its D-structure position, even after it has been moved. Thus, consider the following sentences:

- (19) Which picture of himself does John think that Bill hates?
 (20) Himself, Harry never indulges. (Postal (1971))
 (21) Himself I think John likes. (Williams (1986))

In (19) the reflexive can either refer to John or Bill. The question to be asked is why it can take *Bill* as its antecedent in spite of the fact that it is not c-commanded by *Bill*. A natural answer would be that movement of a phrase generally carry over the interpretations it would have had if it had continued to stay in its D-structure position. Care is necessary, however. It is not entirely clear whether data like (19) can be used as a diagnostic for movement, because it appears that a reflexive, if embedded in a larger phrase, can take the lower subject as its antecedent even in a context that is thought to involve no movement.² Compare the following two *tough*-sentences:

- (22) John_i considers the cubistic picture of himself_{i/j} to be hard for Bill_j to understand.
 (23) John_i considers himself_{i/*j} to be hard for Bill_j to understand.

As we have seen in section 2.2, the data involving idioms show that there is no '*tough*-movement' from the embedded clause into the matrix subject position, and in fact it seems that people now agree on this point. Let us suppose that this were a well-established fact. We would then be led to conclude that a reflexive embedded in a larger phrase like that in (22) cannot provide a reliable test for movement, because here the reflexive can take the lower NP *Bill* as its antecedent, though movement is not involved. By contrast, the reflexive in (23) cannot refer to Bill. This implies that not the so-called *picture*-noun phrase containing a

reflexive but a single reflexive should be used as a diagnostic for movement. Keeping this caution in mind, let us now turn to Japanese data. Recent studies have shown that *zibun* is not an anaphor or reflexive but rather a pronominal (see Ueda (1984) and Fukui (1984) for details). Thus, in (24) below, *zibun* can choose the matrix subject as its antecedent.

- (24) [Noboru_i-ga [Yasuhiro_j-ga zibun_{i/?j}-o simei-suru to] omotte-ita]
 -nom -nom -acc nominate Comp thought
 (koto)
 'Noboru thought that Yasuhiro would nominate him/himself.'

Fukui points out that in such an environment as (24) the reading where *zibun* refers to the embedded subject is rather weak. I can persuade myself that this is true. If that is the case, then *zibun* will be much more of a pronominal than has been thought, so that it should not be considered comparable to the English reflexive (*himself*, for example). What corresponds to the English reflexive is, it seems to me, not *zibun* but rather *zibunzisin*. Thus, compare (24) with (25).

- (25) [Noboru_i -ga [Yasuhiro_j -ga zibunzisin_{?*i/j}-o simei-suru to]
 -nom -nom -acc nominate Comp
 omotte-ita] (koto)
 thought
 'Noboru thought that Yasuhiro would nominate himself.'

Many people I consulted with told me that in sentences like (25) they take *zibunzisin* only as referring to the embedded subject. Judgments are subtle, but the contrast between (24) and (25) seems substantial. Supposing that *zibunzisin* is a pure anaphor, compare the following English and Japanese sentences:

- (26) John_i thought that himself_{i/j}, Bill_j would defend e.
 (27) [Noboru_i-ga [zibunzisin_{i/?j}-o Yasuhiro_j-ga e simei-suru to]
 -nom -acc -nom nominate comp
 omotte-ita] (koto)
 thought
 'Noboru thought that himself, Yasuhiro would nominate.'

Some native linguists told me that they take (26) as ambiguous with the reflexive either referring to John or Bill. I find the Japanese sentence (27) equally ambiguous. Since I have been assuming that short-distance movement is allowed in Japanese, the reading of (27) where *zibunzisin* takes the lower subject *Yasuhiro* as its antecedent is expected. It can also have the interpretation where *zibunzisin* takes the matrix subject as its antecedent, because at S-structure it is locally

thought

'Noboru has long believed of Yasuhiro_i that all people hate him_i.'

- (35) *[Noboru-ga Yasuhiro-ni zutto [minna-ga e urami-o idaite-iru to]
-nom -dat long all-nom grudge-acc hold Comp
omotte-ita] (koto)
thought
'*Noboru has long believed, against Yasuhiro, that all people holds a
grudge.'

Suppose that a phrase has to be in a sentence-initial position in order to be interpreted as a focus. Then, the unacceptability of (35) follows in a straightforward way; PP *Yasuhiro-ni* cannot be interpreted as a focus in its sentence-medial position nor can it be a topic. (34) seems much better than (35). This is expected since although *Yasuhiro-o* in (34) cannot be a focus, either, there remains another possibility of analyzing it as a topic, that is, in a way analogous to *Yasuhiro-no-koto-o* '(believe) of Yasuhiro (that S)'. Again, the ultimate validity of our analysis of the contrast between (34) and (35) rests on how the focus construction is to be analyzed, but it is clear at least that the contrast poses a serious problem for the approach that allows long-distance movement as well as free adjunction. On the other hand, our analysis is a natural consequence of the COH. Recall that under this hypothesis the resumptive (zero) pronominal strategy is always available alongside of the ordinary movement strategy, and when the latter strategy is prohibited on some grounds, the former will come into play as the only option available. The Japanese data involving long-distance dependencies considered so far fall into place under the COH. For some reason yet to be made clear, movement in Japanese is clause-bound, so that it has no choice but to resort to the non-movement strategy or resumptive pronominal strategy, as seems the case with sentences like (29a).

4. Kayne's ECP or Connectedness Condition (CC)

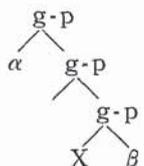
In the foregoing discussion I have given some empirical evidence to lead us to doubt that Japanese allows long-distance movement, but have not yet offered any proposal that explains why that is the case. I believe that there are two directions to take when we face a difference between the two languages such as the one we have been considering: one is to take it as deriving from some idiosyncratic properties of one language or the other, in particular, some lexical idiosyncracies or some anyway low-level properties, and the other is to reduce it to the major typological differences, for example, the head-initial vs. head-final parameter.

Ceteris paribus, it would be more desirable if one could propose an account along the latter line.

In this section I will propose an analysis along the lines of Kayne's ECP or Connectedness Condition (CC) to account for the discrepancy between English and Japanese: while English allows long-distance movement, Japanese does not. Kayne states his version of ECP as in (36), which I present in a much more simplified form.

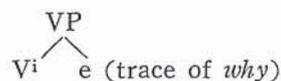
- (36) An empty category β must have a c-commanding antecedent α such that there exists a lexical category X such that X governs β and α is contained in some g-projection of X. (Kayne (1983, 225))

What it basically does is prescribe that dependency between β and α be licit only in a configuration such as (37).

- (37)  (g-p=g-projection)

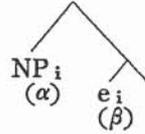
(36) contains two independent conditions: (i) β must have a lexical governor X, and (ii) α must be contained in some g-projection of X, with g-projections of X being formed on the basis of the 'canonical government configuration' of the language under discussion (see Kayne (1983) for details). I would like to revise (36) so as to accommodate the data we have been considering. Putting aside preposition-stranding cases, I take X as V^i , namely, a projection of V; it does not have to be V^o or a lexical category. This revision is made so as to deal with long-distance movement of English *why*. For example, the extraction of *why* in (38) is licit because it satisfies this revised condition.

- (38) Why does John think that Mary [_{VP} [_V hates Bill] e]?



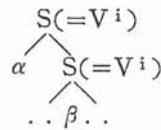
As another revision, we have to modify (36) in such a way that β does not have to have a lexical governor only if it is governed by a coindexed category. As Kayne himself admits (1983, note 16), (36) without this revision would not be able to deal with such simple short-distance cases as (39).

(39) [Who_i [e_i left]]?

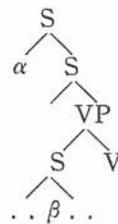


With these qualifications in mind, let us consider both short-distance and long-distance dependencies in Japanese. Look at the following simplified tree structures.

(40) a.

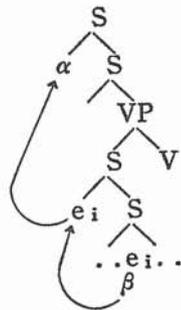


b.



(40a) is a case of short-distance movement, while (40b) is a case of long-distance movement. In (40a) β is directly governed by the coindexed category α , so that short-distance movement is generally licit. In (40b), on the other hand, a proper set of g-projections cannot be formed because government works to the left in Japanese, so that movement is prohibited. If phrases moved successive-cyclically, however, the resulting structure would end up being ruled in. In order to block this possibility, we have to add a stipulation that the coindexed category α in (39) and (40a) has to be phonetically non-null, that is, it cannot be an empty category. This is tantamount to denying successive-cyclic movement. This is necessary on our approach, otherwise Japanese will be predicted to permit a long-distance movement through successive-cyclic short-distance movements. By this stipulation, the following derivation will be blocked.

(41) *



It will turn out that the added stipulation is necessary even in English.

5. (Apparent) Problems

Our analysis is not fully adequate, as it stands now. Much needs to be clarified. In this section I will consider some of the major problems that remain. First, Saito has shown that Japanese scrambling obeys the island constraint, namely, the Complex NP Constraint. Island violation has been considered to be an exclusive property of syntactic movement. If Japanese does not allow long-distance movement, how is this property of scrambling explained? Second, Saito claims that while Japanese overt pronoun *kare* can be used as a resumptive pronoun in a topic construction, it is not allowed to occur in a scrambling construction, thus suggesting that movement does not license the use of a resumptive pronoun. How is this property of scrambling accounted for on our approach? I will try to answer the second question, first. Saito gives such examples as (42) to (44) as evidence for his claim. Judgments are his (Saito (1985, 311-312)).

- (42) *[Sono hon_i-o John-ga [Mary-ga sore_i-o katta to] omotte-iru]
 that book-acc -nom -nom it-acc bought Comp thinks
 (koto)
 'That book, John thinks that Mary bought it.'
- (43) *John_i-o Bill-ga [Mary-ga kare_i-o kiratte-iru to]
 -acc -nom -nom him-acc hates Comp
 omoikonde-iru-rasii.
 is convinced-seems
 'John, it seems Bill is convinced that Mary hates him.'
- (44) *Tookyoo_i-ni John-ga [raigetū soko_i-ni ikoo to]
 Tokyo-to -nom next month there-to will-go Comp
 omotte-iru-rasii.
 thinks-seems
 'To Tokyo, it seems John think he will go there.'

While I agree that (44) is unacceptable, I do not find (42) and (43) as bad. Especially, I do not agree with Saito when he claims that these sentence are bad because scrambling involves movement and movement does not license resumptive pronouns. I would claim that sentences like (42) and (43) are generally good if appropriate contexts are provided. Consider the following sentences:

- (45) ?[Sono hon_i-o John-ga [zibun-ga sore_i-o kaita to] itte-iru] (koto)
 that book-acc -nom himself-nom it-acc wrote Comp says
 'That book, John says that he himself wrote it.'

- (46) ?[John_i-o Bill-ga [minna-ga kare_i- kiratte-iru to] omotte-iru] (koto)
 -acc -nom all-nom him-acc hate Comp
 ‘John, Bill thinks all people hate him.’

These sentences are fairly good. It is clear, however, that we understand the initial phrase of each sentence in the same way as *NP-no-koto-o* ‘(believe) of NP (that S).’ On the other hand, it seems that no comparable grammatical sentence can be constructed for (44). I suspect that this is to be explained independently of the issue as to whether sentences like (44) involve movement. I suggested earlier that sentences having an initial PP connected long-distance with the embedded clause be analyzed as a case of focus construction. If that were the case, then the resumptive pronoun coindexed with the matrix PP, (or NP contained in that PP), be it overt or zero, would have to be semantically interpreted as a bound variable. It has been pointed out in the literature that Japanese overt pronominals cannot be used as bound variables, as illustrated by (47) and (48).

- (47) *YAMADA-SAN_i-GA [kare_i-no okusan-ga amerikazin desu.]
 Mr. Yamada-nom him-gen wife-nom American is
 ‘(Lit.) It is Mr. Yamada that his wife is an American.’
- (48) *Daremo_i-ga kare_i-no okusan-o aisite-iru.
 everyone-acc him-gen wife-acc loves
 ‘Everyone loves his wife.’

Thus, (44) is independently ruled out by this idiosyncratic property of Japanese overt pronominals. Hence, the correlation between movement and use of a resumptive pronoun is not as straightforward as Saito claims it to be.

As for the first question regarding island violation, I admit that it poses a serious problem for our non-movement approach at present. In work in progress, however, I will argue that the Subjacency Condition is not the correct theory of bounding and also that island violation is not necessarily a unique property of movement. Therefore, I would like to leave this problem open.

6. Implications for English

In section 4 I proposed a definition of movement along the lines of Kayne’s Connectedness Condition so that it may disallow long-distance movement in Japanese. Although many technical problems remain, the definition has some important consequences for English. Consider the following pair:

- (49) a. Who does John think Mary saw e?
 b. Who does John think e saw Mary?

It has long been thought that the same mechanism is involved to derive the two sentences, specifically, successive-cyclic movement of a *wh*-word through Comp. Our analysis opens up a new way of looking at data like (49b). The mechanism of section 4, originally intended to exclude long-distance movement from Japanese, predicts, rather surprisingly, that (49b) is not a case of movement but of the resumptive pronominal strategy. The EC in the embedded subject position is not governed either by a lexical category or by a non-null coindexed category, thus violating the revised Connectedness Condition. Nothing prevents us from base-generating the *wh*-word in the sentence-initial position and the EC as a resumptive *pro* in the lower subject position. Is there any empirical evidence for this claim? There is some but unfortunately the evidence is not decisive. Consider the following sentences involving idioms.

- (50) a. How close tabs will the police keep on the suspect?
 b. How close tabs will be kept on the suspect?
- (51) a. Tell me how close tabs you think the police will keep on the suspect.
 b. ?Tell me how close tabs you think will be kept on the suspect.
- (52) a. Tell me how much advantage you think people will take of this system.
 b. ?Tell me how much advantage you think will be taken of this system.

My informant told me that she finds the *b*-sentences of (51) and (52) a little worse than the *a*-sentences, though at the same time she insisted that they are not so bad as to be labelled as unacceptable. Another piece of evidence has to do with referential opacity. It is well-known that phrases like *someone upstairs* in the sentences of (53) can have an opaque reading when it is in the scope of a propositional attitude verb such as *believe*, that is, the reading on which that 'someone' exists in John's belief-world only.

- (53) a. John believes Mary loves someone upstairs.
 b. John believes someone upstairs loves Mary.
- (54) a. Who does John believe Mary loves *e*?—Someone upstairs.
 b. Who does John believe *e* loves Mary?—Someone upstairs.

What is of interest is a contrast between (54a) and (54b). It seems that the opaque interpretation of *someone upstairs* in (54b) is slightly weaker than in (54a). This is the expected result if it is true that the question sentence of (54b) does not really involve movement and hence the initial *wh*-word stays outside the scope of *believe* all along.

It is to be remembered that the resumptive pronominal strategy is always

available alongside of the ordinary movement strategy unless some constraint prohibits it. This means that even sentences like (49a) and (54a) can be derived by base-generation as well as by movement. How can we differentiate this derivational ambiguity? As a case in point, consider the following pair of negative sentences with inversion:

- (55) a. Not a single book did David say we should read e.
b. Not a single book David said should we read e.

Both sentences are acceptable but different in meaning. In (55a) a certain set of books either has been talked about in the previous discourse or it is implied anyway in the context. (55b) has no such presupposition. All it says is that David said we should read no books. This difference can be made to follow naturally from our approach. The negative phrase of (55a) can be taken to originate in the matrix clause and the EC within the embedded clause to be a resumptive *pro*, so that inversion takes place in the matrix clause. In (55b), on the other hand, the negative phrase has been moved from the embedded clause, thus triggering inversion within the lower clause. If both sentences were to be derived by movement, it would be difficult to account for these syntactic and semantic differences between the two sentences. Thus, the claim that sentences such as (49b) are not derived by movement but by base-generation in tandem with the resumptive pronominal strategy has some empirical motivation, though the evidence may not be overwhelming. If that were the right account, it would in turn give strong confirming evidence for our proposed analysis of Japanese sentences involving long-distance scrambling. Admittedly, this needs much further study.

NOTES

*I wish to thank Debra Packard for acting as my informant. Any remaining errors or inconsistencies are entirely my own, however.

1. Some care must be taken in dealing with idioms. It seem to me that it is better to avoid idioms such as *make headway* and *make allowances for* because they are highly 'compositional,' that is, the words that make up the whole idiom are fairly independent of each other. This type of idioms can therefore occur even in what seems to be a non-movement context.

(i) a. Headway should be easy to make in cases like this.

b. Allowances are easy to make for the very young. (Berman (1973))

In contrast, idioms *keep tabs on* and *take advantage of* seem much less compositional. Thus, as we have seen in the text, these idioms cannot be used in *tough*-constructions. The contrast pointed out in Lasnik and Fiengo (1974) is very suggestive in this respect.

(ii) a. ?Our headway was insufficient.

b. *Our tabs were close.

c. *Our advantage was unfair.

A similar dichotomy appears to obtain in Japanese idioms. Supposing there is no raising from the embedded clauses to the head noun position in the formation of Japanese relative clauses, consider the following:

- (ii) a. ? [Yasuhiro-ga Noboru-ni e tateta] siraha-no ya
 -nom -on stood white-feathered arrow
 'Yasuhro's choosing Noboru'
 b. * [Sintaro-ga e tateta] hara
 -nom stood stomach
 'Sintaro's getting furious'
 c. * [Taro-ga e utte-ita] abura
 -nom selling-was fat
 'Taro's fooling around'

We have to be so careful as to use only idioms of the latter type in discussing the correlation between movement and idioms.

2. It is to be recalled that idioms like *make headway* and *picture-noun* phrases containing a reflexive are the very type of evidence that has been used in the literature to argue for a movement analysis of some construction. This argument does not hold any more on our approach, however, for reasons noted in note 1 and in the text (see Yamada (1978) for some related discussion).

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